

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

“FLOATING BRIDGES,” “KNOTTY POINTS,” AND “BOROUGHMONGER TOOLS”:
MALTHUS, EXTRA-PARLIAMENTARY POLITICS, AND THE DEBATES ON
EMIGRATION, 1798-1834

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This dissertation's origins seem as distant as my first day at graduate school, when I vaguely remember being told “never spend more than an hour reading a book.” It began with a University of Chicago Master's thesis that explored the relationship between paternalist politics, the British military empire and the potato, which fueled interest in two further academic endeavors. The first—a seminar paper on Malthus and his teachings at the East India College at Haileybury —uncovered some significant margin notes in his rarely studied books and pamphlets held at Jesus College, Cambridge indicating his engagement in matters beyond population. The second—a term paper on early nineteenth century political-economic debates on emigration—suggested that the historical record on early nineteenth century emigration debates and recent historical interpretations did not match up. I was hooked.

Time and cash limited the scope of my initial exploration to crude searches of online databases containing review journals, nineteenth century British newspapers and periodicals, the Goldsmith Kress Collection for Economic Literature, and to secondary historical literature. Nevertheless, it was pivotal in revealing that key political-economic arguments were fleshed out in an ill-defined intellectual space that emerged in the early nineteenth century (with the arrival of review journals) and overlapped civil society, popular politics and policy-making. I soon found out that ideas are cheap. Putting it all together has been the hard part.

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation analyzes and refines the extra-parliamentary basis of popular politics in early nineteenth century Britain through the lens of the debates on surplus population and emigration. It asks whether civil society, influenced by the liberal writings of politicians and political economists, was a potent enough movement to address issues such as population pressure and assisted emigration in a time of crisis. Chapter one charts Britain's transition from agricultural to industrial society and provides context for one potential pathway through the crisis—that of emigration. Chapter two focuses on intellectuals associated with review journals and their role in disseminating, popularizing, and bureaucratizing plans to alleviate the nation's depressed state. It argues that these journals grabbed the public's attention by contributing to the shared space of debate that included newspapers, pamphlets, and petitions. Chapters three and four examine the contribution of Thomas Robert Malthus (1766-1834) to extra-parliamentary debates on emigration. This fresh perspective on Malthus suggests that Malthusian ideology dominated the conversation on emigration. It also reveals that Malthus's participation in the Select Committee on Emigration (1827) added legitimacy to proceedings that Robert Wilmot-Horton (1784 -1841), undersecretary of state for war and the colonies, needed in order to garner support for his emigration scheme. Chapter five is a case study of Anglo-Irish statesman Arthur Wellesley, the first Duke of Wellington (1758-1853). It finds that his pragmatic approach to the nations concerns point to his familiarity and involvement with extra-parliamentary and parliamentary debates. Overall, this dissertation contends that extra-parliamentary politics—operating through agents that included journalists, liberal intellectuals, and appointed officials—was a necessary force that pushed issues to the forefront of public debate, oftentimes long before their official discussion in government circles and consideration for adoption into legislation.

ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---------|---|
| BL | British Library (London, UK) |
| DCM | <i>Dispatches, Correspondence and Memoranda of Field Marshall Arthur, Duke of Wellington</i> (1867) |
| ODNB | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography www.oxforddnb.com |
| DRO | Derbyshire Record Office, Wilmot Horton of Osmaston and Catton Papers, ‘WH’ series file, D3155, (Matlock, UK) |
| ER | <i>Edinburgh Review</i> (Edinburgh, UK) |
| Hansard | Hansard’s <i>Parliamentary Debates</i> , (incorporating 1 st , 2 nd , and 3 rd series) |
| IOR | India Office Records and Private Papers (British Library) |
| NA | National Archives (formerly the Public Records Office, Kew, London, UK) |
| NLS | National Library of Scotland (Edinburgh, UK) |
| NPG | National Portrait Gallery (London, UK) |
| QR | <i>Quarterly Review</i> (London, UK) |
| WP | Wellington Papers (University of Southampton, UK) |
| WD | <i>The Dispatches of Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington</i> (1844) |
| WR | <i>Westminster Review</i> (London, UK) |

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CHRONOLOGY: Britain's Age of Transition

- 1776 Publication of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*
- 1795 Poor harvests, food shortages, high prices
Food riots
"Speenhamland" system of local poor relief adopted
- 1796 Poor harvests, food shortages, high prices
Publication of Malthus's *The Crisis*
- 1798 Publication of Malthus's *Essay on Population* (1st edition)
- 1799 Poor harvests, food shortages, high prices (1799-1801)
- 1800 Food riots
Publication of Edmund Burke's *Thoughts and Details on Scarcity*
Irish Act of Union
- 1801 First British census
Act of Union with Ireland comes into force
- 1802 Launch of the *Edinburgh Review*
Peace with France (Peace of Amiens)
- 1803 Publication of Malthus's *Essay on Population* (2nd edition)
Passenger Act
Britain declares war on France.
- 1805 Publication of Malthus's *Essay on Population* (3rd edition)
Publication of Lord Selkirk's *Observations*
- 1806 Publication of Malthus's *Essay on Population* (4th edition)
- 1808 Start of Peninsular War
- 1809 Launch of the *Quarterly Review*
- 1810 Poor harvests (1810-13)
George III goes permanently mad
- 1811 Act to establish Prince of Wales (later George IV) as Regent
- 1812 Price of wheat rises to scarcity levels (120s. per quarter)
Lord Liverpool appointed prime minister

- 1813 Publication of Robert Owen's *A New View of Society*
- 1815 Battle of Waterloo, defeat of Napoleon
Corn Law (excludes foreign wheat unless home price is set at or above 80s. per quarter)
Assisted emigration experiment to Upper Canada
- 1816 Poor harvests (1816-18)
Economic depression and unemployment (1816-18)
Publication of Jane Marcet's *Conversations on Political Economy*
- 1817 Publication of Malthus's *Essay on Population* (5th edition)
Publication of David Ricardo's *Principles of Political Economy and Taxation*
Select Committee to Consider the Poor Laws
Death of *Edinburgh Reviewer* and MP Francis Horner
- 1818 *Select Committee to Consider the Poor Laws*
Assisted emigration experiment to Upper Canada
- 1819 "Peterloo" Massacre
Select Committee to Consider the Poor Laws
Select Committee on the State of Disease, and Condition of Labouring Poor in Ireland
Assisted emigration experiments to Upper Canada and Cape of Good Hope
- 1820 Death of George III
Accession of George IV
Select Committee on Petitions Presented upon Agricultural Distress
Cato Street Conspiracy
Publication of Malthus's *Principles of Political Economy*
- 1821 Political Economy Club established
Agricultural distress
Famine in Ireland (1821-23)
- 1822 *Select Committee on Agricultural Distress*
Agricultural distress
- 1823 Assisted emigration scheme from Ireland
Select Committee on Poor Rate Returns
Death of David Ricardo
Select Committee on Condition of Labouring Poor in Ireland and on Application of Funds for Their Employment
Irish assisted emigration to Upper Canada and Cape of Good Hope

