ESSAYS,

POLITICAL, ECONOMICAL,

AND

PHILOSOPHICAL.

VOL. I.


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ESSAYS,

POLITICAL, ECONOMICAL,

AND

PHILOSOPHICAL.

By BENJAMIN Count of RUMFORD,

KNIGHT OF THE ORDERS OF THE WHITE EAGLE AND OF ST. STANISLAUS;
Chamberlain, Privy Counsellor of State, and Lieutenant-General in the Service of his Most Serene Highness the ELECTOR PALATINE, *Reigning* DUKE *of* BAVARIA, *Colonel of his Regiment of Artillery, and Commander in Chief of the General Staff of his Army*, F. R. S. Acad. R. Hiber. Berol. Elec. Boicæ. Palat. et Amer. Soc.

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1798.

TO

HIS MOST SERENE HIGHNESS

THE ELECTOR PALATINE,

REIGNING DUKE OF BAVARIA,

&c. &c. &c.

SIR,

IN requeſting permiſſion to dedicate to your moſt Serene Electoral Highneſs theſe Eſſays, I had ſeveral important objects in view: I was deſirous of ſhowing to the world that I had not preſumed to publiſh an account of public meaſures and inſtitutions,

tions, planned and executed in your Electoral Highneſs's dominions,—by your orders,—and under your immediate authority and protection, without your leave and approbation. I was alſo deſirous of availing myſelf of the illuſtrious name of a Sovereign eminently diſtinguiſhed by his munificence in promoting uſeful knowledge, and by his ſolicitude for the happineſs and proſperity of his ſubjects, to recommend the important objects I have undertaken to inveſtigate, to the attention of the Great,—the Wiſe,—and the Benevolent. And laſtly, I was anxious to have an opportunity of teſtifying, in a public manner, my gratitude to your moſt Serene Electoral Highneſs for all your kindneſs to me; and more eſpecially for the diſtinguiſhed honour you have done me by ſelecting and employing me

as an inſtrument in your hands of doing good.

I have the honour to be, with the moſt profound reſpect, and with unalterable attachment,

SIR,

Your Moſt Serene ELECTORAL HIGHNESS's

Devoted Servant,

RUMFORD.

London,
July 1ſt, 1796.

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AN

ACCOUNT

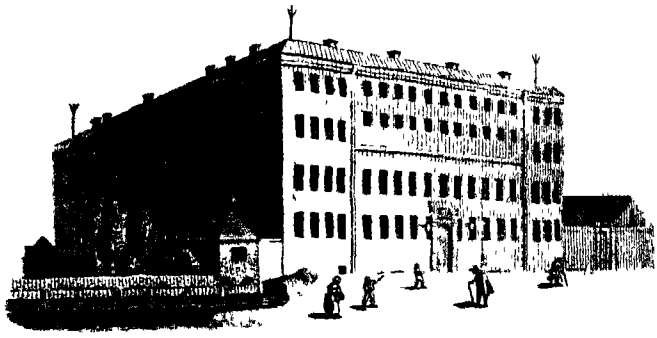
OF AN

ESTABLISHMENT FOR THE POOR

AT MUNICH.

TOGETHER WITH

A Detail of various Public Meaſures, connected with that Inſtitution, which have been adopted and carried into effect for putting an End to Mendicity, and introducing Order, and uſeful Induſtry, among the more Indigent of the Inhabitants of BAVARIA.



View of the Military Work-house at Munich.

INTRODUCTION.

Situation of the Author in the Service of His Moſt Serene Highneſs the ELECTOR PALATINE, *Reigning Duke of* BAVARIA. *Reaſons which induced him to undertake to form an Eſtabliſhment for the Relief of the Poor.*

AMONG the viciſſitudes of a life chequered by a great variety of incidents, and in which I have been called upon to act in many intereſting ſcenes, I have had an opportunity of employing my attention upon a ſubject of great importance; a ſubject intimately and inſeparably connected with the happineſs and well-being of all civil ſocieties; and which, from its nature, cannot fail to intereſt every

benevolent mind;—it is the providing for the wants of the Poor, and ſecuring their happineſs and comfort by the introduction of order and induſtry among them.

The ſubject, though it is ſo highly intereſting to mankind, has not yet been inveſtigated with that ſucceſs that could have been wiſhed. This fact is apparent, not only from the prevalence of indolence, miſery, and beggary, in almoſt all the countries of Europe; but alſo from the great variety of opinion among thoſe who have taken the matter into ſerious conſideration, and have propoſed methods for remedying thoſe evils; ſo generally and ſo juſtly complained of.

What I have to offer upon this ſubject being not merely ſpeculative opinion, but the genuine reſult of actual experiments; of experiments made upon a very large ſcale, and under circumſtances which render them peculiarly intereſting; I cannot help flattering myſelf that my readers will find both amuſement, and uſeful information, from the peruſal of the following ſheets.

As it may perhaps appear extraordinary that a military man ſhould undertake a work ſo foreign to his profeſſion, as that of forming and executing a plan for providing for the Poor, I have thought it not improper to preface the narrative of my operations, by a ſhort account of the motives which induced me to engage in this undertaking. And in order to throw ſtill more light upon the whole tranſaction, I ſhall begin with a few words of myſelf, of my ſituation in the country in which

I reſide, and of the different objects which were had in view in the various public meaſures in which I have been concerned. This information is neceſſary in order to form a clear idea of the circumſtances under which the operations in queſtion were undertaken, and of the connection which ſubſiſted between the different public meaſures which were adopted at the ſame time.

Having in the year 1784, with His Majeſty's gracious permiſſion, engaged myſelf in the ſervice of His Moſt Serene Highneſs the Elector Palatine, Reigning Duke of Bavaria, I have ſince been employed by His Electoral Highneſs in various public ſervices, and particularly in arranging his military affairs, and introducing a new ſyſtem of order, diſcipline, and œconomy among his troops.

In the execution of this commiſſion, ever mindful of that great and important truth, that no political arrangement can be really good, except in ſo far as it contributes to the general good of ſociety, I have endeavoured in all my operations to unite the intereſt of the ſoldier with the intereſt of civil ſociety, and to render the military force, even in time of peace, ſubſervient to the *public good.*

To facilitate and promote theſe important objects, to eſtabliſh a reſpectable ſtanding military force, which ſhould do the leaſt poſſible harm to the population, morals, manufactures, and agriculture of the country, it was neceſſary to make ſoldiers citizens, and citizens ſoldiers. To this end the ſituation of the ſoldier was made as eaſy, comfortable, and eligible as poſſible; his pay was

increaſed, he was comfortably, and even elegantly clothed, and he was allowed every kind of liberty not inconſiſtent with good order and due ſubordination; his military exerciſes were ſimplified, his inſtruction rendered ſhort and eaſy, and all obſolete and uſeleſs cuſtoms and uſages were baniſhed from the ſervice. Great attention was paid to the neatneſs and cleanlineſs of the ſoldiers' barracks and quarters; and which extended even to the external appearance of the buildings; and nothing was left undone, that could tend to make the men comfortable in their dwellings. Schools were eſtabliſhed in all the regiments, for inſtructing the ſoldiers in reading, writing, and arithmetic; and into theſe ſchools, not only the ſoldiers and their children, but alſo the children of the neighbouring citizens and peaſants, were admitted *gratis*, and even ſchool-books, paper *, pens, and ink, were furniſhed for them, at the expence of the Sovereign.

Beſides theſe ſchools of inſtruction, others, called ſchools of induſtry, were eſtabliſhed in the regiments, where the ſoldiers and their children were taught various kinds of work, and from whence they were ſupplied with raw materials, to work for their own emolument.

As nothing is ſo certainly fatal to morals, and particularly to the morals of the lower claſs of mankind, as habitual idleneſs, every poſſible mea-

* This paper, as it could afterwards be made uſe of for making cartridges, in fact coſt nothing.

ſure

ſure was adopted, that could be deviſed, to introduce a ſpirit of induſtry among the troops. Every encouragement was given to the ſoldiers to employ their leiſure time, when they were off duty, in working for their own emolument; and among other encouragements the moſt efficacious of all, that of allowing them full liberty to diſpoſe of the money acquired by their labour in any way they ſhould think proper, without being obliged to give any account of it to any body. They were even furniſhed with working dreſſes, (a canvas frock and trouſers,) *gratis*, at their enliſting, and were afterwards permitted to retain their old uniforms for the ſame purpoſe; and care was taken in all caſes where they were employed, that they ſhould be well paid.

They commonly received from ſixteen to eighteen creutzers * a-day for their labour; and with this they had the advantage of being clothed and lodged, and, in many caſes, of receiving their full pay of five creutzers, and a pound and a half (1 lb. 13½ oz. Avoirdupois) of bread per day from the Sovereign. When they did their duty in their regiments, by mounting guard regularly according to their *tour*, (which commonly was every fourth day,) and only worked thoſe days they happened to be off guard, in that caſe, they received their full pay; but when they were excuſed from regimental duty, and permitted to work every day for their own emolument, their pay, (at five creutzers

* A creutzer is $\frac{1}{11}$ of an Engliſh penny.

per day,) was ſtopped, but they were ſtill permitted to receive their bread, and to lodge in the barracks.

In all public works, ſuch as making and repairing highways,—draining marſhes,—repairing the banks of rivers, &c. ſoldiers were employed as labourers; and in all ſuch caſes, the greateſt care was taken to provide for their comfortable ſubſiſtence, and even for their amuſement. Good lodgings were prepared for them, and good and wholeſome food at a reaſonable price; and the greateſt care was taken of them when they happened to fall ſick.

Frequently, when conſiderable numbers of them were at work together, a band of muſic was ordered to play to them while at work; and on holidays they were permitted, and even encouraged, to make merry, with dancing and other innocent ſports and amuſements.

To preſerve good order and harmony among thoſe who were detached upon theſe working parties, a certain proportion of officers and non-commiſſioned officers were always ſent with them, and thoſe commonly ſerved as overſeers of the works, and as ſuch were paid.

Beſides this permiſſion to work for hire in the garriſon towns, and upon detached working parties, which was readily granted to all thoſe who deſired it, or at leaſt to as many as could poſſibly be ſpared from the neceſſary ſervice of the garriſon; every facility and encouragement was given to the ſoldier who was a native of the country, and who had

had a family or friends to go to, or private concerns to take care of, to go home on furlough, and to remain abſent from his regiment from one annual exerciſe to the other, that is to ſay, ten months and a half each year. This arrangement was very advantageous to the agriculture and manufactures, and even to the population of the country. (for the ſoldiers were allowed to marry,) and ſerved not a little to the eſtabliſhment of harmony and a friendly intercourſe between the ſoldiers and the peaſantry, and to facilitate recruiting.

Another meaſure which tended much to render the ſituation of the ſoldier pleaſant and agreeable, and to facilitate the recruiting ſervice, was the rendering the garriſons of the regiments permanent. This meaſure might not be adviſable in a deſpotic, or odious government; for where the authority of the Sovereign muſt be ſupported by the terror of arms, all habits of ſocial intercourſe and friendſhip between the ſoldiers and the ſubjects muſt be dangerous; but in all well-regulated governments, ſuch friendly intercourſe is attended with many advantages.

A peaſant would more readily conſent to his ſon's engaging himſelf to ſerve as a ſoldier in a regiment permanently ſtationed in his neighbourhood, than in one at a great diſtance, or whoſe deſtination was uncertain; and when the ſtation of a regiment is permanent, and it receives its recruits from the diſtrict of country immediately ſurrounding its head-quarters, the men who go home

home on furlough have but a ſhort journey to make, and are eaſily aſſembled in caſe of any emergency; and it was the more neceſſary to give every facility to the ſoldiers to go home on furlough in Bavaria, as labourers are ſo very ſcarce in that country that the huſbandman would not be able without them to cultivate his ground.

The habits of induſtry and of order which the ſoldier acquired when in garriſon, rendered him ſo much the more uſeful as a labourer when on furlough; but not contented with merely furniſhing labourers for the aſſiſtance of the huſbandman, I was deſirous of making uſe of the army, as a means of introducing uſeful improvements into the country.

Though agriculture is carried to the higheſt perfection in ſome parts of the Elector's dominions, yet in others, and particularly in Bavaria, it is ſtill much behind-hand. Very few of the new improvements in that art, ſuch as the introduction of new and uſeful plants—the cultivation of clover and of turnips—the regular ſucceſſion of crops, &c. have yet found their way into general practice in that country; and even the potatoe, that moſt uſeful of all the products of the ground, is ſcarcely known there.

It was principally with a view to introduce the culture of potatoes in that country that the military gardens were formed. Theſe gardens (of which there is one in every garriſon belonging to the Elector's dominions, Duſſeldorf and Amberg only excepted)

excepted.*) are pieces of ground, in, or adjoining to the garriſon towns,* which are regularly laid out, and excluſively appropriated to the uſe of the non-commiſſioned officers and private ſoldiers belonging to the regiments in garriſon. The ground is regularly divided into diſtricts of regiments, battalions, companies, and corporalities, *(corporalſchafts,)* of which laſt diviſions there are four to each company; and the quantity of ground allotted to each corporality is ſuch that each man belonging to it, whether non-commiſſioned officer or private, has a bed 365 ſquare feet in ſuperficies.

This piece of ground remains his ſole property as long as he continues to ſerve in the regiment, and he is at full liberty to cultivate it in any way, and to diſpoſe of the produce of it in any manner he may think proper. He muſt however cultivate it, and plant it, and keep it neat and free from weeds; otherwiſe, if he ſhould be idle, and neglect it, it would be taken from him and given to one of his more induſtrious comrades.

The diviſions of theſe military gardens are marked by broader and ſmaller alleys, covered with gravel, and neatly kept; and in order that every one who chooſes it, may be a ſpectator of this intereſting ſcene of induſtry, all the principal alleys, which are made large for that purpoſe, are always open as a public walk. The effect which this eſtabliſhment has already produced in the

* Particular local reaſons, which it is not neceſſary here to explain, have hitherto prevented the eſtabliſhment of military gardens in theſe two garriſon towns.

ſhort

ſhort time (little more than five years) ſince it was begun, is very ſtriking, and much greater and more important than I could have expected.

The ſoldiers, from being the moſt indolent of mortals, and from having very little knowledge of gardening, or of the produce of a garden, for uſe, are now become induſtrious and ſkilful cultivators, and they are grown ſo fond of vegetables, particularly of potatoes, which they raiſe in great quantities, that theſe uſeful and wholeſome productions now conſtitute a very eſſential part of their daily food. And theſe improvements are alſo ſpreading very faſt among the farmers and peaſants, throughout the whole country. There is hardly a ſoldier that goes on furlough, or that returns home at the expiration of his time of ſervice, that does not carry with him a few potatoes for planting, and a little collection of garden-ſeeds: and I have no doubt but in a very few years we ſhall ſee potatoes as much cultivated in Bavaria as in other countries; and that the uſe of vegetables for food will be generally introduced among the common people. I have already had the ſatisfaction to ſee little gardens here and there making their appearance, in different parts of the country, and I hope that very ſoon no farmer's houſe will be found without one.

To aſſiſt the ſoldiers in the cultivation of their gardens, they are furniſhed with garden utenſils *gratis*; they are likewiſe furniſhed from time to time with a certain quantity of manure, and with an aſſortment of garden-ſeeds; but they do not rely

rely ſolely upon theſe ſupplies; thoſe who are induſtrious collect materials in their barracks, and in the ſtreets, for making manure, and even ſometimes purchaſe it, and they raiſe in their own gardens moſt of the garden-ſeeds they ſtand in need of. To enable them to avail themſelves of their gardens as early in the ſpring as poſſible, in ſupplying their tables with green vegetables, each company is furniſhed with a hot-bed for raiſing early plants.

To attach the ſoldiers more ſtrongly to theſe their little poſſeſſions, by increaſing their comfort and convenience in the cultivation and enjoyment of them, a number of little ſummer-houſes, or rather huts, one to each company, have been erected for the purpoſe of ſhelter, where they can retire when it rains, or when they are fatigued.

All the officers of the regiments, from the higheſt to the loweſt, are ordered to give the men every aſſiſtance in the cultivation of theſe their gardens; but they are forbidden, upon pain of the ſevereſt puniſhment, to appropriate to themſelves any part of the produce of them, or even to receive any part of it in preſents.

CHAP. I.

Of the Prevalence of Mendicity in Bavaria at the Time when the Meaſures for putting an End to it were adopted.

AMONG the various meaſures that occurred to me by which the military eſtabliſhment of the country might be made ſubſervient to the public good in time of peace, none appeared to be of ſo much importance as that of employing the army in clearing the country of beggars, thieves, and other vagabonds; and in watching over the public tranquillity.

But in order to clear the country of beggars, (the number of whom in Bavaria had become quite intolerable,) it was neceſſary to adopt general and efficacious meaſures for maintaining and ſupporting the Poor. Laws were not wanting to oblige each community in the country to provide for its own Poor; but theſe laws had been ſo long neglected, and beggary had become ſo general, that extraordinary meaſures, and the moſt indefatigable exertions were neceſſary to put a ſtop to this evil. The number of itinerant beggars, of both ſexes, and all ages, as well foreigners as natives, who ſtrolled about the country in all directions, levying contributions from the induſtrious inhabitants, ſtealing and robbing, and leading

ing a life of indolence, and the moſt ſhameleſs debauchery, was quite incredible; and ſo numerous were the ſwarms of beggars in all the great towns, and particularly in the capital, ſo great their impudence, and ſo perſevering their importunity, that it was almoſt impoſſible to croſs the ſtreets without being attacked, and abſolutely forced to ſatisfy their clamorous demands. And theſe beggars were in general by no means ſuch as from age or bodily infirmities were unable by their labour to earn their livelihood; but they were for the moſt part, ſtout, ſtrong, healthy, ſturdy beggars, who, loſt to every ſenſe of ſhame, had embraced the profeſſion from choice, not neceſſity; and who, not unfrequently, added inſolence and threats to their importunity, and extorted that from fear which they could not procure by their arts of diſſimulation.

Theſe beggars not only infeſted all the ſtreets, public walks, and public places, but they even made a practice of going into private houſes, where they never failed to ſteal whatever fell in their way, if they found the doors open, and nobody at home; and the churches were ſo full of them that it was quite a nuiſance, and a public ſcandal during the performance of divine ſervice. People at their devotions were continually interrupted by them, and were frequently obliged to ſatisfy their demands in order to be permitted to finiſh their prayers in peace and quiet.

In ſhort, theſe deteſtable vermin ſwarmed every where, and not only their impudence and clamor-

ous

ous importunity were without any bounds, but they had recourſe to the moſt diabolical arts, and moſt horrid crimes, in the proſecution of their infamous trade. Young children were ſtolen from their parents by theſe wretches, and their eyes put out, or their tender limbs broken and diſtorted, in order, by expoſing them thus maimed, to excite the pity and commiſeration of the public; and every ſpecies of artifice was made uſe of to agitate the ſenſibility, and to extort the contributions of the humane and charitable.

Some of theſe monſters were ſo void of all feeling as to expoſe even their own children, naked, and almoſt ſtarved, in the ſtreets, in order that, by their cries and unaffected expreſſions of diſtreſs, they might move thoſe who paſſed by to pity and relieve them; and in order to make them act their part more naturally, they were unmercifully beaten when they came home, by their inhuman parents, if they did not bring with them a certain ſum, which they were ordered to collect.

I have frequently ſeen a poor child of five or ſix years of age, late at night, in the moſt inclement ſeaſon, ſitting down almoſt naked at the corner of a ſtreet, and crying moſt bitterly; if he were aſked what was the matter with him, he would anſwer, "I am cold and hungry, and "afraid to go home; my mother told me to "bring home twelve creutzers, and I have only "been able to beg five. My mother will cer- "tainly beat me if I don't carry home twelve "creutzers." Who could refuſe ſo ſmall a ſum

to

to relieve ſo much unaffected diſtreſs?—But what horrid arts are theſe, to work upon the feelings of the public, and levy involuntary contributions for the ſupport of idleneſs and debauchery!

But the evils ariſing from the prevalence of mendicity did not ſtop here. The public, worn out and vanquiſhed by the numbers and perſevering importunity of the beggars; and frequently diſappointed in their hopes of being relieved from their depredations, by the failure of the numberleſs ſchemes that were formed and ſet on foot for that purpoſe, began at laſt to conſider the caſe as quite deſperate; and to ſubmit patiently to an evil for which they ſaw no remedy. The conſequences of this ſubmiſſion are eaſy to be conceived; the beggars, encouraged by their ſucceſs, were attached ſtill more ſtrongly to their infamous profeſſion; and others, allured by their indolent lives, encouraged by their ſucceſsful frauds, and emboldened by their impunity, joined them. The habit of ſubmiſſion on the part of the public, gave them a ſort of right to purſue their depredations;—their growing numbers and their ſucceſs gave a kind of eclat to their profeſſion; and the habit of begging became ſo general, that it ceaſed to be conſidered as infamous; and was, by degrees, in a manner interwoven with the internal regulations of ſociety. Herdſmen and ſhepherds, who attended their flocks by the road-ſide, were known to derive conſiderable advantage from the contributions which their ſituation enabled them to levy from paſſengers; and I have been aſſured,

that the wages they received from their employers were often regulated accordingly. The children in every country village, and thoſe even of the beſt farmers, made a conſtant practice of begging from all ſtrangers who paſſed; and one hardly ever met a perſon on foot upon the road, particularly a woman, who did not hold out her hand and aſk for charity.

In the great towns, beſides the children of the poorer ſort, who almoſt all made a cuſtom of begging, the profeſſional beggars formed a diſtinct claſs, or *caſt*, among the inhabitants; and in general a very numerous one. There was even a kind of political connection between the members of this formidable body; and certain general maxims were adopted, and regulations obſerved, in the warfare they carried on againſt the public. Each beggar had his particular beat, or diſtrict, in the poſſeſſion of which it was not thought lawful to diſturb him; and certain rules were obſerved in diſpoſing of the diſtricts in caſe of vacancies by deaths or reſignations, promotions or removals. A battle, it is true, frequently decided the conteſt between the candidates; but when the poſſeſſion was once obtained, whether by force of arms, or by any other means, the right was ever after conſidered as indiſputable. Alliances by marriage were by no means uncommon in this community; and, ſtrange as it may appear, means were found to procure legal permiſſion from the civil magiſtrates for the celebration of theſe nuptials. The children were of courſe trained up in the

the profeſſion of their parents; and having the advantage of an early education, were commonly great proficients in their trade.

As there is no very eſſential difference between depriving a perſon of his property by ſtealth, and extorting it from him againſt his will by dint of clamorous importunity, or under falſe pretence of feigned diſtreſs and misfortune; ſo the tranſition from begging to ſtealing is not only eaſy, but perfectly natural. That total inſenſibility to ſhame, and all thoſe other qualifications which are neceſſary in the profeſſion of a beggar, are likewiſe eſſential to form an accompliſhed thief; and both theſe profeſſions derive very conſiderable advantages from their union. A beggar who goes about from houſe to houſe to aſk for alms, has many opportunities to ſteal, which another would not ſo eaſily find; and his profeſſion as a beggar gives him a great facility in diſpoſing of what he ſteals; for he can always ſay it was given him in charity. No wonder then that thieving and robbing ſhould be prevalent where beggars are numerous.

That this was the caſe in Bavaria will not be doubted by thoſe who are informed that in the four years immediately ſucceeding the introduction of the meaſures adopted for putting an end to mendicity, and clearing the country of beggars, thieves, robbers, &c. above *ten thouſand* of theſe vagabonds, foreigners and natives, were actually arreſted and delivered over to the civil magiſtrates; and that in taking up the beggars in Munich, and providing for thoſe who ſtood in need of public

aſſiſtance, no leſs than 2600 of the one deſcription and the other, were entered upon the liſts in one week; though the whole number of the inhabitants of the city of Munich probably does not amount to more than 60,000, even including the ſuburbs.

Theſe facts are ſo very extraordinary, that were they not notorious, I ſhould hardly have ventured to mention them, for fear of being ſuſpected of exaggeration; but they are perfectly known in the country, by every body; having been publiſhed by authority in the news-papers at the time, with all their various details and ſpecifications, for *the information of the public.*

What has been ſaid will, I fancy, be thought quite ſufficient to ſhew the neceſſity of applying a remedy to the evils deſcribed; and of introducing order and a ſpirit of induſtry among the lower claſſes of the people. I ſhall therefore proceed, without any farther preface, to give an account of the meaſures which were adopted and carried into execution for that purpoſe.

CHAP. II.

Various Preparations made for putting an End to Mendicity in Bavaria.—Cantonment of the Cavalry in the Country Towns and Villages.—Formation of the Committee placed at the Head of the Inſtitution for the Poor at Munich.—The Funds of that Inſtitution.

As ſoon as it was determined to undertake this great and difficult work, and the plan of operations was finally ſettled, various preparations were made for its execution.

The firſt preliminary ſtep taken, was to canton four regiments of cavalry in Bavaria and the adjoining provinces, in ſuch a manner that not only every conſiderable town was furniſhed with a detachment, but moſt of the large villages were occupied; and in every part of the country ſmall parties of threes, fours, and fives, were ſo ſtationed; at the diſtance of one, two, and three leagues from each other; that they could eaſily perform their daily patroles from one ſtation to another in the courſe of the day, without ever being obliged to ſtop at a peaſant's houſe, or even at an inn, or ever to demand forage for their horſes, or victuals for themſelves, or lodgings, from any perſon whatever. This arrangement of

quarters prevented all diſputes between the military and the people of the country. The head-quarters of each regiment, where the commanding officer of the regiment reſided, was eſtabliſhed in a central ſituation with reſpect to the extent of country occupied by the regiment; each ſquadron had its commanding officer in the centre of its diſtrict,—and the ſubalterns and non-commiſſioned officers were ſo diſtributed in the different cantonments, that the privates were continually under the inſpection of their ſuperiors, who had orders to keep a watchful eye over them;—to viſit them in their quarters very often;—and to preſerve the ſtricteſt order and diſcipline among them.

To command theſe troops, a general officer was named, who, after viſiting every cantonment in the whole country, took up his reſidence at Munich.

Printed inſtructions were given to the officer, or non-commiſſioned officer, who commanded a detached poſt, or patrole;—regular monthly returns were ordered to be made to the commanding officers of the regiment, by the officers commanding ſquadrons;—to the commanding general, by the officers commanding regiments;—and by the commanding general, to the council of war, and to the Sovereign.

To prevent diſputes between the military and the civil authorities, and, as far as poſſible, to remove all grounds of jealouſy and ill-will between them; as alſo to preſerve peace and harmony between the ſoldiery and the inhabitants,

bitants, theſe troops were ſtrictly ordered and enjoined to behave on all occaſions to magiſtrates and other perſons in civil authority with the utmoſt reſpect and deference;—to conduct themſelves towards the peaſants and other inhabitants in the moſt peaceable and friendly manner;—to retire to their quarters very early in the evening;—and above all, cautiouſly to avoid diſputes and quarrels with the people of the country. They were alſo ordered to be very diligent and alert in making their daily patroles from one ſtation to another;—to apprehend all thieves and other vagabonds that infeſted the country, and deliver them over to the civil magiſtrates;—to apprehend deſerters, and conduct them from ſtation to ſtation to their regiments;—to conduct all priſoners from one part of the country to another;—to aſſiſt the civil magiſtrate in the execution of the laws, and in preſerving peace and order in the country, in all caſes where they ſhould be legally called upon for that purpoſe;—to perform the duty of meſſengers in carrying government diſpatches and orders, civil as well as military, in caſes of emergency;—and to bring accounts to the capital, by expreſs, of every extraordinary event of importance that happens in the country;—to guard the frontiers, and aſſiſt the officers of the revenue in preventing ſmuggling;—to have a watchful eye over all ſoldiers on furlough in the country, and when guilty of exceſſes, to apprehend them and tranſport them to their regiments;—to aſſiſt the inhabitants in caſe of fire, and particularly to

guard their effects, and prevent their being loſt or ſtolen, in the confuſion which commonly takes place on thoſe occaſions;—to purſue and apprehend all thieves, robbers, murderers, and other malefactors;—and in general, to lend their aſſiſtance on all occaſions where they could be uſeful in maintaining peace, order, and tranquillity in the country.

As the Sovereign had an undoubted right to quarter his troops upon the inhabitants when they were employed for the police and defence of the country, they were on this occaſion called upon to provide quarters for the men diſtributed in theſe cantonments; but in order to make this burden as light as poſſible to the inhabitants, they were only called upon to provide quarters for the *non-commiſſioned officers* and *privates;* and inſtead of being obliged to take *theſe* into their houſes, and to furniſh them with victuals and lodgings, as had formerly been the practice, (and which was certainly a great hardſhip,) a ſmall houſe or barrack for the men, with ſtabling adjoining to it for the horſes, was built, or proper lodgings were hired by the civil magiſtrate, in each of theſe military ſtations, and the expence was levied upon the inhabitants at large. The forage for the horſes was provided by the regiments, or by contractors employed for that purpoſe; and the men, being furniſhed with a certain allowance of fire-wood, and the neceſſary articles of kitchen furniture, were made to provide for their own ſubſiſtence, by purchaſing their

proviſions

proviſions at the markets, and cooking their victuals in their own quarters.

The officers provided their own lodgings and ſtabling, being allowed a certain ſum for that purpoſe in addition to their ordinary pay.

The whole of the additional expence to the military cheſt for the eſtabliſhment and ſupport of theſe cantonments, amounted to a mere trifle; and the burden upon the people, which attended the furniſhing of quarters for the non-commiſſioned officers and privates, was very inconſiderable, and bore no proportion to the advantages derived from *the protection and ſecurity to their perſons and* properties afforded by theſe troops *.

Not only this cantonment of the cavalry was carried into execution as a preliminary meaſure to the taking up of the beggars in the capital, but many other preparatives were alſo made for that undertaking.

As conſiderable ſums were neceſſary for the ſupport of ſuch of the poor as, from age or other bodily infirmities, were unable by their induſtry to provide for their own ſubſiſtence; and as there were no public funds any way adequate to ſuch an expence, which could be applied to this uſe, the ſucceſs of the meaſure depended entirely upon the voluntary ſubſcriptions of the inhabitants; and in order to induce theſe to ſubſcribe liberally, it was neceſſary to ſecure their approbation of the plan, and their confidence in

* The whole amount of this burden was not more than 30,000 florins, or about 2727 l. ſterling a year.

thoſe

thoſe who were choſen to carry it into execution. And as the number of beggars was ſo great in Munich, and their importunity ſo very troubleſome, there could have been no doubt but any ſenſible plan for remedying this evil would have been gladly received by the public; but they had been ſo often diſappointed by fruitleſs attempts from time to time made for that purpoſe, that they began to think the enterpriſe quite impoſſible, and to conſider every propoſal for providing for the poor, and preventing mendicity, as a mere job.

Aware of this, I took my meaſures accordingly. To convince the public that the ſcheme was feaſible, I determined firſt, by a great exertion, to carry it into complete execution, and *then* to aſk them to ſupport it. And to ſecure their confidence in thoſe employed in the management of it, perſons of the higheſt rank, and moſt reſpectable character were choſen to ſuperintend and direct the affairs of the inſtitution; and every meaſure was taken that could be deviſed to prevent abuſes.

Two principal objects were to be attended to, in making theſe arrangements: the firſt was to furniſh ſuitable employment to ſuch of the poor as were able to work; and the ſecond, to provide the neceſſary aſſiſtance for thoſe who, from age, ſickneſs, or other bodily infirmities, were unable by their induſtry to provide for themſelves. A general ſyſtem of police was likewiſe neceſſary among this claſs of miſerable beings; as well as meaſures for reclaiming them, and making them uſeful ſubjects.

The

The police of the poor, as alſo the diſtribution of alms, and all the œconomical details of the inſtitution, were put under the direction of a committee, compoſed of the preſident of the council of war,—the preſident of the council of ſupreme regency,—the preſident of the eccleſiaſtical council,—and the preſident of the chamber of finances; and to aſſiſt them in this work, each of the above-mentioned preſidents was accompanied by one counſellor of his reſpective department, at his own choice; who was preſent at all the meetings of the committee, and who performed the more laborious parts of the buſineſs. This committee, which was called *The Armen Inſtituts Deputation*, had convenient apartments fitted up for its meetings; a ſecretary, clerk, and accountant, were appointed to it; and the ordinary guards of the police were put under its immediate direction.

Neither the preſidents nor the counſellors belonging to this committee received any pay or emolument whatever for this ſervice, but took upon themſelves this trouble merely from motives of humanity, and a generous deſire to promote the public good; and even the ſecretary, and other inferior officers employed in this buſineſs, received their pay immediately from the Treaſury; or from ſome other department; and not from the funds deſtined for the relief of the poor: and in order moſt effectually to remove all ſuſpicion with reſpect to the management of this buſineſs, and the faithful application of the money deſtined for the poor,

poor, inſtead of appointing a treaſurer to the committee, a public banker of the town, a moſt reſpectable citizen *, was named to receive and pay all monies belonging to the inſtitution, upon the written orders of the committee; and exact and detailed accounts of all monies received and expended were ordered to be printed every three months, and diſtributed *gratis* among the inhabitants.

In order that every citizen might have it in his power to aſſure himſelf that the accounts were exact, and that the ſums expended were *bonâ fide* given to the poor in alms, the money was publicly diſtributed every Saturday in the town-hall, in the preſence of a number of deputies choſen from among the citizens themſelves; and an alphabetical liſt of the poor who received alms;—in which was mentioned the weekly ſum each perſon received;—and the place of his or her abode, was hung up in the hall for public inſpection.

But this was not all. In order to fix the confidence of the public upon the moſt firm and immoveable baſis, and to engage their good will and cheerful aſſiſtance in ſupport of the meaſures adopted, the citizens were invited to take an active and honourable part in the execution of the plan, and in the direction of its moſt intereſting details.