- 1824 Launch of the *Westminster Review*
Select Committee on the State of Law in United Kingdom Respecting Artisans Leaving Kingdom, and Exportation of Tools and Machinery, and Combination of Workmen to Raise Wages
- 1825 Irish assisted emigration to Upper Canada and Cape of Good Hope
 Severe commercial and financial distress (1825-6)
Select Committee to Inquire into Disturbances in Ireland
- 1826 *Select Committee on Emigration from the United Kingdom* (“First Report”)
 Publication of Malthus’s *Essay on Population* (6th edition)
- 1827 Prime minister Lord Liverpool incapacitated by a stroke
Select Committee on Emigration from the United Kingdom (“Second Report”)
 George Canning appointed prime minister
 Death of George Canning. Goderich appointed prime minister
Select Committee on Emigration from the United Kingdom (“Third Report”)
- 1828 Goderich resigns as prime minister
 Wellington appointed prime minister
 Daniel O’Connell elected for County Clare
 Death of Lord Liverpool
 New Corn Law reduces levels of protection according to a sliding scale
- 1829 Catholic Relief Act (emancipation) receives Royal Assent
 Metropolitan Police instituted in London
 Economic depression (1829-30)
 Publication of Edward Gibbon Wakefield’s *Letter from Sydney*
- 1830 Death of George IV, accession of William IV
Select Committee on State of Poor in Ireland, and Means of Improving Their Condition
 Swing Riots in Southern England
 Wellington’s government defeated on civil list. Wellington resigns
 Grey forms coalition Government
- 1831 *Select Committee of the House of Lords on Poor Laws and Petitions Praying for Relief from Pauperism*
- 1832 First Reform Bill receives Royal Assent
 Poor Law Commission (1832-4)
- 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act (New Poor Law) receives Royal Assent
 Death of Thomas Robert Malthus
 South Australia Bill

- 1837 Death of William IV and accession of Victoria
- 1838 Poor Laws extended to Ireland
- 1845 Famine in Ireland (1845-48)
- 1846 Repeal of the Corn Laws

CHAPTER ONE: Introduction

In April 1807 the following comments appeared in the *Edinburgh Review* in response to a travel narrative on Ireland, by J. Carr Esq.:

Whoever has seriously considered the subject, and has read what has been written by Malthus on population, and by Selkirk on emigration, will not lightly hazard a decision. The Irishman's reply to Mr. Carr's enquiry into the cause of the great population of Ireland, deserves a serious investigation. 'By Jasus, Sir, it's all the potato.'¹

Drawing a crude but decisive link between ongoing concerns over surplus population (as famously expressed by T.R. Malthus in his *Essay on Population*), emigration (as set forth by Lord Selkirk's plan to assist Scottish Highlanders with relocation to Canada,) and the food supply (an ongoing concern in Britain and Ireland after recent years of scarcity and famine), these astute comments foreshadowed major public debates and policy changes in early nineteenth-century Britain.² The first figure, T.R. Malthus, should be given his rightful place as the foremost intellectual concerned with population. Malthus published the first edition of the *Essay* in 1798, which provided a new dimension to discussions of poverty.³ Analyzing the balance between the land and population, he observed that if left unchecked, the population

¹ "The Stranger in Ireland; or, a Tour in the Southern and Western Parts of that Country in the year 1805. By J. Carr, Esq." *ER*, 10:19 (1807: Apr.) p.56.

² T.R. Malthus, *An Essay on the Principle of Population*. Cambridge texts in the History of Political Thought, Donald Winch, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); "Observations on the Present State of the Highlands of Scotland; with a View of the Causes and probably Consequence of Emigration. By the Earl of Selkirk," *ER*, 7:13 (1805: Oct), p.185. Famines occurred in Britain in 1794-95.

³ The full title of Malthus's essay is *An Essay on Principle of Population, as it affects the Future Improvement of Society, with Remarks on the Speculations of Mr. Godwin, M. Condorcet, and Other Writers*. It described his theory, which was an attack upon William Godwin's *An Enquiry into Political Justice* (1796) and the Marquis de Condorcet's *Esquisse d'un tableau historique des progrès de l'esprit humain* (1795), both of which envisioned a future utopian society. *Esquisse d'un tableau historique* was published posthumously in 1795, after Condorcet's imprisonment by Robespierre and subsequent death. In 1820, William Godwin (1756-1836) published *Of Population: An Enquiry Concerning the Power of Increase in the Numbers of Mankind* as a rebuttal to Malthus's *Essay*. The *Essay* was spread over "four chapters" (or books), and James Bonar summed them up succinctly: "The First deals with the less civilized past times; the Second with the different states of modern Europe; the Third criticizes popular schemes of future improvement; while the Fourth gives the author's own views of the possible progress of humanity." James Bonar, *Malthus and his Work* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1924), 87.

would double every twenty-five years in a geometric ratio. But it was “impossible to suppose that the produce could be quadrupled. It would be contrary to all our knowledge of the qualities of land.”⁴ For Malthus, the prospects looked bleak. If the population continued to rise and the food supply did not keep up, prices would rise due to increased demand, wages would fall because of a glut of labor (excess supply in relation to demand) and the standard of living would decline to subsistence level. If there was no increase in subsistence the population had to be checked; preventative checks included delaying marriage and the rearing of children, and positive checks included famine, war and disease. It is worth pointing out that many of Malthus’s concepts on population had been laid out before, but his work roused such controversy that it became the basis of his entire career.⁵

The second figure mentioned in the *Edinburgh Review*’s travel narrative on Ireland was Thomas Douglas, fifth earl of Selkirk (1771-1820). In his *Observations on the Present State of*

⁴ T.R. Malthus, *An Essay on the Principle of Population*, Oxford World Classics, Geoffrey Gilbert, ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 16.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 57. Malthus’s observations on population were not necessarily new, although his new interpretation identified ‘perpetual oscillations’ rather than indefinite progress. For example, the following intellectuals made observations on population prior to the publication of Malthus’s first *Essay*: Marquis de Mirabeau, *L’ami des homes, ou traite de la population* (1756); Robert Wallace, *Dissertation on the Numbers of Mankind* (1753); Sir James Steuart, *Principles of Political Oeconomy* (1767); Moheau, *Recherches et considerations sur la population de la France* (1778); Rev. William Wales, *An Inquiry into the Present State of the Population in England the Wales*, (1781); Joseph Townsend, *Dissertation on the Poor Laws* (1786). Karl Marx famously wrote in *Capital* (1867): “If the reader reminds me of Malthus, whose ‘Essay on Population’ appeared in 1798, I remind him that this work in its first form is nothing more than a schoolboyish, superficial plagiarism of De Foe, Sir James Steuart, Townsend, Franklin, Wallace etc and does not contain a single sentence thought out by himself.” Conversely, Donald Winch points out that Malthus always recognized his intellectual debts which included Hume, Wallace, Smith, Price, Montesquieu, Benjamin Franklin, James Steuart, Arthur Young and Joseph Townsend. Donald Winch, *Riches and Poverty: An Intellectual History of Political Economy in Britain, 1750-1834* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 233. A list of monographs referred to by Malthus in the various editions of *Essay on Population* can be found in *The Malthus Library Catalogue*, (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1983), 207-226. For specific critiques of Malthus, see Kenneth Smith, *The Malthusian Controversy* (London, Routledge & Paul, 1951); James P. Huzel, *The Popularization of Malthus in Early Nineteenth-Century England: Martineau, Cobbett and the Pauper Press*, Modern Economic and Social History Series (Aldershot, Hants, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006). For a more recent analysis on Malthus’s intellectual debts, see Ted McCormick, “Who were the pre-Malthusians?” in Robert J. (Robert John) Mayhew, ed., *New Perspectives on Malthus* (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 25-51.

the Highlands of Scotland published in 1805, Selkirk outlined his plan for an assisted emigration scheme to drain the overflow of population in the Scottish Highlands to the colonies.⁶ Selkirk, an advocate of colonization in North America, first proposed a plan to the British government in 1802 for Irish Catholics to settle in Louisiana. His plan was rejected, so Selkirk suggested Upper Canada or Prince Edward Island instead, and also shifted his attention from Irish to Scottish families. By 1803, more than 800 Scottish highlanders had emigrated to Prince Edward Island, and Selkirk spent a month at the settlement. After returning, he wrote his *Observations*, which would become his major contribution to political economy and the emigration debate.⁷

The punchline of the *Edinburgh Review*'s observations on Ireland concerned the potato. Potatoes were the perfect subsistence crop for a temperate climate with high precipitation, able to grow in damp conditions and to feed animals and humans alike. Moreover, potatoes were cheap, easy to cook and nutritious: if served with a small quantity of milk, they provided an adequate diet.⁸ In 1796, two years before Malthus wrote his *Essay*, a severe dearth hit Britain, made worse by the nation being at war. The newly formed Board of Agriculture did all it could to encourage laborers to grow the potato, and parliament even offered "bounties" for potato growing.⁹ Furthermore, in 1800, politician and philanthropist William Wilberforce (1759-1833) brought forward a Bill in the House of Commons to enable parish officers "to apply a part of the Poor

⁶ Thomas Douglas Selkirk, Earl of, *Observations on the Present State of the Highlands of Scotland with a View of the Causes and Probable Consequences of Emigration* (London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, Paternoster-Row, and A. Constable and Co., Edinburgh, 1805).

⁷ J.M. Bumsted, "Douglas, Thomas, fifth earl of Selkirk (1771-1820), colonist and proponent of colonization in North America," in ODNB. See also J. M. Bumsted, *Lord Selkirk: A Life* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2009); John Morgan Gray, *Lord Selkirk of Red River.*, [1st American ed.] (London: Macmillan, 1963).

⁸ Although the potato remained popular in Ireland, historians generally considered that bread was the staple food of Britain prior to the Napoleonic Wars. However, this situation changed after a series of food riots in Britain in 1795-1796, forcing the government, plebeians and the potato to become intimately acquainted. Kirsty Montgomery, "Paternalism, Politics and the Potato: The British Military Empire, 1780-1850," MA thesis (Unpublished: University of Chicago, 2008).

⁹ Rosalind Mitchison, *Agricultural Sir John: The Life of Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster, 1754-1835* (London: Geoffrey Bles, 1962), 155.

Rates in the purchase of Potatoes, to be distributed among the Poor, for the purpose of planting; and for planting Potatoes in Commons and Waste Lands, with the consent of all parties interested therein.”¹⁰ The potato (*Solanum tuberosum*) had of course been the staple food in Ireland for several centuries, even though its history is curious and contested. Introduced by Spanish explorers in the sixteenth century it was considered a true miracle crop, and the Irish were the first Europeans to truly embrace it.¹¹ Soon after its introduction, potatoes became the staple diet of the poor laborer in Ireland. As early as the 1660s, potatoes were sufficiently well known to be talked about in local taverns: “we talk of how good the parsnips, potatoes or beetroots are, that our wives have got at home.”¹² From then until the late eighteenth century, the potato was generally considered as a buffer against hunger, not a creator of it.

Observers had noted a correlation between the potato and population growth in Ireland long before the *Edinburgh Review*'s spirited remarks. Agricultural reformer Arthur Young (1741-1820), writing in the 1770s, listed potatoes as one of several causes of the country's large population: “There are several circumstances in Ireland, extremely favourable to population, to which must be attributed.... First there being no Poor Laws. Second the habitations. Third, the generalities of marriage. Fourth, children not being burdensome. Fifth, potatoes the food.”¹³

¹⁰ *Whitehall Evening Post*, “News,” Saturday, March 29, 1800. Jeremy Burchardt, “Land and the Laborer: Potato Grounds and Allotments in Nineteenth Century Southern England,” *Agricultural History*, Vol.74, No.3 (Summer, 2000): 667-684.

¹¹ Some, such as Salaman have claimed that Sir Walter Raleigh introduced the potato to Ireland, however in McKay's *Anthology of the Potato* two Irish poems (from 1705) repeatedly describe the potato as “Spanach.” Quoted in P.M. Austin Bourke, “The Use of the Potato Crop in Pre-Famine Ireland.” *Journal of the Statistical Inquiry Society of Ireland*, XX (1959), 93. Martin and Parker also dismiss the notion that Raleigh introduced the potato since there were no potatoes on the Armada ships. See Colin Martin and Geoffrey Parker, *The Spanish Armada* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1988), 56-57. Clarkson and Crawford claim in *Feast and Famine: Food and Nutrition in Ireland 1500-1920* that the spread of potato cultivation “was a consequence of the inflow of New English and Scottish settlers after the Cromwellian reconquest of Ireland.”

¹² N.J.A. Williams, ed. “Pairlement Chloinne Tomais,” (Dublin: Institute for Advanced Studies, 1981), 47, quoted in Clarkson and Crawford, 61.

¹³ Arthur Young, *A Tour in Ireland with General Observations on the Present State of That Kingdom, Made in the Years 1776, 1777, and 1778, and Brought down to the End of 1779* (London: Printed for T. Cadell and J. Dodsley, 1780), Section XV, “Population,” pp. 60.

Young's comments suggest that population growth could not be viewed simply in terms of the food supply, as the *Edinburgh Review* had implied. His comments also steer clear of debasing the potato, as its nutritional properties were viewed favorably at the time. Another observer, political economist Adam Smith, commented on the potato-eating Irish in *The Wealth of Nations*:

..., the strongest men and most beautiful women perhaps in the British dominions, are said to be, the greater part of them, from the lowest rank of people in Ireland, who are generally fed with this root. No food can afford a more decisive proof of its nourishing quality, or of its being peculiarly suitable to the health of the human constitution.¹⁴

With his experience of travelling the Irish countryside, Arthur Young was arguably better placed to pass judgment on the Irish physique than Smith. In 1780 he echoed Smith's sentiments:

...the poor people are as athletic in their form, as robust, and as capable of enduring labour as any upon earth....When I see the people of a country...with well formed vigorous bodies, and their cottages swarming with children; when I see their men athletic, and their women beautiful, I know not how to believe them subsisting on an unwholesome food.¹⁵

The end of the eighteenth century marked a transitional moment when some observers became skeptical about the benefits of the potato and suggested that the population might be stimulated where it appeared easy to obtain food. Malthus, for example, warned of an overreliance on the potato and from the publication of his *Essay on Population* onwards the humble spud came under indefatigable scrutiny from all quarters, including the *Edinburgh Review*.¹⁶ From the journal's political-economic vantage point, the connection between the means of subsistence and the population—or in other words, the number of persons that the labor of one man could

¹⁴ Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of The Wealth of Nations*. Edwin Cannan, ed. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1976), BK I, CH. XI, pp. 179-180.

¹⁵ Arthur Young, *A tour in Ireland: with general observations on the present state of that kingdom. Made in the years 1776, 1777, and 1778. and brought down to the end of 1779. By Arthur Young, Esq; F. R. S. Honorary Member of the Societies of Dublin, York and Manchester; the Oeconomical Society of Berne; the Palatine Academy of Agriculture, at Manheim, and the Physical Society at Zurich*. Volume 2. (Dublin, 1780), 32.

¹⁶ Malthus, *Essay on Population*, ed. Winch and James, 127.

support upon the staple food of the country—was paramount.¹⁷ In the case of Ireland, the *Edinburgh Review* calculated that a laborer’s weekly earnings could pay for almost double the quantity of food (potatoes) than that earned by the higher wages of the English laborer buying bread.¹⁸ In spite of its nutritional benefits then, the potato represented poverty and hardship to some observers who articulated the connection between concerns over the food supply and surplus population (epitomized by the *Edinburgh Review*’s “By Jasus” remarks).¹⁹ Emigration to the colonies was proposed as a possible solution.

It was Adam Smith who famously argued that colonial wealth impoverished rather than enriched countries, and therefore, populations lost to the colonies through emigration detracted from the wealth of the nation.²⁰ Yet in the years immediately following the publication of the *Wealth of Nations* in 1776, arguments on both sides of the emigration debate came to the fore.