The town of Munich, which contains about 60,000 inhabitants, had been formerly divided into four quarters. Each of theſe was now ſub-

* Monſ. Dallarmi.

divided

divided into four diſtricts, making in all ſixteen diſtricts; and all the dwelling-houſes, from the palace of the Sovereign to the meaneſt hovel, were regularly numbered, and inſcribed in printed *liſts provided for that purpoſe.* For the *inſpection* of the poor in each diſtrict, a reſpectable citizen was choſen, who was called the commiſſary of the diſtrict, (*abtheilungs commiſſaire,*) and for his aſſiſtants, a prieſt; a phyſician; a ſurgeon; and an apothecary; all of whom, including the commiſſary, undertook this ſervice without fee or reward, from mere motives of humanity and true patriotiſm. The apothecary was ſimply reimburſed the original coſt of the medicines he furniſhed.

To give more weight and dignity to the office of commiſſary of a diſtrict, one of theſe commiſſaries, in rotation, was called to aſſiſt at the meetings of the ſupreme committee; and all applications for alms were ſubmitted to the commiſſaries for their opinion; or, more properly, all ſuch applications went through them to the committee. They were likewiſe particularly charged with the inſpection and police of the poor in their ſeveral diſtricts.

When a perſon already upon the poor liſt, or any other, in diſtreſs, ſtood in need of aſſiſtance, he applied to the commiſſary of his diſtrict, who, after viſiting him, and inquiring into the circumſtances of his caſe, afforded him ſuch immediate aſſiſtance as was abſolutely neceſſary; or otherwiſe, if the caſe was ſuch as to admit of the delay, he recommended him to the

attention of the committee, and waited for their orders. If the poor perſon was ſick, or wounded, he was carried to ſome hoſpital; or the phyſician, or ſurgeon of the diſtrict was ſent for, and a nurſe provided to take care of him in his lodgings. If he grew worſe, and appeared to draw near his end, the prieſt was ſent for, to afford him ſuch ſpiritual aſſiſtance as he might require; and if he died, he was decently buried. After his death, the commiſſary aſſiſted at the inventory which was taken of his effects, a copy of which inventory was delivered over to the committee. Theſe effects were afterwards ſold;—and after deducting the amount of the different ſums received in alms from the inſtitution by the deceaſed during his lifetime, and the amount of the expences of his illneſs and funeral, the remainder, if any, was delivered over to his lawful heirs; but when theſe effects were inſufficient for thoſe purpoſes; or when no effects were to be found, the ſurplus in the one caſe, and the whole of theſe expences in the other, was borne by the funds of the inſtitution.

Theſe funds were derived from the following ſources, viz.

Firſt, from ſtated monthly allowances, from the Sovereign out of his private purſe,—from the ſtates,—and from the treaſury, or chamber of finances.

Secondly, and principally, from the voluntary ſubſcription of the inhabitants.

Thirdly, from legacies left to the inſtitution; and

Fourthly,

Fourthly, from ſeveral ſmall revenues ariſing from certain tolls, fines, &c, which were appropriated to that uſe *.

Several other, and ſome of them very conſiderable public funds, originally deſigned by their founders for the relief of the poor, might have been taken and appropriated to this purpoſe; but, as ſome of theſe foundations had been miſapplied, and others nearly ruined by bad management, it would have been a very diſagreeable taſk to wreſt them out of the hands of thoſe who had the adminiſtration of them; and I therefore judged it moſt prudent not to meddle with them, avoiding, by that means, a great deal of oppoſition to the execution of my plan.

* The annual amount of theſe various receipts may be ſeen in the accounts publiſhed in the Appendix.

CHAP. III.

Preparations made for giving Employment to the Poor.—Difficulties attending that Undertaking.—The Meaſures adopted completely ſucceſsful.—The Poor reclaimed to Habits of uſeful Induſtry.—Deſcription of the Houſe of Induſtry at Munich.

BUT before I proceed to give a more particular account of the funds of this inſtitution, and of the application of them, it will be neceſſary to mention the preparations which were made for furniſhing employment to the poor, and the means which were uſed for reclaiming them from their vicious habits, and rendering them induſtrious and uſeful ſubjects. And this was certainly the moſt difficult, as well as the moſt curious and intereſting part of the undertaking. To truſt raw materials in the hands of common beggars, certainly required great caution and management; —but to produce ſo total and radical a change in the morals, manners, and cuſtoms of this debauched and abandoned race, as was neceſſary to render them orderly and uſeful members of ſociety, will naturally be conſidered as an arduous, if not impoſſible, enterpriſe. In this I ſucceeded; —for the proof of this fact I appeal to the flouriſhing ſtate of the different manufactories in which

which theſe poor people are now employed,—to their orderly and peaceable demeanour—to their cheerfulneſs—to their induſtry,—to the deſire to excel, which manifeſts itſelf among them upon all occaſions,—and to the very air of their countenances. Strangers, who go to ſee this inſtitution, (and there are very few who paſs through Munich who do not take that trouble,) cannot ſufficiently expreſs their ſurpriſe at the air of happineſs and contentment which reigns throughout every part of this extenſive eſtabliſhment, and can hardly be perſuaded, that among thoſe they ſee ſo cheerfully engaged in that intereſting ſcene of induſtry, by far the greater part were, five years ago, the moſt miſerable and moſt worthleſs of beings,—common beggars in the ſtreets.

An account of the means employed in bringing about this change cannot fail to be intereſting to every benevolent mind; and this is what has encouraged me to lay theſe details before the public.

By far the greater number of the poor people to be taken care of were not only common beggars, but had been bred up from their very infancy in that profeſſion; and were ſo attached to their indolent and diſſolute way of living, as to prefer it to all other ſituations. They were not only unacquainted with all kinds of work, but had the moſt inſuperable averſion to honeſt labour; and had been ſo long familiarized with every crime, that they had become perfectly callous to all ſenſe of ſhame and remorſe.

With perſons of this deſcription, it is eaſy to be conceived that precepts;—admonitions;—and

puniſhments, would be of little or no avail. But where precepts fail, *habits* may ſometimes be ſucceſsful.

To make vicious and abandoned people happy, it has generally been ſuppoſed neceſſary, *firſt*, to make them virtuous. But why not reverſe this order? Why not make them firſt *happy*, and then virtuous? If happineſs and virtue be *inſeparable*, the end will be as certainly obtained by the one method as by the other; and it is moſt undoubtedly much eaſier to contribute to the happineſs and comfort of perſons in a ſtate of poverty and miſery, than, by admonitions and puniſhments, to reform their morals.

Deeply ſtruck with the importance of this truth, all my meaſures were taken accordingly. Every thing was done that could be deviſed to make the poor people I had to deal with comfortable and happy in their new ſituation; and my hopes, that a habit of enjoying the real comforts and conveniences which were provided for them, would in time, ſoften their hearts;—open their eyes;—and render them grateful and docile, were not diſappointed.

The pleaſure I have had in the ſucceſs of this experiment is much eaſier to be conceived than deſcribed. Would to God that my ſucceſs might encourage others to follow my example! If it were generally known how little trouble, and how little expence, are required to do much good, the heart-felt ſatisfaction which ariſes from relieving the wants, and promoting the happineſs of our fellow-creatures, is ſo great, that I am perſuaded,

acts

acts of the moſt eſſential charity would be much more frequent, and the maſs of miſery among mankind would conſequently be much leſſened.

Having taken my reſolution to make the *comfort* of the poor people, who were to be provided for, the primary object of my attention, I conſidered what circumſtance in life, after the neceſſaries, food and raiment, contributes moſt to comfort, and I found it to be *cleanlineſs*. And ſo very extenſive is the influence of cleanlineſs, that it reaches even to the brute creation.

With what care and attention do the feathered race waſh themſelves and put their plumage in order; and how perfectly neat, clean and elegant do they ever appear! Among the beaſts of the field we find that thoſe which are the moſt cleanly are generally the moſt gay and cheerful; or are diſtinguiſhed by a certain air of tranquillity and contentment; and ſinging birds are always remarkable for the neatneſs of their plumage. And ſo great is the effect of cleanlineſs upon man, that it extends even to his moral character. Virtue never dwelt long with filth and naſtineſs; nor do I believe there ever was a perſon *ſcrupulouſly attentive to cleanlineſs* who was a conſummate villain *.

* Almoſt all the great law-givers, and founders of religions, from the remoteſt antiquity, ſeem to have been aware of the influence of cleanlineſs upon the moral character of man; and have ſtrongly inculcated it. In many caſes it has been interwoven with the moſt ſolemn rites of public and private worſhip, and is ſo ſtill in many countries. The idea that the ſoul is defiled and depraved by every thing *unclean*, or which defiles the body, has certainly prevailed in all ages; and has been particularly attended to by thoſe great benefactors of mankind, who, by the introduction of *peace* and *order* in ſociety, have laboured ſucceſsfully to promote the happineſs of their fellow-creatures.

Order and diſorder—peace and war—health and ſickneſs, cannot exiſt together; but *comfort* and *contentment*, the inſeparable companions of *happineſs* and *virtue*, can only ariſe from order, peace, and health.

Brute animals are evidently taught cleanlineſs by inſtinct; and can there be a ſtronger proof of its being eſſentially neceſſary to their well-being and happineſs?—But if cleanlineſs is neceſſary to the happineſs of brutes, how much more ſo muſt it be to the happineſs of the human race?

The good effects of cleanlineſs, or rather the bad effects of filth and naſtineſs, may, I think, be very ſatisfactorily accounted for. Our bodies are continually at war with whatever offends them, and every thing offends them that adheres to them, and irritates them;—and though by long habit we may be ſo accuſtomed to ſupport a phyſical ill, as to become almoſt inſenſible to it, yet it never leaves the mind perfectly at peace. There always remains a certain uneaſineſs, and diſcontent;—an indeciſion, and an averſion from all ſerious application, which ſhows evidently that the mind is not at reſt.

Thoſe who from being afflicted with long and painful diſeaſe, ſuddenly acquire health, are beſt able to judge of the force of this reaſoning. It is by the delightful ſenſation they feel, at being relieved from pain and uneaſineſs, that they learn to know the full extent of their former miſery; and the human heart is never ſo effectually ſoftened, and ſo well prepared and diſpoſed to receive virtuous impreſſions, as upon ſuch occaſions.

It

It was with a view to bring the minds of the poor and unfortunate people I had to deal with to this ſtate, that I took ſo much pains to make them comfortable in their new ſituation. The ſtate in which they had been uſed to live was certainly moſt wretched and deplorable; but they had been ſo long accuſtomed to it, that they were grown inſenſible to their own miſery. It was therefore neceſſary, in order to awaken their attention, to make the contraſt between their former ſituation, and that which was prepared for them, as ſtriking as poſſible. To this end, every thing was done that could be deviſed to make them *really comfortable.*

Moſt of them had been uſed to living in the moſt miſerable hovels, in the midſt of vermin, and every kind of filthineſs; or to ſleep in the ſtreets, and under the hedges, half naked, and expoſed to all the inclemencies of the ſeaſons. A large and commodious building, fitted up in the neateſt and moſt comfortable manner, was now provided for their reception. In this agreeable retreat they found ſpacious and elegant apartments, kept with the moſt ſcrupulous neatneſs; well warmed in winter; and well lighted; a good warm dinner every day, *gratis;* cooked and ſerved up with all poſſible attention to order and cleanlineſs;—materials and utenſils for thoſe who were able to work;—maſters, *gratis*, for thoſe who required inſtruction;—the moſt generous pay, *in money*, for all the labour performed; and the kindeſt uſage from every perſon, from the higheſt to the loweſt, belonging to the eſtabliſhment. Here, in this aſylum for the indigent and unfor-

tunate, no ill uſage;—no harſh language, is permitted. During five years that the eſtabliſhment has exiſted, not a blow has been given to any one; not even to a child by his inſtructor.

As the rules and regulations for the preſervation of order are few, and eaſy to be obſerved, the inſtances of their being tranſgreſſed are rare; and as all the labour performed, is paid by the piece; and not by the day; and is well paid; and as thoſe who gain the moſt by their work in the courſe of the week, receive proportional rewards on the Saturday evening; theſe are moſt effectual encouragements to induſtry.

But before I proceed to give an account of the internal economy of this eſtabliſhment, it will be neceſſary to deſcribe the building which was appropriated to this uſe; and the other local circumſtances, neceſſary to be known, in order to have a clear idea of the ſubject.

This building, which is very extenſive, is pleaſantly ſituated in the *Au*, one of the ſuburbs of the city of Munich. It had formerly been a manufactory, but for many years had been deſerted and falling to ruins. It was now completely repaired, and in part rebuilt. A large kitchen, with a large eating-room adjoining it, and a commodious bake-houſe, were added to the buildings; and work-ſhops for carpenters; ſmiths; turners; and ſuch other mechanics as were conſtantly wanted in the manufactory for making and repairing the machinery were eſtabliſhed, and furniſhed with tools. Large halls were fitted up for ſpinners of hemp;—for ſpinners of flax;—for

ſpinners

ſpinners of cotton;—for ſpinners of wool;—and for ſpinners of worſted; and adjoining to each hall a ſmall room was fitted up for a clerk or inſpector of the hall, (*ſpin-ſchreiber*). This room, which was at the ſame time a ſtore-room, and counting-houſe, had a large window opening to the hall, from whence the ſpinners were ſupplied with raw materials;—where they delivered their yarn when ſpun;—and from whence they received an order upon the caſhier, ſigned by the clerk, for the amount of their labour.

Halls were likewiſe fitted up for weavers of woollens;—for weavers of ſerges and ſhalloons;—for linen weavers;—for weavers of cotton goods, and for ſtocking weavers;—and work-ſhops were provided for clothiers;—cloth ſhearers;—dyers;—ſadlers;—and rooms for wool-ſorters;—wool-carders;—wool-combers;—knitters;—ſempſtreſſes, &c. Magazines were fitted up as well for finiſhed manufactures, as for raw materials, and rooms for counting-houſes,—ſtore-rooms for the kitchen and bake-houſe,—and dwelling-rooms for the inſpectors and other officers who were lodged in the houſe.

A very ſpacious hall, 110 feet long, 37 feet wide, and 22 feet high, with many windows on both ſides, was fitted up as a drying-room; and in this hall tenters were placed for ſtretching out and drying eight pieces of cloth at once. This hall was ſo contrived as to ſerve for the dyer and for the clothier at the ſame time.

A fulling-mill was eſtabliſhed upon a ſtream of water which runs by one ſide of the court round which the building is erected; and adjoining to the

fulling-mill, is the dyers-ſhop; and the waſh-houſe.

This whole edifice, which is very extenſive, was fitted up, as has already been obſerved, in the neateſt manner poſſible. In doing this, even the external appearance of the building was attended to. It was handſomely painted; without, as well as within; and pains were taken to give it an air of *elegance*, as well as of neatneſs and cleanlineſs. A large court in the middle of the building was handſomely paved; and the ground before the building was levelled, and covered with gravel; and the approach to it from every ſide was made eaſy and commodious. Over the principal door, or rather gate, which fronts the ſtreet, is an inſcription, denoting the uſe to which the building is appropriated; and in the paſſage leading into the court, there is written in large letters of gold upon a black ground —"NO ALMS WILL BE RECEIVED HERE."

Upon coming into the court you ſee inſcriptions over all the doors upon the ground floor, leading to the different parts of the building. Theſe inſcriptions, which are all in letters of gold upon a black ground, denote the particular uſes to which the different apartments are deſtined.

This building having been got ready, and a ſufficient number of ſpinning-wheels, looms, and other utenſils made uſe of in the moſt common manufactures being provided; together with a ſufficient ſtock of raw materials, I proceeded to carry my plan into execution in the manner which will be related in the following Chapter.

CHAP. IV.

An Account of the taking up of the Beggars at Munich.—The Inhabitants are called upon for their Aſſiſtance.—General Subſcription for the Relief and Support of the Poor.—All other public and private Collections for the Poor aboliſhed.

NEW-YEAR'S-DAY having, from time immemorial, been conſidered in Bavaria as a day peculiarly ſet apart for giving alms; and the beggars never failing to be all out upon that occaſion; I choſe that moment as being the moſt favourable for beginning my operations. Early in the morning of the firſt of January 1790, the officers and non-commiſſioned officers of the three regiments of infantry in garriſon, were ſtationed in the different ſtreets, where they were directed to wait for further orders.

Having, in the mean time, aſſembled, at my lodgings, the field-officers, and all the chief magiſtrates of the town, I made them acquainted with my intention to proceed that very morning to the execution of a plan I had formed for taking up the beggars, and providing for the poor; and aſked their immediate aſſiſtance.

To

To ſhow the public that it was not my wiſh to carry this meaſure into execution by military force alone, (which might have rendered the meaſure odious,) but that I was diſpoſed to ſhow all becoming deference to the civil authority, I begged the magiſtrates to accompany me, and the field-officers of the garriſon, in the execution of the firſt and moſt difficult part of the undertaking, that of arreſting the beggars. This they moſt readily conſented to, and we immediately ſallied out into the ſtreet, myſelf accompanied by the chief magiſtrate of the town, and each of the field-officers by an inferior magiſtrate.

We were hardly got into the ſtreet when we were accoſted by a beggar, who aſked us for alms. I went up to him, and laying my hand gently upon his ſhoulder, told him, that from thenceforwards begging would not be permitted in Munich;—that if he really ſtood in need of aſſiſtance, (which would immediately be enquired into,) the neceſſary aſſiſtance ſhould certainly be given him, but that begging was forbidden; and if he was detected in it again he would be ſeverely puniſhed. I then delivered him over to an orderly ſerjeant who was following me, with directions to conduct him to the Town-hall, and deliver him into the hands of thoſe he ſhould find there to receive him; and then turning to the officers and magiſtrates who accompanied me, I begged they would take notice that I had myſelf, *with my own hands*, arreſted the firſt beggar we had met; and I requeſted them not only to follow my example themſelves, by arreſting

arreſting all the beggars they ſhould meet with, but that they would alſo endeavour to perſuade others, and particularly the officers, non-commiſſioned officers, and ſoldiers of the garriſon, that it was by no means derogatory to their character as ſoldiers, or in anywiſe diſgraceful to them, to aſſiſt in ſo *uſeful* and *laudable* an undertaking. Theſe gentlemen having cheerfully and unanimouſly promiſed to do their utmoſt to ſecond me in this buſineſs, diſperſed into the different parts of the town, and with the aſſiſtance of the military, which they found every where waiting for orders, the town was ſo thoroughly cleared of beggars *in leſs than an hour*, that not one was to be found in the ſtreets.

Thoſe who were arreſted were conducted to the Town-hall, where their names were inſcribed in printed liſts provided for that purpoſe, and they were then diſmiſſed to their own lodgings, with directions to repair the next day to the newly erected "*Military Work-houſe*" in the Au; where they would find comfortable warm rooms;—a good warm dinner every day; and work for all thoſe who were in a condition to labour. They were likewiſe told that a commiſſion ſhould immediately be appointed to enquire into their circumſtances, and to grant them ſuch regular weekly allowances of money, in alms, as they ſhould ſtand in need of; which was accordingly done.

Orders were then iſſued to all the military guards in the different parts of the town, to ſend out patroles frequently into the ſtreets in their neighbourhood,

bourhood, to arreſt all the beggars they ſhould meet with; and a reward was offered for each beggar they ſhould arreſt and deliver over to the civil magiſtrate. The guard of the police was likewiſe directed to be vigilant; and the inhabitants at large, of all ranks and denominations, were earneſtly called upon to aſſiſt in completing a work of ſo much public utility, and which had been ſo happily begun *. In an addreſs to the public, which was printed and diſtributed *gratis* among the inhabitants, the fatal conſequences ariſing from the prevalency of mendicity were deſcribed in the moſt lively and affecting colours,—and the manner pointed out in which they could moſt effectually aſſiſt in putting an end to an evil equally diſgraceful and prejudicial to ſociety.

As this addreſs, (which was written with great ſpirit, by a man well known in the literary world, Profeſſor Babo,) gives a very ſtriking and a very juſt picture of the character, manners, and cuſtoms, of the hords of idle and diſſolute vagabonds which infeſted Munich at the time the meaſure in

* Upon this occaſion I muſt not forget to mention a curious circumſtance, which contributed very much towards clearing the town effectually of beggars. It being found that ſome of the moſt hardened of theſe vagabonds were attempting to return to their old practices, and that they found means to eſcape the patroles, by keeping a ſharp look-out, and avoiding them; to hold them more effectually in check the patroles ſent out upon this ſervice were ordered to go without arms. In conſequence of this arrangement, the beggars being no longer able to diſtinguiſh who were in ſearch of them, and who were not, ſaw a patrole in every ſoldier they met with in the ſtreets, (and of theſe there were great numbers, Munich being a garriſon town,) and from thenceforward they were kept in awe.

queſtion

queſtion was adopted, and of the various artifices they made uſe of in carrying on their depredations; I have thought it might not be improper to annex it, at full length, in the Appendix, No. I.

This addreſs, which was preſented to all the heads of families in the city, and to many by myſelf, having gone round to the doors of moſt of the principal citizens for that purpoſe, was accompanied by printed liſts, in which the inhabitants were requeſted to ſet down their names;—places of abode;—and the ſums they choſe to contribute monthly, for the ſupport of the eſtabliſhment. Theſe liſts, (tranſlations of which are alſo inſerted in the Appendix, No. II.) were delivered to the heads of families, with duplicates, to the end that one copy being ſent in to the committee, the other might remain with the maſter of the family.

Theſe ſubſcriptions being *perfectly voluntary*, might be augmented or diminiſhed at pleaſure. When any perſon choſe to alter his ſubſcription, he ſent to the public office for two blank ſubſcription liſts, and filling them up anew, with ſuch alterations as he thought proper to make, he took up his old liſt at the office, and depoſited the new one in its ſtead.

The ſubſcription liſts being all collected, they were ſorted, and regularly entered according to the numbers of the houſes of the ſubſcribers, in ſixteen general liſts *, anſwering to the ſixteen ſubdiviſions

* Upon a new diviſion of the town, when the ſuburbs were included, the number of ſubdiviſions (*abtheilungen*) were augmented to *twenty-three*.

or

ſix diſtricts of the city; and a copy of the general liſt of each diſtrict was given to the commiſſary of the diſtrict.

Theſe copies, which were properly authenticated, ſerved for the direction of the commiſſary in collecting the ſubſcriptions in his diſtrict, which was done regularly the laſt Sunday morning of every month.

The amount of the collection was immediately delivered by the commiſſary into the hands of the banker of the inſtitution, for which he received two receipts from the banker; one of which he kept for his own juſtification, and the other he tranſmitted to the committee, with his report of the collection, which he was directed to ſend in as ſoon as the collection was made.

As there were ſome perſons who, from modeſty, or other motives, did not chooſe to have it known publickly how much they gave in alms to the poor, and on that account were not willing to have put down to their names upon the liſt of the ſubſcribers, the whole ſum they were deſirous of appropriating to that purpoſe; to accommodate matters to the peculiar delicacy of their feelings, the following arrangement was made, and carried into execution with great ſucceſs.

Thoſe who were deſirous of contributing privately to the relief of the poor, were notified by an advertiſement publiſhed in the news-papers, that they might ſend to the banker of the inſtitution any ſums for that purpoſe they might think proper, under any feigned name, or under any motto or other

other device; and that not only a receipt would be given to the bearer, for the amount, without any queſtions being aſked him, but, for greater ſecurity, a public acknowledgment of the receipt of the ſum would be publiſhed by the banker, with a mention of the feigned name or device under which it came, *in the next Munich Gazette.*

To accommodate thoſe who might be diſpoſed to give trifling ſums occaſionally, for the relief of the poor, and who did not chooſe to go, or to ſend to the banker, fixed poor boxes were placed in all the churches, and moſt of the inns; coffee-houſes; and other places of public reſort; but nobody was ever called upon to put any thing into theſe boxes, nor was any poor's-box carried round, or any private collection or alms-gathering permitted to be made upon any occaſion, or under any pretence whatever.

When the inhabitants had ſubſcribed liberally to the ſupport of the inſtitution, it was but juſt to ſecure them from all further importunity in behalf of the poor. This was promiſed, and it was moſt effectually done; though not without ſome difficulty, and a very conſiderable expence to the eſtabliſhment.

The poor ſtudents in the Latin and German ſchools;—the ſiſters of the religious order of charity;—the directors of the hoſpital of lepers;—and ſome other public eſtabliſhments, had been ſo long in the habit of making collections, by going round among the inhabitants from houſe to houſe at ſtated periods, aſking alms, that they had acquired a ſort

a right to levy thoſe periodical contributions, of which it was not thought prudent to diſpoſſeſs them without giving them an equivalent. And in order that this equivalent might not appear to be taken from the ſums ſubſcribed by the inhabitants for the ſupport of the poor, it was paid out of the monthly allowance which the inſtitution received from the chamber of finances, or public treaſury of the ſtate.

Beſides theſe periodical collections, there were others, ſtill more troubleſome to the inhabitants, from which it was neceſſary to free them; and ſome of theſe laſt were even ſanctioned by legal authority. It is the cuſtom in Germany for apprentices in moſt of the mechanical trades, as ſoon as they have finiſhed their apprenticeſhips with their maſters, to travel, during three or four years, in the neighbouring countries and provinces, to perfect themſelves in their profeſſions by working as journeymen wherever they can find employment. When one of thoſe itinerant journeymen-tradeſmen comes into a town, and cannot find employment in it, he is conſidered *as having a right* to beg the aſſiſtance of the inhabitants, and particularly of thoſe of the trade he profeſſes, to enable him to go to the next town; and this aſſiſtance it was not thought juſt to refuſe. This cuſtom was not only very troubleſome to the inhabitants, but gave riſe to innumerable abuſes. Great numbers of idle vagabonds were continually ſtrolling about the country under the name of travelling journeymen-tradeſmen; and though any perſon, who preſented himſelf as ſuch in any ſtrange

place,

place was obliged to produce (for his legitimation) a certificate from his laſt maſter, in whoſe ſervice he had been employed, yet ſuch certificates were ſo eaſily counterfeited, or obtained by fraud, that little reliance could be placed in them.

To remedy all theſe evils, the following arrangement was made: thoſe travelling journeymen-tradeſmen who arrive at Munich, and do not find employment, are obliged to quit the town immediately, or to repair to the military work-houſe, where they are either furniſhed with work, or a ſmall ſum is given them to enable them to purſue their journey farther.

Another arrangement by which the inhabitants have been relieved from much importunity, and by which a ſtop has been put to many abuſes, is the new regulation reſpecting thoſe who ſuffer by fire; ſuch ſufferers commonly obtain from government ſpecial permiſſion to make collections of charitable donations among the inhabitants in certain diſtricts, during a limited time. Inſtead of the permiſſion to make collections in the city of Munich, the ſufferers now receive certain ſums from the funds of the inſtitution for the poor. By this arrangement, not only the inhabitants are relieved from the importunity which always attends publit collections of alms, but the ſufferers ſave a great deal of time, which they formerly ſpent in going about from houſe to houſe; and the ſale of theſe permiſſions to undertakers, and many other abuſes, but too frequent before this arrangement took place, are now prevented.

The detailed account publiſhed in the Appendix, No. III. of the receipts and expenditures of the inſtitution during five years, will ſhow the amount of the expence incurred in relieving the inhabitants from the various periodical and other collections before mentioned.

But not to loſe ſight too long of the moſt intereſting object of this eſtabliſhment, we muſt follow the people who were arreſted in the ſtreets, to the aſylum which was prepared for them, but which no doubt appeared to them at firſt a moſt odious priſon.

CHAP. V.

The different Kinds of Employment given to the Beggars upon their being aſſembled in the Houſe of Induſtry.—Their great Awkwardneſs at firſt.—Their Docility, and their Progreſs in uſeful Induſtry.—The Manner in which they were treated.—The Manner in which they were fed.—The Precautions uſed to prevent Abuſes in the Public Kitchen from which they were fed.

As by far the greater part of theſe poor creatures were totally unacquainted with every kind of uſeful labour, it was neceſſary to give them ſuch work, at firſt, as was very eaſy to be performed, and in which the raw materials were of little value; and then, by degrees, as they became more adroit, to employ them in manufacturing more valuable articles.

As hemp is a very cheap commodity, and as the ſpinning of hemp is eaſily learned, particularly when it is deſigned for very coarſe and ordinary manufactures, 15,000 pounds of that article were purchaſed in the palatinate, and tranſported to Munich; and ſeveral hundred ſpinning wheels, proper for ſpinning it, were provided; and ſeveral good ſpinners, as inſtructors, were engaged, and in readineſs, when this houſe of induſtry was opened for the reception of the poor.

Flax and wool were likewiſe provided, and ſome few good ſpinners of thoſe articles were engaged as inſtructors; but by far the greater number of the poor began with ſpinning of hemp; and ſo great was their awkwardneſs at firſt, that they abſolutely ruined almoſt all the raw materials that were put into their hands. By an exact calculation of profit and loſs, it was found that the manufactory actually loſt more than 3000 florins upon the articles of hemp and flax, during the firſt three months: but we were not diſcouraged by theſe unfavourable beginnings; they were indeed eaſy to be foreſeen, conſidering the ſort of people we had to deal with, and how neceſſary it was to pay them at a very high rate for the little work they were able to perform, in order to keep up their courage, and induce them to perſevere with cheerfulneſs in acquiring more ſkill and addreſs in their labour. If the eſtabliſhment was ſupported at ſome little expence in the beginning, it afterwards richly repaid theſe advantages, as will be ſeen in the ſequel of this account.

As the clothing of the army was the market upon which I principally depended, in diſpoſing of the manufactures which ſhould be made in the houſe, the woollen manufactory was an object moſt neceſſary to be attended to, and from which I expected to derive moſt advantage to the eſtabliſhment; but ſtill it was neceſſary to begin with the manufacture of hemp and flax, not only becauſe thoſe articles are leſs valuable than wool, and the loſs ariſing from their being ſpoiled by the awk-

wardneſs of beginners is of leſs conſequence, but alſo for another reaſon, which appears to me to be of ſo much importance as to require a particular explanation.

It was hinted above that it was found neceſſary, in order to encourage beginners in theſe induſtrious purſuits, to pay them at a very high rate for the little work they were able to perform; but every body knows that no manufacture can poſſibly ſubſiſt long, where exorbitant prices are paid for labour; and it is eaſy to conceive what diſcontent and diſguſt would be occaſioned among the workmen upon lowering the prices which had for a length of time been given for labour. By employing the poor people in queſtion at firſt in the manufactures of hemp and flax, manufactures which were not intended to be carried on to any extent, it was eaſy afterwards, when they had acquired a certain degree of addreſs in their work, to take them from theſe manufactures, and put them to ſpinning of wool, worſted, or cotton; care having been taken to fix the price of labour in theſe laſt-mentioned manufactures at a reaſonable rate.

The dropping the manufacture of any particular article altogether, or purſuing it leſs extenſively, could produce no bad effect upon the general eſtabliſhment; but the lowering of the price of labour, in any inſtance, could not fail to produce many.

It is neceſſary, in an undertaking like this, cautiouſly to avoid every thing that could produce

diſcouragement and diſcontent among thoſe upon whoſe induſtry alone ſucceſs muſt depend.

It is eaſy to conceive that ſo great a number of unfortunate beings, of all ages and ſexes, taken as it were out of their very element, and placed in a ſituation ſo perfectly new to them, could not fail to be productive of very intereſting ſituations. Would to God I were able to do juſtice to this ſubject! but no language can deſcribe the affecting ſcenes to which I was a witneſs upon this occaſion.

The exquiſite delight which a ſenſible mind muſt feel, upon ſeeing many hundreds of wretched beings awaking from a ſtate of miſery and inactivity, as from a dream; and applying themſelves with cheerfulneſs to the employments of uſeful induſtry;—upon ſeeing the firſt dawn of placid content break upon a countenance covered with habitual gloom, and furrowed and diſtorted by miſery;—this is eaſier to be conceived than deſcribed.

During the firſt three or four days that theſe poor people were aſſembled, it was not poſſible entirely to prevent confuſion: there was nothing like mutinous reſiſtance among them; but their ſituation was ſo new to them, and they were ſo very awkward in it, that it was difficult to bring them into any tolerable order. At length, however, by diſtributing them in the different halls, and aſſigning to each his particular place, (the places being all diſtinguiſhed by numbers,) they were brought into ſuch order as to enable the inſpectors, and inſtructors, to begin their operations.

Thoſe

Thoſe who underſtood any kind of work, were placed in the apartments where the work they underſtood was carried on; and the others, being claſſed according to their ſexes, and as much as poſſible according to their ages, were placed under the immediate care of the different inſtructors. By much the larger number were put to ſpinning of hemp;—others, and particularly the young children from four to ſeven years of age, were taught to knit, and to ſew; and the moſt awkward among the men, and particularly the old, the lame, and the infirm, were put to carding of wool. Old women, whoſe ſight was too weak to ſpin, or whoſe hands trembled with palſy, were made to ſpool yarn for the weavers; and young children, who were too weak to labour, were placed upon ſeats erected for that purpoſe round the rooms where other children worked.

As it was winter, fires were kept in every part of the building, from morning till night; and all the rooms were lighted up till nine o'clock in the evening. Every room and every ſtair-caſe was neatly ſwept and cleaned twice a day; once early in the morning, before the people were aſſembled, and once while they were at dinner.—Care was taken, by placing ventilators, and occaſionally opening the windows, to keep the air of the rooms perfectly ſweet, and free from all diſagreeable ſmells; and the rooms themſelves were not only neatly white-waſhed and fitted up, and arranged in every reſpect with elegance, but care was taken to clean the windows very often;—to clean the court-

yard every day;—and even to clear away the rubbiſh from the ſtreet in front of the building, to a conſiderable diſtance on every ſide.

Thoſe who frequented this eſtabliſhment were expected to arrive at the fixed hour in the morning, which hour varied according to the ſeaſon of the year; if they came too late, they were gently reprimanded; and if they perſiſted in being tardy, without being able to give a ſufficient excuſe for not coming ſooner, they were puniſhed by being deprived of their dinner, which otherwiſe they received every day *gratis*.

At the hour of dinner, a large bell was rung in the court, when thoſe at work in the different parts of the building repaired to the dining-hall; where they found a wholeſome and nouriſhing repaſt; conſiſting of about *a pound and a quarter*, Avoirdupois weight, of a very rich ſoup of peas and barley, mixed with cuttings of fine white bread; and a piece of excellent rye bread, weighing *ſeven ounces*; which laſt they commonly put in their pockets, and carried home for their ſupper. Children were allowed the ſame portion as grown perſons; and a mother, who had one or more young children, was allowed a portion for each of them.

Thoſe who, from ſickneſs, or other bodily infirmities, were not able to come to the work-houſe;—as alſo thoſe who, on account of young children they had to nurſe, or ſick perſons to take care of, found it more convenient to work at their own lodgings, (and of theſe there were many,) were not on that account

account deprived of their dinners. Upon repreſenting their caſes to the committee, tickets were granted them, upon which they were authorized to receive from the public kitchen, daily, the number of portions ſpecified in the ticket; and theſe they might ſend for by a child, or by any other perſon they thought proper to employ; it was neceſſary, however, that the ticket ſhould always be produced, otherwiſe the portions were not delivered. This precaution was neceſſary, to prevent abuſes on the part of the poor.

Many other precautions were taken to prevent frauds on the part of thoſe employed in the kitchen, and in the various other offices and departments concerned in feeding the poor.

The bread-corn, peas, barley, &c. were purchaſed in the public market in large quantities, and at times when thoſe articles were to be had at reaſonable prices; and were laid up in ſtore-rooms provided for that purpoſe, under the care of the ſtore-keeper of the Military Work-houſe.

The baker received his flour by weight from the ſtore-keeper, and in return delivered a certain fixed quantity of bread. Each loaf, when well baked. and afterwards dried, during four days, in a bread-room through which the air had a free paſſage, weighed two pounds ten ounces Avoirdupois. Such a loaf was divided into ſix portions; and large baſkets filled with theſe pieces being placed in the paſſage leading to the dining-hall, the portions were delivered out to the poor as they paſſed to go into the hall, each perſon who paſſed

paſſed giving a medal of tin to the perſon who gave him the bread, in return for each portion received. Theſe medals, which were given out to the poor each day in the halls where they worked, by the ſteward, or by the inſpectors of the hall, ſerved to prevent frauds in the diſtribution of the bread; the perſon who diſtributed it being obliged to produce them as vouchers of the quantity given out each day.

Thoſe who had received theſe portions of bread, held them up in their hands upon their coming into the dining-hall, as a ſign that they had a right to ſeat themſelves at the tables; and as many portions of bread as they produced, ſo many portions of ſoup they were intitled to receive; and thoſe portions which they did not eat they were allowed to carry away; ſo that the delivery of bread was a check upon the delivery of ſoup, and *vice verſa*.

The kitchen was fitted up with all poſſible attention, as well to convenience, as to the economy of fuel. This will readily be believed by thoſe who are informed, that the whole work of the kitchen is performed, with great eaſe, by three cook-maids; and that the daily expence for fire-wood amounts to no more than twelve creutzers, or *four-pence halfpenny* ſterling, when dinner is provided for 1000 people. The number of perſons who are fed *daily* from this kitchen is, at a medium, in ſummer, about *one thouſand*, (rather more than leſs,) and in winter, about 1200. Frequently, however, there have been more than 1500 at table.

As

As a particular account of this kitchen, with drawings; together with an account of a number of new and very intereſting experiments relative to the economy of fuel, will be annexed to this work, I ſhall add nothing more now upon the ſubject; except it be the certificate, which may be ſeen in the Appendix, No. IV; which I have thought prudent to publiſh, in order to prevent my being ſuſpected of exaggeration in diſplaying the advantages of my economical arrangements.

The aſſertion, that a warm dinner may be cooked for 1000 perſons, at the trifling expence of four-pence halfpenny for fuel; and that, too, where the cord, five feet eight inches and nine-tenths long, five feet eight inches and nine-tenths high, and five feet three inches and two-tenths wide, Engliſh meaſure, of pine-wood, of the moſt indifferent quality, coſts above ſeven ſhillings; and where the cord of hard wood, ſuch as beech and oak, of equal dimenſions, coſts more than twice that ſum, may appear incredible; yet I will venture to aſſert, and I hereby pledge myſelf with the public to prove, that in the kitchen of the Military Academy at Munich, and eſpecially in a kitchen lately built under my direction at Verona, in the Hoſpital of *la Pietà*, I have carried the economy of fuel ſtill further.

To prevent frauds in the kitchen of the inſtitution for the poor at Munich, the ingredients are delivered each day by the ſtore-keeper, to the chief cook; and a perſon of confidence, not belonging to the kitchen, attends at the proper hour

to

to ſee that they are actually uſed. Some one of the inſpectors, or other chief officer of the eſtabliſhment, alſo attends at the hour of dinner, to ſee that the victuals furniſhed to the poor are good; well dreſſed; and properly ſerved up.

As the dining-hall is not large enough to accommodate all the poor at once, they dine in companies of as many as can be ſeated together (about 150); thoſe who work in the houſe being ſerved firſt, and then thoſe who come from the town.

Though moſt of thoſe who work in their own lodgings ſend for their dinners, yet there are many others, and particularly ſuch as from great age or other bodily infirmities are not able to work, who come from the town every day to the public hall to dine; and as theſe are frequently obliged to wait ſome time at the door, before they can be admitted into the dining hall;—that is to ſay, till all the poor who work in the houſe have finiſhed their dinners;—for their more comfortable accommodation, a large room, provided with a ſtove for heating it in winter, has been conſtructed, adjoining to the building of the inſtitution, but not within the court, where theſe poor people aſſemble, and are ſheltered from the inclemency of the weather while they wait for admittance into the dining-hall.

To preſerve order and decorum at theſe public dinners, and to prevent crowding and joſtling at the door of the dining-hall, the ſteward, or ſome other officer of the houſe of ſome authority, is always preſent in the hall during dinner; and two privates

privates of the police guards, who know moſt of the poor perſonally, take poſt at the door of the hall, one on each ſide of it; and between them the poor are obliged to paſs ſingly into the hall.

As ſoon as a company have taken their places at the table, (the ſoup being always ſerved out and placed upon the tables before they are admitted,) upon a ſignal given by the officer who preſides at the dinner, they all repeat together a ſhort prayer. Perhaps I ought to aſk pardon for mentioning ſo old-faſhioned a cuſtom; but I own I am old-faſhioned enough myſelf to like ſuch things.

As an account in detail will be given in another place, of the expence of feeding theſe poor people, I ſhall only obſerve here, that this expence was conſiderably leſſened by the voluntary donations of bread, and offal meat, which were made by the bakers and butchers of the town and ſuburbs. The beggars, not ſatisfied with the money which they extorted from all ranks of people by their unceaſing importunity, had contrived to lay certain claſſes of the inhabitants under regular periodical contributions of certain commodities; and eſpecially eatables; which they collected in kind. Of this nature were the contributions which were levied by them upon the bakers, butchers, keepers of eating-houſes, ale-houſe keepers, brewers, &c. all of whom were obliged, at ſtated periods;—once a-week at leaſt;—or oftener;—to deliver to ſuch of the beggars as preſented themſelves at the hour appointed, very conſiderable quantities of bread, meat,

meat, ſoup, and other eatables; and to ſuch a length were theſe ſhameful impoſitions carried, that a conſiderable traffic was actually carried on with the articles ſo collected, between the beggars and a number of petty ſhop-keepers, or huckſters, who purchaſed them of the beggars, and made a buſineſs of ſelling them by retail to the indigent and induſtrious inhabitants. And though theſe abuſes were well known to the public, yet this cuſtom had ſo long exiſted, and ſo formidable were the beggars become to the inhabitants, that it was by no means ſafe, or adviſeable, to refuſe their demands.

Upon the town being cleared of beggars, theſe impoſitions ceaſed of courſe; and the worthy citizens, who were relieved from this burthen, felt ſo ſenſibly the ſervice that was rendered them, that, to ſhow their gratitude, and their deſire to aſſiſt in ſupporting ſo uſeful an eſtabliſhment, they voluntarily offered, in addition to their monthly ſubſcriptions in money, to contribute every day a certain quantity of bread, meat, ſoup, &c. towards feeding the poor in the Military Work-houſe. And theſe articles were collected every day by the ſervants of the eſtabliſhment; who went round the town with ſmall carts, neatly fitted up, and elegantly painted, and drawn by ſingle ſmall horſes, neatly harneſſed.

As in theſe, as well as in all other collections of public charity, it was neceſſary to arrange matters ſo that the public might ſafely place the moſt perfect confidence in thoſe who were charged with theſe

theſe details; the collections were made in a manner in which it was *evidently impoſſible* for thoſe employed in making them to defraud the poor of any part of that which their charitable and more opulent fellow-citizens deſigned for their relief.—And to this circumſtance principally it may, I believe, be attributed, that theſe donations have for ſuch a length of time (more than five years) continued to be ſo conſiderable.

In the collection of the ſoup, and of the offal meat at the butchers' ſhops, as thoſe articles were not very valuable and not eaſily concealed or diſpoſed of, no particular precautions were neceſſary, other than ſending round *publicly* and at a *certain hour* the carts deſtined for thoſe purpoſes. Upon that for collecting the ſoup, which was upon four wheels, was a large caſk neatly painted with an inſcription on each ſide in large letters, "*for the* "*Poor.*" That for the meat held a large tub with a cover, painted with the ſame colours, and marked on both ſides with the ſame inſcription.

Beſide this tub, other ſmaller tubs, painted in like manner, and bearing the ſame inſcription, "*for the Poor,*" were provided and hung up in conſpicuous ſituations in all the butchers' ſhops in the town. In doing this, two objects were had in view; firſt the convenience of the butchers, that in cutting up their meat they might have a convenient place to lay by that which they ſhould deſtine for the poor till it ſhould be called for; and ſecondly, to give an opportunity to thoſe who bought meat in their ſhops to throw in any odd

ſcraps,

ſcraps, or bones, they might receive, and which they might not think worth the trouble of carrying home.

Theſe odd pieces are more frequently to be met with in the lots which are ſold in the butchers' ſhops in Munich than in almoſt any other town; for as the price of meat is fixed by authority, the butchers have a right to ſell the whole carcaſe, the bad pieces with the good, ſo that with each good lot there is what in this country is called the *zugewicht*, that is to ſay, an indifferent ſcrap of offal meat, or piece of bone, to make up the weight;—and theſe refuſe pieces were very often thrown into the poors' tub; and after being properly cleaned and boiled, ſerved to make their ſoup much more ſavoury and nouriſhing.

In the collection of the daily donations of bread, as that article is more valuable, and more eaſily concealed and diſpoſed of, more precautions were uſed to prevent frauds on the parts of the ſervants who were ſent round to make the collection.

The cart which was employed for this purpoſe was furniſhed with a large wooden cheſt, firmly nailed down upon it, and provided with a good lock and key; and this cheſt, which was neatly painted, and embelliſhed with an inſcription, was ſo contrived, by means of an opening in the top of a large vertical wooden tube fixed in its lid, and made in the form of a mouſe-trap, that when it was locked, (as it always was when it was ſent round for the donations of bread,) a loaf of bread,

bread, or any thing of that ſize, could be put into it; but nothing could be taken out of it by the ſame opening. Upon the return of the cart, the bread-cheſt was opened by the ſteward, who keeps the key of it; and its contents, after being entered in a regiſter kept for that purpoſe, were delivered over to the care of the ſtore-keeper.

The bread collected was commonly ſuch as not having been ſold in time, had become too old, hard, and ſtale for the market, but which, being cut fine, a handful of it put into a baſon of good peaſe-ſoup, was a great addition to it.

* The amount of theſe charitable donations in kind, may be ſeen in the tranſlations of the original returns, which are annexed in the Appendix, No. III.

The collections of ſoup were not long continued, it being found to be in general of much too inferior a quality to be mixed with the ſoup made in the kitchen of the poor-houſe; but the collections of bread, and of meat, continue to this time, and are ſtill very productive.

But the greateſt reſource in feeding the poor, is one which I am but juſt beginning to avail myſelf of,—the uſe of potatoes *. Of this ſubject, however, I ſhall treat more largely hereafter.

The above-mentioned precautions uſed in making collections in kind, may perhaps appear trifling, and ſuperfluous; they were nevertheleſs very neceſſary. It was alſo found neceſſary to change all the poor's-boxes in the churches, to prevent their

* This was written in the ſummer of the year 1795.

being robbed: for though in thoſe which were firſt put up, the openings were not only ſmall, but ended in a curved tube, ſo that it appeared almoſt impoſſible to get any of the money out of the box by the ſame opening by which it was put into it; yet means were found, by introducing into the opening thin pieces of elaſtic wood, covered with bird-lime, to rob the boxes. This was prevented in the new boxes, by cauſing the money to deſcend through a ſort of bag, with a hole in the bottom of it, or rather a flexible tube, made of chain-work, with iron wire, ſuſpended in the middle of the box

CHAP. VI.

Apology for the Want of Method in treating the Subject under Conſideration.—Of the various Means uſed for encouraging Induſtry among the Poor.—Of the internal Arrangement and Government of the Houſe of Induſtry.—Why called the Military Work-houſe.—Of the Manner in which the Buſineſs is carried on there.—Of the various Means uſed for preventing Frauds in carrying on the Buſineſs in the different Manufactures.—Of the flouriſhing State of thoſe Manufactures.

THOUGH all the different parts of a well-arranged eſtabliſhment go on together, and harmonize, like the parts of a piece of muſic in full ſcore, yet, in deſcribing ſuch an eſtabliſhment, it is impoſſible to write like the muſician, *in ſcore*, and to make all the parts of the narrative advance together. Various movements, which exiſt together, and which have the moſt intimate connection and dependence upon each other, muſt nevertheleſs be deſcribed ſeparately; and the greateſt care and attention, and frequently no ſmall ſhare of addreſs, are neceſſary in the management of ſuch deſcriptions, to render the details intelligible; and to give the whole its full effect of order;—dependence;—connection;—and harmony. And in no caſe can theſe difficulties be greater, than in deſcriptions like

thoſe in which I am now engaged; where the number of the objects, and of the details, is ſo great, that it is difficult to determine which ſhould be attended to firſt; and how far it may ſafely be purſued, without danger of the others being too far removed from their proper places;—or excluded;—or forgotten.

The various meaſures adopted, and precautions taken, in arreſting the beggars,—in collecting and diſtributing alms,—in eſtabliſhing order and police among them,—in feeding and clothing the poor,—and in eſtabliſhing various manufactures for giving them employment, are all ſubjects which deſerve, and require, the moſt particular explanation; yet thoſe are not only operations which were begun at the ſame time, and carried on together; but they are ſo dependent upon each other, that it is almoſt impoſſible to have a complete idea of the one, without being acquainted with the others; or of treating of the one, without mentioning the others at the ſame time.—This, therefore, muſt be my excuſe, if I am taxed with want of method, or of perſpicuity in the deſcriptions; and this being premiſed, I ſhall proceed to give an account of the various objects and operations which yet remain to be deſcribed.

I have already obſerved how neceſſary it was to encourage, by every poſſible means, a ſpirit of induſtry and emulation among thoſe, who, from leading a life of indolence and debauchery, were to be made uſeful members of ſociety; and I have mentioned ſome of the meaſures which were adopted for that purpoſe. It remains for me to purſue this intereſting

intereſting ſubject, and to treat it, in all its details, with that care and attention which its importance ſo juſtly demands.

Though a very generous price was paid for labour, in the different manufactures in which the poor were employed, yet, that alone was not enough to intereſt them ſufficiently in the occupations in which they were engaged. To excite their activity, and inſpire them with a true ſpirit of perſevering induſtry, it was neceſſary to fire them with emulation;—to awaken in them a dormant paſſion, whoſe influence they had never felt;—the love of honeſt fame;—an ardent deſire to excel;—the love of glory;—or by what other more humble or pompous name this paſſion, the moſt noble, and moſt beneficent that warms the human heart, can be diſtinguiſhed.

To excite emulation;—praiſe;—diſtinctions;—rewards are neceſſary; and theſe were all employed. Thoſe who diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their application,—by their induſtry,—by their addreſs,—were publicly praiſed and encouraged;—brought forward, and placed in the moſt conſpicuous ſituations;—pointed out to ſtrangers who viſited the eſtabliſhment; and particularly named and propoſed as models for others to copy. A particular dreſs, a ſort of uniform for the eſtabliſhment, which, though very economical, as may be ſeen by the details which will be given of it in another place, was nevertheleſs elegant, was provided; and this dreſs, as it was given out *gratis*, and only beſtowed upon thoſe who particularly diſtinguiſhed themſelves, was ſoon looked upon as an

honourable mark of approved merit; and ſerved very powerfully to excite emulation among the competitors. I doubt whether vanity, in any inſtance, ever ſurveyed itſelf with more ſelf-gratification, than did ſome of theſe poor people when they firſt put on their new dreſs.

How neceſſary is it to be acquainted with the ſecret ſprings of action in the human heart, to direct even the loweſt and moſt unfeeling claſs of mankind!—The machine is intrinſically the ſame in all ſituations;—the great ſecret is, *firſt to put it in tune*, before an attempt is made to play upon it. The jarring ſounds of former vibrations muſt firſt be ſtilled, otherwiſe no harmony can be produced; but when the inſtrument is in order, the notes *cannot fail* to anſwer to the touch of a ſkilful maſter.

Though every thing was done that could be deviſed to impreſs the minds of all thoſe, old and young, who frequented this eſtabliſhment, with ſuch ſentiments as were neceſſary in order to their becoming good and uſeful members of ſociety; (and in theſe attempts I was certainly ſucceſsful, much beyond my moſt ſanguine expectations;) yet my hopes were chiefly placed on the riſing generation.

The children, therefore, of the poor, were objects of my peculiar care and attention. To induce their parents to ſend them to the eſtabliſhment, even before they were old enough to do any kind of work, when they attended at the regular hours, they not only received their dinner *gratis*, but each of them was paid *three creutzers* a day for doing nothing, but merely being preſent where others worked.

I have

I have already mentioned that theſe children, who were too young to work, were placed upon ſeats built round the halls where other children worked. This was done in order to inſpire them with a *deſire to do that, which other children,* apparently more favoured,—more careſſed,—and more praiſed than themſelves, were permitted to do; and of which they were obliged to be idle ſpectators; and this had the deſired effect.

As nothing is ſo tedious to a child as being obliged to ſit ſtill in the ſame place for a conſiderable time, and as the work which the other more favoured children were engaged in, was light and eaſy, and appeared rather amuſing than otherwiſe, being the *ſpinning of hemp and flax, with ſmall* light wheels, turned with the foot, theſe children, who were obliged to be ſpectators of this buſy and entertaining ſcene, became ſo uneaſy in their ſituations, and ſo jealous of thoſe who were permitted to be more active, that they frequently ſolicited with the greateſt importunity to be permitted to work, and often cried moſt heartily if this favour was not inſtantly granted them.

How ſweet theſe tears were to me, can eaſily be imagined!

The joy they ſhowed upon being permitted to deſcend from their benches, and mix with the working children below, was equal to the ſolicitude with which they had demanded that favour.

They were at firſt merely furniſhed with a wheel, which they turned for ſeveral days with the foot, without being permitted to attempt any thing further.

ther. As ſoon as they were become dexterous in this ſimple operation, and habit had made it ſo eaſy and familiar to them that the foot could continue its motion mechanically, without the aſſiſtance of the head;—till they could go on with their work, even though their attention was employed upon ſomething elſe;—till they could anſwer queſtions, and converſe freely with thoſe about them upon indifferent ſubjects, without interrupting or embarraſſing the regular motion of the wheel, then,—and not till then,—they were furniſhed with hemp or flax, and were taught to ſpin.

When they had arrived at a certain degree of dexterity in ſpinning hemp and flax, they were put to the ſpinning of wool; and this was always repreſented to them, and conſidered by them, as an honourable promotion. Upon this occaſion they commonly received ſome public reward, a new ſhirt,—a pair of ſhoes,—or perhaps the uniform of the eſtabliſhment, as an encouragement to them to perſevere in their induſtrious habits.

As conſtant application to any occupation for too great a length of time is apt to produce diſguſt, and in children might even be detrimental to health, beſide the hour of dinner, an hour of relaxation from work, (from eight o'clock till nine,) in the forenoon, and another hour, (from three o'clock till four,) in the afternoon, were allowed them; and theſe two hours were ſpent in a ſchool; which, for want of room elſewhere in the houſe, was kept in the dining-hall, where they were taught reading, writing, and arithmetic, by a

ſchool-

ſchool-maſter engaged and paid for that purpoſe *. Into this ſchool other perſons who worked in the houſe, of a more advanced age, were admitted, if they requeſted it; but few grown perſons ſeemed deſirous of availing themſelves of this permiſſion. As to the children, they had no choice in the matter; thoſe who belonged to the eſtabliſhment were obliged to attend the ſchool regularly every day, morning and evening. The ſchool books, paper, pens, and ink, were furniſhed at the expence of the eſtabliſhment.

To diſtinguiſh thoſe among the grown perſons that worked in the houſe, who ſhewed the greateſt dexterity and induſtry in the different manufactures in which they were employed, the beſt workmen were ſeparated from the others, and formed diſtinct claſſes, and were even aſſigned ſeparate rooms and apartments. This ſeparation was productive of many advantages; for, beſide the ſpirit of emulation which it excited, and kept alive, in every part of the eſtabliſhment, it afforded an opportunity of carrying on the different manufactures in a very advantageous manner. The moſt dex-

* As theſe children were not ſhut up and confined like priſoners in the houſe of induſtry, but all lodged in the town, with their parents or friends, they had many opportunities to recreate themſelves, and take exerciſe in the open air, not only on holidays, of which there are a very large number indeed kept in Bavaria, but alſo on working days, in coming and going to and from the houſe of induſtry. Had not this been the caſe, a reaſonable time would certainly have been allowed them for play and recreation. The cadets belonging to the Military Academy at Munich are allowed no leſs than *three hours* a day for exerciſe and relaxation, viz. *one hour* immediately after dinner, which is devoted to muſic, and *two hours*, later in the afternoon, for walking in the country, or playing in the open fields near the town.

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terous among the wool-ſpinners, for inſtance, were naturally employed upon the fineſt wool, ſuch as was uſed in the fabrication of the fineſt and moſt valuable goods; and it was very neceſſary that theſe ſpinners ſhould be ſeparated from the others, who worked upon coarſer materials; otherwiſe, in the manipulations of the wool, as particles of it are unavoidably diſperſed about in all directions when it is ſpun, the coarſer particles thus mixing with the fine would greatly injure the manufacture. It was likewiſe neceſſary, for a ſimilar reaſon, to ſeparate the ſpinners who were employed in ſpinning wool of different colours. But as theſe, and many other like precautions are well known to all manufacturers, it is not neceſſary that I ſhould inſiſt upon them any farther in this place; nor indeed is it neceſſary that I ſhould enter into all the details of any of the manufactures carried on in the eſtabliſhment I am deſcribing. It will be quite ſufficient, if I merely enumerate them, and give a brief account of the meaſures adopted to prevent frauds on the parts of the workmen, and others, who were employed in carrying them on.

In treating this ſubject it will however be neceſſary to go back a little, and to give a more particular account of the internal government of this eſtabliſhment; and firſt of all I muſt obſerve, that the government of the *Military Work-houſe*, as it is called, is quite diſtinct from the government of the inſtitution for the poor; the Work-houſe being merely a manufactory, like any other manufactory, ſupported upon its own private capital;

which capital has no connection whatever with any fund deſtined for the poor.—It is under the ſole direction of its own particular governors and overſeers, and is carried on at the ſole riſk of the owner. *The inſtitution for the poor*, on the other hand, is merely an inſtitution of charity, joined to a general direction of the police, as far as it relates to paupers. The committee, *or deputation*, as it is called, which is at the head of this inſtitution, has the ſole direction of all funds deſtined for the relief of the poor in Munich, and the diſtribution of alms. This deputation has likewiſe the direction of the kitchen, and bakehouſe, which are eſtabliſhed in the Military Work-houſe; and of the details relative to the feeding of the poor; for it is from the funds deſtined for the relief of the poor that theſe expences are defrayed: the deputation is alſo in connection with the Military Work-houſe relative to the clothing of the poor, and the diſtribution of rewards to thoſe of them who particularly diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their good behaviour and their induſtry, but this is merely a mercantile correſpondence. The deputation has no right to interfere in any way whatever in the internal management of this eſtabliſhment, conſidered as a manufactory. In this reſpect it is to all intents and purpoſes a perfectly diſtinct and independent eſtabliſhment.—But notwithſtanding this, the two eſtabliſhments are ſo dependent on each other in many reſpects, that neither of them could well ſubſiſt alone.

The Military Work-houſe being principally deſigned as a manufactory for clothing the army, its

its capital, which at firſt conſiſted in about 150,000 florins, but which has ſince increaſed to above 250,000 florins, was advanced by the military cheſt,—and hence it is, that it was called *the Military Work-houſe*, and put under the direction of the council of war.

For the internal management of the eſtabliſhment, a ſpecial commiſſion was named, conſiſting of, one counſellor of war, of the department of military economy, or of the clothing of the army;—one captain, which laſt is inſpector of the houſe, and has apartments in it, where he lodges;—and the ſtore-keeper of the magazine of military clothing.

Theſe commiſſioners, who have the magazine of military clothing at the ſame time under their direction, have, under my immediate ſuperintendence, the ſole government and direction of this eſtabliſhment;—of all the inferior officers;—ſervants;—manufacturers;—and workmen, belonging to it; and of all mercantile operations;—contracts;—purchaſes;—ſales, &c. And it is with theſe commiſſioners that the regiments correſpond, in order to be furniſhed with clothing, and other neceſſaries; and into their hands they pay the amount of the different articles received.

The cash belonging to this eſtabliſhment is placed in a cheſt furniſhed with three ſeparate locks, of one of which each of the commiſſioners keeps the key; and all theſe commiſſioners are jointly, and ſeverally, anſwerable for the contents of the cheſt.

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Theſe commiſſioners hold their ſeſſions regularly twice a week, or oftener if circumſtances require it, in a room in the Military Work-houſe deſtined for that purpoſe, where the correſpondence, and all accounts and documents belonging to the eſtabliſhment, and other records, are kept; and where the ſecretary of the commiſſion conſtantly attends.

When very large contracts are made for the purchaſe of raw materials, particularly when they are made with foreigners, the conditions are firſt ſubmitted by the commiſſioners to the council of war for their approbation; but in all concerns of leſs moment, and particularly in all the current buſineſs of the eſtabliſhment;—in the ordinary purchaſes,—ſales,—and other mercantile tranſactions; the commiſſioners act by their own immediate authority: but all the tranſactions of the commiſſioners *being entered regularly in their journals*, and the moſt particular account of all ſales, and purchaſes, and other receipts and expenditures being kept; and inventories being taken every year, of all raw materials;—manufactures upon hand;—and other effects, belonging to the eſtabliſhment; and an annual account of profit and loſs, regularly made out; all peculation, and other abuſes, are moſt effectually prevented.

The ſteward, or *ſtore-keeper of raw materials*, as he is called, has the care of all raw materials, and of all finiſhed manufactures deſtined for private ſale. The former are kept in magazines, or ſtore-rooms, of which he alone has the keys,—the latter are kept

kept in rooms ſet apart as a ſtore,—or ſhop,—where they are expoſed for public inſpection, and ſale. To prevent abuſes in the ſale of theſe manufactures, their prices, which are determined upon a calculation of what they coſt, and a certain *per cent.* added for the profits of the houſe, are marked upon the goods, and are never altered; and a regular account is kept of all, even of the moſt inconſiderable articles ſold, in which not only the commodity, with its quality, quantity, and price, is ſpecified; but the name of the purchaſer, and the day of the month when the purchaſe was made, are mentioned.

All articles of clothing deſtined for the army which are made up in the houſe; as well as all goods in the piece, deſtined for military clothing, are lodged in the Military Magazine; which is ſituated at ſome diſtance from the Military Workhouſe; and is under the care and inſpection of the Military ſtore-keeper.

From this Military Magazine, which may be conſidered as an appendix to the Military Workhouſe, and is in fact under the ſame direction, the regiments are ſupplied with every article of their clothing. But in order that the army accounts may be more ſimple, and more eaſily checked, and that the total annual expence of each regiment may be more readily aſcertained, the regiments pay, at certain fixed prices, for all the articles they receive from the Military Magazine, and charge ſuch expenditures in the annual account which they ſend in to the War Office.

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The order obſerved with regard to the delivery of the raw materials by the ſtore-keeper or ſteward of the Military Work-houſe to thoſe employed in manufacturing them, is as follows:

In the manufactures of wool, for inſtance, he delivers to the maſter-clothier a certain quantity, commonly 100 pounds, of wool, of a certain quality and deſcription; taken from a certain diviſion, or bin, in the Magazine; bearing a certain number; in order to its being ſorted. And as a regiſter is kept of the wool that is put into theſe bins from time to time, and as the lots of wool are always kept ſeparate, it is perfectly eaſy at any time to determine when,—and where,—and from whom, the wool delivered to the ſorter was purchaſed; and what was paid for it; and conſequently, to trace the wool from the flock where it was grown, to the cloth into which it was formed; and even to the perſon who wore it. And ſimilar arrangements are adopted with regard to all other raw materials uſed in the various manufactures.

The advantages ariſing from this arrangement are too obvious to require being particularly mentioned. It not only prevents numberleſs abuſes on the part of thoſe employed in the various manufactures, but affords a ready method of detecting any frauds on the part of thoſe from whom the raw materials are purchaſed.

The wool received by the maſter-clothier is by him delivered to the wool-ſorters to be ſorted. To prevent frauds on the part of the wool-ſorters, not

not only all the wool-ſorters work in the ſame room, under the immediate inſpection of the maſter wool-ſorter, but a certain quantity of each lot of wool being ſorted in the preſence of ſome one of the public officers belonging to the houſe, it is ſeen by the experiment how much *per cent.* is loſt by the ſeparation of dirt and filth in ſorting; and the quantity of ſorted wool of the different qualities, which the ſorter is obliged to deliver for each *hundred pounds* weight of wool received from the magazine, is from hence determined.

The great ſecret of the woollen manufactory is in the ſorting of the wool, and if this is not particularly attended to; that is to ſay, if the different kinds of wool of various qualities which each fleece naturally contains, are not carefully ſeparated; and if each kind of wool is not employed for that purpoſe, and *for that alone*, for which it is beſt calculated, no woollen manufactory can poſſibly ſubſiſt with advantage.

Each fleece is commonly ſeparated into five or ſix different parcels of wool, of different qualities, by the ſorters in the Military Work-houſe; and of theſe parcels, ſome are employed for warp;—others for woof;—others for combing;—and that which is very coarſe and indifferent, for coarſe mittens for the peaſants; for the liſts of broad cloths, &c.

The wool, when ſorted, is delivered back by the maſter-clothier to the ſteward, who now places it in the *ſorted-wool magazine*, where it is kept in ſeparate bins, according to its different qualities and

and deſtinations, till it is delivered out to be manufactured. As theſe bins are all numbered, and as the quality and deſtination of the wool which is lodged in each bin is always the ſame, it is ſufficient in deſcribing the wool afterwards as it paſſes through the hands of the different manufacturers, merely to mention *its number;* that is to ſay, the number of the bin in the *ſorted-wool-magazine* from whence it was taken.

As a more particular account of theſe various manipulations, and the means uſed to prevent frauds, may not only be intereſting to all who are curious in theſe matters, but may alſo be of real uſe to ſuch as may engage in ſimilar undertakings, I ſhall take the liberty to enlarge a little upon this ſubject.

From the magazine of ſorted wool, the maſter-clothier receives this ſorted wool again, in order to its being wolfed,—greaſed,—carded,—and ſpun, under his inſpection, and then delivered into the ſtore-room of woollen yarn. As woollen yarn he receives it again, and delivers it to the cloth-weaver.—The cloth-weaver returns it in cloth to the ſteward.—The ſteward delivers it to the fuller;—the fuller to the cloth-ſhearer;—the cloth-ſhearer to the cloth-preſſer;—and the cloth-preſſer to the ſteward;—and by this laſt it is delivered into the Military Magazine, if deſtined for the army; if not, it is placed in the ſhop for ſale. The maſter-clothier is anſwerable for all the ſorted wool he receives, till he delivers it to the clerk of the wool-ſpinners; and all his accounts are ſettled with the ſteward once a week.—The clerk of the

ſpinners is anſwerable for the carded and combed wool he receives from the maſter-clothier, till it is delivered in yarn in the ſtore-room; and his accounts are likewiſe ſettled with the maſter-clothier, and with the clerk of the ſtore-room, (who is called the clerk of the controul,) once a week. The ſpinners wages are paid by the clerk of the controul, upon the ſpin-ticket, ſigned by the clerk of the ſpinners; in which ticket, the quantity and quality of the yarn ſpun being ſpecified, together with the name of the ſpinner, the weekly delivery of yarn by the clerk of the ſpinners into the ſtore-room, muſt anſwer to the ſpin-tickets received and paid by the clerk of the controul. More effectually to prevent frauds, each delivery of yarn to the clerk of the ſpinners is bound up in a ſeparate bundle, to which is attached an abſtract of the ſpin-ticket, in which abſtract is ſpecified, the name of the ſpinner; —the date of the delivery;—the number of the ſpin-ticket;—and the quantity and quality of the yarn. This arrangement not only facilitates the ſettlement of the weekly accounts between the clerk of the ſpinners and the clerk of the controul, when the former makes his weekly delivery of yarn into the ſtore-room, but renders it eaſy alſo to detect any frauds committed by the ſpinners.