¹⁷ More recent scholarship has confirmed eighteenth century observations on the physical attributes of the Irish. Joel Mokyr and Cormac Ó Gráda noted that at least at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Irish military recruits were taller than the British recruits. One thing that Irish military recruits had in common was that they were all fed on the potato. The Irish laboring classes typically consumed between eight and fifteen pounds of potatoes daily; less in the eastern counties, more in the west. High quantities of potato consumption would have ensured well-nourished recruits, able to withstand the physical and nutritional deprivations of battle. In other words, strong soldiers were far more likely to sustain and ultimately win campaigns. The significance of nutrition during wartime was brought to the fore during the mid-eighteenth century by naval physician Dr. James Lind, who recognized the dietary deficiencies of sailors. His well-known clinical trial on board the *Salisbury* in 1747 and his three subsequent texts on scurvy, naval hygiene and tropical medicine revolutionized Britain as a naval power. The *HMS St. Albans* served sliced potato on board in 1795, the same year that Sir John Sinclair eulogized the potato on behalf of The Board of Agriculture. Moreover, there are reports that sailors who refused to eat potato later developed scurvy.

¹⁸ “Newenham and others on the State of Ireland,” *ER*, 12:24 (1808: July), p.339-340.

¹⁹ This position contrasts with Rebecca Earle argument that many eighteenth-century political economists eulogized the potato. Rebecca Earle, “How the humble potato fueled the rise of liberal capitalism,” *The Conversation*, August 3, 2017 (Podcast), <http://theconversation.com/how-the-humble-potato-fuelled-the-rise-of-liberal-capitalism-podcast-97483>.

²⁰ Smith argued that the monopoly of colonial trade did not constitute an addition to the trade of the country but simply a change in its direction, and that since profits were generally higher in the colonial trade than other sectors of the economy, the monopoly of colonial trade would cause an increase in the rate of profit, accompanied by a rise in prices. Smith, *Wealth of Nations*. Cannan, ed., Book IV, VII, p.66. See also Biancamaria Fontana, *Rethinking the Politics of Commercial Society: The Edinburgh Review, 1802-1832* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 61; Donald Winch, *Classical Political Economy and Colonies* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965), 6-14; Jennifer Pitts, *A Turn to Empire: The Rise of Imperial Liberalism in Britain and France* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 52-58.



1.1. *Adam Smith, 1723-1790*
by James Tasse, 1787
© National Galleries of Scotland.²¹

Those in favor of emigration included intellectuals concerned with overpopulation and exponents of colonization on the grounds of the potential profits gained from new markets.²² Those against emigration included supporters of the “mercantile system” of overseas empire, Scottish Lairds, and others concerned with military recruitment.²³ Notwithstanding the proponents of emigration, in the period leading up to the end of the Napoleonic Wars there were many who vehemently

²¹ <https://www.nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artists/3785/0/adam-smith-1723-1790-political-economist>

²² Donald Winch, “The Classical Debate on Colonization: Comment,” *Southern Economic Journal*, Vol. 32, No.3 (Jan. 1966), pp.341-345, 343. The arguments for emigration on the grounds of commercial gain soon became overshadowed by pragmatic arguments for emigration on the basis of overpopulation.

²³ Smith referred to a system of ideas as the “mercantile system” that came to be known as “mercantilism.” Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, Cannan, ed., Book IV, I, 450-473. It was a set of political-economic ideas dominant from approx. 1600-1800. For definitions of “mercantilism” see Murray Milgate, *After Adam Smith: A Century of Transformation in Politics and Political Economy*, ed. Shannon C. Stimson (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 34-35; Kenneth Morgan, “Mercantilism and the British Empire, 1688-1815,” in Donald Winch et al., eds., *The Political Economy of British Historical Experience, 1688-1914*, (Oxford: Published for The British Academy by Oxford University Press, 2002), 165-191. Most recently, in *Mercantilism Reimagined*, the concept was given a scholarly makeover. In this edited volume, Stern and Wennerlind concluded that, “if mercantilism was inseparable from its social, political, intellectual and cultural contexts, so too are all attempts to rethink, revise, revisit and even reimagine it—in the past, present, and future.” Philip J. Stern and Carl Wennerlind, eds., *Mercantilism Reimagined: Political Economy in Early Modern Britain and Its Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 17. For mercantilism and population, see Hugh J. M. Johnston, *British Emigration Policy 1815-1830: 'shovelling out Paupers'*; (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 4; Ted McCormick, “Population: Modes of Seventeenth Century Demographic Thought,” in Stern and Wennerlind, 25-45.

opposed emigration, fearing that emigration might weaken or depopulate Britain. The first group, supporters of the “mercantile system,” encouraged colonial development only to the degree that it secured Britain food and supplies; emigration that failed to fulfil that limited requirement was not supported. The second group, Scottish Lairds and military recruiters, were equally if not more hostile to emigration.²⁴ The recruitment of Scottish Highlanders after the Seven Years’ War (1756-1763) was highly successful, and a niche economy flourished as Scottish landlords received payment for setting up regiments.²⁵ Highland magnates such as Sir James Grant and Lord Seaforth secured peerages and monetary rewards for their recruiting patronage. Crucially, as Andrew Mackillop notes, the martial character of the Highland population was encouraged and maintained during the eighteenth century by the Board for the Annexed Estates through a system of crofting—the division of land into small enclosures, and the land “cropped” with potatoes, turnips and other staples. This agricultural practice ensured, “the propagation of a hardy and industrious race, fit for serving the public in war.”²⁶ Certainly, as the eighteenth century wore on, Britain remained in desperate need for manpower, and it was Scottish Lord Advocate Henry Dundas (1742-1811) who played a key role in obtaining the first parliamentary legislation related to emigration. Believing that, “Highlanders were born to be soldiers and the Highlands ought to be considered as a nursery of strength and security to the Kingdom,” Dundas pressed

²⁴ Between 1793 and 1815, Linda Colley claims that Britain’s armed forces “had to grow at a faster rate than those of any other European power.” She argues that despite the spread of radicalism and violent protests over food shortages, men “living on the edge of poverty” filled the gap and served the British Empire in its military engagements across the globe. In the early stages of the war, the rural populations of Scotland and Wales contributed the most manpower and landlords in these areas were able to coerce tenants into aiding the war effort. According to Colley, after the Battle of Culloden in 1746 the British Army pragmatically recruited Catholics from Scotland and Ireland. Laws forbidding Catholics serving in the armed forces were relaxed and large numbers of Roman Catholics served as cannon fodder for the British Empire. Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992), 326-327.

²⁵ Heather Streets, “Identity in the Highland Regiments in the Nineteenth Century: Soldier, Region, Nation” in Steve Murdoch and A. Mackillop, eds. *Fighting for Identity: Scottish Military Experience c.1550-1900* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2002).

²⁶ Andrew Mackillop, ‘*More Fruitful than the Soil*’: *Army, Empire and the Scottish Highlands, 1715-1815* (East Linton: Tuckwell, 2000), 90.