The wages of the ſpinners are regulated by the fineneſs of the yarn; that is, by the number of ſkains, or rather knots, which they ſpin from the pound of wool. Each knot is compoſed of 100 threads, and each thread, or turn of the reel, is two Bavarian yards in length; and to prevent frauds in reeling, clock-reels, proved and ſealed, are

are furniſhed by the eſtabliſhment to all the ſpinners. It is poſſible, however, notwithſtanding this precaution, for the ſpinners to commit frauds, by binding up knots containing a ſmaller number of threads than 100.—It is true they have little temptation to do ſo, for as their wages are in fact paid by the *weight* of the yarn delivered, and the number of knots ſerving merely to determine the price *by the pound* which they have a right to receive, any advantages they can derive from frauds committed in reeling are very trifling indeed. But trifling as they are, ſuch frauds would no doubt ſometimes be committed, were it not known that it is abſolutely *impoſſible* for them to eſcape detection.

Not only the clerk of the ſpinners examines the yarn when he receives it, and counts the threads in any of the knots which appear to be too ſmall, but the name of the ſpinner, with a note of the quantity of knots, accompanies the yarn into the ſtore-room, as was before obſerved, and from thence to the ſpooler, by whom it is wound off; any frauds committed in reeling cannot fail to be brought home to the ſpinner.

The bundles of carded wool delivered to the ſpinners, though they are called *pounds*, are not exact pounds. They contain each as much more than a pound, as is neceſſary, allowing for waſtage in ſpinning, in order that the yarn when ſpun may weigh a pound. If the yarn is found to be wanting in weight, a proportional deduction is made from the wages of the ſpinner; which deduction, to prevent frauds, amounts to a trifle more than the value of the yarn which is wanting.

Frauds in weaving are prevented by delivering the yarn to the weavers by weight, and receiving the cloth by weight from the loom. In the other operations of the manufactures, ſuch as fulling, ſhearing, preſſing, &c. no frauds are to be apprehended.

Similar precautions are taken to prevent frauds in the linen;—cotton;—and other manufactures carried on in the houſe; and ſo effectual are the means adopted, that during more than five years ſince the eſtabliſhment was inſtituted, no one fraud of the leaſt conſequence has been diſcovered; the evident impoſſibility of eſcaping detection in thoſe practices, having prevented the attempt.

Though the above-mentioned details may be ſufficient to give ſome idea of the general order which reigns in every part of this extenſive eſtabliſhment; yet, as ſucceſs in an undertaking of this kind depends eſſentially on carrying on the buſineſs in all its various branches in the moſt methodical manner, and rendering one operation a check upon the other, as well as in making the perſons employed abſolutely reſponſible for all frauds and neglects committed in their various departments, I ſhall either add in the Appendix, or publiſh ſeparately, a full account of the internal details of the various trades and manufactures carried on in the Military Work-houſe, and copies of all the different tickets,—returns,—tables,—accounts, &c. made uſe of in carrying on the buſineſs of this eſtabliſhment.

Though theſe accounts will render this work more voluminous than I could have wiſhed, yet, as ſuch details can hardly fail to be very uſeful to

thoſe who, either upon a larger or ſmaller ſcale, may engage in ſimilar undertakings, I have determined to publiſh them.

To ſhow that the regulations obſerved in carrying on the various trades and manufactures in the Military Work-houſe are good, it will, I flatter myſelf, be quite ſufficient to refer to the flouriſhing ſtate of the eſtabliſhment;—to its growing reputation;—to its extenſive connections, which reach even to foreign countries;—to the punctuality with which all its engagements are fulfilled;—to its unimpeached credit;—and to its growing wealth.

Notwithſtanding all the diſadvantages under which it laboured in its infant ſtate, the net profits ariſing from it during the ſix years it has exiſted amount to above 100,000 florins; after the expences of every kind,—ſalaries,—wages,—repairs, &c. have been deducted; and the buſineſs is ſo much increaſed of late, in conſequence of the augmentation of the demands of clothing for the troops, that the amount of the orders received and executed the laſt year did not fall much ſhort of *half a million* of florins.

It may be proper to obſerve, that, not the whole army of the Elector, but only the fifteen Bavarian regiments, are furniſhed with clothing from the Military Work-houſe at Munich. The troops of the Palatinate, and thoſe of the Duchies of Juliers and Bergen, receive their clothing from a ſimilar eſtabliſhment at Manheim.

The Military Work-houſe at Manheim was indeed erected ſeveral months before that at Munich; but

but as it is not immediately connected with any inſtitution for the poor,—as the poor are not fed in it,—and as it was my firſt attempt, or *coup d'eſſai*, it is, in many reſpects, inferior in its internal arrangements to that at Munich. I have therefore choſen this laſt for the ſubject of my deſcriptions; and would propoſe it as a model for imitation, in preference to the other.

As both theſe eſtabliſhments owe their exiſtence to myſelf, and as they both remain under my immediate ſuperintendance, it may very naturally be aſked, why that at Manheim has not been put upon *the ſame footing with that at Munich?*—My anſwer to this queſtion would be, that a variety of circumſtances, too foreign to my preſent ſubject to be explained here, prevented the eſtabliſhment of the Military Work-houſe at Manheim being carried to that perfection which I could have wiſhed *.

But it is time that I ſhould return to the poor at Munich; for whoſe comfort and happineſs I laboured with ſo much pleaſure, and whoſe hiſtory will ever remain by far the moſt intereſting part of this publication.

* Since the publication of the firſt edition of this Eſſay, the Author has received an account of the total deſtruction of the Military Work-houſe at Manheim. It was ſet on fire, and burnt to the ground, during the late ſiege of that city by the Auſtrian troops.

CHAP. VII.

A farther Account of the Poor who were brought together in the Houſe of Induſtry:—And of the intereſting Change which was produced in their Manners and Diſpoſitions.—Various Proofs that the Means uſed for making them induſtrious, comfortable, and happy, were ſucceſsful.

THE awkwardneſs of theſe poor creatures, when they were firſt taken from the ſtreets as beggars, and put to work, may eaſily be conceived; but the facility with which they acquired addreſs in the various manufactures in which they were employed, was very remarkable, and much exceeded my expectation. But what was quite ſurpriſing, and at the ſame time intereſting in the higheſt degree, was the apparent and rapid change which was produced in their manners,—in their general behaviour,—and even in the very air of their countenances, upon being a little accuſtomed to their new ſituations. The kind uſage they met with, and the comforts they enjoyed, ſeemed to have ſoftened their hearts, and awakened in them ſentiments as new and ſurpriſing to themſelves, as they were intereſting to thoſe about them.

The melancholy gloom of miſery, and air of uneaſineſs and embarraſſment, diſappeared by little and little from their countenances, and were ſuc-

cheered by a timid dawn of cheerfulneſs, rendered moſt exquiſitely intereſting by a certain mixture of ſilent gratitude, which no language can deſcribe.

In the infancy of this eſtabliſhment, when theſe poor creatures were firſt brought together, I uſed very frequently to viſit them,—to ſpeak kindly to them,—and to encourage them;—and I ſeldom paſſed through the halls where they were at work, without being a witneſs to the moſt moving ſcenes. Objects, formerly the moſt miſerable and wretched, whom I had ſeen for years as beggars in the ſtreets;—young women,—perhaps the unhappy victims of ſeduction, who, having loſt their reputation, and being turned adrift in the world, without a friend and without a home, were reduced to the neceſſity of begging, to ſuſtain a miſerable exiſtence, now recognized me as their benefactor, and, with tears dropping faſt from their cheeks, continued their work in the moſt expreſſive ſilence.

If they were aſked, what the matter was with them? their anſwer was, ("nichts") "nothing;" accompanied by a look of affectionate regard and gratitude, ſo exquiſitely touching as frequently to draw tears from the moſt inſenſible of the by-ſtanders.

It was not poſſible to be miſtaken with reſpect to the real ſtate of the minds of theſe poor people; every thing about them ſhowed that they were deeply affected with the kindneſs ſhown them;—and that their hearts were really ſoftened, appeared, not only from their unaffected expreſſions of gratitude, but alſo from the effuſions of their affectionate

tionate regard for thoſe who were dear to them. In ſhort, never did I witneſs ſuch affecting ſcenes as paſſed between ſome of theſe poor people and their children.

It was mentioned above that the children were ſeparated from the grown perſons. This was the caſe at firſt; but as ſoon as order was thoroughly eſtabliſhed in every part of the houſe, and the poor people had acquired a certain degree of addreſs in their work, and evidently took pleaſure in it, as many of thoſe who had children expreſſed an earneſt deſire to have them near them, permiſſion was granted for that purpoſe; and the ſpinning halls, by degrees, were filled with the moſt intereſting little groups of induſtrious families, who vied with each other in diligence and addreſs; and who diſplayed a ſcene, at once the moſt buſy, and the moſt cheerful, that can be imagined.

An induſtrious family is ever a pleaſing object; but there was ſomething peculiarly intereſting and affecting in the groups of theſe poor people. Whether it was, that thoſe who ſaw them compared their preſent ſituation with the ſtate of miſery and wretchedneſs from which they had been taken; —or whether it was the joy and exultation which were expreſſed in the countenances of the poor parents in contemplating their children all buſily employed about them;—or the air of ſelf-ſatisfaction which theſe little urchins put on, at the conſciouſneſs of their own dexterity, while they purſued their work with redoubled diligence upon being obſerved, that rendered the ſcene ſo ſingularly intereſting,—

I know

I know not; but certain it is, that few ſtaangers who viſited the eſtabliſhment came out of theſe halls without being much affected.

Many humane and well-diſpoſed perſons are often withheld from giving alms, on account of the bad character of beggars in general; but this circumſtance, though it ought undoubtedly to be taken into conſideration in determining the mode of adminiſtering our charitable aſſiſtance, ſhould certainly not prevent our intereſting ourſelves in the fate of theſe unhappy beings. On the contrary, it ought to be an additional incitement to us to relieve them;—for nothing is more certain, than that their crimes are very often the *effects*, not the *cauſes* of their miſery; and when this is the caſe, by removing the cauſe, the effects will ceaſe.

Nothing is more extraordinary and unaccountable than the inconſiſtency of mankind in every thing, even in the practice of that divine virtue benevolence; and moſt of our miſtakes ariſe more from indolence and from inattention, than from any thing elſe. The buſy part of mankind are too intent upon their own private purſuits; and thoſe who have leiſure are too averſe from giving themſelves trouble, to inveſtigate a ſubject but too generally conſidered as tireſome and unintereſting. But if it be true, that we are really happy only in proportion as we ought to be ſo;—that is, in proportion as we are inſtrumental in promoting the happineſs of others; no ſtudy ſurely can be ſo intereſting, as that which teaches us how moſt effec-

tually to contribute to the well-being of our fellow-creatures.

If *love* be blind, *ſelf-love* is certainly very ſhort-ſighted; and, without the aſſiſtance of reaſon and reflection, is but a bad guide in the purſuit of happineſs.

Thoſe who take pleaſure in depreciating all the ſocial virtues have repreſented pity as a mere ſelfiſh paſſion; and there are ſome circumſtances which appear to juſtify this opinion. It is certain that the misfortunes of others affect us, not in proportion to their greatneſs, but in proportion to their nearneſs to ourſelves; or to the chances that they may reach us in our turns. A rich man is infinitely more affected at the misfortune of his neighbour, who, by the failure of a banker with whom he had truſted the greater part of his fortune,—by an unlucky run at play,—or by other loſſes, is reduced from a ſtate of affluence, to the neceſſity of laying down his carriage;—leaving the town;—and retiring into the country upon a few hundreds a-year;—than by the total ruin of the induſtrious tradeſman over the way, who is dragged to priſon, and his numerous family of young and helpleſs children left to ſtarve.

But however ſelfiſh pity may be, *benevolence* certainly ſprings from a more noble origin. It is a good-natured, generous ſentiment, which does not require being put to the torture in order to be ſtimulated to action. And it is this ſentiment, not pity or compaſſion, which I would wiſh to excite.

Pity

Pity is always attended with pain; and if our ſufferings at being witneſſes of the diſtreſſes of others, ſometimes force us to relieve them, we can neither have much merit, nor any laſting ſatisfaction, from ſuch involuntary acts of charity; but the enjoyments which reſult from acts of genuine benevolence are as laſting as they are exquiſitely delightful; and the more they are analyzed and contemplated, the more they contribute to that inward peace of mind and ſelf-approbation, which alone conſtitute real happineſs. This is the "ſoul's calm ſun-ſhine, and the heart-felt joy," which is virtue's prize.

To induce mankind to engage in any enterpriſe, it is neceſſary, firſt, to ſhow that ſucceſs will be attended with real advantage; and ſecondly, that it may be obtained without much difficulty. The rewards attendant upon acts of benevolence have ſo often been deſcribed and celebrated, in every country and in every language, that it would be preſumption in me to ſuppoſe I could add any thing new upon a ſubject already diſcuſſed by the greateſt maſters of rhetoric, and embelliſhed with all the irreſiſtible charms of eloquence; but as *examples of ſucceſs* are ſometimes more efficacious in ſtimulating mankind to action, than the moſt ſplendid reaſonings and admonitions, it is upon my *ſucceſs* in the enterpriſe of which I have undertaken to give an account, that my hopes of engaging others to follow ſuch an example are chiefly founded; and hence it is, that I ſo often return to that part of my ſubject, and inſiſt with ſo much

perſe-

perſeverance upon the pleaſure which this ſucceſs afforded me. I am aware that I expoſe myſelf to being ſuſpected of oſtentation, particularly by thoſe who are not able to enter fully into my ſituation and feelings; but neither this, nor any other conſideration, ſhall prevent me from treating the ſubject in ſuch a manner as may appear beſt adapted to rẽnder my labours of public utility.

Why ſhould I not mention even the marks of affectionate regard and reſpect which I received from the poor people for whoſe happineſs I intereſted myſelf, and the teſtimonies of the public eſteem with which I was honored?—*Will it be* reckoned vanity, if I mention the concern which the Poor of Munich expreſſed in ſo affecting a manner when I was dangerouſly ill?—that they went publicly in a body in proceſſion to the cathedral church, where they had divine ſervice performed, and put up public prayers for my recovery?—that four years afterwards, on hearing that I was again dangerouſly ill at Naples, they, of their own accord, ſet apart an hour each evening, after they had finiſhed their work in the Military Work-houſe, to pray for me?

Will it be thought improper to mention the affecting reception I met with from them, at my firſt viſit to the Military Work-houſe upon my return to Munich laſt ſummer, after an abſence of fifteen months; a ſcene which drew tears from all who were preſent?—and muſt I refuſe myſelf the ſatisfaction of deſcribing the fête I gave them in return, in the Engliſh Garden, at which

1800 poor people of all ages, and above 30,000 of the inhabitants of Munich, aſſiſted? and all this pleaſure I muſt forego, merely that I may not be thought vain and oſtentatious?—Be it ſo then;—but I would juſt beg leave to call the reader's attention to my feelings upon the occaſion; and then let him aſk himſelf, if any earthly reward can poſſibly be ſuppoſed greater;—any enjoyments more complete, than thoſe I received. Let him figure to himſelf, if he can, my ſituation, ſick in bed, worn out by intenſe application, and dying, as every body thought, a martyr in the cauſe to which I had devoted myſelf;—let him imagine, I ſay, my feelings, upon hearing the confuſed noiſe of the prayers of a multitude of people, who were paſſing by in the ſtreets, upon being told, that it was the the Poor of Munich, many hundreds in number, who were going in proceſſion to the church to put up public prayers for me:—public prayers for me!—for a private perſon;—a ſtranger!—a proteſtant!—I believe it is the firſt inſtance of the kind that ever happened;—and I dare venture to affirm that no proof could well be ſtronger than this, that the meaſures adopted for making theſe poor people happy, were really ſucceſsful;—and let it be remembered, *that this fact is what I am moſt anxious to make appear*, IN THE CLEAREST AND MOST SATISFACTORY MANNER.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Means uſed for the Relief of thoſe poor Perſons who were not Beggars.—Of the large Sums of Money diſtributed to the Poor in Alms.—Of the Means uſed for rendering thoſe who received Alms induſtrious.—Of the general Utility of the Houſe of Induſtry to the Poor, and the Diſtreſſed of all Denominations.—Of Public Kitchens for feeding the Poor, united with Eſtabliſhments for giving them Employment; and of the great Advantages which would be derived from forming them in every Pariſh.—Of the Manner in which the Poor of Munich are lodged.

IN giving an account of the Poor of Munich, I have hitherto confined myſelf chiefly to one claſs of them,—the beggars; but I ſhall now proceed to mention briefly the meaſures which were adopted to relieve others, who never were beggars, from thoſe diſtreſſes and difficulties in which poverty and the inability to provide the neceſſaries of life had involved them.

An eſtabliſhment for the Poor ſhould not only provide for the relief and ſupport of thoſe who are moſt forward and clamorous in calling out for aſſiſtance;—humanity and juſtice require that peculiar attention ſhould be paid to thoſe who are baſhful and ſilent.—To thoſe, who, in addition to all

all the diſtreſſes ariſing from poverty and want, feel, what is ſtill more inſupportable, the ſhame and mortifying degradation attached to their unfortunate and hopeleſs ſituation.

All thoſe who ſtood in need of aſſiſtance were invited and encouraged to make known their wants to the committee placed at the head of the inſtitution; and in no caſe was the neceſſary aſſiſtance refuſed.—That this relief was generouſly beſtowed, will not be doubted by thoſe who are informed that the ſums diſtributed in alms, *in ready money*, to the Poor of Munich in *five years*, excluſive of the expences incurred in feeding and clothing them, amounted to above *two hundred thouſand florins* *.

But the ſums of money diſtributed among the Poor in alms was not the only, and perhaps not the moſt important aſſiſtance that was given them.—*They were taught and encouraged to be induſtrious*; and they probably derived more eſſential advantages from the fruits of their induſtry, than from all the charitable donations they received.

All who were able to earn any thing by their labour, were furniſhed with work, and effectual meaſures taken to excite them to be induſtrious.—In fixing the amount of the ſums in money, which they receive weekly upon ſtated days, care was always taken to find out how much the perſon applying for relief was in a condition to earn, and only juſt ſo much was granted,

* Above 18,000 pounds ſterling.

as, when added to theſe earnings, would be ſufficient to provide the neceſſaries of life, or ſuch of them as were not otherwiſe furniſhed by the inſtitution.—But even this precaution would not alone have been ſufficient to have obliged thoſe who were diſpoſed to be idle, to become induſtrious; for with the aſſiſtance of the ſmall allowances which were granted, they might have found means, by ſtealing, or other fraudulent practices, to have ſubſiſted without working, and the ſums allowed them would only have ſerved as an encouragement to idleneſs.—This evil, which is always much to be apprehended in eſtabliſhments for the Poor, and which is always moſt fatal in its conſequences, is effectually prevented at Munich by the following ſimple arrangement:—A long and narrow ſlip of paper, upon which is printed, between parallel lines, in two or more columns, all the weeks in the year, or rather the month, and the day of the month, when each week begins, is, in the beginning of every year, given to each poor perſon entitled to receive alms; and the name of the perſon,—with the number his name bears in the general liſt of the Poor;—the weekly ſum granted to him,—and the ſum he is able to earn weekly by labour, are entered in writing at the head of this liſt of the weeks. This paper, which muſt always be produced by the poor perſon as often as he applies for his weekly allowance of alms, ſerves to ſhew whether he has, or has not fulfilled the conditions upon which the allowance was granted him;—that is to ſay, whether he has been induſ-

trious, and has earned by his labour, and received, the ſum he ought to earn weekly.—This fact is aſcertained in the following manner: when the poor perſon frequents the houſe of induſtry regularly, or when he works at home, and delivers regularly at the end of every week, the produce of the labour he is expected to perform; when he has thus fulfilled the conditions impoſed on him, the column, or rather parallel, in his paper, (which may be called his certificate of induſtry,) anſwering to the week in queſtion, is marked with a ſtamp, kept for that purpoſe at the Military Work-houſe; or, if he ſhould be prevented by illneſs, or any other accident, from fulfilling thoſe conditions, in that caſe, inſtead of the ſtamp, the week muſt be marked by the ſignature of the commiſſary of the diſtrict to which the poor perſon belongs.—But, if the certificate be not marked, either by the ſtamp of the houſe of induſtry, or by the ſignature of the commiſſary of the diſtrict, the allowance for the week in queſtion is not iſſued.

It is eaſy to be imagined how effectually this arrangement muſt operate as a check to idleneſs.—But, not ſatisfied with diſcouraging and puniſhing idleneſs, we have endeavoured, by all the means in our power, and more eſpecially by rewards and honourable diſtinctions of every kind, to encourage extraordinary exertions of induſtry. Such of the Poor who earn more in the week than the ſum impoſed on them, are rewarded by extraordinary preſents, in money, or in ſome uſeful and valuable article of clothing; or they are particularly remembered

bered at the next public diſtribution of money, which is made twice a year to the Poor, to aſſiſt them in paying their houſe-rent: and ſo far is this from being made a pretext for diminiſhing their weekly allowance of alms, that it is rather conſidered as a reaſon for augmenting them.

There are great numbers of perſons, of various deſcriptions, in all places, and particularly in great towns, who, though they find means juſt to ſupport life, and have too much feeling ever to ſubmit to the diſgrace of becoming a burthen upon the public, are yet very unhappy, and conſequently objects highly deſerving of the commiſeration and friendly aid of the humane and generous.—It is hardly poſſible to imagine a ſituation more truly deplorable than that of a perſon born to better proſpects, reduced by unmerited misfortunes to poverty, and doomed to paſs his whole life in one continued and hopeleſs ſtruggle with want, ſhame, and deſpair.

Any relief which it is poſſible to afford to diſtreſs that appears under this reſpectable and moſt intereſting form, ought ſurely never to be with-held.—But the greateſt care and precaution are neceſſary in giving aſſiſtance to thoſe who have been rendered irritable and ſuſpicious by misfortunes, and who have too much honeſt pride not to feel themſelves degraded by accepting an obligation they never can hope to repay.

The eſtabliſhment of the houſe of induſtry at Munich has been a means of affording very eſſential relief to many diſtreſſed families, and ſingle

perſons in indigent circumſtances, who, otherwiſe, moſt probably never would have received any aſſiſtance.—Many perſons of diſtinguiſhed birth, and particularly widows and unmarried ladies with very ſmall fortunes, frequently ſend privately to this houſe for raw materials,—flax or wool,—which they ſpin, and return in yarn,—linen for ſoldiers ſhirts, which they make up, &c. and receive in money, (commonly through the hands of a maid ſervant, who is employed as a meſſenger upon theſe occaſions,) the amount of the wages at the ordinary price paid by the manufactory, for the labour performed.

Many a common ſoldier in the Elector's ſervice wears ſhirts made up privately by the delicate hands of perſons who were never ſeen publicly to be employed in ſuch coarſe work;—and many a comfortable meal has been made in the town of Munich, in private, by perſons accuſtomed to more ſumptuous fare, upon the ſoup deſtined for the Poor, and furniſhed *gratis* from the public kitchen of the houſe of induſtry. Many others who ſtand in need of aſſiſtance, will, in time, I hope, get the better of their pride, and avail themſelves of theſe advantages.

To render this eſtabliſhment for the Poor at Munich perfect, ſomething is ſtill wanting.—The houſe of induſtry is too remote from the center of the town, and many of the Poor live at ſuch a diſtance from it, that much time is loſt in going and returning.—It is ſituated, it is true, nearly in the center of the diſtrict in which moſt of the Poor inhabit,

inhabit, but ſtill there are many who do not derive all the advantages from it they otherwiſe would do were it adjacent to their dwellings. The only way to remedy this imperfection would be, to eſtabliſh ſeveral ſmaller public kitchens in different parts of the town, with two or three rooms adjoining to each, where the Poor might work.—They might then either fetch the raw materials from the principal houſe of induſtry, or be furniſhed with them by the perſons who ſuperintend thoſe ſubordinate kitchens; and who might ſerve at the ſame time as ſtewards and inſpectors of the working rooms, under the direction and control of the officers who are placed at the head of the general eſtabliſhment. This arrangement is in contemplation, and will be put in execution as ſoon as convenient houſes can be procured and fitted up for the purpoſe.

In large cities, theſe public kitchens, and rooms adjoining to them for working, ſhould be eſtabliſhed in every pariſh; and, it is ſcarcely to be conceived how much this arrangement would contribute to the comfort and contentment of the Poor, and to the improvement of their morals. Theſe working rooms might be fitted up with neatneſs; and even with elegance; and made perfectly warm, clean, and comfortable, at a very ſmall expence; and, if nothing were done to diſguſt the Poor, either by treating them harſhly, or uſing *force* to oblige them to frequent theſe eſtabliſhments, they would ſoon avail themſelves of the advantages held out to them; and the tranquillity they would enjoy in

theſe peaceful retreats, would, by degrees, calm the agitation of their minds,—remove their ſuſpicions,—and render them happy,—grateful, and docile.

Though it might not be poſſible to provide any other lodgings for them than the miſerable barracks they now occupy, yet, as they might ſpend the whole of the day, from morning till late at night, in theſe public rooms, and have no occaſion to return to their homes till bed-time, they would not experience much inconvenience from the badneſs of the accommodation at their own dwellings.

Should any be attacked with ſickneſs, they might be ſent to ſome hoſpital, or rooms be provided for them, as well as for the old and infirm, adjacent to the public working rooms. Certain hours might alſo be ſet apart for inſtructing the children, daily, in reading and writing, in the dining-hall, or in ſome other room convenient for that purpoſe.

The expence of forming ſuch an eſtabliſhment in every pariſh would not be great, in the firſt outſet, and the advantages derived from it, would very ſoon repay that expence, with intereſt.—The Poor might be fed from a public kitchen for *leſs than half* what it would coſt them to feed themſelves;—they would turn their induſtry to better account, by working in a public eſtabliſhment, and under proper direction, than by working at home;—a ſpirit of emulation would be excited among them, and they would paſs their time more agreeably and cheerfully.—They would be entirely relieved

relieved from the heavy expence of fuel for cooking; and in a great meaſure, from that for heating their dwellings; and being ſeldom at home in the day-time, would want little more than a place to ſleep in; ſo that the expence of lodging might be greatly diminiſhed.—It is evident, that all theſe ſavings together would operate very powerfully to leſſen the public expence for the maintenance of the Poor; and, were proper meaſures adopted, and purſued with care and perſeverance, I am perſuaded the expence would at laſt be reduced to little or nothing.

With regard to lodgings for the Poor, I am clearly of opinion that it is in general beſt, particularly in great towns, that theſe ſhould be left for themſelves to provide. This they certainly would like better than being crowded together, and confined like priſoners in poor-houſes and hoſpitals; and I really think the difference in the expence would be inconſiderable; and though they might be leſs comfortably accommodated, yet the inconvenience would be amply compenſated *by the charms which liberty diſpenſes.*

In Munich, almoſt all the Poor provide their own lodgings; and twice a year have certain allowances in money, to aſſiſt them in paying their rent. —Many among them who are ſingle, have, indeed, no lodgings they can call their own. They go to certain public-houſes to ſleep, where they are furniſhed with what is called a bed, in a garret, for one creutzer, (equal to about one-third of a penny,) a-night; and for two creutzers a-night they

get a place in a tolerable good bed in a decent room in a public-houſe of more repute.

There are, however, among the Poor, many who are infirm, and not able to ſhift for themſelves in the public-houſes, and have not families, or near relations, to take care of them. For theſe, a particular arrangement has lately been made at Munich. Such of them as have friends or acquaintances in town with whom they can lodge, are permitted to do ſo; but if they cannot find out lodgings themſelves, they have their option, either to be placed in ſome private family to be taken care of, or go to a houſe which has lately been purchaſed and fitted up as an hoſpital for lodging them *.

This houſe is ſituated in a fine airy ſituation, on a ſmall eminence upon the banks of the Iſar, and overlooks the whole town;—the plain in which it is ſituated;—and the river.—It is neatly built, and has a ſpacious garden belonging to it. There are ſeventeen good rooms in the houſe; in which it is ſuppoſed about eighty perſons may be lodged. Theſe will all be fed from one kitchen; and ſuch of them who are very infirm, will have others leſs infirm placed in the ſame room with them, to aſſiſt them, and wait upon them.—The cultivation of the garden will be their amuſement,

* The committee, at the head of the eſtabliſhment, has been enabled to make this purchaſe, by legacies made to the inſtitution. Theſe legacies have been numerous, and are increaſing every day; which clearly ſhews, that the meaſures adopted with regard to the Poor have met with the approbation of the public.

and

and the produce of it their property.—They will be furniſhed with work ſuitable to their ſtrength; and for all the labour they perform, will be paid in money, which will be left at their own diſpoſal.—They will be furniſhed with food, medicine, and clothing, *gratis;* and to thoſe who are not able to earn any thing by labour, a ſmall ſum of money will be given weekly, to enable them to purchaſe tobacco, ſnuff, or any other article of humble luxury to which they may have been accuſtomed.

I could have wiſhed that this aſylum had been nearer to the houſe of induſtry. It is indeed not very far from it, perhaps not more than 400 yards; but ſtill that is too far.—Had it been under the ſame roof, or adjoining to it, thoſe who are lodged in it might have been fed from the public kitchen of the general eſtabliſhment, and have been under the immediate inſpection of the principal officers of the houſe of induſtry. It would likewiſe have rendered the eſtabliſhment very intereſting to thoſe who viſit it; which is an object of more real importance than can well be imagined by thoſe who have not had occaſion to know how much the approbation and applauſe of the public facilitate difficult enterprizes.

The means of uniting the rational amuſement of ſociety, with the furtherance of ſchemes calculated for the promotion of public good, is a ſubject highly deſerving the attention of all who are engaged in public affairs.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Means uſed for extending the Influence of the Inſtitution for the Poor at Munich, to other Parts of Bavaria.—Of the Progreſs which ſome of the Improvements introduced at Munich are making in other Countries.

THOUGH the inſtitution of which I have undertaken to give an account, was confined to the city of Munich and its ſuburbs, yet meaſures were taken to extend its influence to all parts of the country. The attempt, to put an end to mendicity in the capital, and to give employment to the Poor, having been completely ſucceſsful, this event was formally announced to the public, in the news-papers; and other towns were called upon to follow the example. Not only a narrative in detail was given of all the different meaſures purſued in this important undertaking, but every kind of information and aſſiſtance was afforded on the part of the inſtitution at Munich, to all who might be diſpoſed to engage in forming ſimilar eſtabliſhments in other parts of the country.

Copies of all the different liſts, returns, certificates, &c. uſed in the management of the Poor, were given *gratis* to all ſtrangers as well as inhabitants of the country, who applied for them; and

no information relative to the eſtabliſhment, or to any of its details, was ever refuſed.

The houſe of induſtry was open every day from morning till night to all viſitors; and perſons were appointed to accompany ſtrangers in their tour through the different apartments, and to give the fulleſt information relative to the details, and even to all the ſecrets of the various manufactures carried on; and printed copies of the different tables, tickets, checks, &c. made uſe of in carrying on the current buſineſs of the houſe, were furniſhed to every one who aſked for them; together with an account of the manner in which theſe were uſed, and of the other meaſures adopted to prevent frauds and peculation in the various branches of this extenſive eſtabliſhment.

As few manufactures in Bavaria are carried on to any extent, the more indigent of the inhabitants are, in general, ſo totally unacquainted with every kind of work in which the Poor could be moſt uſefully employed, that that circumſtance alone is a great obſtacle to the general introduction throughout the country of the meaſures adopted in Munich for employing the Poor. To remove this difficulty, the different towns and communities who are deſirous of forming eſtabliſhments for giving employment to the Poor, are invited to ſend perſons properly qualified to the houſe of induſtry at Munich, where they may be taught *gratis*, ſpinning, in its various branches; knitting; ſewing, &c. in order to qualify them to become

inſtructors

inſtructors to the Poor on their return home. And even inſtructors already formed, and poſſeſſing all the requiſite qualifications for ſuch an office, are offered to be furniſhed by the houſe of induſtry in Munich to ſuch communities as ſhall apply for them.

Another difficulty, apparently not leſs weighty than that juſt mentioned, but which is more eaſily and more effectually removed, is the embarraſſment many of the ſmaller communities are likely to be under in procuring raw materials, and in ſelling to advantage the goods manufactured, or, (as is commonly the caſe,) *in part only manufactured*, by the Poor. The yarn, for inſtance, which is ſpun by them in a country-town or village, far removed from any manufacture of cloth, may lie on hand a long time before it can be ſold to advantage. To remedy this, the houſe of induſtry at Munich is ordered to furniſh raw materials to ſuch communities as ſhall apply for them, and receive in return the goods manufactured, at the full prices paid for the ſame articles in Munich. Not only theſe meaſures, and many others of a ſimilar nature, are taken, to facilitate the introduction of induſtry among the Poor throughout the country; but every encouragement is held out to induce individuals to exert themſelves in this laudable undertaking. Thoſe communities which are the firſt to follow the example of the capital, are honourably mentioned in the news-papers; and ſuch individuals as diſtinguiſh

tinguiſh themſelves by their zeal and activity upon thoſe occaſions, are praiſed and rewarded.

A worthy curate, (Mr. Lechner,) preacher in one of the churches in Munich, who, of his own accord, had taken upon himſelf to defend the meaſures adopted with regard to the Poor, and to recommend them in the moſt earneſt manner from the pulpit, was ſent for by the Elector into his cloſet, and thanked for his exertions.

This tranſaction being immediately made known, (an account of it having been publiſhed in the news-papers,) tended not a little to engage the clergy in all parts of the country to exert themſelves in ſupport of the inſtitution.