Parliament to pass the Passenger Act (1803), legislation designed to raise the cost of emigration to prohibitive levels.²⁷

At the dawn of an era of massive emigration, the naysayers gained another weapon: the words of Thomas Robert Malthus. Malthus's world was a pre-industrial one in which population growth could outstrip the available resources. The remedy to overpopulation was restraint and the abolition of the Poor Laws, not shoveling out paupers through emigration schemes. Yet during the volatile conditions of the Napoleonic Wars, and at its conclusion— when the demand for labor shrank in most sectors of the economy, wages dropped, and unemployment skyrocketed— it appeared as though real events were confirming Malthus's gloomy prediction. By 1817, a parliamentary select committee charged with reviewing the Poor Laws had recommended emigration for the unemployed.²⁸ Two years later, the first of several government-assisted colonization schemes settled Britons in the Cape of Good Hope. Over 80,000 applied for just 4,000 places.²⁹ While Malthus himself was equivocal on emigration, his influence on others—particularly those who urged emigration as a way of getting rid the excess population— was significant.³⁰ Most economists accepted his broad principle of population and many

²⁷ Murdoch, 54. Oliver MacDonagh disputes the interpretation that the Passenger Act was passed as a circuitous way to restrict emigration, but it is difficult to support his claim that it was just an unintended consequence of the legislation. Oliver MacDonagh, *A Pattern of Government Growth, 1800-60; the Passenger Acts and Their Enforcement* (London: MacGibbon & Kee, 1961), 54-59. See instead Fredrik Albritton Jonsson, *Enlightenment's Frontier: The Scottish Highlands and the Origins of Environmentalism*, Lewis Walpole Series in Eighteenth-Century Culture and History (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 232-234. For more on Dundas, see John Clive, *Scotch Reviewers: The Edinburgh Review, 1802-1815* (London: Faber and Faber LTD, 1957), 22-23.

²⁸ Select Committee on the Poor Laws, ed., *Report from the Select Committee on the Poor Laws with the Minutes of Evidence Taken before the Committee.*, (London: Printed by and for C. Clement, 1817); "A Paper on the Means of Reducing the Poors Rates and of Affording Effectual and Permanent Relief to the Labouring Classes. Presented to the Chairman of the Committee of the Poor Laws. By Major Torrens. London 1817," *The Pamphleteer*, Vol. X, no. 20, (London: A.J. Valpy, 1817), 509-528, 518.

²⁹ Eric Richards, *Britannia's Children: Emigration from England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland since 1600* (London; New York: Hambledon and London, 2004), 112.

³⁰ Eric Richards, "Malthus and the Uses of British Emigration," in Kent Fedorowich and Andrew S. Thompson eds., *Empire, Migration and Identity in the British World*, Studies in Imperialism (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), 43; Alison Bashford, *The New Worlds of Thomas Robert Malthus: Rereading the Principle of Population*, ed. Joyce E. Chaplin (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2016), 213-214.

accepted that emigration could be used as a short-term palliative to relieve surplus population.³¹ In the end, Malthus provided a “convenient peg” for arguments on both sides of a debate on emigration which was ultimately brought in front of Parliament.³² The naysayers used Malthus’s theories to dismiss emigration on the grounds that it created a vacuum that would be quickly repopulated. Those in favor of emigration clung to Malthus’s gloomy prediction of catastrophe if remedies were not taken to address the burgeoning population. Malthus’s proposition stated in the very first edition of the *Essay* (1798) was used to bolster their case: “A certain degree of emigration is known to be favorable to the population of the mother country.”³³ The story of the debate—its journey to the House of Commons, its reception, and its unintended consequences—is the focus of this dissertation.

In order to analyze early nineteenth century debates on emigration it is necessary to examine the prevailing conditions, assumptions, and sentiments of the period, and what has been written about them. Britain’s transition in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries from agricultural to industrial society—from a “mercantile system” to economic liberalism—was arguably fraught with pessimism and panic, and much of the alarm stemmed from concerns over demographic explosion (Britain’s population rose from about 10.5 million in 1801 to 16.2 in 1831) and subsequent food shortage.

³¹ Economists that accepted assisted emigration included Robert Wilmot-Horton, Robert Torrens, J.R. McCulloch, and Thomas Tooke. David Ricardo gave “restrained approval” in 1823. By 1830, James Mill became accepting of the idea. Johnston, 129-144; Fetter claims that “With the exception of [Sir James] Graham, no economist [a sitting member of Parliament at the time] expressed outright opposition to emigration.” Frank Whitson Fetter, *The Economist in Parliament, 1780-1868* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1980), 163.

³² Richards, “Malthus and the Uses of British Emigration,” in Fedorowich and Thompson eds., 43.

³³ Malthus, *Essay on Population*, Gilbert, 48.

Table 1.1. *Population of the United Kingdom, 1781-1851*

| Date | England | England, Wales, and Scotland | Ireland |
|------|------------|---------------------------------|-----------|
| 1781 | 7,050,000 | | 4,048,000 |
| 1791 | 7,750,000 | | 4,753,000 |
| 1801 | 8,650,000 | 10,501,000 | |
| 1811 | 9,900,000 | 11,970,000 | |
| 1821 | 11,500,000 | 14,092,000 | 6,802,000 |
| 1831 | 13,300,000 | 16,261,000 | 7,767,000 |
| 1841 | 15,000,000 | 18,534,000 | 8,175,000 |
| 1851 | 16,750,000 | 20,817,000 | 6,552,000 |

Source: Boyd Hilton, *A Mad, Bad & Dangerous People? England 1783-1846* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006), 6.³⁴

Broadly speaking, historians on the right have argued that the working classes were materially better off. On the manufacturing side, industrial machines streamlined and improved processes, increased output, and introduced a greater division of labor.³⁵ On the agricultural side, new agricultural methods of draining, drilling, fertilizing, and sowing enabled thousands of acres of waste land to be cultivated, and the “productive capacity of arable agriculture was transformed.”³⁶ Conversely, historians on the left have articulated social and political disruption

³⁴ R. I. Woods, “The Population of Britain in the Nineteenth Century,” in Michael Anderson et al., eds., *British Population History: From the Black Death to the Present Day* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 298; Estimates for England and Wales only: E. A. (Edward Anthony) Wrigley, *The Population History of England, 1541-1871: A Reconstruction*, ed. R. S. Schofield, Studies in Social and Demographic History (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1981), 534.

³⁵ Robert C. Allen, *The British Industrial Revolution in Global Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

³⁶ E. A. Wrigley, *Energy and the English Industrial Revolution* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 29; M. J. (Martin J.) Daunton, *Progress and Poverty: An Economic and Social History of Britain, 1700-1850* (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 1995), 25-60; Steven King, *Making Sense of the Industrial Revolution*, ed. Geoffrey Timmins, Manchester Studies in Modern History (Manchester; New York: New York: Manchester University Press, 2001), 163-203; Robert C. Allen, “Agriculture during the industrial revolution,” in Roderick Floud and Paul Johnson, eds., *The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain. Vol. 1, Industrialisation, 1700-1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 96-116; John Rule, *The Vital Century: England's Economy, 1714-1815*, Social and Economic History of England (London; New York: Longman, 1992), 27.

that characterized the period, a time when the production of military goods ceased and approximately half a million ex-soldiers joined an already crowded the job market. In particular, the utter despair of the working classes has been the focus of Marxist traditions. These traditions emphasized that there were alternative pathways to a successful transition from an agricultural to industrial society—such as socialism and Luddism—which were marginalized in favor of economic liberalism.³⁷

Yet, another potential pathway—that of emigration—has been largely overlooked in the existing literature. Historians have rarely extended their analysis to a broader set of extra-parliamentary debates on population pressure and emigration or appreciated the complexity of cross-currents of opinion that finally gave rise to legislative change, for several interrelated reasons. First, these debates have partially been absorbed into revisionist approaches to Britain’s Industrial Revolution.³⁸ In the 1980s, C. Knick Harley and Nick Crafts reworked earlier estimates of economic growth to suggest that growth was much less dramatic than previously thought, which opened the door to fresh interpretations that might explain the “industrial

³⁷ E. J. (Eric J.) Hobsbawm, *Industry and Empire; an Economic History of Britain since 1750* (London: History Book Club, 1968); E. P. (Edward Palmer) Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York: Vintage Books, 1966); Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time*, ed. Joseph E. Stiglitz and Fred Block (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2001).