It is not my intention to inſinuate that the clergy in Bavaria ſtood in need of any ſuch motive to ſtimulate them to action in a cauſe ſo important to the happineſs and well-being of mankind, and conſequently ſo nearly connected with the ſacred duties of their office;—on the contrary, I ſhould be wanting in candour, as well as gratitude, were I not to embrace this opportunity of expreſſing publicly, the obligations I feel myſelf under to them for their ſupport and aſſiſtance.

The number of excellent ſermons which have been preached, in order to recommend the meaſures adopted by the government for making proviſion for the Poor, ſhew how much this uſeful and reſpectable body of men have had it at heart to contribute to the ſucceſs of this important meaſure; and their readineſs to co-operate with me, (a Proteſtant,) upon all occaſions where their aſſiſtance

aſſiſtance has been aſked, not only does honour to the liberality of their ſentiments, but calls for my perſonal acknowledgments, and particular thanks.

I ſhall conclude this Eſſay with an account of the progreſs which ſome of the improvements introduced at Munich are now making in other countries. During my late journey in Italy for the recovery of my health, I viſited Verona; and becoming acquainted with the principal directors of two large and noble hoſpitals, *la Picta*, and *la Miſericordi*, in that city, the former containing about 350, and the latter near 500 Poor, I had frequent occaſions to converſe with them upon the ſubject of thoſe eſtabliſhments, and to give them an account of the arrangements that had been made at Munich. I likewiſe took the liberty of propoſing ſome improvements, and particularly in regard to the arrangements for feeding theſe Poor; and in the management of the fires employed for cooking. Fire-wood, the only fuel uſed in that country, is extremely ſcarce and dear, and made a very heavy article in the expences of thoſe inſtitutions.

Though this ſcarcity of fuel, which had prevailed for ages in that part of Italy, had rendered it neceſſary to pay attention to the economy of fuel, and had occaſioned ſome improvements to be made in the management of heat; yet I found, upon examining the kitchens of theſe two hoſpitals, and comparing the quantities of fuel conſumed with the quantities of victuals cooked, that

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ſeven-eighths of the fire-wood they were then conſuming might be ſaved *. Having communicated the reſult of thoſe enquiries to the directors of theſe two hoſpitals, and offered my ſervice to alter the kitchens, and arrange them upon the principles of that in the houſe of induſtry at Munich, (which I deſcribed to them,) they accepted my offer, and the kitchens were rebuilt under my immediate direction; and have both ſucceeded, even beyond my moſt ſanguine expectations. That of the hoſpital of *la Pièta* is the moſt complete kitchen I have ever built; and I would recommend it as a model, in preference to any I have ever ſeen. I ſhall give a more particular deſcription of it, with plans and eſtimates, in my Eſſay on the Management of Heat.

During the time I was employed in building the new kitchen in the hoſpital of *la Pieta*, I had an opportunity of making myſelf acquainted with all the details of the clothing of the Poor belonging to that eſtabliſhment; and I found that very great ſavings might be made in that article of expence. I made a propoſal to the directors of that hoſpital, to furniſh them with clothing for their Poor, ready made up, from the houſe of induſtry at Munich; and upon my return to Munich I ſent them *twelve* complete ſuits of clothing of different ſizes as a ſample, and accompanied them with an eſtimate of the prices at which we could afford to deliver them at Verona.

* I found upon examining the famous kitchen of the great hoſpital at Florence, that the waſte of fuel there is ſtill greater.

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The ſucceſs of this little adventure has been very flattering, and has opened a very intereſting channel for commerce, and for the encouragement of induſtry in Bavaria. This ſample of clothing being approved, and, with all the expences of carriage added, being found to be near *twenty per cent.* cheaper than that formerly uſed, orders have been received from Italy by the houſe of induſtry at Munich, to a conſiderable amount, for clothing the Poor. In the beginning of September laſt, a few days before I left Munich to come to England, I had the pleaſure to aſſiſt in packing up and ſending off, over the Alps, by the Tyrol, SIX HUNDRED articles of clothing of different kinds for the Poor of Verona; and hope ſoon to ſee the Poor of Bavaria growing rich, by manufacturing clothing for the Poor of Italy.

END OF THE FIRST ESSAY.

ESSAY II.

OF THE

FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES

ON WHICH

GENERAL ESTABLISHMENTS for the RELIEF of the POOR may be formed in all Countries.

ESSAY II.

CHAP. I.

General View of the Subject.—Deplorable State of thoſe who are reduced to Poverty.—No Body of Laws can be ſo framed as to provide efficaciouſly for their Wants.—Only adequate Relief that can be afforded them muſt be derived from the voluntary Aſſiſtance of the Humane and Benevolent.—How that Aſſiſtance is to be ſecured.—Objections to the Expence of taking care of the Poor anſwered.—Of the Means of introducing a Scheme for the Relief of the Poor.

THOUGH the fundamental principles upon which the Eſtabliſhment for the Poor at Munich is founded, are ſuch as I can venture to recommend; and notwithſtanding the fulleſt information relative to every part of that Eſtabliſhment may, I believe, be collected from the account of it which is given in the foregoing Eſſay; yet, as this information is ſo diſperſed in different parts of the work, and ſo blended with a variety of other particulars, that the Reader would find ſome difficulty in bringing the whole into one view, and arranging it ſyſtematically in a complete whole; I ſhall endeavour briefly to reſume the ſubject, and give the reſult of all my inquiries relative to it, in a more conciſe, methodical, and uſeful form: and as from the experience I

have had in providing for the wants of the Poor, and reclaiming the indolent and vicious to habits of uſeful induſtry, I may venture to conſider myſelf authorized to ſpeak with ſome degree of confidence upon the ſubject; inſtead of merely recapitulating what has been ſaid of the Eſtabliſhment for the Poor at Munich, (which would be at beſt but a tireſome repetition,) I ſhall now allow myſelf a greater range in theſe inveſtigations, and ſhall give my opinions without reſtraint which may come under conſideration. And though the ſyſtem I ſhall propoſe, is founded upon the ſucceſsful experiments made at *Munich, as may be ſeen by comparing it with the* details of that Eſtabliſhment; yet, as a difference in the local circumſtances under which an operation is performed muſt neceſſarily requſre certain modifications of the plan, I ſhall endeavour to take due notice of every modification which may appear to me to be neceſſary *.

Before I enter upon thoſe details, it may be proper to take a more extenſive ſurvey of the ſubject, and inveſtigate the general and fundamental Principles on which an Eſtabliſhment for the Relief of the Poor, in every country, ought to be founded. At the ſame time I ſhall conſider the

* The Engliſh Reader is deſired to bear in mind, that the Author of this Eſſay, though an Engliſhman, is reſident in Germany; and that his connections with that country render it neceſſary for him to pay particular attention to its circumſtances, in treating a ſubject which he is deſirous of rendering generally uſeful. There is ſtill another reaſon which renders it neceſſary for him to have continually in view, in this Treatiſe, the ſituation of the Poor upon the Continent, and that it is an engagement which he has laid himſelf under to write upon that ſubject.

difficulties

difficulties which are generally underſtood to be inſeparable from ſuch an undertaking, and endeavour to ſhow that they are by no means inſurmountable.

That degree of poverty which involves in it the inability to procure the neceſſaries of life without the charitable aſſiſtance of the Public, is, doubtleſs, the heavieſt of all misfortunes; as it not only brings along with it the greateſt phyſical evils, pain,—and diſeaſe, but is attended by the moſt mortifying humiliation, and hopeleſs deſpondency. It is, moreover, an incurable evil; and is rather irritated than alleviated by the remedies commonly applied to remove it. The only alleviation of which it is capable, muſt be derived from the kind and ſoothing attentions of the truly benevolent. This is the only balm which can ſooth the anguiſh of a wounded heart, or allay the agitations of a mind irritated by diſappointment, and rendered ferocious by deſpair.

And hence it evidently appears that no body of laws, however wiſely framed, can, in any country, effectually provide for the relief of the Poor, without the voluntary aſſiſtance of individuals; for though taxes may be levied by authority of the laws for the ſupport of the Poor, yet, thoſe kind attentions which are ſo neceſſary in the management of the Poor, as well to reclaim the vicious, as to comfort and encourage the deſpondent—thoſe demonſtrations of concern which are always ſo great a conſolation to perſons in diſtreſs—cannot be *commanded by force*. On the contrary,

every attempt to uſe *force* in ſuch caſes, ſeldom fails to produce conſequences directly contrary to thoſe intended *.

But if the only effectual relief for the diſtreſſes of the Poor, and the ſovereign remedy for the numerous evils to ſociety which ariſe from the prevalence of mendicity, indolence, poverty, and miſery, among the lower claſſes of ſociety, muſt be derived from the charitable and voluntary exertions of individuals;—as the aſſiſtance of the Public cannot be expected, unleſs the moſt unlimited confidence can be placed, not only in the wiſdom of the meaſures propoſed, but alſo, and *more eſpecially*, in the *uprightneſs*, *zeal*, and *perfect diſintereſtedneſs* of the perſons appointed to carry them into execution; it is evident that the firſt object to be attended to, in forming a plan of providing for the Poor, is to make ſuch arrangements as will *command the confidence of the Public*, and fix it upon the moſt ſolid and durable foundation.

This can moſt certainly and moſt effectually be done; firſt, by engaging perſons of high rank and the moſt reſpectable character to place themſelves at the head of the Eſtabliſhment:—*ſecondly*, by joining, in the general adminiſtration of the affairs of the Eſtabliſhment, a certain number of perſons choſen from the middling claſs of ſociety; reput-

* The only ſtep which, in my opinion, it would be either neceſſary, or prudent, for the legiſlature to take in any country where an Eſtabliſhment for the Poor is to be formed, is to *recommend* to the Public a good plan for ſuch an Eſtabliſhment, and repeal or alter all ſuch of the exiſting laws as might render the introduction of it difficult or impoſſible.

able

able tradeſmen, in eaſy circumſtances;—heads of families; and others of known integrity and of humane diſpoſitions *:—*thirdly*, by engaging all thoſe who are employed in the adminiſtration of the affairs of the Poor, to ſerve without fee or reward:—*fourthly*, by publiſhing, at ſtated periods, ſuch particular and authentic accounts of all receipts and expenditures, that no doubt can poſſibly be entertained by the Public reſpecting the proper application of the monies deſtined for the relief of the Poor:—*fifthly*, by publiſhing an alphabetical liſt of all who receive alms; in which liſt ſhould be inſerted, not only the name of the perſon, his age, condition, and place of abode; but alſo the amount of the weekly aſſiſtance granted to him; in order that thoſe who entertain any doubts reſpecting the manner in which the Poor are provided for, may have an opportunity of viſiting them at their habitations, and making inquiry into their real ſituations:—and *laſtly*, the confidence of the Public, and the continuance of their ſupport, will moſt effectually be ſecured by a prompt and ſucceſsful execution of the plan adopted.

There is ſcarcely a greater plague that can infeſt ſociety, than ſwarms of beggars; and the inconveniencies to individuals ariſing from them are ſo generally and ſo ſeverely felt, that relief from ſo great an evil cannot fail to produce a powerful and laſting effect upon the minds of the Public, and to

* This is an object of the utmoſt importance, and the ſucceſs of the undertaking will depend in a great meaſure on the attention that is paid to it.

engage all ranks to unite in the ſupport of meaſures as conducive to the comfort of individuals, as they are eſſential to the national honour and reputation. And even in countries where the Poor do not make a practice of begging, the knowledge of their ſufferings muſt be painful to every benevolent mind; and there is no perſon, I would hope, ſo callous to the feelings of humanity, as not to rejoice moſt ſincerely when effectual relief is afforded.

The greateſt difficulty attending the introduction of any meaſure founded upon the voluntary ſupport of the Public, for maintaining the Poor, and putting an end to mendicity, is an opinion generally entertained, that a very heavy expence would be indiſpenſably neceſſary to carry into execution ſuch an undertaking. But this difficulty may be ſpeedily removed by ſhowing, (which may eaſily be done,) that the execution of a well-arranged plan for providing for the Poor, and giving uſeful employment to the idle and indolent, ſo far from being expenſive, muſt, in the end, be attended with a very conſiderable ſaving, not only to the Public collectively, but alſo to individuals.

Thoſe who now extort their ſubſiſtence by begging and ſtealing, are, in fact, already maintained by the Public. But this is not all; they are maintained in a manner the moſt expenſive and troubleſome, to themſelves and the Public, that can be conceived; and this may be ſaid of all the Poor in general.

A poor perſon, who lives in poverty and miſery, and merely from hand to mouth, has not the power of

of availing himſelf of any of thoſe economical arrangements, in procuring the neceſſaries of life, which others, in more affluent circumſtances, may employ; and which may be employed with peculiar advantage in a public Eſtabliſhment.—Added to this, the greater part of the Poor, as well thoſe who make a profeſſion of begging, as others who do not, might be uſefully employed in various kinds of labour; and ſuppoſing them, one with another, to be capable of earning *only half* as much as is neceſſary to their ſubſiſtence, this would reduce the preſent expence to the Public for their maintenance at leaſt one half; and this half might be reduced ſtill much lower, by a proper attention to order and economy in providing for their ſubſiſtence.

Were the inhabitants of a large town where mendicity is prevalent, to ſubſcribe only half the ſums annually, which are extorted from them by beggars, I am confident it would be quite ſufficient, with a proper arrangement, for the comfortable ſupport of the Poor of all denominations.

Not only thoſe who were formerly common ſtreet-beggars, but all others, without exception, who receive alms, in the city of Munich and its ſuburbs, amounting at this time to more than 1800 perſons, are ſupported almoſt entirely by voluntary ſubſcriptions from the inhabitants; and I have been aſſured by numbers of the moſt opulent and reſpectable citizens, that the ſums annually extorted from them formerly by beggars alone, excluſive of private charities, amounted to more than three times the ſums now given by them to the ſupport of the new inſtitution.

I inſiſt

I inſiſt the more upon this point, as I know that the great expence which has been ſuppoſed to be indiſpenſably neceſſary to carry into execution any ſcheme for effectually providing for the Poor, and putting an end to mendicity, has deterred many well-diſpoſed perſons from engaging in ſo uſeful an enterpriſe. I have only to add my moſt earneſt wiſhes, that what I have ſaid and done may remove every doubt, and re-animate the zeal of the Public, in a cauſe in which the deareſt intereſts of humanity are ſo nearly concerned.

In almoſt every public undertaking, which is to be carried into effect by the united voluntary exertions of individuals, without the interference of government, there is a degree of awkwardneſs in bringing forward the buſineſs, which it is difficult to avoid, and which is frequently not a little embarraſſing. This will doubtleſs be felt by thoſe who engage in forming and executing ſchemes for providing for the Poor by private ſubſcription; they ſhould not, however, ſuffer themſelves to be diſcouraged by a difficulty which may ſo eaſily be ſurmounted.

In the introduction of every ſcheme for forming an Eſtabliſhment for the Poor, whether it be propoſed to defray the expence by voluntary ſubſcriptions, or by a tax levied for the purpoſe, it will be proper for the authors or promoters of the meaſure to addreſs the Public upon the ſubject; to inform them of the nature of the meaſures propoſed;—of their tendency to promote the public welfare, and to point out the various ways in which indivi-

duals may give their aſſiſtance to render the ſcheme ſucceſsful.

There are few cities in Europe, I believe, in which the ſtate of the Poor would juſtify ſuch an addreſs as that which was publiſhed at Munich upon taking up the beggars, in that town; but ſomething of the kind, with ſuch alterations as local circumſtances may require, I am perſuaded, would in moſt caſes produce good effects. With regard to the aſſiſtance that might be given by individuals to carry into effect a ſcheme for providing for the Poor, though meaſures for that purpoſe may, and ought to be ſo taken, that the Public would have little or no trouble in their execution, yet there are many things which individuals muſt be inſtructed cautiouſly to avoid; otherwiſe the enterpriſe will be extremely difficult, if not impracticable; and, above all things, they muſt be warned againſt giving alms to beggars.

Though nothing would be more unjuſt and tyrannical, than to prevent the generous and humane from contributing to the relief of the Poor and neceſſitous, yet, as giving alms to beggars tends ſo directly and ſo powerfully to encourage idleneſs and immorality, to diſcourage the induſtrious Poor, and perpetuate mendicity, with all its attendant evils, too much pains cannot be taken to guard the Public againſt a practice ſo fatal in its conſequences to ſociety.

All who are deſirous of contributing to the relief of the Poor, ſhould be invited to ſend their charitable donations to be diſtributed by thoſe who, being

being at the head of a public Inſtitution eſtabliſhed for taking care of the Poor, muſt be ſuppoſed beſt acquainted with their wants. Or, if individuals ſhould prefer diſtributing their own charities, they ought at leaſt to take the trouble to inquire after fit objects; and to apply their donations in ſuch a manner as not to counteract the meaſures of a public and uſeful Eſtabliſhment.

But, before I enter farther into theſe details, it will be neceſſary to determine the proper extent and limits of an Eſtabliſhment for the Poor; and ſhow how a town or city ought to be divided in diſtricts, in order to facilitate the purpoſes of ſuch an inſtitution.

CHAP. II.

Of the Extent of an Eſtabliſhment for the Poor.—Of the Diviſion of a Town or City into Diſtricts.—Of the Manner of carrying on the Buſineſs of a Public Eſtabliſhment for the Poor.—Of the Neceſſity of numbering all the Houſes in a Town where an Eſtabliſhment for the Poor is formed.

HOWEVER large a city may be, in which an Eſtabliſhment for the Poor is to be formed, I am clearly of opinion, that there ſhould be but *one Eſtabliſhment;* - with *one* committee for the general management of all it's affairs; and *one* treaſurer. This unity appears eſſentially neceſſary, not only becauſe, when all the parts tend to one common centre, and act in union to the ſame end, under one direction, they are leſs liable to be impeded in their operations, or diſordered by colliſion;—but alſo on account of *the very unequal diſtribution of wealth*, as well as of miſery and poverty, in the different diſtricts of the ſame town. Some pariſhes in great cities have comparatively few Poor, while others, perhaps leſs opulent, are overburdened with them; and there ſeems to be no good reaſon why

why a houſekeeper in any town ſhould be called upon to pay more or leſs for the ſupport of the Poor, becauſe he happens to live on one ſide of a ſtreet or the other. Added to this, there are certain diſtricts in moſt great towns where poverty and miſery ſeem to have fixed their head-quarters, and where it would be *impoſſible* for the inhabitants to ſupport the expence of maintaining their Poor. Where that is the caſe, as meaſures for preventing mendicity in every town muſt be general, in order to their being ſucceſsful, the enterpriſe, *from that circumſtance alone*, would be rendered impracticable, were the aſſiſtance of the more opulent diſtricts to be refuſed.

There is a diſtrict, for inſtance, belonging to Munich, (the Au,) a very large pariſh, which may be called the St. Giles's of that city, where the alms annually received are *twenty times* as much as the whole diſtrict contributes to the funds of the public Inſtitution for the Poor.—The inhabitants of the other pariſhes, however, have never conſidered it a hardſhip to them, that the Poor of the Au ſhould be admitted to ſhare the public bounty, in common with the Poor of the other pariſhes.

Every town muſt be divided, according to its extent, into a greater or leſs number of diſtricts, or ſubdiviſions; and each of theſe muſt have a committee of inſpection, or rather a commiſſary, with aſſiſtants, who muſt be entruſted with the ſuperintendance and management of all affairs relative to the relief and ſupport of the Poor within its limits.

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In very large cities, as the details of a general Eſtabliſhment for the Poor would be very numerous and extenſive, it would probably facilitate the management of the affairs of the Eſtabliſhment, if, beſide the ſmalleſt ſubdiviſions or diſtricts, there could be formed other larger diviſions, compoſed of a certain number of diſtricts, and put under the direction of particular committees.

The moſt natural, and perhaps the moſt convenient method of dividing a large city or town, for the purpoſe of introducing a general Eſtabliſhment for the Poor, would be, to form of the pariſhes the primary diviſions; and to divide each pariſh into ſo many ſubdiviſions, or diſtricts, as that each diſtrict may conſiſt of from 3000 to 4000 inhabitants. Though the immediate inſpection and general ſuperintendance of the affairs of each pariſh were to be left to its own particular committee, yet the ſupreme committee at the head of the general Inſtitution ſhould not only exerciſe a controlling power over the parochial committees, but theſe laſt ſhould not be empowered to levy money upon the pariſhioners, by ſetting on foot voluntary ſubſcriptions, or otherwiſe; or to diſpoſe of any ſums belonging to the general Inſtitution, except in caſes of urgent neceſſity;—nor ſhould they be permitted to introduce any new arrangements with reſpect to the management of the Poor, without the approbation and conſent of the ſupreme committee: the moſt perfect uniformity in the mode of treating the Poor, and tranſacting all public buſineſs relative to the Inſtitution,

tution, being indiſpenſably neceſſary to ſecure ſucceſs to the undertaking, and fix the Eſtabliſhment upon a firm and durable foundation.

For the ſame reaſons, all monies collected in the pariſhes ſhould not be received and diſpoſed of by their particular committees, but ought to be paid into the public treaſury of the Inſtitution, and carried to the general account of receipts;—and, in like manner, the ſums neceſſary for the ſupport of the Poor in each pariſh ſhould be furniſhed from the general treaſury, on the orders of the ſupreme committee.

With regard to the applications of individuals in diſtreſs for aſſiſtance, all ſuch applications ought to be made through the commiſſary of the diſtrict to the parochial committee;—and where the neceſſity is not urgent, and particularly where permanent aſſiſtance is required, the demand ſhould be referred by the parochial committee to the ſupreme committee, for their deciſion. In caſes of urgent neceſſity, the parochial committees, and even the commiſſaries of diſtricts, ſhould be authorized to adminiſter relief, *ex officio*, and without delay; for which purpoſe they ſhould be furniſhed with certain ſums in advance, to be afterwards accounted for by them.

That the ſupreme committee may be exactly informed of the real ſtate of thoſe in diſtreſs who apply for relief, every petition, forwarded by a parochial committee, or by a commiſſary of a diſtrict, where there are no parochial committees, ſhould be accompanied with an exact and detailed account

account of the circumſtances of the petitioner, ſigned by the commiſſary of the diſtrict to which he belongs, together with the amount of the weekly ſum, or other relief, which ſuch commiſſary may deem neceſſary for the ſupport of the petitioner.

To ſave the commiſſaries of diſtricts the trouble of writing the deſcriptions of the Poor who apply for aſſiſtance, printed forms, ſimilar to that which may be ſeen in the Appendix, No. V. may be furniſhed to them;—and other printed forms, of a like nature, may be introduced with great advantage in many other caſes in the management of the Poor.

With regard to the manner in which the ſupreme and parochial committees ſhould be formed;—however they may be compoſed, it will be indiſpenſably requiſite, for the preſervation of order and harmony in all the different parts of the Eſtabliſhment, that one member at leaſt of each parochial committee be preſent, and have a ſeat, and voice, as a member of the ſupreme committee. And, that all the members of each parochial committee may be equally well informed with regard to the general affairs of the Eſtabliſhment, it may perhaps be proper that thoſe members attend the meetings of the ſupreme committee in rotation.

For ſimilar reaſons it may be proper to invite the commiſſaries of diſtricts to be preſent in rotation at the meetings of the committees of their reſpective pariſhes, where there are parochial

committees eſtabliſhed, or otherwiſe, at the meetings of the ſupreme committee *.

It is, however, only in very large cities that I would recommend the forming parochial committees. In all towns where the inhabitants do not amount to more than 100,000 ſouls, I am clearly of opinion that it would be beſt merely to divide the town into diſtricts, without regard to the limits of pariſhes; and to direct all the affairs of the inſtitution by one ſimple committee. This mode was adopted at Munich, and found to be eaſy in practice, and ſucceſsful; and it is not without ſome degree of diffidence, I own, that I have ventured to propoſe a deviation from a plan, which has not yet been juſtified by experience.

But however a town may be divided into diſtricts, it will be abſolutely neceſſary that *all* the houſes be regularly numbered, and an accurate liſt made out of all the perſons who inhabit them. The propriety of this meaſure is too apparent to require any particular explanation. It is one of the very firſt ſteps that ought to be taken in carrying into execution any plan for forming an Eſtabliſhment for the Poor; it being as neceſſary to know the names and places of abode of thoſe, who, by voluntary ſubſcriptions, or otherwiſe, aſſiſt in re-

* This meaſure has been followed by the moſt ſalutary effects at Munich. The commiſſaries of diſtricts flattered by this diſtinction have exerted themſelves with uncommon zeal and aſſiduity in the diſcharge of the important duties of their office. And very important indeed is the office of a commiſſary of a diſtrict in the Eſtabliſhment for the Poor at Munich.

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lieving the Poor, as to be acquainted with the dwellings of the objects themſelves; and this meaſure is as indiſpenſably neceſſary when an inſtitution for the Poor is formed in a ſmall country-town or village, as when it is formed in the largeſt capital.

In many caſes, it is probable, the eſtabliſhed laws of the country in which an inſtitution for the Poor may be formed, and certain uſages, the influence of which may perhaps be ſtill more powerful than the laws, may render many modifications neceſſary, which it is utterly impoſſible for me to foreſee; ſtill the great fundamental principles upon which every ſenſible plan for ſuch an Eſtabliſhment muſt be founded, appear to me to be certain and immutable; and when rightly underſtood, there can be no great difficulty in accommodating the plan to all thoſe particular circumſtances under which it may be carried into execution, without making any eſſential alteration.

CHAP. III.

General Direction of the Affairs of an Inſtitution for the Poor attended with no great Trouble.—Of the beſt Method of carrying on the current Buſineſs, and of the great Uſe of printed Forms, or Blanks.—Of the neceſſary Qualifications of thoſe who are placed at the Head of an Eſtabliſhment for the Relief of the Poor.—Great Importance of this Subject.—Cruelty and Impolicy of putting the Poor into the Hands of Perſons they cannot reſpect and love.—The Perſons pointed out who are more immediately called upon to come forward with Schemes for the Relief of the Poor, and to give their active Aſſiſtance in carrying them into Effect.

WHATEVER the number of diſtricts into which a city is divided may be, or the number of committees employed in the management of a public Eſtabliſhment for the relief of the Poor, it is indiſpenſably neceſſary that all individuals who are employed in the undertaking be perſons of known integrity;—for courage is not more neceſſary in the character of a general, than unſhaken integrity in the character of a governor of a public charity. I inſiſt the more upon this point as the whole ſcheme is founded upon the voluntary aſſiſtance of individuals, and therefore to enſure its ſucceſs the moſt unlimited confidence of the public muſt

muſt be repoſed in thoſe who are to carry it into execution; beſides, I may add, that the manner in which the funds of the various public Eſtabliſhments for the relief of the Poor already inſtituted have commonly been adminiſtered in moſt countries, does not tend to render ſuperfluous the precautions I propoſe for ſecuring the confidence of the public.

The preceding obſervations reſpecting the importance of employing none but perſons of known integrity at the head of an inſtitution for the relief of the Poor, relates chiefly to the neceſſity of encouraging people in affluent circumſtances, and the public at large, to unite in the ſupport of ſuch an Eſtabliſhment.—There is alſo another reaſon, perhaps equally important, which renders it expedient to employ perſons of the moſt reſpectable character in the details of an inſtitution of public charity,—the good effects ſuch a choice muſt have upon the minds and morals of the Poor.

Perſons who are reduced to indigent circumſtances, and become objects of public charity, come under the direction of thoſe who are appointed to take care of them, with minds weakened by adverſity, and ſoured by diſappointment; and finding themſelves ſeparated from the reſt of mankind, and cut off from all hope of ſeeing better days, they naturally grow peeviſh, and diſcontented, ſuſpicious of thoſe ſet over them, and of one another; and the kindeſt treatment, and moſt careful attention to every circumſtance that can render their ſituation ſupportable, are therefore required, to

prevent their being very unhappy. And nothing ſurely can contribute more powerfully to ſoothe the minds of perſons in ſuch unfortunate and hopeleſs circumſtances, than to find themſelves under the care and protection of perſons of gentle manners; —humane diſpoſitions;—and known probity and integrity; ſuch as even *they*,—with all their ſuſpicions about them, may venture to love and reſpect.

Whoever has taken the pains to inveſtigate the nature of the human mind, and examine attentively thoſe circumſtances upon which human happineſs depends, muſt know how neceſſary it is to happineſs, that the mind ſhould have ſome object upon which to place its more tender affections—ſomething to love,—to cheriſh,—to eſteem,—to reſpect,—and to venerate; and theſe reſources are never ſo neceſſary as in the hour of adverſity and diſcouragement, where no ray of hope is left to cheer the proſpect, and ſtimulate to freſh exertion.

The lot of the Poor, particularly of thoſe who, from eaſy circumſtances and a reputable ſtation in ſociety, are reduced by misfortunes, or oppreſſion, to become a burthen on the Public, is truly deplorable, after all that can be done for them:—and were we ſeriouſly to conſider their ſituation, I am ſure we ſhould think that we could never do too much to alleviate their ſufferings, and ſoothe the anguiſh of wounds which can never be healed.

For the common misfortunes of life, *hope* is a ſovereign remedy. But what remedy can be applied to evils, which involve even the loſs of hope itſelf? and what can thoſe have to hope, who are ſeparated

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and cut off from ſociety, and for ever excluded from all ſhare in the affairs of men? To them, honours;—diſtinctions;—praiſe;—and even property itſelf;—all thoſe objects of laudable ambition which ſo powerfully excite the activity of men in civil ſociety, and contribute ſo eſſentially to happineſs, by filling the mind with pleaſing proſpects of future enjoyments, are but empty names; or rather, they are ſubjects of never-ceaſing regret and diſcontent.

That gloom muſt indeed be dreadful, which overſpreads the mind, when *hope*, that bright luminary of the ſoul, which enlightens and cheers it, and excites and calls forth into action all its beſt faculties, has diſappeared!

There many, it is true, who, from their indolence or extravagance, or other vicious habits, fall into poverty and diſtreſs, and become a burthen on the public, who are ſo vile and degenerate as not to feel the wretchedneſs of their ſituation. But theſe are miſerable objects which the truly benevolent will regard with an eye of peculiar compaſſion;—they muſt be very unhappy, for they are very vicious; and nothing ſhould be omitted that can tend to reclaim them;—but nothing will tend ſo powerfully to reform them, as kind uſage from the hands of perſons they muſt learn to love and to reſpect at the ſame time.

If I am too prolix upon this head, I am ſorry for it. It is a ſtrong conviction of the great importance of the ſubject, which carries me away, and makes me, perhaps, tireſome, where I would wiſh moſt to avoid it. The care of the Poor, however, I muſt conſider as a matter of very ſerious import-

ance. It appears to me to be one of the moſt ſacred duties impoſed upon men in a ſtate of civil ſociety;—one of thoſe duties impoſed immediately by the hand of God himſelf, and of which the neglect never goes unpuniſhed.

What I have ſaid reſpecting the neceſſary qualifications of thoſe employed in taking care of the Poor, I hope will not deter well-diſpoſed perſons, who are willing to aſſiſt in ſo uſeful an undertaking, from coming forward with propoſitions for the inſtitution of public Eſtabliſhments for that purpoſe; or from offering themſelves candidates for employments in the management of ſuch Eſtabliſhments. The qualifications pointed out, integrity, and a gentle and humane diſpoſition,—honeſty, and a good heart;—are ſuch as any one may boldly lay claim to, without fear of being taxed with vanity or oſtentation.—And if individuals in private ſtations, on any occaſion are called upon to lay aſide their baſhfulneſs and modeſt diffidence, and come forward into public view, it muſt ſurely be, when by their exertions they can eſſentially contribute to promote meaſures which are calculated to increaſe the happineſs and proſperity of ſociety.

It is a vulgar ſaying, that, *what is everybody's buſineſs, is nobody's buſineſs;* and it is very certain that many ſchemes, evidently intended for the public good, have been neglected, merely becauſe nobody could be prevailed on to ſtand forward and be the firſt to adopt them. This doubtleſs has been the caſe in regard to many judicious and well-arranged propoſals for providing for the Poor; and

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will probably be ſo again. I ſhall endeavour, however, to ſhow, that though in undertakings in which the general welfare of ſociety is concerned, perſons of all ranks and conditions are called upon to give them their ſupport, yet, in the *introduction* of ſuch meaſures as are here recommended,—a ſcheme of providing for the Poor—there are many who, by their rank and peculiar ſituations, are clearly pointed out as the moſt proper to take up the buſineſs at its commencement, and bring it forward to maturity; as well as to take an active part in the direction and management of ſuch an inſtitution after it has been eſtabliſhed: and it appears to me, that the nature and the end of the undertaking evidently point out the perſons who are more particularly called upon to ſet an example on ſuch an occaſion.

If the care of the Poor be an object of great national importance,—if it be inſeparably connected with the peace and tranquillity of ſociety, and with the glory and proſperity of the ſtate;—if the advantages which individuals ſhare in the public welfare are in proportion to the capital they have at ſtake in this great national fund—that is to ſay, in proportion to their rank, property, and connexions, or general influence;—as it is juſt that every one ſhould contribute in proportion to the advantages he receives; it is evident who ought to be the firſt to come forward upon ſuch an occaſion.

But it is not merely on account of the ſuperior intereſt they have in the public welfare, that perſons of high rank and great property, and ſuch as occupy

occupy places of importance in the government, are bound to ſupport meaſures calculated to relieve the diſtreſſes of the Poor;—there is ſtill another circumſtance which renders it indiſpenſably neceſſary that they ſhould take an active part in ſuch meaſures, and that is, the influence which their example muſt have upon others.

It is impoſſible to prevent the bulk of mankind from being ſwayed by the example of thoſe to whom they are taught to look up as their ſuperiors; it behoves, therefore, all who enjoy ſuch high privileges, to employ all the influence which their rank and fortune give them, to promote the public good. And this may juſtly be conſidered as a duty of a peculiar kind;—a *perſonal* ſervice attached to the ſtation they hold in ſociety, and which cannot be commuted.

But if the obligations which perſons of rank and property are under, to ſupport meaſures deſigned for the relief of the Poor, are ſo binding, how much more ſo muſt they be upon thoſe who have taken upon themſelves the ſacred office of public teachers of virtue and morality;—the Miniſters of a moſt holy religion;—a religion whoſe firſt precepts inculcate charity and univerſal benevolence, and whoſe great object is, unqueſtionably, the peace, order, and happineſs of ſociety.

If there be any whoſe peculiar province it is to ſeek for objects in diſtreſs and want, and adminiſter to them relief;—if there be any who are bound by the indiſpenſable duties of their profeſſion to encourage by every means in their power, and more

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eſpecially by *example*, the general practice of charity; it is, doubtleſs, the Miniſters of the Goſpel. And ſuch is their influence in ſociety, ariſing from the nature of their office, that their example is a matter of *very ſerious importance*.

Little perſuaſion, I ſhould hope, would be neceſſary to induce the clergy, in any country, to give their cordial and active aſſiſtance in relieving the diſtreſſes of the Poor, and providing for their comfort and happineſs, by introducing order and uſeful induſtry among them.

Another claſs of men, who from the ſtation they hold in ſociety, and their knowledge of the laws of the country, may be highly uſeful in carrying into effect ſuch an undertaking, are the civil magiſtrates; and, however a committee for the government and direction of an Eſtabliſhment for the Poor may in other reſpects be compoſed, I am clearly of opinion, that the *Chief Magiſtrate* of the town, or city, where ſuch an Eſtabliſhment is formed, ought always to be one of its members. The *Clergyman* of the place who is higheſt in rank or dignity ought, likewiſe, to be another; and if he be a Biſhop, or Archbiſhop, his aſſiſtance is the more indiſpenſable.

But as perſons who hold offices of great truſt and importance in the church, as well as under the civil government, may be ſo much engaged in the duties of their ſtations, as not to have ſufficient leiſure to attend to other matters; it may be neceſſary, when ſuch diſtinguiſhed perſons lend their aſſiſtance in the management of an Eſtabliſhment for the

the relief of the Poor, that each of them be permitted to bring with them a perſon of his own choice into the committee, to aſſiſt him in the buſineſs. The Biſhop, for inſtance, may bring his chaplain;—the Magiſtrate, his clerk;—the Nobleman, or private gentleman, his ſon, or friend, &c. But in ſmall towns, of two or three pariſhes, and particularly in country-towns and villages, which do not conſiſt of more than one or two pariſhes, as the details in the management of the affairs of the Poor in ſuch communities cannot be extenſive, the members of the committee may manage the buſineſs without aſſiſtants. And indeed in all caſes, even in great cities, when a general Eſtabliſhment for the Poor is formed upon a good plan, the details of the executive and more laborious parts of the management of it will be ſo divided among the commiſſaries of the diſtricts, that the members of the ſupreme committee will have little more to do than juſt to hold the reins, and direct the movement of the machine. Care muſt however be taken to preſerve the moſt perfect uniformity in the motions of all its parts, otherwiſe confuſion muſt enſue; hence the neceſſity of directing the whole from one center.

As the inſpection of the Poor;—the care of them when they are ſick;—the diſtribution of the ſums granted in alms for their ſupport;—the furniſhing them with clothes;—and the collection of the voluntary ſubſcriptions of the inhabitants,—will be performed by the commiſſaries of the diſtricts, and their aſſiſtants;—and as all the details relative

to giving employment to the Poor, and feeding them, may be managed by particular ſubordinate committees, appointed for thoſe purpoſes, the current buſineſs of the ſupreme committee will amount to little more than the exerciſe of *a general ſuperintendance.*

This committee, it is true, muſt determine upon all demands from the Poor who apply for aſſiſtance; but as every ſuch demand will be accompanied with the moſt particular account of the circumſtances of the petitioner, and the nature and amount of the aſſiſtance neceſſary to his relief, certified by the commiſſary of the diſtrict in which the petitioner reſides,—and alſo by the parochial committee, where ſuch are eſtabliſhed,—the matter will be ſo prepared and digeſted, that the members of the ſupreme committee will have very little trouble to decide on the merits of the caſe, and the aſſiſtance to be granted.

This aſſiſtance will conſiſt—in a certain ſum to be given *weekly* in alms to the petitioner, by the commiſſary of the diſtrict, out of the funds of the Inſtitution;—in an allowance of bread only;—in a preſent of certain articles of clothing, which will be ſpecified;—or, perhaps, merely in an order for being furniſhed with food, clothing, or fuel, from the public kitchens or magazines of the Eſtabliſhment, *at the prime coſt* of thoſe articles, *as an aſſiſtance* to the petitioner, and to prevent the *neceſſity of his becoming a burthen on the public.*

The manner laſt mentiond of aſſiſting the Poor,—that of furniſhing them with the neceſſaries of life at lower

lower prices than thoſe at which they are ſold in the public markets, is a matter of ſuch importance, that I ſhall take occaſion to treat of it more fully hereafter.

With reſpect to the petitions preſented to the committee;—whatever be the aſſiſtance demanded, the petition received ought to be accompanied by a duplicate; to the end that, the deciſion of the committee being entered upon the duplicate, as well as upon the original, and the duplicate ſent back to the commiſſary of the diſtrict, the buſineſs may be finiſhed with the leaſt trouble poſſible; and even without the neceſſity of any more formal order relative to the matter being given by the committee.

I have already mentioned the great utility of *printed forms*, for petitions, returns, &c. in carrying on the buſineſs of an Eſtabliſhment for the Poor, and I would again moſt earneſtly recommend the general uſe of them. Thoſe who have not had experience in ſuch matters, can have no idea how much they contribute to preſerve order, and facilitate and expedite buſineſs. To the general introduction of them in the management of the affairs of the Inſtitution for the Poor at Munich, I attribute, more than to any thing elſe, the perfect order which has continued to reign throughout every part of that extenſive Eſtabliſhment, from its firſt exiſtence to the preſent moment.

In carrying on the buſineſs of that Eſtabliſhment, printed forms or blanks are uſed, not only for petitions;—returns;—liſts of the Poor;—deſcriptions of the Poor;—liſts of the inhabitants;—

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liſts of ſubſcribers to the ſupport of the Poor;—orders upon the banker or treaſurer of the Inſtitution;—but alſo for the reports of the monthly collections made by the commiſſaries of diſtricts;—the accounts ſent in by the commiſſaries, of the extraordinary expences incurred in affording aſſiſtance to thoſe who ſtand in need of immediate relief;—the banker's receipts;—and even the books in which are kept the accounts of the receipts and expenditures of the Eſtabliſhment.

In regard to the proper forms for theſe blanks; as they muſt depend, in a great meaſure, upon local circumſtances, no general directions can be given, other, than in all caſes, the ſhorteſt forms that can be drawn up, conſiſtent with perſpicuity, are recommended; and that the ſubject-matter of each particular or ſingle return, may be ſo diſpoſed as to be eaſily transferred to ſuch general tables, or general accounts, as the nature of the return and other circumſtances may require. Care ſhould likewiſe be taken to make them of ſuch a form, *ſhape*, and dimenſion, that they may be regularly folded up, and docketted, in order to their being preſerved among the public records of the Inſtitution.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Neceſſity of effectual Meaſures for introducing a Spirit of Induſtry among the Poor in forming an Eſtabliſhment for their Relief and Support.—Of the Means which may be uſed for that Purpoſe; and for ſetting on foot a Scheme for forming an Eſtabliſhment for feeding the Poor.

AN object of the very firſt importance in forming an Eſtabliſhment for the relief and ſupport of the Poor, is to take effectual meaſures for introducing a ſpirit of induſtry among them; for it is moſt certain, that *all ſums of money, or other aſſiſtance given to the Poor in alms, which do not tend to make them induſtrious, never can fail to have a contrary tendency, and to operate as an encouragement to idleneſs and immorality.*

And as the merit of an action is to be determined by the good it produces, the charity of a nation ought not to be eſtimated by the millions which are paid in Poor's taxes, but by *the pains which are taken* to ſee that the ſums raiſed are properly applied.

As the providing uſeful employment for the Poor, and rendering them induſtrious, is, and ever has been, a great *deſideratum* in political economy,

nomy, it may be proper to enlarge a little here, upon that intereſting ſubject.

The great miſtake committed in moſt of the attempts which have been made to introduce a ſpirit of induſtry, where habits of idleneſs have prevailed, has been the too frequent and improper uſe of coercive meaſures, by which the perſons to be reclaimed have commonly been offended and thoroughly diſguſted at the very out-ſet.—Force will not do it.—Addreſs, not force, muſt be uſed on thoſe occaſions.

The children in the houſe of induſtry at Munich, who, being placed upon elevated ſeats round the halls where other children worked, were made to be idle ſpectators of that amuſing ſcene, cried moſt bitterly when their requeſt to be permitted to deſcend from their places, and mix in that buſy crowd, was refuſed;—but they would, moſt probably, have cried ſtill more, had they been taken abruptly from their play and *forced* to work.

"Men are but children of a larger growth;"—and thoſe who undertake to direct them, ought ever to bear in mind that important truth.

That impatience of control, and jealouſy and obſtinate perſeverance in maintaining the rights of perſonal liberty and independence, which ſo ſtrongly mark the human character in all the ſtages of life, muſt be managed with great caution and addreſs, by thoſe who are deſirous of doing good;—or, indeed, of doing any thing effectually with mankind.

It has often been ſaid, that the Poor are vicious and profligate, and that *therefore* nothing but force

will anſwer to make them obedient, and keep them in order;—but, I ſhould ſay, that *becauſe* the Poor are vicious and profligate, it is ſo much the more neceſſary to avoid the appearance of force in the management of them, to prevent their becoming rebellious and incorrigible.

Thoſe who are employed to take up and tame the wild horſes belonging to the Elector Palatine, which are bred in the foreſt near Duſſeldorff, never uſe force in reclaiming that noble animal, and making him docile and obedient. They begin with making a great circuit, in order to approach him; and rather decoy than force him into the ſituation in which they wiſh to bring him, and ever afterwards treat him with the greateſt kindneſs; it having been found by experience, that ill-uſage ſeldom fails to make him "a man-hater," untameable, and incorrigibly vicious.—It may, perhaps, be thought fanciful and trifling, but the fact really is, that an attention to the means uſed by theſe people to gain the confidence of thoſe animals, and teach them to like their keepers, their ſtables, and their mangers, ſuggeſted to me many ideas which I afterwards put in execution with great ſucceſs, in reclaiming thoſe abandoned and ferocious animals in human ſhape, which I undertook to tame and render gentle and docile.

It is however neceſſary in every attempt to introduce a ſpirit of order and induſtry among the idle and profligate, not merely to avoid all harſh and offenſive treatment, which, as has already been obſerved, could only ſerve to irritate them, and ren-

der

der them ſtill more vicious and obſtinate, but it is alſo indiſpenſably neceſſary to do every thing that can be deviſed to encourage and reward every ſymptom of reformation.

It will likewiſe be neceſſary ſometimes to puniſh the obſtinate; but recourſe ſhould never be had to puniſhments till *good uſage* has firſt been fairly tried and found to be ineffectual. The delinquent muſt be made to ſee that he has deſerved the puniſhment, and when it is inflicted, care ſhould be taken to make him feel it. But in order that the puniſhment may have the effects intended, and not ſerve to irritate the perſon puniſhed, and excite perſonal hatred and revenge, inſtead of diſpoſing the mind to ſerious reflection, it muſt be adminiſtered in the moſt ſolemn and moſt *diſpaſſionate* manner; and it muſt be continued no longer than till the *firſt dawn* of reformation appears.

How much prudence and caution are neceſſary in diſpenſing rewards and puniſhments;—and yet—how little attention is in general paid to thoſe important tranſactions!

Rewards and *Puniſhments* are the only means by which mankind can be controlled and directed; and yet, how often do we ſee them diſpenſed in the moſt careleſs—moſt imprudent—and moſt improper manner!—how often are they confounded!—how often miſapplied!—and how often do we ſee them made the inſtruments of gratifying the moſt ſordid private paſſions!

To the improper uſe of them may be attributed all the diſorders of civil ſociety.—To the improper

or careleſs uſe of them may, moſt unqueſtionably, be attributed the prevalence of poverty, miſery, and mendicity in moſt countries, and particularly in Great Britain, where the healthfulneſs and mildneſs of the climate—the fertility of the ſoil—the abundance of fuel—the numerous and flouriſhing manufactures—the extenſive commerce—and the millions of acres of waſte lands which ſtill remain to be cultivated, furniſh the means of giving uſeful employment to all its inhabitants, and even to a much more numerous population.

But if inſtead of encouraging the laudable exertions of uſeful induſtry, and aſſiſting and relieving the unfortunate and the infirm—(the only real objects of charity,)—the means deſigned for thoſe purpoſes are ſo miſapplied as to operate as rewards to idleneſs and immorality, the greater the ſums are which are levied on the rich for the relief of the poor, the more numerous will that claſs become, and the greater will be their profligacy, their inſolence, and their ſhameleſs and clamorous importunity.

There is, it cannot be denied, in man, a natural propenſity to ſloth and indolence; and though habits of induſtry,—like all habits,—may render thoſe exertions eaſy and pleaſant which at firſt are painful and irkſome, yet no perſon, in any ſituation, ever choſe labour merely for its own ſake. It is always the apprehenſion of ſome greater evil,—or the hope of ſome enjoyment, by which mankind are compelled or allured, when they take to induſtrious purſuits.

In

In the rude ſtate of ſavage nature the wants of men are few, and theſe may all be eaſily ſupplied without the commiſſion of any crime; conſequently induſtry, under ſuch circumſtances, is not neceſſary, nor can indolence be juſtly conſidered as a vice; but in a ſtate of civil ſociety, where population is great, and the means of ſubſiſtence not to be had without labour, or without defrauding others of the fruits of their induſtry, idleneſs becomes a crime of the moſt fatal tendency, and conſequently of the moſt heinous nature; and every means ſhould be uſed to diſcountenance, puniſh, and prevent it.

And we ſee that Providence, ever attentive to provide remedies for the diſorders which the progreſs of ſociety occaſions in the world, has provided for idleneſs—as ſoon as the condition of ſociety renders it a vice, but not before—a puniſhment every way ſuited to its nature, and calculated to prevent its prevalency and pernicious conſequences: —This is *want*,—and a moſt efficacious remedy it is for the evil,—when the *wiſdom of man* does not interfere to counteract it, and prevent its ſalutary effects.

But reſerving the farther inveſtigation of this part of my ſubject—that reſpecting the means to be uſed for encouraging induſtry—to ſome future opportunity, I ſhall now endeavour to ſhow, in a few words, how, under the moſt unfavourable circumſtances, an arrangement for putting an end to mendicity, and introducing a ſpirit of induſtry among the Poor, might be introduced and carried into execution.

If I am obliged to take a great circuit, in order to arrive at my object, it muſt be remembered, that where a vaſt weight is to be raiſed by human means, a variety of machinery muſt neceſſarily be provided; and that it is only by bringing all the different powers employed to act together to the ſame end, that the purpoſe in view can be attained. It will likewiſe be remembered, that as no mechanical power can be made to act without a force be applied to it ſufficient to overcome the reſiſtance, not only of the *vis inertia*, but alſo of friction, ſo no moral agent can be brought to act to any given end without ſufficient motives; that is to ſay, without ſuch motives as *the perſon who is to act* may deem ſufficient, not only to decide his opinion, but alſo to *overcome his indolence.*

The object propoſed,—the relief of the Poor, and the providing for their future comfort and happineſs, by introducing among them a ſpirit of order and induſtry, is ſuch as cannot fail to meet with the approbation of every well-diſpoſed perſon. —But I will ſuppoſe, that a bare conviction of the *utility* of the meaſure is not ſufficient alone to overcome the indolence of the Public, and induce them to engage *actively* in the undertaking;—yet as people are at all times, and in all ſituations, ready enough to do what they *feel* to be their intereſt, if, in bringing forward a ſcheme of public utility, the proper means be uſed to render it ſo intereſting as to awaken the *curioſity*, and fix the attention, of the Public, no doubts can be entertained of the poſſibility of carrying it into effect.

In

In arranging ſuch a plan, and laying it before the Public, no ſmall degree of knowledge of mankind, and particularly of the various means of acting on them, which are peculiarly adapted to the different ſtages of civilization, or rather of the political refinement and corruption of ſociety, would, in moſt caſes, be indiſpenſably neceſſary; but with that knowledge, and a good ſhare of zeal, addreſs, prudence, and perſeverance, there are few ſchemes, in which an honeſt man would wiſh to be concerned, that might not be carried into execution in any country.

In ſuch a city as London, where there is great wealth;—public ſpirit;—enterprize;—and zeal for improvement; little more, I flatter myſelf, would be neceſſary to engage all ranks to unite in carrying into effect ſuch a ſcheme, than to ſhow its public utility; and, above all, to prove that there *is no job* at the bottom of it.

It would, however, be adviſeable, in ſubmitting to the Public, Propoſals for forming ſuch an Eſtabliſhment, to ſhow that thoſe who are invited to aſſiſt in carrying it into execution, would not only derive from it much pleaſure and ſatisfaction, but alſo many real advantages; for too much pains can never be taken to intereſt the Public individually, and directly, in the ſucceſs of meaſures tending to promote the general good of ſociety.

The following Propoſals, which I will ſuppoſe to be made by ſome perſon of known and reſpectable character, who has courage enough to engage

in ſo arduous an undertaking, will ſhow my ideas upon this ſubject in the cleareſt manner.—Whether they are well founded, muſt be left to the reader to determine.—As to myſelf, I am ſo much perſuaded that the ſcheme here propoſed, by way of example, and merely for illuſtration, might be executed, that, had I time for the undertaking, (which I have not,) I ſhould not heſitate to engage in it.

"PROPOSALS

"FOR FORMING BY PRIVATE SUBSCRIPTION,

AN

"ESTABLISHMENT

"For feeding the POOR, and giving them uſeful "Employment;

"And alſo for furniſhing Food at a cheap Rate to others who "may ſtand in need of ſuch Aſſiſtance. Connected with an "INSTITUTION for introducing, and bringing forward into "general Uſe, new Inventions and Improvements, particularly ſuch as relate to the Management of *Heat* and the "ſaving of *Fuel*; and to various other mechanical Contrivances by which *Domeſtic Comfort* and *Economy* may be "promoted.

"Submitted to the Public,

"By A. B.

"The Author of theſe Propoſals declares "ſolemnly, in the face of the whole world, that "he has no intereſted view whatever in making "theſe

" theſe Propoſals; but is actuated merely and
" ſimply by a deſire to do good, and promote the
" happineſs and proſperity of ſociety, and the
" honour and reputation of his country.—That he
" never will demand, accept, or receive any pay
" or other recompence or reward of any kind what-
" ever from any perſon or perſons, for his ſervices
" or trouble, in carrying into execution the pro-
" poſed ſcheme, or any part thereof, or for any thing
" he may do or perform in future relating to it, or
" to any of its details or concerns.

" And, moreover, that he never will avail him-
" ſelf of any opportunities that may offer in the
" execution of the plan propoſed, for deriving
" profit, emolument, or advantage of any kind,
" either for himſelf, his friends, or connections;—
" but that, on the contrary, he will take upon
" himſelf to be perſonally reſponſible to the Public,
" and more immediately to the Subſcribers to this
" undertaking, that *no perſon* ſhall *find means* to
" make a job of the propoſed Eſtabliſhment, or of
" any of the details of its execution, or of its
" management, as long as the Author of theſe Pro-
" poſals remains charged with its direction.

" With reſpect to the particular objects and
" extent of the propoſed Eſtabliſhment, theſe may
" be ſeen by the account which is given of them
" at the head of theſe Propoſals; and as to their
" utility, there can be no doubts. They certainly
" muſt tend very powerfully to promote the com-
" fort, happineſs, and proſperity of ſociety, and
" will do honour to the nation, as well as to thoſe
" individuals

" individuals who may contribute to carry them
" into execution.

" With regard to the poſſibility of carrying into
" effect the propoſed ſcheme;—the facility with
" *which this may be done, will be evident* when
" the method of doing it, which will now be
" pointed out, is duly conſidered.

" As ſoon as a ſum ſhall be ſubſcribed ſufficient
" for the purpoſes intended, the Author of theſe
" Propoſals will, by letters, requeſt a meeting of
" the *twenty-five* perſons who ſhall ſtand higheſt on
" the liſt of ſubſcribers, for the purpoſe of examin-
" ing the ſubſcription-liſts, and of appointing, by
" ballot, a committee, compoſed of five perſons,
" ſkilled in the details of building, and in accounts,
" to collect the ſubſcriptions, and to ſuperintend
" the execution of the plan.—This committee,
" which will be choſen from among the ſubſcribers
" at large, will be authorized and directed, to
" examine all the works that will be neceſſary in
" forming the Eſtabliſhment, and ſee that they are
" properly performed, and at reaſonable prices;—
" to examine and approve of all contracts for
" work, or for materials;—to examine and check
" all accounts of expenditures of every kind, in
" the execution of the plan;—and to give orders
" for all payments.

" The general arrangement of the Eſtabliſh-
" ment, and of all its details, will be left to the
" Author of theſe Propoſals; who will be reſpon-
" ſible for their ſucceſs.—He engages, however,
" in the proſecution of this buſineſs, to adhere

" faithfully

" faithfully to the plan here propoſed, and never to " depart from it on any pretence whatever.

" With regard to the choice of a ſpot for erect- " ing this Eſtabliſhment, a place will be choſen " within the limits of the town, and in as conve- " nient and central a ſituation as poſſible, where " ground enough for the purpoſe is to be had " at a reaſonable price *.—The agreement for " the purchaſe, or hire of this ground, and of " the buildings, if there be any on it, will, like " all other bargains and contracts, be ſubmitted " to the committee for their approbation and " ratification.

" The order in which it is propoſed to carry " into execution the different parts of the ſcheme " is as follows:—Firſt, to eſtabliſh a public kitchen " for furniſhing food to ſuch poor perſons as ſhall " be recommended by the ſubſcribers for ſuch " aſſiſtance.

" This Food will be of four different ſorts, " namely, No. I. A nouriſhing ſoup compoſed of " barley—peaſe—potatoes, and bread; ſeaſoned " with ſalt, pepper, and fine herbs.—The portion " of this ſoup, one pint and a quarter, weighing " about twenty ounces, will coſt *one penny*.

" No. II. a rich peaſe-ſoup, well ſeaſoned;— " with fried bread;—the portion (twenty ounces) " at *two pence*.

" No. III. A rich and nouriſhing ſoup, of barley, " peaſe, and potatoes, properly ſeaſoned;—with

* " It will be beſt, if it be poſſible, to ment on and deſcribe " the place in the Propoſals."

" fried bread; and two ounces of boiled bacon, " cut fine and put into it.—The portion (20 ounces) " at *four pence.*

" No. IV. A good ſoup; with boiled meat and " potatoes or cabbages, or other vegetables; with " ¼ lb. of good rye bread, the portion at *ſix pence.*

" Adjoining to the kitchen, four ſpacious eat- " ing-rooms will be fitted up, in each of which one " only of the four different kinds of food prepared " in the kitchen will be ſerved.

" Near the eating-rooms, other rooms will be " neatly fitted up, and kept conſtantly clean, and " well warmed; and well lighted in the evening; " in which the Poor who frequent the Eſtabliſh- " ment will be permitted to remain during the " day, and till a certain hour at night.—They will " be allowed and even *encouraged* to bring their " work with them to theſe rooms; and by degrees " they will be furniſhed with utenſils, and raw " materials for working for their own emolument, " by the Eſtabliſhment. Praiſes and rewards will " be beſtowed on thoſe who moſt diſtinguiſh them- " ſelves by their induſtry, and by their peaceable " and orderly behaviour.

" In fitting up the kitchen, care will be taken " to introduce every uſeful invention and im- " provement, by which fuel may be ſaved, and " the various proceſſes of cookery facilitated, and " rendered leſs expenſive; and the whole mecha- " nical arrangement will be made as complete and " perfect as poſſible, in order that it may ſerve as " a model for imitation; and care will likewiſe be

" taken

" taken in fitting up the dining-halls, and other " rooms belonging to the Eſtabliſhment, to intro- " duce the moſt approved fire-places,—ſtoves,— " flews, and other mechanical contrivances for " heating rooms and paſſages;—as alſo in lighting " up the houſe to make uſe of a variety of the beſt, " moſt economical, and moſt beautiful lamps; and " in ſhort, to collect together ſuch an aſſemblage " of uſeful and elegant inventions, in every part of " the Eſtabliſhment, as to render it not only an " object of public curioſity, but alſo of the moſt " eſſential and extenſive utility.

" And although it will not be poſſible to make " the Eſtabliſhment ſufficiently extenſive to accom- " modate all the Poor of ſo large a city, yet it " may eaſily be made large enough to afford a " comfortable aſylum to a great number of diſ- " treſſed objects; and the intereſting and affecting " ſcene it will afford to ſpectators, can hardly fail " to attract the curioſity of the Public; and there " is great reaſon to hope that the ſucceſs of the " experiment, and the evident tendency of the " meaſures adopted to promote the comfort, hap- " pineſs, and proſperity of ſociety, will induce many " to exert themſelves in forming ſimilar Eſtabliſh- " ments in other places.—It is even probable that " the ſucceſs which will attend this firſt eſſay, (for " ſucceſsful it muſt, and will be, as care will be " taken to limit its extent to the means furniſhed " for carrying it into execution,) will encourage " others, who do not put down their names upon " the liſts of the ſubſcribers at firſt, to follow

" with

" with ſubſcriptions for the purpoſe of augmenting " the Eſtabliſhment, and rendering it more ex- " tenſively uſeful.

" Should this be the caſe, it is poſſible that in " a ſhort time ſubordinate public kitchens, with " rooms adjoining them for the accommodation of " the induſtrious Poor, may be eſtabliſhed in all " the pariſhes;—and when this is done, only one " ſhort ſtep more will be neceſſary in order to " complete the deſign, and introduce a perfect " ſyſtem in the management of the Poor. Poor " rates may then be entirely aboliſhed, and *volun-* " *tary ſubſcriptions*, which certainly need never " amount to one half what the Poor rates now are, " may be ſubſtituted in the room of them, and one " general Eſtabliſhment may be formed for the re- " lief and ſupport of the Poor in this capital.

" It will however be remembered that it is by " no means the intention of the Author of theſe " Propoſals that thoſe who contribute to the object " immediately in view, the forming *a model* for an " Eſtabliſhment for feeding and giving employ- " ment to the Poor, ſhould be troubled with any " future ſolicitations on that ſcore; very far from " it, meaſures will be ſo taken, by limiting the " extent of the undertaking to the amount of the " ſums ſubſcribed, and by arranging matters ſo " that the Eſtabliſhment, once formed, ſhall be " able to ſupport itſelf, that no farther aſſiſtance " from the ſubſcribers will be neceſſary.—If any " of them ſhould, of their accord, follow up their " ſubſcriptions by other donations, theſe addi-

" tional

" tional ſums will be thankfully received, and faith-
" fully applied, to the general or particular pur-
" poſes for which they may be deſigned; but the
" ſubſcribers may depend upon never being trou-
" bled with any future *ſolicitations* on any pre-
" tence whatever, on account of the preſent un-
" dertaking.

" A ſecondary object in forming this Eſtabliſh-
" ment, and which will be attended to as ſoon as
" the meaſures for feeding the Poor, and giving
" them employment, are carried into execution,
" is the forming of a grand repoſitory of all kinds
" of *uſeful mechanical inventions*, and particularly
" of ſuch as relate to the furniſhing of houſes, and
" are calculated to promote domeſtic comfort and
" economy.

" Such a repoſitory will not only be highly in-
" tereſting, conſidered as an object of public cu-
" riofity, but it will be really uſeful, and will doubt-
" leſs contribute very powerfully to the introduc-
" tion of many eſſential improvements.

" To render this part of the Eſtabliſhment ſtill
" more complete, rooms will be ſet apart for re-
" ceiving, and expoſing to public view, all ſuch
" new and uſeful inventions as ſhall, from time to
" time, be made, in this, or in any other country,
" and ſent to the inſtitution; and a written ac-
" count, containing the name of the inventor,—
" the place where the article may be bought,—and
" the price of it, will be attached to each article,
" for the information of thoſe who may be deſirous
" of knowing any of theſe particulars.

" If

" If the amount of the ſubſcriptions ſhould be " ſufficient to defray the additional expence which " ſuch an arrangement would require, models will " be prepared, upon a reduced ſcale, for ſhowing " the improvements which may be made in the " conſtruction of the coppers, or boilers, uſed by " brewers, and diſtillers, as alſo of their fire-places; " with a view both to the economy of fuel, and to " convenience.

" Complete kitchens will likewiſe be con- " ſtructed, of the full ſize, with all their utenſils, " as models for private families.—And that theſe " kitchens may not be uſeleſs, eating rooms may " be fitted up adjoining to them, and cooks en- " gaged to furniſh to gentlemen, ſubſcribers, or " others, to whom ſubſcribers may delegate that " right, good dinners, at the prime coſt of the " victuals, and the expences of cooking, which " together certainly would not exceed *one ſhilling a* " *head.*

" The public kitchen from whence the Poor will " be fed will be ſo conſtructed as to ſerve as a model " for hoſpitals, and for other great Eſtabliſhments " of a ſimilar nature.

" The expence of feeding the Poor will be pro- " vided for by ſelling the portions of Food deli- " vered from the public kitchen at ſuch a price, " that thoſe expences ſhall be juſt covered, and no " more;—ſo that the Eſtabliſhment, when once " completed, will be made to ſupport itſelf.

" Tickets for Food (which may be conſidered " as drafts upon the public kitchen, payable at " ſight)

" ſight) will be furniſhed to all perſons who apply " for them, in as far as it ſhall be poſſible to " ſupply the demands; but care will be taken to " provide, firſt, for the Poor who frequent re- " gularly the working rooms belonging to the " Eſtabliſhment; and ſecondly, to pay attention to " the recommendations of ſubſcribers, by furniſh- " ing Food immediately, or with the leaſt poſſible " delay, to thoſe who come with ſubſcribers' " tickets.

" As ſoon as the Eſtabliſhment ſhall be com- " pleted, every ſubſcriber will be furniſhed *gratis* " with tickets for Food, to the amount of *ten per* " *cent.* of his ſubſcription; the value of the tickets " being reckoned at what the portions of Food " really coſt, which will be delivered to thoſe who " produce the tickets at the public kitchen.—At " the end of ſix months, tickets to the amount of " *ten per cent. more*, and ſo on, at the end of every " ſix ſucceeding months, tickets to the amount of " *ten per cent.* of the ſum ſubſcribed will be deli- " vered to each ſubſcriber till he ſhall actually " have received in tickets for Food, or drafts upon " the public kitchen, to the full amount of *one half* " of his original ſubſcription. And as the price " at which this Food will be charged, will be " at the moſt moderate computation, at leaſt *fifty* " *per cent.* cheaper than it would coſt any where " elſe, the ſubſcribers will in fact receive in " theſe tickets the full value of the ſums they will " have ſubſcribed; ſo that in the end, the whole " advance will be repaid, and a moſt intereſting,

" and moſt uſeful public inſtitution willl be com-
" pletely eſtabliſhed *without any expence to any-*
" *body.*—And the Author of theſe Propoſals will
" think himſelf moſt amply repaid for any trouble
" he may have had in the execution of this ſcheme,
" by the heartfelt ſatisfaction he will enjoy in the
" reflection of having been inſtrumental in doing
" eſſential ſervice to mankind.

" It is hardly neceſſary to add, that although
" the ſubſcribers will receive in return for their
" ſubſcriptions the full value of them, in tickets,
" or orders upon the public kitchen, for Food,
" yet the property of the whole Eſtabliſhment, with
" all its appurtenances, will nevertheleſs remain
" veſted ſolely and entirely in the ſubſcribers, and
" their lawful heirs; and that they will have power
" to diſpoſe of it in any way they may think pro-
" per, as alſo to give orders and directions for its
" future management.

(Signed)

" A. B."

" London, 1ſt January
" 1796."

Theſe Propoſals, which ſhould be printed, and diſtributed *gratis*, in great abundance, ſhould be accompanied with *ſubſcription-liſts* which ſhould be printed on fine writing-paper; and to ſave trouble to the ſubſcribers, might be of a peculiar form.—Upon the top of a half-ſheet of folio writing-paper might be printed, the following Head

Head or Title, and the remainder of that ſide of the half-ſheet, below this Head, might be formed into different columns, thus:

"SUBSCRIPTIONS,

"For carrying into execution the ſcheme for form-
"ing an *Eſtabliſhment* for feeding the Poor
"from a *Public* KITCHEN, and giving them
"uſeful employment, &c. propoſed by A. B.
"and particularly deſcribed in the printed paper,
"dated London, 1ſt January 1796, which ac-
"companies this Subſcription Liſt.

"N. B. No part of the money ſubſcribed will
"be called for unleſs it be found that the amount
"of the ſubſcriptions will be quite ſufficient
"to carry the ſcheme propoſed into complete
"execution without troubling the ſubſcribers a
"ſecond time for further aſſiſtance."

Subſcribers Names.	Places of Abode	Sums ſubſcribed.
		£. s. d.

"That

" That this liſt is authentic, and that the per-
" ſons mentioned in it have agreed to ſubſcribe
" the ſums placed againſt their names, is atteſted
" by [ ].

" *The perſon who is ſo good as to take charge of*
" *this liſt, is requeſted to authenticate it by ſigning*
" *the above certificate, and then to ſeal it up and ſend*
" *it according to the printed addreſs on the back*
" *of it.*"

The addreſs upon the back of the ſubſcription liſts, (which may be that of the author of the Propoſals, or of any other perſon he may appoint to receive theſe liſts,) ſhould be printed in ſuch a manner that, when the liſt is folded up in the form of a letter, the addreſs may be in its proper place. This will ſave trouble to thoſe who take charge of theſe liſts; and too much pains cannot be taken to give as little trouble as poſſible to perſons who are ſolicited to contribute *in money* towards carrying into execution ſchemes of public utility.