³⁸ Allen, *The British Industrial Revolution in Global Perspective*; E.A. Wrigley, *Energy and the English Industrial Revolution*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Maxine Berg, *The Age of Manufactures, 1700-1820: Industry, Innovation and Work in Britain*, Second Edition (London and New York: Routledge, 1994); Patrick O’Brien, “Inseparable Connections: Trade, Economy, Fiscal State, and the Expansion of Empire, 1688-1815,” in P.J. Marshall, ed. *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 53-77; Joel Mokyr, *The Enlightened Economy: An Economic History of Britain 1700-1850* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009). For the British Industrial Revolution in global perspective, see Kenneth Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy*, The Princeton Economic History of the Western World (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009); Prasannan Parthasarathi, *Why Europe Grew Rich and Asia Did Not: Global Economic Divergence, 1600-1850* (Cambridge etc.: Cambridge University Press, 2011). For a good overview of revisionist arguments on the Industrial Revolution, see Emma Griffin, *A Short History of the British Industrial Revolution* (New York and Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010). For a slightly outdated but still useful account of the trends in the historiography of the Industrial Revolution see David Cannadine, “The Present and the Past in the English Industrial Revolution, 1880-1980,” *Past and Present*, No. 103 (May 1984), pp. 132-172.

revolution.”³⁹ Revisionist historians did not dismiss the concept of an “industrial revolution” outright; rather they posited the role that specific forces played in creating the conditions for industrialization, or focused on elements that influenced its timing, duration, and impact.

Population growth was one factor that attracted the attention of historians after estimates were revised upwards for the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.⁴⁰ Subsequently, scholarly explanations have generally focused on how it was economically possible to initiate and sustain such a dramatic increase in British population in the transition from a pre-industrial to an industrial society, and contemporary political concerns about addressing the problem of surplus population have been overlooked in the literature. Second, emigration has mostly been treated as a discrete field and therefore its significance has generally been neglected by historians of economic and political thought.⁴¹ Those that have extended their analysis to include emigration have, for the most part, wrapped it into critiques of classical economic responses to systematic

³⁹ C. Knick Harley, “British industrialization before 1841: Evidence of slower growth during the industrial revolution,” *Journal of Economic History*, 42/2 (1982), pp.267-89; N.F.R. Crafts, *British Economic Growth during the Industrial Revolution* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985); N.F.R. Crafts and C. Knick Harley, “Output growth and the British Industrial Revolution: A restatement of the Crafts-Harley view,” *Economic History Review*, 45/4 (1992), pp. 703-30.

⁴⁰ The Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure, led by Wrigley and Schofield, estimated population totals, mortality and fertility using “back-projection.” E.A. Wrigley and R.S. Schofield, *Population History of England, 1541-1871: A Reconstruction* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1981); E.A. Wrigley, “British population during the long eighteenth century,” in Roderick Floud and Paul Johnson, eds., *The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain. Vol. 1, Industrialization, 1700-1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 57-94; Griffin, 29-72.

⁴¹ Hugh J.M. Johnston, *British Emigration Policy 1815-1830: Shovelling out Paupers*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972); Alexander Murdoch, *British Emigration, 1603-1914* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); Stanley C. Johnson, *A History of Emigration from the United Kingdom to North America, 1763-1912*, Studies in Economics and Political Science...No. 34 in the Series of Monographs by Writers Connected with the London School of Economics and Political Science (New York, London,: E.P. Dutton and co.; G. Routledge & sons, ltd., 1913); Helen I. Cowan, *British Emigration to British North America; the First Hundred Years* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961); Marjory Harper, *Migration and Empire*, ed. Stephen Constantine, Oxford History of the British Empire Companion Series (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2010); Fedorowich and Thompson, eds.; James Belich, *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Anglo-World, 1783-1939* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

colonialism and free trade.⁴²

Third, scholars have focused their attention on the Great Reform Bill of 1832 as a culminating point in early nineteenth century British political history, and posited a lack of representation prior to the bill's passing as a significant causal explanation for the country's political, economic and social unrest. Overlapping this interpretative strand are historians' analyses of the creation and the role of the working and middle classes and popular contention in the form of political protest.⁴³ Little room has been left for other legislative matters of the period or for the role that individuals played in creating forums of debate to critique them. Finally, many of the recent political-economic reconstructions have championed the heavyweights of classical political economy (the theory and analysis of poverty and prosperity of nations) and their writings. Such literature provides ample analysis of political-economic themes and concepts and the individual contribution of political economists but overlooks ways in which political and economic changes were understood, disseminated, popularized, and bureaucratized.⁴⁴ R.D. Black asserted that in Parliament, the Select Committees on Emigration (1826-1827), pamphlets, periodicals and newspapers, "the arguments for and against emigration were thrashed out at

⁴² Donald Winch, *Classical Political Economy and Colonies* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965), 51-70; Bernard Semmel, *The Rise of Free Trade Imperialism: Classical Political Economy, the Empire of Free Trade and Imperialism 1750-1850* (Cambridge Eng.: University Press, 1970).

⁴³ Colley, 321-363; Boyd Hilton, *A Mad, Bad, and Dangerous People: England, 1783-1846*, New Oxford History of England (Oxford: New York: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 2006), 1-24, 372-438; Frank O'Gorman, *The Long Eighteenth Century: British Political and Social History, 1688-1832*, Arnold History of Britain (London; New York: Distributed exclusively in the USA by St Martin's Press, 1997), 311-374; Charles Tilly, *Popular Contention in Great Britain, 1758-1834* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1995), 240-283; Joanna Innes et al., "The Rise of Democratic Discourse in the Reform Era: Britain in the 1830s and 1840s," in Joanna Innes and Mark Philp, eds., *Re-Imagining Democracy in the Age of Revolutions: America, France, Britain, Ireland 1750-1850* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 114-128; Peter Jupp, *British Politics on the Eve of Reform: The Duke of Wellington's Administration, 1828-30* (Houndmills: New York: Macmillan; St. Martin's Press, 1998); Rory Muir, *Wellington: Waterloo and the Fortunes of Peace, 1814-1852* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 228-448; J. C. D. Clark, *English Society, 1660-1832: Religion, Ideology and Politics during the Ancien Regime* (Cambridge, U.K. ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 423-564; James Vernon, *Politics and the People: A Study in English Political Culture, c. 1815-1867* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

⁴⁴ For example, see Murray Milgate, *After Adam Smith: A Century of Transformation in Politics and Political Economy*, ed. Shannon C. Stimson (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009); Emma Rothschild, *Economic Sentiments: Adam Smith, Condorcet, and the Enlightenment* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001).

length, and most of the leading economists of the day were drawn into the controversy.”⁴⁵ If emigration became one potential solution to purported crisis in Britain’s transitional period, how was it “thrashed out”? How were ideas fostered and how did policy emerge?

This dissertation analyzes and refines the extra-parliamentary basis of popular politics in early nineteenth century Britain through the lens of the debates on emigration. It asks whether civil society, influenced by the liberal writings of politicians and political economists, was a potent enough movement to address issues such as population pressure and assisted emigration in a time of purported crisis. It contends that extra-parliamentary politics was a necessary force that pushed these issues to the forefront of public debate, oftentimes long before their official discussion in government circles and consideration for adoption into legislation. This realm outside of formal politics—which I describe as extra-parliamentary politics—operated through agents that included journalists, intellectuals, pamphleteers, readers, and appointed officials across the political spectrum. Specifically, I conceive of extra-parliamentary politics at work in several overlapping ways: (i) through review journals that became the pre-eminent vehicle for popularizing the newly-fashionable ideas of political economy (ii) through a controversial set of political-economic positions espoused by Thomas Robert Malthus, who acted as an intellectual conduit for discussions about a surplus population and assisted emigration (iii) through other written and spoken shared spaces of debate. Political economy, “one of the most important and useful branches of science,” is the common denominator.⁴⁶

Several scholars have analyzed the popularity of political economy in the early nineteenth century, yet this phenomenon has largely been taken for granted. Gary Langer offered an

⁴⁵ R. D. Collison Black, *Economic Thought and the Irish Question, 1817-1870* (Cambridge Eng.: University Press, 1960), 209.