As a Public Eſtabliſhment like that here propoſed would be highly intereſting, even were it to be conſidered in no other light than merely as an object of curioſity, there is no doubt but it would be much frequented; and it is poſſible that this concourſe of people might be ſo great as to render it neceſſary to make ſome regulations in regard to admittance; but, whatever meaſures might be adopted with reſpect to others, *ſubſcribers* ought certainly to have free admittance at all times to every part of the Eſtabliſhment.—

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They ſhould even have a right individually to examine all the details of its adminiſtration, and to require from thoſe employed as overſeers, or managers, any information or explanation they might want.—They ought likewiſe to be at liberty to take drawings, or to have them taken by others, (at their expence,) for themſelves or for their friends, of the kitchen, ſtoves, grates, furniture, &c. and in general of every part of the machinery belonging to the Eſtabliſhment.

In forming the Eſtabliſhment, and providing the various machinery, care ſhould be taken to employ the moſt ingenious and moſt reſpectable tradeſmen; and if the name of the maker, and the place of his abode were to be engraved or written on each article, this, no doubt, would tend to excite emulation among the artiſans, and induce them to furniſh goods of the beſt quality, and at as low a price as poſſible.—It is even poſſible, that in a great and opulent city like London, and where public ſpirit and zeal for improvement pervade all ranks of ſociety, many reſpectable tradeſmen in eaſy circumſtances may be found, who would have real pleaſure in furniſhing *gratis* ſuch of the articles wanted as are in their line of buſineſs: and the advantages which might, with proper management, be derived from this ſource, would moſt probably be very conſiderable.

With regard to the management of the Poor who might be collected together for the purpoſe of being fed and furniſhed with employment, in a Public Eſtabliſhment like that here recommended,

I cannot do better than refer my reader to the account already publiſhed (in my Firſt Eſſay) of the manner in which the Poor at Munich were treated in the Houſe of Induſtry eſtabliſhed in that city, and of the means that were uſed to render them comfortable, *happy*, and induſtrious.

As ſoon as the ſcheme here recommended is carried into execution, and meaſures are effectually taken for feeding the Poor at a cheap rate, and giving them uſeful employment, no farther difficulties will then remain, at leaſt none certainly that are inſurmountable, to prevent the introduction of a general plan for providing for all the Poor, founded upon the principles explained and recommended in the preceding Chapters of this Eſſay.

CHAP. V.

Of the Means which may be uſed by Individuals in affluent Circumſtances for the Relief of the Poor in their Neighbourhood.

As nothing tends more powerfully to encourage idleneſs and immorality among the Poor, and conſequently to perpetuate all the evils to ſociety which ariſe from the prevalence of poverty and *mendicity*, *than injudicious diſtributions of alms*; individuals muſt be very cautious in beſtowing their private charities, and in forming ſchemes for giving aſſiſtance to the diſtreſſed, otherwiſe they will moſt certainly do more harm than good.—The evil tendency of giving alms indiſcriminately to beggars is univerſally acknowledged; but it is not, I believe, ſo generally known how much harm is done by what are called the *private charities* of individuals.—Far be it from me to wiſh to diſcourage private charities; I am only anxious that they ſhould be better applied.

Without taking up time in analyzing the different motives by which perſons of various character are induced to give alms to the Poor, or of ſhewing the conſequences of their injudicious or careleſs donations; which would be an unprofitable as well as a diſagreeable inveſtigation; I ſhall briefly point out what appear to me to be the moſt effectual means which individuals in affluent

circumſtances can employ for the aſſiſtance of the Poor in their neighbourhood.

The moſt certain and efficacious relief that can be given to the Poor is that which would be afforded them by forming a general Eſtabliſhment for giving them uſeful employment, and furniſhing them with the neceſſaries of life at a cheap rate; in ſhort, forming a Public Eſtabliſhment ſimilar in all reſpects to that already recommended, and making it as extenſive as circumſtances will permit.

An experiment might firſt be made in a ſingle village, or in a ſingle pariſh; a ſmall houſe, or two or three rooms only, might be fitted up for the reception of the Poor, and particularly of the children of the Poor; and to prevent the bad impreſſions which are ſometimes made by names which have become odious, inſtead of calling it a Work-houſe, it might be called "A School of Induſtry," or, perhaps, *Aſylum* would be a better name for it. —One of theſe rooms ſhould be fitted up as a kitchen for cooking for the Poor, and a middle-aged woman of reſpectable character, and above all of a gentle and humane diſpoſition, ſhould be placed at the head of this little Eſtabliſhment, and lodged in the houſe.—As ſhe ſhould ſerve at the ſame time as chief cook, and as ſteward of the inſtitution, it would be neceſſary that ſhe ſhould be able to write and keep accounts; and in caſes where the buſineſs of ſuperintending the various details of the Eſtabliſhment would be too extenſive to be performed by one perſon, one or more aſſiſtants may be given her.

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In large Eſtabliſhments it might, perhaps, be beſt to place a married couple, rather advanced in life, and without children, at the head of the inſtitution; but, whoever are employed in that ſituation, care ſhould be taken that they ſhould be perſons of irreproachable character, and ſuch as the Poor can have no reaſon to ſuſpect of partiality.

As nothing would tend more effectually to ruin an Eſtabliſhment of this kind, and prevent the good intended to be produced by it, than the perſonal diſlikes of the Poor to thoſe put over them, and more eſpecially ſuch diſlikes as are founded on their ſuſpicions of their partiality, the greateſt caution in the choice of theſe perſons will always be neceſſary: and in general it will be beſt not to take them from among the Poor, or at leaſt not from among thoſe of the neighbourhood, nor ſuch as have relations, acquaintances, or other connexions among them.

Another point to be attended to in the choice of a perſon to be placed at the head of ſuch an Eſtabliſhment, (and it is a point of more importance than can well be imagined by thoſe who have not conſidered the matter with ſome attention,)—is the looks or *external appearance* of the perſon deſtined for this employment.

All thoſe who have ſtudied human nature, or have taken notice of what paſſes in themſelves when they approach for the firſt time a perſon who has any thing very ſtrongly marked in his countenance, will feel how very important it is that a perſon placed at the head of an aſylum for the reception of

of the Poor and the unfortunate ſhould have an open, pleaſing countenance; ſuch as inſpires confidence and conciliates affection and eſteem.

Thoſe who are in diſtreſs are apt to be fearful and apprehenſive, and nothing would be ſo likely to intimidate and diſcourage them as the forbidding aſpect of a ſtern and auſtere countenance in the perſon they were taught to look up to for aſſiſtance and protection.

The external appearance of thoſe who are deſtined to command others is always a matter of real importance, but it is peculiarly ſo when thoſe to be commanded and directed are objects of pity and commiſeration.

Where there are ſeveral gentlemen who live in the neighbourhood of the ſame town or village where an Eſtabliſhment, or *Aſylum*, (as I would wiſh it might be called,) for the Poor is to be formed, they ſhould all unite to form *one Eſtabliſhment*, inſtead of each forming a ſeparate one; and it will likewiſe be very uſeful in all caſes to invite all ranks of people reſident within the limits of the diſtrict in which the Eſtabliſhment is formed, except thoſe who are actually in need of aſſiſtance themſelves, to contribute to carry into execution ſuch a public undertaking; for though the ſums the more indigent and neceſſitous of the inhabitants may be able to ſpare may be trifling, yet their being invited to take part in ſo laudable an undertaking will be flattering to them, and the ſums they contribute, however ſmall they may be, will give them a ſort of property in the Eſtabliſh-

ment,

ment, and will effectually engage their good wiſhes at leaſt, (which are of more importance in ſuch caſes than is generally imagined,) for its ſucceſs.

How far the relief which the Poor would receive from the execution of a ſcheme like that here propoſed ought to preclude them from a participation of other public charities, (in the diſtribution of the ſums levied upon the inhabitants in Poor's taxes, for inſtance, where ſuch exiſt,) muſt be determined on each particular caſe according to the exiſting circumſtances. It will, however, always be indiſpenſably neceſſary where the ſame poor perſon receives charitable aſſiſtance from two or more ſeparate inſtitutions, or from two or more private individuals, at the ſame time, for each to know exactly the amount of what the others give, otherwiſe too much or too little may be given, and both theſe extremes are equally dangerous, they both tend to diſcourage INDUSTRY, *the only ſource of effectual relief to the diſtreſſes and miſery of the Poor.*—And hence may again be ſeen the great importance of what I have ſo often inſiſted on, the rendering of meaſures for the relief of the Poor as general as poſſible.

To illuſtrate in the cleareſt manner, and in as few words as poſſible, the plan I would recommend for forming an Eſtabliſhment for the Poor on a ſmall ſcale—ſuch as any individual, even of moderate property, might eaſily execute; I will ſuppoſe that a gentleman, reſident in the country upon his own eſtate, has come to a reſolution to form ſuch an Eſtabliſhment in a village near his houſe,

and

and will endeavour briefly to point out the various ſteps he would probably find it neceſſary to take in the execution of this benevolent and moſt uſeful undertaking.

He would begin by calling together at his houſe the clergyman of the pariſh, overſeers of the Poor, and other pariſh officers, to acquaint them with his intentions, and aſk their aſſiſtance and friendly co-operation in the proſecution of the plan; the details of which he would communicate to them as far as he ſhould think it prudent and neceſſary at the firſt outſet to entruſt them indiſcriminately with that information.—The characters of the perſons, and the private intereſt they might have to promote or oppoſe the meaſures intended to be purſued, would decide upon the degree of confidence which ought to be given them.

At this meeting, meaſures ſhould be taken for forming the moſt complete and moſt accurate liſts of all the Poor reſident within the limits propoſed to be given to the Eſtabliſhment, with a detailed account of every circumſtance, relative to their ſituations, and their wants.—Much time and trouble will be ſaved in making out theſe liſts, by uſing printed forms or blanks ſimilar to thoſe made uſe of at Munich; and theſe printed forms will likewiſe contribute very eſſentially to preſerve order and to facilitate buſineſs, in the management of a private as well as of a public charity;—as alſo to prevent the effects of miſrepreſentation and partiality on the part of thoſe who muſt neceſſarily be employed in theſe details.

Convenient

Convenient forms or models for theſe blanks will be given in the Appendix to this volume.

At this meeting, meaſures may be taken for numbering all the houſes in the village or diſtrict, and for ſetting on foot private ſubſcriptions among the inhabitants for carrying the propoſed ſcheme into execution.

Thoſe who are invited to ſubſcribe ſhould be made acquainted, by a printed addreſs accompanying the ſubſcription-liſts, with the nature, extent, and tendency of the meaſures adopted; and ſhould be aſſured that, as ſoon as the undertaking ſhall be completed, the Poor will not only be relieved, and their ſituation made more comfortable, but mendicity will be effectually prevented, and at the ſame time the Poor's rates, or the expence to the public for the ſupport of the Poor, very conſiderably leſſened.

Theſe aſſurances, which will be the ſtrongeſt inducements that can be uſed to prevail on the inhabitants of all deſcriptions to enter warmly into the ſcheme, and aſſiſt with alacrity in carrying it into execution, ſhould be expreſſed in the ſtrongeſt terms; and all perſons of every denomination, young and old, and of both ſexes, (paupers only excepted,) ſhould be invited to put down their names in the ſubſcription-liſts, and this even *however ſmall the ſums may be which they are able to contribute.*—Although the ſums which day-labourers, ſervants, and others in indigent circumſtances may be able to contribute, may be very trifling, yet there is one important reaſon why they ought

ought always to be engaged to put down their names upon the lists as subscribers, and that is the good effects which their taking an active part in the undertaking will probably produce *on themselves.*—Nothing tends more to mend the heart, and awaken in the mind a regard for character, than acts of charity and benevolence; and any person who has once felt that honest pride and satisfaction which result from a consciousness of having been instrumental in doing good by relieving the wants of the Poor, will be rendered doubly careful to avoid the humiliation of becoming himself an object of public charity.

It was a consideration of these salutary effects, which may always be expected to be produced upon the minds of those who take an active and *voluntary* part in the measures adopted for the relief of the Poor, that made me prefer voluntary subscriptions, to taxes, in raising the sums necessary for the support of the Poor, and all the experience I have had in these matters has tended to confirm me in the opinion I have always had of their superior utility.—Not only day-labourers and domestic servants, but their young children, and all the children of the nobility and other inhabitants of Munich, and even the non-commissioned officers and private soldiers of the regiments in garrison in that city, were invited to contribute to the support of the institution for the Poor; and there are very few indeed of any age or condition (paupers only excepted) whose names are not to be found on the lists of subscribers.

The

The ſubſcriptions at Munich are by families, as has elſewhere been obſerved; and this method I would recommend in the caſe under conſideration, and in all others.—The head of the family takes the trouble to collect all the ſums ſubſcribed upon his family-liſt, and to pay them into the hands of thoſe who (on the part of the inſtitution) are ſent round on the firſt Sunday morning of every month to receive them; but the names of all the individuals who compoſe the family are entered on the liſt at full length, with the ſum each contributes.

Two liſts of the ſame tenor muſt be made out for each family; one of which muſt be kept by the head of the family for his information and direction, and the other ſent in to thoſe who have the general direction of the Eſtabliſhment.

Theſe ſubſcription-liſts ſhould be printed; and they ſhould be carried round and left with the heads of families, either by the perſon himſelf who undertakes to form the Eſtabliſhment, (which will always be beſt,) or at leaſt by his ſteward, or ſome other perſon of ſome conſequence belonging to his houſehold.—Forms or models for theſe liſts may be ſeen in the Appendix.

When theſe liſts are returned, the perſon who has undertaken to form the Eſtabliſhment will ſee what pecuniary aſſiſtance he is to expect; and he will either arrange his plan, or determine the ſum he may think proper to contribute himſelf, according to that amount.—He will likewiſe conſider how far it will be poſſible and *adviſable* to connect his ſcheme with any Eſtabliſhment for the relief of the Poor already exiſting; or to act in concert with thoſe in whoſe

whoſe hands the management of the Poor is veſted by the laws.—Theſe circumſtances are all important; and the manner of proceeding in carrying the propoſed ſcheme into execution muſt, in a great meaſure, be determined by them. Nothing, however, can prevent the undertaking from being finally ſucceſsful, provided the means uſed for making it ſo are adopted with caution, and purſued with perſeverance.

However adverſe thoſe may be to the ſcheme, who, were they well diſpoſed, could moſt effectually contribute to its ſucceſs—yet no oppoſition which can be given to it by *intereſted perſons*,—ſuch as find means to derive profit to themſelves in the adminiſtration of the affairs of the Poor;—no oppoſition, I ſay, from ſuch perſons, (and none ſurely but theſe can ever be deſirous of oppoſing it,) can prevent the ſucceſs of a meaſure ſo evidently calculated to increaſe the comforts and enjoyments of the Poor, and to promote the general good of ſociety.

If the overſeers of the Poor, and other pariſh officers, and a large majority of the principal inhabitants, could be made to enter warmly into the ſcheme, it might, and certainly would, in many caſes, be poſſible, even without any new laws or acts of parliament being neceſſary to authorize the undertaking, to ſubſtitute the arrangements propoſed in the place of the old method of providing for the Poor;—aboliſhing entirely, or in ſo far as it ſhould be found neceſſary,—the old ſyſtem, and carrying the ſcheme propoſed into execution as a *general meaſure*.

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In all caſes where this can be effected, it ought certainly to be preferred to any private or leſs general inſtitution; and individuals, who, by their exertions, are inſtrumental in bringing about ſo uſeful a change, will render a very eſſential ſervice to ſociety:—But even in caſes where it would not be poſſible to carry the ſcheme propoſed into execution in its fulleſt extent, much good may be done by individuals in affluent circumſtances to the Poor, by forming *private Eſtabliſhments* for feeding them and giving them employment.

Much relief may likewiſe be afforded them by laying in a large ſtock of fuel, purchaſed when it is cheap, and retailing it out to them in ſmall quantities, in times of ſcarcity, at the prime coſt.

It is hardly to be believed how much the Poor of Munich have been benefited by the Eſtabliſhment of the Wood-magazine, from whence they are furniſhed in winter during the ſevere froſts, with firewood at the price it coſts when purchaſed in ſummer, in large quantities, and at the cheapeſt rate. And this arrangement may eaſily be adopted in all countries, and by private individuals as well as by communities. Stores may likewiſe be laid in of potatoes, peas, beans, and other articles of food, to be diſtributed to the Poor in like manner, in ſmall quantities, and at low prices; which will be a great relief to them in times of ſcarcity. It will hardly be neceſſary for me to obſerve, that in adminiſtering this kind of relief to the Poor it will often be neceſſary to take precautions to prevent abuſes.

Another way in which private individuals may greatly aſſiſt the Poor, is, by ſhowing them how they may make themſelves more comfortable in their dwellings.

Nothing is more perfectly miſerable and comfortleſs than the domeſtic arrangement of poor families in general; they ſeem to have no idea whatever of order or economy in any thing; and every thing about them is dreary, ſad, and neglected, in the extreme. A little attention to order and arrangement would contribute greatly to their comfort and convenience, and alſo to economy. They ought in particular to be ſhown how to keep their inhabitations warm in winter, and to economiſe fuel, as well in heating their rooms, as in cooking, waſhing, &c.

It is not to be believed what the waſte of fuel really is, in the various proceſſes in which it is employed in the economy of human life; and in no caſe is this waſte greater than in the domeſtic management of the Poor. Their fire-places are in general conſtructed upon the moſt wretched principles; and the fuel they conſume in them, inſtead of heating their rooms, not unfrequently renders them really colder, and moſt uncomfortable, by cauſing ſtrong currents of cold air to flow in from all the doors and windows to the chimney. This imperfection of their fire-places may be effectually remedied;—theſe currents of cold air prevented,—above half their fuel ſaved,—and their dwellings made infinitely more comfortable, merely by diminiſhing their fire-places, and the throats of their chimnies juſt above the mantle-piece; which may be done at a very trifling expence, with a few bricks, or ſtones, and a little mortar, by the moſt ordinary bricklayer. And with regard to the expence of fuel for cooking, ſo ſimple a contrivance as an earthen pot, broad at top, for receiving a ſtew-pan, or kettle, and narrow at bottom, with holes through its ſides near the

the bottom, for letting in air under a ſmall circular iron grate, and other ſmall holes near the top for letting out the ſmoke, may be introduced with great advantage. By making uſe of this little portable furnace, (which is equally well adapted to burn wood, or coals,) one eighth part of the fuel will be ſufficient for cooking, which would be required were the kettle to be boiled over an open fire.—To ſtrengthen this portable furnace, it may be hooped with iron hoops, or bound round with ſtrong iron wire:—but I forget that I am anticipating the ſubject of a future Eſſay.

Much good may alſo be done to the Poor by teaching them how to prepare various kinds of cheap and wholeſome food, and to render them ſavoury and palatable.—The art of cookery, notwithſtanding its infinite importance to mankind, has hitherto been little ſtudied; and among the more indigent claſſes of ſociety, where it is moſt neceſſary to cultivate it, it ſeems to have been moſt neglected.—No preſent that could be made to a poor family could be of more eſſential ſervice to them than a thin, light ſtew-pan, with its cover, made of wrought, or caſt iron, and fitted to a portable furnace, or cloſe fire-place, conſtructed to ſave fuel; with two or three approved receipts for making nouriſhing and ſavoury ſoups and broths at a ſmall expence.

Such a preſent might alone be ſufficient to relieve a poor family from all their diſtreſſes, and make them permanently comfortable; for the expences of a poor family for food might, I am perſuaded, in moſt caſes be diminiſhed *one half*, by a proper attention to cookery, and to the economy

of fuel; and the change in the circumſtances of ſuch a family, which would be produced by reducing their expences for food to one half what it was before, is eaſier to be conceived than deſcribed.

It would hardly fail to re-animate the courage of the moſt deſponding; to cheer their drooping ſpirits, and ſtimulate them to freſh exertions in the purſuits of uſeful induſtry.

As the only effectual means of putting an end to the ſufferings of the Poor is the introduction of a ſpirit of induſtry among them, individuals ſhould never loſe ſight of that great and important object, in all the meaſures they may adopt to relieve them.—But in endeavouring to make the Poor induſtrious, the utmoſt caution will be neceſſary to prevent their being diſguſted.—Their minds are commonly in a ſtate of great irritation, the natural conſequence of their ſufferings, and of their hopeleſs ſituation; and their ſuſpicions of every body about them, and particularly of thoſe who are ſet over them, are ſo deeply rooted that it is ſometimes extremely difficult to ſooth and calm the agitation of their minds, and gain their confidence.—This can be ſooneſt and moſt effectually done by kind and gentle uſage; and I am clearly of opinion that no other means ſhould ever be uſed, except it be with ſuch hardened and incorrigible wretches as are not to be reclaimed by any means: but of theſe, I believe, there are very few indeed.—I have never yet found one, in all the courſe of my experience in taking care of the Poor.

We have ſometimes been obliged to threaten the moſt idle and profligate with the houſe of correction;

rection; but theſe threats, added to the fear of being baniſhed from the Houſe of Induſtry, which has always been held up and conſidered as the greateſt puniſhment, have commonly been ſufficient for keeping the unruly in order.

If the force of example is irreſiſtible in debauching men's minds, and leading them into profligate and vicious courſes, it is not leſs ſo in reclaiming them, and rendering them orderly, docile, and induſtrious; and hence the infinite importance of collecting the Poor together in Public Eſtabliſhments, where every thing about them is animated by unaffected cheerfulneſs, and by that pleaſing gaiety, and air of content and ſatisfaction, which always enliven the buſy ſcenes of uſeful induſtry.

I do not believe it would be poſſible for any perſon to be idle in the Houſe of Induſtry at Munich. I never ſaw any one idle; often as I have paſſed through the working-rooms; nor did I ever ſee any one to whom the employments of induſtry ſeemed to be painful or irkſome.

Thoſe who are collected together in the public rooms deſtined for the reception and accommodation of the Poor in the day-time, will not need to be forced, nor even urged to work;—if there are in the room ſeveral perſons who are buſily employed in the cheerful occupations of induſtry, and if implements and materials for working are at hand, all the others preſent will not fail to be ſoon drawn into the vortex, and joining with alacrity in the active ſcene, their diſlike to labour will be forgotten, and they will become by habit truly and permanently induſtrious.

Such is the irreſiſtible power of example!—Thoſe who know how to manage this mighty engine, and have opportunities of employing it with effect, may produce the moſt miraculous changes, in the manners, diſpoſition, and character, even of whole nations.

In furniſhing raw materials to the Poor to work, it will be neceſſary to uſe many precautions to prevent frauds and abuſes, not only on the part of the Poor, who are often but too much diſpoſed to cheat and deceive whenever they find opportunities, but alſo on the part of thoſe employed in the details of this buſineſs;—but the fulleſt information having already been given in my Firſt Eſſay of all the various precautions it had been found neceſſary to take for the purpoſes in queſtion in the Houſe of Induſtry at Munich, it is not neceſſary for me to enlarge upon the ſubject in this place, or to repeat what has already been ſaid upon it elſewhere.

With regard to the manner in which good and wholeſome food for feeding the Poor may be prepared in a public kitchen, at a cheap rate, I muſt refer my reader to my Eſſay on Food; where he will find all the information on that ſubject which he can require.—In my Eſſay on Clothing, he will ſee how good and comfortable clothing may be furniſhed to the Poor at a very moderate expence; and in that on the Management of Heat, he will find particular directions for the Poor for ſaving fuel.

I cannot finiſh this Eſſay without taking notice of a difficulty which will frequently occur in giving employment

employment to the Poor, that of diſpoſing to advantage of the produce of their labour:—This is in all caſes a very important object; and too much attention cannot be paid to it.—A ſpirit of induſtry cannot be kept up but by making it advantageous to individuals to be induſtrious, but where the wages which the labourer has a right to expect are refuſed, it will not be poſſible to prevent his being diſcouraged and diſguſted.—He may perhaps be forced for a certain time to work for ſmall wages, to prevent ſtarving, if he has not the reſource of throwing himſelf upon the pariſh, which he moſt probably would prefer doing, ſhould it be in his option; but he will infallibly conceive ſuch a thorough diſlike to labour, that he will become idle and vicious, and a permanent and heavy burden on the public.

If "a labourer is worthy of his hire," he is peculiarly ſo, where that labourer is a poor perſon, who, with all his exertions, can barely procure the firſt neceſſaries of life; and whoſe hard lot renders him an object of pity and compaſſion.

The deplorable ſituation of a poor family, ſtruggling with poverty and want,—deprived of all the comforts and conveniencies of life—deprived even of hope; and ſuffering at the ſame time from hunger, diſeaſe, and mortifying and cruel diſappointment, is ſeldom conſidered with that attention which deſerves, by thoſe who have never felt theſe diſtreſſes, and who are not in danger of being expoſed to them. My reader muſt pardon me, if I frequently recall his attention to theſe ſcenes of miſery and wretchedneſs. He muſt be made acquainted with

with the real ſituation of the Poor—with the extent and magnitude of their misfortunes and ſufferings, before it can be expected that he ſhould enter warmly into meaſures calculated for their relief.

In forming Eſtabliſhments, public or private, for giving employment to the Poor. It will always be indiſpenſably neceſſary to make ſuch arrangements as will ſecure to them a fair price for all the labour they perform. They ſhould not be *over-paid* for that would be opening a door for abuſe;—but they ought to be generouſly paid for their work; and, above all, they ought never to be allowed to be idle for the want of employment. The kind of employment it may be proper to give them will depend much on local circumſtances. It will depend on the habits of the Poor;—the kinds of work they are acquainted with;—and the facility with which the articles they can manufacture may be diſpoſed of at a good price.

In very extenſive Eſtabliſhments, there will be little difficult in finding uſeful employment for the Poor; for where the number of perſons to be employed is very great, a great variety of different manufacturers may be carried on with advantage, and all the articles manufactured, or prepared to be employed in manufactures, may be turned to a good account.

In a ſmall Eſtabliſhment, circumſcribed and confined to the limits of a ſingle village or pariſh, might perhaps be difficult to find a good market for the yarn ſpun by the Poor; but in a general Eſtabliſhment, extending over a whole county, or large city, as the quantity of yarn ſpun by all the Poor within

within the extenſive limits of the inſtitution will be ſufficient to employ conſtantly a number of weavers of different kinds of cloth and ſtuff, the market for all the various kinds of yarn the Poor may ſpin will always be certain. The ſame reaſoning will hold with regard to various other articles uſed in great manufactories, upon which the Poor might be very uſefully employed; and hence the great advantage of making Eſtabliſhments for giving employment to the Poor as extenſive as poſſible. It is what I have often inſiſted on, and what I cannot too ſtrongly recommend to all thoſe who engage in forming ſuch Eſtabliſhments.

Although I certainly ſhould not propoſe to *bring together*, under one roof, all the Poor of a whole kingdom, as, by the inſcription over the entrance into a vaſt hoſpital began, but not finiſhed, at Naples, it would appear was once the intention of the government in that country; yet I am clearly of opinion that an inſtitution for *giving employment to the Poor* can hardly be too extenſive.

But to return to the ſubject to which this Chapter was more particularly appropriated, the relief that may be afforded by private individuals to the Poor in their neighbourhood; in caſe it ſhould not be poſſible to get over all the difficulties that may be in the way to prevent the forming of a general Eſtabliſhment for the benefit of the Poor, individuals muſt content themſelves with making ſuch private arrangements for that purpoſe as they may be able, *with ſuch aſſiſtance as they can command*, to carry into execution.

The moſt ſimple, and leaſt expenſive meaſure that can be adopted for the aſſiſtance of the Poor will

be that of furniſhing them with raw materials for working. Flax, hemp, or wool, for inſtance, for ſpinning; and paying them in money, at the market price, for the yarn ſpun. This yarn may afterwards be ſent to weavers to be manufactured into cloth, or may be ſent to ſome good market and ſold. The details of theſe mercantile tranſactions will be neither complicated nor troubleſome, and might eaſily be managed by a ſteward or houſekeeper; particularly if the printed tickets, and tables, I have ſo often had occaſion to recommend, are uſed.

The flax, hemp, or wool, as ſoon as it is purchaſed, ſhould be weighed out into bundles of one or two pounds each, and lodged in a ſtore-room; and when one of theſe bundles is delivered out to a poor perſon to be ſpun, it ſhould be accompanied with a printed ſpin-ticket, and entered in a table to be kept for that purpoſe; and when it is returned ſpun, an abſtract of the ſpin-ticket, with the name of the ſpinner, or the ſpin-ticket itſelf, ſhould be bound up with the bundle of yarn, in order that any frauds committed by the ſpinner, in reeling, or in any other way, which may be diſcovered upon winding off the yarn, may be brought home to the perſon who committed them. When it is known that ſuch effectual precautions to detect frauds are uſed, no farther attempts will be made to defraud; and a moſt important point indeed will be gained, and one which will moſt powerfully tend to mend the morals of the Poor, and reſtore peace to their minds. When, by rendering it evidently impoſſible for them to eſcape detection, they are brought to give up all thoughts of cheating and deceiving; they will then be capable of application, and of enjoying

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real happineſs, and, with open and placid countenances, will look every one full in the face who accoſts them: but as long as they are under the influence of temptation—as long as their minds are degraded by conſcious guilt, and continually agitated by ſchemes of proſecuting their fraudulent practices, they are as incapable of enjoying peace or contentment, as they are of being uſeful members of ſociety.

Hence the extreme cruelty of an ill-judged appearance of confidence, or careleſs neglect of precautions, in regard to thoſe employed in places of truſt, who may be expoſed to temptations to defraud.

That prayer, which cannot be enough admired, or too often repeated, "LEAD US NOT INTO "TEMPTATION," was certainly dictated by infinite wiſdom and goodneſs; and it ſhould ever be borne in mind by thoſe who are placed in ſtations of power and authority, and whoſe meaſures muſt neceſſarily have much influence on the happineſs or miſery of great numbers of people.

Honeſt men may be found in all countries; but I am ſorry to ſay, that the reſult of all my experience and obſervation has tended invariably to prove, (what has often been remarked,) that it is extremely difficult to *keep thoſe honeſt* who are expoſed to continual and great temptations.

There is, however, one moſt effectual way, not only of keeping thoſe honeſt who are ſo already, but alſo of making thoſe honeſt who are not ſo; and that is, by taking ſuch precautions as will render it *evidently* impoſſible for thoſe who commit frauds to eſcape detection and puniſhment: and theſe precautions are never impoſſible, and ſeldom difficult; and with a little addreſs, they may always be ſo taken as

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to be in nowiſe offenſive to thoſe who are the objects of them.

It is evident that the maxims and meaſures here recommended are not applicable merely to the Poor, but alſo, and more eſpecially, to thoſe who may be employed in the details of relieving them.

But to return once more to the ſubject more immediately under conſideration.—If individuals ſhould extend their liberality ſo far as to eſtabliſh public kitchens for feeding the Poor, (which is a meaſure I cannot too often, or too forcibly recommend,) it would be a great pity not to go one eaſy ſtep further, and fit up a few rooms adjoining to the kitchen, where the Poor may be permitted to aſſemble to work for their own emoluments, and where ſchools for inſtructing the children of the Poor in working and in reading and writing, may be eſtabliſhed. Neither the fitting up, or warming and lighting of theſe rooms, will be attended with any conſiderable expence; while the advantages which will be derived from ſuch an Eſtabliſhment for encouraging induſtry, and contributing to the comfort of the Poor, will be moſt important; and from their peculiar nature and tendency will be moſt highly intereſting to every benevolent mind.

END OF THE SECOND ESSAY.

ESSAY III.

OF

FOOD;

AND PARTICULARLY OF

FEEDING THE POOR

ESSAY III.

INTRODUCTION.

IT is a common ſaying, that neceſſity is the mother of invention; and nothing is more ſtrictly or more generally true. It may even be ſhown, that moſt of the ſucceſſive improvements in the affairs of men in a ſtate of civil ſociety, of which we have any authentic records, have been made under the preſſure of neceſſity; and it is no ſmall conſolation, in times of general alarm, to reflect upon the probability that, upon ſuch occaſions, uſeful diſcoveries will reſult from the united exertions of thoſe who, either from motives of fear, or ſentiments of benevolence, labour to avert the impending evil.

The alarm in this country at the preſent period *, on account of the high price of corn, and the danger of a ſcarcity, has turned the attention of the Public to a very important ſubject, *the inveſtigation of the ſcience of nutrition*;—a ſubject ſo curious in itſelf, and ſo highly intereſting to mankind, that it ſeems truly aſtoniſhing it ſhould have been ſo long neglected; but in the manner in which it is now taken up, both by the Houſe of Commons, and the Board of Agriculture, there is great reaſon to

* November 1795.

hope that it will receive a thorough ſcientific examination; and if this ſhould be the caſe, I will venture to predict, that the important diſcoveries, and improvements, which muſt reſult from theſe enquiries, will render the alarms which gave riſe to them for ever famous in the annals of civil ſociety.

CHAP. I.

Great Importance of the Subject under Conſideration.—Probability that Water acts a much more important Part in Nutrition than has hitherto been generally imagined.—Surpriſingly ſmall Quantity of ſolid Food neceſſary, when properly prepared, for all the Purpoſes of Nutrition.—Great Importance of the Art of Cookery.—Barley remarkably nutritive when properly prepared.—The Importance of culinary Proceſſes for preparing Food ſhewn from the known Utility of a Practice common in ſome Parts of Germany of cooking for Cattle.—Difficulty of introducing a Change of Cookery into common Uſe.—Means that may be employed for that Purpoſe.