⁴⁶ Robert Torrens, “Mr. Owen’s Plans for Relieving the National Distress,” *ER*, no. 64 (October 1819: 453-54).

exhaustive list of reasons why political economy caught on this period, while Philip Connell suggested that middle classes popularized political economy in order to educate the working classes—once political economy was understood, and the truths “simplified and disseminated, the curse of social unrest... would fade.”⁴⁷ Yet the role of review journals (or ‘quarterlies’) in this process has been generally overlooked by scholars or situated within a larger framework of the unfolding historical processes.⁴⁸ Journals such as the *Edinburgh Review*, *Quarterly Review* and *Westminster Review* became pre-eminent vehicles for discussing the great controversies of the day. With a host of anonymous contributors acting as intellectual ambassadors, these journals were literally “Readers Digests” of major literary, scientific, political and economic works; an examination of these review journals in tandem with newspapers, private correspondence, meeting minutes, and parliamentary papers suggests a shared space of intellectual debate.

One of the more serious omissions of the ‘quarterlies’ in recent scholarship is Milgate and Stimson’s *After Adam Smith: A Century of Transformation in Politics and Political Economy* (2009), which examined how the “relationship between politics and political economy was developed, altered and refined.”⁴⁹ The objects of analysis are the writers: “who these writers were, what contexts might be useful in understanding their lives, and how those ideas shaped the discourse of politics and political economy.” Specifically, Milgate and Stimson are concerned in showing “how and in what ways, political economists sought to influence and alter the understandings of politics and political life in these years.”⁵⁰ Notwithstanding the fact that many

⁴⁷ Gary Langer, *The Coming of Age of Political Economy, 1815-1825*, Contributions in Economics and Economic History, Number 72 (New York and London; Greenwood Press, 1987), 3; Philip Connell, *Romanticism, Economics and the Question of ‘Culture’* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 77.

⁴⁸ Historians overlooking the role of the review journal in discussions on the popularity of political economy include: Donald Winch, (*Riches and Poverty*); Boyd Hilton (*The Age of Atonement*); and Donald Winch and Patrick O’Brien (*The Political Economy of British Historical Experience, 1688-1914*).

⁴⁹ Milgate and Stimson, 1.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

political economists were major contributors to the ‘quarterlies,’ Milgate and Stimson all but ignored the journals and their contribution to the century after Adam Smith. In fact, their analysis implies that classical political economy was only spread and digested by a British public reading primary works on economics. This dissertation will argue to the contrary: that the ‘quarterlies’ disseminated and popularized political economic discourse to their readership—which included policy makers—through focused critical discussion, fostering an exchange of ideas on current thoughts and opinions of the day. As such, readers of the ‘quarterlies’ became accustomed to a more pugilistic debate that was linked to specific policy options, rather than just a regurgitation of theoretical economic principles and dogmatic assumptions.

One other looming question is whether extra-parliamentary politics made enough impact on civil society to force pressure for change. The latter point may be much harder to qualify.⁵¹ What is civil society? For the sake of brevity, I have narrowed the term to three scholarly conceptions. Ernest Gellner simple definition of civil society stated:

That Civil Society is a set of diverse non-governmental institutions which is strong enough to counterbalance the state, and while not preventing the state from fulfilling its role of keeper of the peace and arbitrator between major interests, can nevertheless prevent it from dominating and atomizing the rest of society.⁵²

Michael Ignatieff claimed that the idea of civil society emerged in the European republic of letters: Scottish Enlightenment figures Adam Ferguson, Adam Smith and David Hume witnessed an emerging, self-regulating market society alongside a bourgeois society and called this new

⁵¹ The ‘quarterlies’ disseminated ideas in the public sphere from their inception. However, the influence of the journals is hard to prove and would require extensive scholarly research. For example, a preliminary keyword search of the House of Commons Parliamentary Papers, the 19th Century British Library newspapers, and the Goldsmith Kress Collection for Economic Literature shows a substantial increase in the number of mentions of the ‘quarterlies’ over the thirty-year period under consideration in this dissertation. The nature of these entries needs further research and is beyond the scope of this current work. See Appendices I-IV.

⁵² Ernest Gellner, *Conditions of Liberty: Civil Society and its Rivals* (New York and London: The Penguin Press, 1994).

social formation a “civil society,” to distinguish it from New World barbarous tribal societies.⁵³ But civil society was not just a creation of the markets; rather, it was the other way around. As Ignatieff further stated: “The Scottish philosophers believed it was civil society—especially the pressure of public opinion—that determined how free efficient, and honest a market would emerge.”

More recently, James Livesey has recast the conception of civil society as one that developed in specific imperial circumstances: the exclusion of Scottish and Irish elites from English political liberty.⁵⁴ Since there appears to be no clear model of civil society (and some have suggested that the term is riddled with contradictions⁵⁵) I will use the most basic definition for this study: civil society, in its simplest form, characterizes aspects of social existence (including public interests and private concerns) which operate beyond the realm of the state. By discussing these themes and concepts, this dissertation engages with scholarship on popular politics in contemporary society, as the birth of extra-parliamentary politics in early nineteenth century Britain resonates with the present. It speaks to the nature and force of social engagement between civil society and popular politics, the circulation of knowledge, and the degree to which its modern agents ('think tanks,' the media, and grass-roots campaigners) influence twenty-first century debates about issues such as living standards, emigration (its direct and indirect costs), xenophobia, demographic pressure, unemployment, and food shortage.

⁵³ Michael Ignatieff, “On Civil Society: Why Eastern Europe’s Revolutions Could Succeed Conditions of Liberty: Civil Society and Its Rivals by Ernest Gellner,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 74, No.2 (Mar-April., 1995), pp. 128-136, 129-130. See also Istvan Hont, and Michael Ignatieff, eds. *Wealth and Virtue: The Shaping of Political Economy in the Scottish Enlightenment* (Cambridge and London: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

⁵⁴ James Livesey, *Civil Society and Empire: Ireland and Scotland in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World*. The Lewis Walpole Series in Eighteenth-Century Culture and History (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009).

⁵⁵ Chris Hann and Elizabeth Dunn, eds. *Civil Society: Challenging Western Models* (New York and London: Routledge, 1996).

I. Methodology

With a relatively ambitious thesis in mind, it is worth clarifying the scope of this dissertation. It is written in response to, and intersects with, the historiography of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Britain and also more broadly with scholarship on economic and political thought. In addition, it engages across disciplines with nineteenth century literary studies and print culture, as review journals comprise a large portion of its evidentiary base. It aims to shed light on a set of interactions involving forms of political organization, political ideas and economic activity outside Parliament, and explain how these extra-parliamentary mechanisms overlapped, competed with, and influenced conversations inside government. Bookending and running concurrently throughout the dissertation are the public debates on population pressure and emigration. In addition, several themes add shape and cohesion to the study's analysis of the time period: pauperism and poverty; food shortage; colonization schemes; political economy—its practitioners and popularizers; and concepts of civil society and the public sphere. The backdrop to all of these themes, debates, and interactions are historical narratives that explain and frame Britain's age of transition, which are fleshed out in the second half of this opening chapter.