THERE is, perhaps, no operation of Nature, which falls under the cognizance of our ſenſes, more ſurpriſing, or more curious, than the nouriſhment and growth of plants, and animals; and there is certainly no ſubject of inveſtigation more intereſting to mankind.—As providing ſubſiſtence is, and ever muſt be, an object of the firſt concern in all countries, any diſcovery or improvement by which

the procuring of good and wholeſome food can be facilitated, muſt contribute very powerfully to increaſe the comforts, and promote the happineſs of ſociety.

That our knowledge in regard to the ſcience of nutrition is ſtill very imperfect, is certain; but, I think, there is reaſon to believe, that we are upon the eve of ſome very important diſcoveries relative to that myſterious operation.

Since it has been known that Water is not a ſimple element, but a *compound*, and capable of being decompoſed, much light has been thrown upon many operations of nature which formerly were wrapped up in obſcurity. In vegetation, for inſtance, it has been rendered extremely probable, that water acts a much more important part than was formerly aſſigned to it by philoſophers.—That it ſerves not merely as the *vehicle* of nouriſhment, but conſtitutes at leaſt one part, and probably an eſſential part, of the *food* of plants.—That it is decompoſed by them, and contributes *materially* to their growth;—and that manures ſerve rather to prepare the water for decompoſition, than to form of themſelves—ſubſtantially, and directly—the nouriſhment of the vegetables.

Now, a very clear analogy may be traced, between the vegetation and growth of plants, and the digeſtion and nouriſhment of animals; and as water is indiſpenſably neceſſary in both proceſſes, and as in one of them, (vegetation,) it appears evidently to ſerve as *Food*;—why ſhould we not ſuppoſe it may ſerve as food in the other?—There is,

is, in my opinion, abundant reaſon to ſuſpect that this is really the caſe; and I ſhall now briefly ſtate the grounds upon which this opinion is founded.—Having been engaged for a conſiderable length of time in providing Food for the Poor at Munich, I was naturally led, as well by curioſity as motives of economy, to make a great variety of experiments upon that ſubject; and I had not proceeded far in my operations, before I began to perceive that they were very important;—even much more ſo than I had imagined.

The difference in the apparent goodneſs, or the palatableneſs, and apparent nutritiouſneſs of the ſame kinds of Food, when prepared or cooked in different ways, ſtruck me very forcibly; and I conſtantly found that the richneſs or *quality* of a ſoup depended more upon a proper choice of the ingredients, and a proper management of the fire in the combination of thoſe ingredients, than upon the quantity of ſolid nutritious matter employed;—much more upon the art and ſkill of the cook, than upon the amount of the ſums laid out in the market.

I found likewiſe, that the nutritiouſneſs of a ſoup, or its power of ſatisfying hunger, and affording nouriſhment, appeared always to be in proportion to its apparent richneſs or palatableneſs.

But what ſurpriſed me not a little, was the diſcovery of the very ſmall quantity of *ſolid Food*, which, when properly prepared, will ſuffice to ſatisfy hunger, and ſupport life and health; and

the very trifling expence at which the ſtout and moſt laborious man may, in any country, fed.

After an experience of more than five year feeding the Poor at Munich, during which t every experiment was made that could be devi not only with regard to the choice of the arti uſed as Food, but alſo in reſpect to their diffe combinations and proportions; and to the var ways in which they could be prepared or cook it was found that the *cheapeſt*, moſt *favoury*, moſt *nouriſhing* Food that could be provided, a ſoup compoſed of *pearl barley*, *peaſe*, *pota cuttings of fine wheaten bread*, vinegar—ſalt water, in certain proportions.

The method of preparing this ſoup is as follc The water and the pearl barley are firſt put t ther into the boiler and made to boil; the p are then added, and the boiling is continued a gentle fire about two hours;—the potatoes then added, (having been previouſly peeled w knife, or having been boiled, in order to being more eaſily deprived of their ſkins,) anc boiling is continued for about one hour n during which time the contents of the boile frequently ſtirred about with a large wooden ſp or ladle, in order to deſtroy the texture of potatoes, and to reduce the ſoup to one uni maſs.—When this is done, the vinegar and th are added; and laſt of all, at the moment it is ſerved up, the cuttings of bread.

The ſoup ſhould never be ſuffered to boil, or even to ſtand long before it is ſerved up after the cuttings of bread are put to it. It will, indeed, for reaſons which will hereafter be explained, be beſt never to put the cuttings of bread into the boiler at all, but, (as is always done at Munich,) to put them into the tubs in which the ſoup is carried from the kitchen into the dining-hall; pouring the ſoup hot from the boiler upon them, and ſtirring the whole well together with the iron ladles uſed for meaſuring out the ſoup to the Poor in the hall.

It is of more importance than can well be imagined, that this bread, which is mixed with the ſoup, ſhould not be boiled. It is likewiſe of uſe that it ſhould be cut as fine or thin as poſſible; and if it be dry and hard, it will be ſo much the better.

The bread we uſe in Munich is what is called *ſmal* bread, being ſmall loaves, weighing from two or three ounces; and as we receive this bread in donations from the bakers, it is commonly dry and hard, being that which, not being ſold in time, remains on hand, and becomes ſtale and unſaleable; and we have found by experience, that this hard and ſtale bread anſwers for our purpoſe much better than any other, for it renders maſtication neceſſary; and maſtication ſeems very powerfully to aſſiſt in promoting digeſtion: it likewiſe *prolongs the duration of the enjoyment of eating*, a matter of very great importance indeed, and which has not hitherto been ſufficiently attended to.

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The quantity of this ſoup furniſhed to each perſon, at each meal, or one portion of it, (the cuttings of bread included,) is juſt *one Bavarian pound* in weight, and as the Bavarian pound is to the pound Avoirdupois as 1.123842 to 1,—it is equal to about nineteen ounces and nine-tenths Avoirdupois. Now, to thoſe who know that a full pint of ſoup weighs no more than about ſixteen ounces Avoirdupois, it will not, perhaps, at the firſt view, appear very extraordinary that a portion weighing near twenty ounces, and conſequently making near *one pint and a quarter* of this rich, ſtrong, ſavoury ſoup, ſhould be found ſufficient to ſatisfy the hunger of a grown perſon, but when the matter is examined narrowly, and properly analyzed, and it is found that the whole quantity of *ſolid food* which enters into the compoſition of one of theſe portions of ſoup, does not amount to quite *four ounces*, it will then appear to be almoſt impoſſible that this allowance ſhould be ſufficient.

That it is quite ſufficient, however, to make a good meal for a ſtrong healthy perſon, has been abundantly proved by long experience. I have even found that a ſoup compoſed of nearly the ſame ingredients, except the potatoes, but in different proportions, was ſufficiently nutritive, and very palatable, in which only about *four ounces and three quarters* of ſolid Food entered into the compoſition of a portion weighing twenty ounces.

But this will not appear incredible to thoſe who know, that one ſingle ſpoonful of *ſalop*, weighing leſs than one quarter of an ounce, put into a pint

pint of boiling water, forms the thickeſt and moſt nouriſhing ſoup that can be taken; and that the quantity of ſolid matter which enters into the compoſition of another very nutritive Food, *hartſhorn jelly*, is not much more conſiderable.

The *barley* in my ſoup, ſeems to act much the ſame part as the *ſalope* in this famous reſtorative; and no ſubſtitute that I could ever find for it among all the variety of corn and pulſe of the growth of Europe, ever produced half the effect; that is to ſay, half the nouriſhment at the ſame expence. Barley may therefore be conſidered as the rice of Great Britain.

It requires, it is true, a great deal of boiling; but when it is properly managed, it thickens a vaſt quantity of water, and, as I ſuppoſe, *prepares it for decompoſition*. It alſo gives the ſoup into which it enters as an ingredient, a degree of richneſs which nothing elſe can give. It has little or no taſte in itſelf, but when mixed with other ingredients which are ſavoury, it renders them peculiarly grateful to the palate *.

It is a maxim, as ancient, I believe, as the time of Hippocrates, that "*whatever pleaſes the palate* "*nouriſhes*;" and I have often had reaſon to think it perfectly juſt. Could it be clearly aſcertained

* The preparation of water is, in many caſes an object of more importance than is generally imagined, particularly when it is made uſe of as a vehicle for conveying agreeable taſtes. In making *punch*, for inſtance, if the water uſed be previouſly boiled two or three hours with a handful of rice, the punch made of it will be incomparably better, that is to ſay, more full and luſcious upon the palate, than when the water is not prepared.

and

and demonſtrated, it would tend to place *cookery* in a much more reſpectable ſituation among the arts than it now holds.

That the manner in which Food is prepared is a matter of real importance; and that the water uſed in that proceſs acts a much more important part than has hitherto been generally imagined, is, I think, quite evident; for, it ſeems to me to be impoſſible, upon any other ſuppoſition, to account for the appearances. If the very ſmall quantity of ſolid Food which enters into the compoſition of a portion of ſome very nutritive ſoup were to be prepared differently, and taken under ſome other form, that of bread, for inſtance; ſo far from being ſufficient to ſatisfy hunger, and afford a comfortable and nutritive meal, a perſon would abſolutely ſtarve upon ſuch a ſlender allowance; and no great relief would be derived from drinking *crude* water to fill up the void in the ſtomach.

But it is not merely from an obſervation of the apparent effects of cookery upon thoſe articles which are uſed as Food for man, that we are led to diſcover the importance of theſe culinary proceſſes. Their utility is proved in a manner equally concluſive and ſatisfactory, by the effects which have been produced by employing the ſame proceſs in preparing Food for brute animals.

It is well known, that boiling the potatoes with which hogs are fed, renders them much more nutritive; and ſince the introduction of the new ſyſtem of feeding horned cattle, that of keeping them confined in the ſtables all the year round, (a method

method which is now coming faſt into common uſe in many parts of Germany,) great improvements have been made in the art of providing nouriſhment for thoſe animals; and particularly by preparing their Food, by operations ſimilar to thoſe of cookery; and to theſe improvements it is moſt probably owing, that ſtall feeding has, in that country, been ſo univerſally ſucceſsful.

It has long been a practice in Germany for thoſe who fatten bullocks for the butcher, or feed milch-cows, to give them frequently what is called a *drank* or *drink*; which is a kind of pottage, prepared differently in different parts of the country, and in the different ſeaſons, according to the greater facility with which one or other of the articles occaſionally employed in the compoſition of it may be procured; and according to the particular fancies of individuals. Many feeders make a great ſecret of the compoſition of their *drinks*, and ſome have, to my knowledge, carried their refinement ſo far as actually to mix brandy in them, in ſmall quantities; and pretend to have found their advantage in adding this coſtly ingredient.

The articles moſt commonly uſed are, bran, oatmeal, brewers grain, maſhed potatoes, maſhed turnips, rye meal, and barley meal, with a large proportion of water; ſometimes two or three or more of theſe articles are united in forming a *drink*; and of whatever ingredients the drink is compoſed, a large proportion of ſalt is always added to it.

There is, perhaps, nothing new in this method of feeding cattle with liquid mixtures, but the manner

manner in which theſe drinks are now prepared in Germany is, I believe, quite new; and ſhews what I wiſh to prove, that *cooking renders Food really more nutritive.*

Theſe drinks were formerly given cold, but it was afterwards diſcovered that they were more nouriſhing when given warm; and of late their preparation is, in many places, become a very regular culinary proceſs. Kitchens have been built, and large boilers provided and fitted up, merely for cooking for the cattle in the ſtables; and I have been aſſured by many very intelligent farmers, who have adopted this new mode of feeding, (and have alſo found by my own experience,) that it is very advantageous indeed: that the drinks are evidently rendered much more nouriſhing and wholeſome by being boiled; and that the expence of fuel, and the trouble attending this proceſs, are amply compenſated by the advantage derived from the improvement of the Food. We even find it advantageous to continue the boiling a conſiderable time, two or three hours, for inſtance; as the Food goes on to be ſtill farther improved, the longer the boiling is continued *.

* I cannot diſmiſs the ſubject, the feeding of cattle, without juſt mentioning another practice common among our beſt farmers in Bavaria, which, I think, deſerves to be known. They chop the green clover with which they feed their cattle, and mix with it a conſiderable quantity of chopped ſtraw. They pretend that this rich ſucculent graſs is of ſo clammy a nature, that unleſs it be mixed with chopped ſtraw, hay, or ſome other dry fodder, cattle which are fed with it do not ruminate ſufficiently. The uſual proportion of the clover to the ſtraw, is as two to one.

Theſe

Theſe facts ſeem evidently to ſhow, that there is ſome very important ſecret with regard to nutrition, which has not yet been properly inveſtigated; and it ſeems to me to be more than probable, that the number of inhabitants who may be ſupported in any country, upon its internal produce, depends almoſt as much upon the ſtate of *the art of cookery*, as upon that of *agriculture*.—The Chineſe, perhaps, underſtand both theſe arts better than any other nation.—Savages underſtand neither of them.

But, if cookery be of ſo much importance, it certainly deſerves to be ſtudied with the greateſt care; and it ought particularly to be attended to in times of general alarm on account of a ſcarcity of proviſions; for the relief which may in ſuch caſes be derived from it, is immediate and effectual, while all other reſources are diſtant and uncertain.

I am aware of the difficulties which always attend the introduction of meaſures calculated to produce any remarkable change in the cuſtoms and habits of mankind; and there is perhaps no change more difficult to effect, than that which would be neceſſary in order to make any conſiderable ſaving in the conſumption of thoſe articles commonly uſed as Food; but ſtill, I am of opinion, that ſuch a change might, with proper management, be brought about.

There was a time, no doubt, when an averſion to potatoes was as general, and as ſtrong, in Great Britain, and even in Ireland, as it is now in ſome parts of Bavaria; but this prejudice has been got over; and I am perſuaded, that any national prejudice,

prejudice, however deeply rooted, may be overcome, provided proper means be uſed for that purpoſe, and time allowed for their operation.

But notwithſtanding the difficulty of introducing a general uſe of ſoups throughout the country, or of any other kind of Food, however palatable, cheap, and nouriſhing, to which people have not been accuſtomed, yet theſe improvements might certainly be made, with great facility, in all public hoſpitals and work-houſes, where the Poor are fed at the public expence; and the ſaving of proviſions, (not to mention the diminution of expence,) which might be derived from this improvement, would be very important at all times, and more eſpecially in times of general ſcarcity.

Another meaſure, ſtill more important, and which might, I am perſuaded, be eaſily carried into execution, is the eſtabliſhment of public kitchens in all towns, and large villages, through the kingdom; whence, not only the Poor might be fed *gratis*, but alſo all the induſtrious inhabitants of the neighbourhood might be furniſhed with Food at ſo cheap a rate, as to be a very great relief to them at all times; and in times of general ſcarcity, this arrangement would alone be ſufficient to prevent thoſe public and private calamities which never fail to accompany that moſt dreadful of all viſitations, a famine.

The ſaving of Food that would reſult from feeding a large proportion of the inhabitants of any country from public kitchens, would be immenſe, and that ſaving would tend, immediately, and

and moſt powerfully, to render proviſions more plentiful and cheap,—diminiſh the general alarm on account of the danger of a ſcarcity, and prevent the hoarding up of proviſions by individuals, which is often alone ſufficient, without any thing elſe, to bring on a famine, even where there is no real ſcarcity: for it is not merely the *fears* of individuals which operate in theſe caſes, and induce them to lay in a larger ſtore of proviſions than they otherwiſe would do; and which naturally increaſes the ſcarcity of proviſions in the market, and raiſes their prices; but there are perſons who are ſo loſt to all the feelings of humanity, as often to ſpeculate upon the diſtreſs of the Public, and all *their* operations effectually tend to increaſe the ſcarcity in the markets and augment the general alarm.

But without enlarging farther in this place upon theſe public kitchens, and the numerous and important advantages which may in all countries be derived from them, I ſhall return to the intereſting ſubjects which I have undertaken to inveſtigate;—the ſcience of nutrition, and the art of providing wholeſome and palatable Food at a ſmall expence.

CHAP. II.

Of the Pleaſure of Eating, and of the Means that may be employed for increaſing it.

WHAT has already been ſaid upon this ſubject will, I flatter myſelf, be thought ſufficient to ſhow that, *for all the purpoſes of nouriſhment*, a much ſmaller quantity of ſolid Food will ſuffice than has hitherto been thought neceſſary; but there is another circumſtance to be taken into the account, and that is, the *pleaſure of eating*;—an enjoyment of which no perſon will conſent to be deprived.

The pleaſure enjoyed in eating depends, firſt, upon the agreeableneſs of the taſte of the Food; and ſecondly, upon its power to affect the palate. Now there are many ſubſtances extremely cheap, by which very agreeable taſtes may be given to Food; particularly when the baſis or nutritive ſubſtance of the Food is taſteleſs; and the effect of any kind of palatable ſolid Food, (of meat, for inſtance,) upon the organs of taſte, may be increaſed almoſt indefinitely, by reducing the ſize of the particles of ſuch Food, and cauſing it to act upon the palate by a larger ſurface. And if means be uſed to prevent its being ſwallowed too ſoon, which may be eaſily done by mixing with it ſome hard and taſteleſs ſubſtance, ſuch as crumbs of bread rendered hard by toaſting, or any thing elſe of that kind, by which a long maſtication is rendered neceſſary,

ceſſary, the enjoyment of eating may be greatly increaſed and prolonged.

The idea of occupying a perſon a great while, and affording him much pleaſure at the ſame time, in eating a ſmall quantity of Food, may, perhaps, appear ridiculous to ſome; but thoſe who conſider the matter attentively, will perceive that it is very important. It is, perhaps, as much ſo as any thing that can employ the attention of the philoſopher.

The enjoyments which fall to the lot of the bulk of mankind are not ſo numerous as to render an attempt to increaſe them ſuperfluous. And even in regard to thoſe who have it in their power to gratify their appetites to the utmoſt extent of their wiſhes, it is ſurely rendering them a very important ſervice to ſhow them how they may increaſe their pleaſures without deſtroying their health.

If a glutton can be made to gormandize two hours upon two ounces of meat, it is certainly much better for him, than to give himſelf an indigeſtion by eating two pounds in the ſame time.

I was led to meditate upon this ſubject by mere accident. I had long been at a loſs to underſtand how the Bavarian ſoldiers, who are uncommonly ſtout, ſtrong, and healthy men, and who, in common with all other Germans, are remarkably fond of eating, could contrive to live upon the very ſmall ſums they expend for Food; but a more careful examination of the economy of their tables cleared up the point, and let me into a ſecret

which awakened all my curioſity. Theſe ſoldiers, inſtead of being ſtarved upon their ſcanty allowance, as might have been ſuſpected, I found actually living in a moſt comfortable and even luxurious manner. I found that they had contrived not only to render their Food ſavoury and nouriſhing, but, what appeared to me ſtill more extraordinary, had found out the means of increaſing its action upon the organs of taſte ſo as actually to augment, and even prolong to a moſt ſurpriſing degree, the enjoyment of eating.

This accidental diſcovery made a deep impreſſion upon my mind, and gave a new turn to all my ideas on the ſubject of Food.—It opened to me a new and very intereſting field for inveſtigation and experimental inquiry, of which I had never before had a diſtinct view; and thenceforward my diligence in making experiments, and in collecting information relative to the manner in which Food is prepared in different countries, was redoubled.

In the following Chapter may be ſeen the general reſults of all my experiments and inquiries relative to this ſubject.—A deſire to render this account as conciſe and ſhort as poſſible has induced me to omit much intereſting ſpeculation which the ſubject naturally ſuggeſted; but the ingenuity of the reader will ſupply this defect, and enable him to diſcover the objects particularly aimed at in the experiments, even where they are not mentioned, and to compare the reſults of practice with the aſſumed theory.

CHAP. III.

Of the different Kinds of Food furniſhed to the Poor in the Houſe of Induſtry at Munich, with an Account of the Coſt of them.—Of the Expence of providing the ſame Kinds of Food in Great Britain, as well at the preſent high Prices of Proviſions, as at the ordinary Prices of them.—Of the various Improvements of which theſe different Kinds of cheap Food are capable.

BEFORE the introduction of potatoes as Food in the Houſe of Induſtry at Munich, (which was not done till laſt Auguſt,) the Poor were fed with a ſoup compoſed in the following manner:

SOUP, N° I.

Ingredients.	Weight Avoirdupois. lb.	oz.		Coſt in ſterling money. £.	s.	d.
4 *viertls** of pearl barley, equal to about 20 gallons - -	141	2	——	0	11	7½
4 *viertls* of peas - - -	131	4	——	0	7	3¼
Cuttings of fine wheaten bread	69	10	——	0	10	2¼
Salt - - - - - -	19	13	——	0	1	2½
24 *maaſs*, very weak beer—vinegar, or rather ſmall beer turned ſour, about 24 quarts	46	13	——	0	1	5½
Water, about 560 quarts - -	1077	0				
	1485	10	——	1	11	8½

* A *viertl* is the twelfth part of a ſchaff, and the Bavarian ſchaff is equal to $6\frac{3}{10}$ Winchester buſhels.

	£.	s.	d.
Brought over	1	11	$8\frac{1}{12}$
Fuel, 88lb. of dry pine wood, the Bavarian *clafter* (weighing 3961 lb. Avoirdupois,) at 8s. $2\frac{1}{4}$d. ſterling * - - - - - - -	0	0	$2\frac{1}{4}$
Wages of three cook-maids, at twenty florins (37s. $7\frac{1}{2}$d.) a-year each, makes daily -	0	0	$3\frac{2}{3}$
Daily expence for feeding the three cook-maids, at ten creutzers ($3\frac{3}{4}$ pence ſterling) *each*, according to an agreement made with them -	0	0	11
Daily wages of two men-ſervants, employed in going to market—collecting donations of bread, &c. helping in the kitchen, and aſſiſting in ſerving out the ſoup to the Poor -	0	1	$7\frac{1}{4}$
Repairs of the kitchen, and of the kitchen furniture, about 90 florins (8l. 3s. 7d. ſterling) a-year, makes daily - -	0	0	$5\frac{1}{2}$
Total daily expences, when dinner is provided for 1200 perſons - - -	1	15	$2\frac{1}{4}$

This ſum (1l. 15s. $2\frac{1}{4}$d.) divided by 1200, the number of portions of ſoup furniſhed, gives for each portion a mere triſle more than *one third of a penny*, or exactly $\frac{45}{1200}$ of a penny; the weight of each portion being about 20 ounces.

But, moderate as theſe expences are, which have attended the feeding of the Poor of Munich, they have lately been reduced ſtill farther by introducing the uſe of potatoes.—Theſe moſt valuable vegetables were hardly known in Bavaria till very lately; and ſo ſtrong was the averſion of the Public, and particularly of the Poor, againſt them, at the time when we began to make uſe of them in the public kitchen of the Houſe of Induſtry in

* The quantity of fuel here mentioned, though it certainly is almoſt incredibly ſmall, was nevertheleſs determined from the reſults of actual experiments. A particular account of theſe experiments will be given in my Eſſay on the Management of Heat and the Economy of Fuel.

Munich,

Munich, that we were abſolutely obliged, at firſt, to introduce them by ſtealth.—A private room in a retired corner was fitted up as a kitchen for cooking them; and it was neceſſary to diſguiſe them, by boiling them down entirely, and deſtroying their form and texture, to prevent their being detected:—but the Poor ſoon found that their ſoup was improved in its qualities; and they teſtified their approbation of the change that had been made in it ſo generally and loudly, that it was at laſt thought to be no longer neceſſary to conceal from them the ſecret of its compoſition, and they are now grown ſo fond of potatoes that they would not eaſily be ſatisfied without them.

The employing of potatoes as an ingredient in the ſoup has enabled us to make a conſiderable ſaving in the other more coſtly materials, as may be ſeen by comparing the following receipt with that already given.

SOUP, N° II.

Ingredients.	Weight Avoirdupeis. lb	oz.		Coſt in ſterling money. £	s.	d.
2 *wertls* of pearl barley -	70	9	——	0	5	$9\frac{13}{14}$
2 *wertls* of peas - -	65	10	——	0	3	$7\frac{5}{8}$
8 *wertls* of potatoes - -	230	4	——	0	1	$9\frac{9}{11}$
Cuttings of bread . -	69	10	——	0	10	$2\frac{11}{14}$
Salt - - -	19	13	——	0	1	$2\frac{1}{2}$
Vinegar - - -	46	13	——	0	1	$5\frac{1}{2}$
Water . - -	982	15				
Total weight	1485	10				
Expences for *fuel, ſervants*, repairs, &c. as before				0	3	$5\frac{1}{2}$
Total daily expence, when dinner is provided for 1200 perſons - - - - -				1	7	6;

This ſum (1l. 7s. $6\frac{3}{4}$d.) divided by 1200, the number of portions of ſoup, gives for each portion *one farthing very nearly; or* accurately, $1\frac{1}{200}$ *farthing.*

The quantity of each of the ingredients contained in one portion of ſoup is as follows:

Ingredients.	In Avoirdupois weight. *Soup*, N° I.	*Soup*, N° II.
	oz.	oz.
Of pearl barley — —	$1\frac{1058}{1200}$ —	$0\frac{1179}{1200}$
Of peas — —	$1\frac{960}{1200}$ —	$0\frac{1050}{1200}$
Of potatoes —	— —	$3\frac{54}{1200}$
Of bread — —	$0\frac{1114}{1200}$ —	$0\frac{1114}{1200}$
Total ſolids	$4\frac{777}{1200}$ —	$5\frac{907}{1200}$
Of ſalt — —	$0\frac{316}{1200}$ —	$0\frac{316}{1200}$
Of weak vinegar —	$0\frac{748}{1200}$ —	$0\frac{748}{1200}$
Of water — —	$14\frac{4432}{1200}$ —	$13\frac{4127}{1200}$
Total	$19\frac{968}{1200}$	$19\frac{968}{1200}$

The expence of preparing theſe ſoups will vary with the prices of the articles of which they are compoſed: but as the quantities of the ingredients, determined by weight, are here given, it will be eaſy to aſcertain exactly what they will coſt in any caſe whatever.

Suppoſe, for inſtance, it were required to determine how much 1200 portions of the Soup, No. I. would coſt in London at this preſent moment, (the 12th of November 1795,) when all kinds of proviſions are uncommonly dear. I ſee by a printed report of the Board of Agriculture, of the day before yeſterday (November 10), that the prices of the articles neceſſary for preparing theſe ſoups were as follows:

Barley, per buſhel, weighing 46lb. at 5s. 6d. which gives for each pound about $1\frac{1}{2}$d.; but prepared

pared as pearl barley, it will coſt at leaſt two pence per pound *.

Boiling peas, per buſhel, weighing 61¼lb. (at 10s.) which gives for each pound nearly 1½d.

Potatoes, per buſhel, weighing 58½ lb. at 2s. 6d. which gives nearly one halfpenny for each pound.

And I find that a quartern loaf of wheaten *bread*, weighing 4 lb. 5 oz. coſts now in London 1s. 0½d.;—this bread muſt therefore be reckoned at 11$\frac{3}{7}$ farthings *per* pound.

Salt coſts 1½d. *per* pound; and vinegar (which is probably ſix times as ſtrong as that ſtuff called vinegar which is uſed in the kitchen of the Houſe of Induſtry at Munich) coſts 1s. 8d. *per* gallon.

This being premiſed, the computations may be made as follows:

Expence of preparing in London, in the month of November 1795, 1200 portions of the SOUP, No. I.

lb.	oz			s.	d.		£	s.	d.
141	2	pearl barley,	at	0	2	*per lb.*	1	12	6
131	4	peas, at	—	0	1½	——	0	16	4
69	10	wheaten bread, at		0	11$\frac{3}{7}$	——	0	16	6
19	13	ſalt, at	—	0	1½	——	0	2	5½
Vinegar, one gallon, at			—	1	8	——	0	1	8
Expences for *fuel*, *ſervants*, *kitchen furniture*, &c. reckoning three times as much as thoſe articles of expence amount to daily at Munich							0	10	4½
						Total	3	9	9½

* One Bavarian ſchafl (equal to 6$\frac{3}{10}$ Wincheſter buſhels) of barley, weighing at a medium 250 Bavarian pounds, upon being pearled, or *rolled* (as it is called in Germany), is reduced to half a ſchafl, which weighs 171 Bavarian pounds. The 79 lb. which it loſes in the operation is the perquiſite of the miller, and is all he receives for his trouble.

Which

Which ſum (3l. 9s. 9¼d.) divided by 1200, the number of portions of ſoup, gives 2 $\frac{9}{2}\frac{5}{0}\frac{1}{0}$ farthings, or nearly 2¼ farthings for each portion.

For the SOUP, No. II. it will be,

lb.	oz.			s.	d		£.	s	d.
70	9	pearl barley,	at	0	2	——	0	11	9
65	10	peas, at	—	0	1$\frac{1}{7}$	——	0	8	2
230	4	potatoes, at	—	0	0½	——	0	13	9
69	10	bread, at	—	0	11$\frac{2}{63}$	——	0	16	6
19	13	ſalt, at	—	0	1½	——	0	2	5½
Vinegar, one gallon			—			——	0	1	8
Expences for fuel, ſervants, &c.						——	0	10	4¼
						Total	3	4	7¼

This ſum (3l. 4s. 7¼d.) divided by 1200, the number of portions, gives for each 2¼ farthings very nearly.

This ſoup comes much higher here in London, than it would do in moſt other parts of Great Britain, on account of the very high price of potatoes in this city; but in moſt parts of the kingdom, and certainly in every part of Ireland, it may be furniſhed, even at this preſent moment, notwithſtanding the uncommonly high prices of proviſions, at leſs than *one halfpenny* the portion of 20 ounces.

Though the object moſt attended to in compoſing theſe ſoups was to render them wholeſome and nouriſhing, yet they are very far from being unpalatable.—The baſis of the ſoups, which is water prepared and thickened by barley, is well calculated to receive, and to convey to the palate in an

an agreeable manner, every thing that is ſavoury in the other ingredients; and the dry bread rendering maſtication neceſſary, prolongs the action of the Food upon the organs of taſte, and by that means increaſes and *prolongs* the enjoyment of eating.

But though theſe ſoups are very good and nouriſhing, yet they certainly are capable of a variety of improvements.—The moſt obvious means of improving them is to mix with them a ſmall quantity of ſalted meat, boiled, and cut into very ſmall pieces, (the ſmaller the better,) and to fry the bread that is put into them in butter, or in the fat of ſalted pork or bacon.

The bread, by being fried, is not only rendered much harder, but being impregnated with a fat or oily ſubſtance it remains hard after it is put into the ſoup, the water not being able to penetrate it and ſoften it.

All good cooks put fried bread, cut into ſmall ſquare pieces, in peas-ſoup; but I much doubt whether they are aware of the very great importance of that practice, or that they have any juſt idea of the *manner* in which the bread improves the ſoup.

The beſt kind of meat for mixing with theſe ſoups is ſalted pork, or bacon, or ſmoked beef.

Whatever meat is uſed, it ought to be boiled either in clear water or in the ſoup; and after it is boiled it ought to be cut into very ſmall pieces, as ſmall, perhaps, as barley-corns.—The bread may be cut in pieces of the ſize of large peas, or

in thin ſlices; and after it is fried, it may be mixed with the meat and put into the ſoup-diſhes, and the ſoup poured on them when it is ſerved out.

Another method of improving this ſoup is to mix with it ſmall dumplins, or meat-balls, made of bread, flour, and ſmoked beef, ham, or any other kind of ſalted meat, or of liver cut into ſmall pieces, or rather *minced*, as it is called.—Theſe dumplins may be boiled either in the ſoup or in clear water, and put into the ſoup when it is ſerved out.

As the meat in theſe compoſitions is deſigned rather to pleaſe the palate than for any thing elſe, the ſoup being ſufficiently nouriſhing without it, it is of much importance that it be reduced to very ſmall pieces, in order that it be brought into contact with the organs of taſte by a large ſurface; and that it be mixed with ſome hard ſubſtance, (fried bread, for inſtance, crumbs, or hard dumplins,) which will neceſſarily prolong the time employed in maſtication.

When this is done, and where the meat employed has much flavour, a very ſmall quantity of it will be found ſufficient to anſwer the purpoſe required.

One ounce of bacon, or of ſmoked beef, and *one ounce* of fried bread, added to *eighteen ounces* of the Soup No. I. would afford an excellent meal, in which the taſte of animal food would decidedly predominate.

Dried ſalt fiſh, or ſmoked fiſh, boiled and then minced, and made into dumplins with maſhed potatoes,

tatoes, bread, and flour, and boiled again, would be very good, eaten with either of the ſoups No. I. or No. II.

Theſe ſoups may likewiſe be improved, by mixing with them various kinds of cheap roots and green vegetables, as turnips, carrots, parſnips, celery, cabbages, ſour-crout, &c.; as alſo by ſeaſoning them with fine herbs and black pepper.—Onions and leeks may likewiſe be uſed with great advantage, as they not only ſerve to render the Food in which they enter as ingredients peculiarly ſavoury, but are really very wholeſome.

With regard to the barley made uſe of in preparing theſe ſoups, though I always have uſed pearl barley, or *rolled* barley (as it is called in Germany), yet I have no doubt but common barley-meal would anſwer nearly as well; particularly if care were taken to boil it gently for a ſufficient length of time over a ſlow fire before the peas are added*.

Till the laſt year we uſed to cook the barley-ſoup, and the peas-ſoup ſeparate, and not to mix them till the moment when they were poured into the tubs upon the cut bread, in order to be carried

* Since the Firſt Edition of this Eſſay was publiſhed the experiment with barley-meal has been tried, and the meal has been found to anſwer quite as well as pearl barley, if not better, for making theſe ſoups. Among others, Thomas Bernard, Eſq. Treaſurer of the Foundling Hoſpital, a gentleman of moſt reſpectable character, and well known for his philanthropy and active zeal in relieving the diſtreſſes of the Poor, has given it a very complete and fair trial; and he found, what is very remarkable, though not difficult to be accounted for—that the barley-meal, *with all the bran in it*, anſwered better, that is to ſay, made the ſoup richer, and thicker, than when the fine flour of barley, without the bran, was uſed.

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