Chapter two focuses on intellectuals associated with review journals, and their role in disseminating, popularizing, and bureaucratizing plans to alleviate the nation's depressed state. It chronologically traces various arguments that played out in the *Edinburgh Review*, the *Quarterly Review*, and the *Westminster Review*, and argues that these review journals grabbed the public's attention by contributing to the shared space of debate that included newspapers, pamphlets, and

petitions. Moreover, as part of a continuum, these journals were able to push these issues in front of policymakers and commissioners concerned with emigration, food scarcity and unrest.⁵⁶

A word about sources is prudent here. From chapter two onwards, this dissertation employs four major methodologies (i) the extensive database research of periodicals, newspapers, pamphlets, commission reports and parliamentary papers (ii) the archival research of correspondence and petitions (iii) the examination of private libraries, specifically the nature/subject of book holdings, and margin notes (iv) the cross-referencing of the collected evidence. The periodicals and newspapers that form the evidentiary base of the second chapter (and small parts of subsequent chapters) have for the most part been digitized, however the ability to utilize a search engine has not abridged the vastness of this research. For example, subtle suggestions and witty inferences by the authors of review journals do not respond to keyword searches; similarly, the title of articles under review rarely illuminate the full extent or meaning of the article's content or draw connections with tangential debates. Therefore, an article-by-article analysis has been necessary to construct a full picture of the debates espoused by review journals. Articles have been cross-referenced with other print media, private correspondence, and official documents to trace awareness of debates, and the nature, quantity, frequency, and timing of debates. Any project that utilizes periodic journals as a lens through

⁵⁶ Part of Britain's intellectual life developed through other mediums *beyond* university life and the 'quarterlies,' which summarized new works of political economy, literature and parliamentary papers. The 'quarterlies' joined a vast flood of printed material available during Britain's industrialization, material that included "broadside ballads, chapbooks, proclamations, news-sheets, election bills, tracts pamphlets, cocks, catchpennies, and other ephemera." While this study is not intended to be cultural history, its primary sources are periodicals. Kevin Gilmartin's study of nineteenth century print politics explores the strategies of the radical opposition press in the lead up to parliamentary reform in 1832. He is one of several revisionist scholars of Habermas' eighteenth-century formulation of the bourgeois public sphere. Gilmartin's plebeian counter-public sphere focuses on how language generated by political exclusion was "worked out in the social and material conditions of print." While his category of analysis is the radical press, his methodology is most instructive for this dissertation as it highlights the complexities of viewing and representing history through the lens of political vocabulary printed in periodicals, newspapers and pamphlets. Kevin Gilmartin, *Print Politics: The Press and Radical Opposition in Early Nineteenth-century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

which to view history has to consider some basic questions about the production of the primary sources. Who were the journals' contributors? How were the journals' edited? Who were the journals' readers? A crucial component of this study therefore has been to examine the personal papers of individuals associated with the review journals. Its contributors habitually discussed controversial politico-economic topics in the pages of the journal, and not surprisingly, their heaviest critiques foreshadowed impending parliamentary discussions on the above issues, arguably as an attempt to sway public opinion and Members of Parliament.⁵⁷

In addition to grappling with the intellectuals associated with the journals, this study has also considered the journals' editorial process, a process that is puzzling, and has yet to be studied systematically by historians. For example, was all published material considered for review or did the journals simply chose to ignore literature on certain topics? In virtually every case, review journals represented a mix of literary, scientific, political and economic works, and there appears to be no identifiable pattern of ideological bias. John Clive is the only scholar who has offered some insightful commentary on the question of acceptance or rejection of reviews: he cited a letter that *Edinburgh Review* editor Francis Jeffrey (1773-1850) wrote to his successor, Macvey Napier (1776-1847), in which he laid down three considerations by which an editor must be guided in the admission or refusal of important articles of a political sort. Clive summarized the three considerations in the letter:

The first was the effect of the editor's decision on the principal contributors; the second, its effect on the sale, circulation, and just authority of the work with the great body of its readers; the third, the editor's own deliberate opinion as to the safety or danger of the doctrines maintained in the article under consideration,

⁵⁷ For example, significant historical events such as the abolition of the slave trade (1806), the passing of the Catholic Emancipation Bill (1829), and the renewal of the East India Company's charter (1813), coincided with a visible upsurge in the number of articles published on these topics by the *Edinburgh Review*. Between 1802 and 1832, 68 articles discussed slavery, at least 80 (too many to count) mentioned Catholic Emancipation, and 57 discussed the East India Company.

‘and its tendency either to promote or retard the practical adoption of those liberal principles to which, *and their practical advancement*, you must always consider the journal as devoted.’⁵⁸

Obviously, these considerations refer to the decision-making process once a review of a book was completed—we still know nothing of how the editors selected books for review in the first place, if indeed they did. Understanding the editorial process sheds valuable light on whether there was a deliberate attempt to sow the seeds of change in public opinion on the part of the journals’ editors and contributors.

Chapters three and four examine the contribution of Thomas Robert Malthus to extra-parliamentary debates on emigration. Malthus’s general correspondence has been published, but the trail of letters between Malthus, members of the Select Committee on Emigration, and other interested liberal intellectuals has been neglected. A fresh perspective on Malthus—one that considers his vacillating relationship with review journals on the matter of surplus population and emigration, and his network of correspondence with liberal intellectuals and elected officials—will show that Malthusian ideology dominated the conversation on pauperism, overpopulation and emigration. Moreover, his participation in the Select Committee on Emigration added legitimacy and a degree of notoriety to proceedings that needed prestige to garner support. In this regard, Malthus’s correspondence with Robert Wilmot-Horton (1784 - 1841) undersecretary of state for war and the colonies, and chair of the Select Committee on Emigration is instructive and provides much of the evidentiary base for these two chapters.⁵⁹

Educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford, Wilmot-Horton moved to London in 1812

⁵⁸ Clive, 65-66.

⁵⁹ He was born Robert John Wilmot, but took the last name of his wife, Anne Horton, in 1823 in compliance with the directions of the will of his father-in-law, Eusebius Horton of Catton. Helen I. Cowan, *British Emigration to British North America; the First Hundred Years* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961), 85.

to immerse himself in political life, in particular the discipline of political economy. In 1813, Wilmot-Horton wrote a literary article for the *Quarterly Review* and shortly thereafter published a pamphlet in which he argued in support of Malthus but was critical of his gloomy predictions.⁶⁰ In 1818, Wilmot-Horton secured a seat as Member of Parliament for Newcastle-under-Lyme as a conservative, although many have argued that his political views remained independent.⁶¹ In 1821, Wilmot-Horton was recruited by Henry Bathurst, 3rd Earl Bathurst (1762-1834) to replace Henry Goulburn (1784-1856) as undersecretary of state for war and the colonies, where he remained until 1828. Political histories of nineteenth century Britain often overlook Wilmot-Horton and as of this date there is no published biography of his life.⁶² The paucity of references to Wilmot-Horton in the secondary political literature is particularly curious given his position in Parliament and the Colonial Office. That said, Wilmot-Horton has been adopted by historians in the fields of emigration and colonization and for a short time he became a central figure for scholars embroiled in a debate over the relationship between imperialism and free trade.⁶³

Wilmot-Horton was a prolific writer; 160 files of correspondence with individuals, and at least 7,000 miscellaneous letters are preserved as part of the Wilmot and Horton family papers,

⁶⁰ *A Brief vindication of the principles of Mr. Malthus, in a letter to the author of an article in the Quarterly review, Dec. 1812; entitled "Inquiry into the poor laws, &c."* (London: Printed for E. Lloyd, 1813). See letter from Heber to Wilmot-Horton, April 20, 1813, DRO WH2810.

⁶¹ Eric Richards, "Horton, Sir Robert John Wilmot-, third baronet (1784-1841)," ODNB.

⁶² An MA thesis written in 1936 informs much of Eric Richards' entry in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography: E.G. Jones, "Sir R.J. Wilmot Horton, Bart., Politician and Pamphleteer," (M.A. thesis, Bristol, 1936).

⁶³ John Gallagher and Ronald Robinson, "The Imperialism of Free Trade," *The Economic History Review* 6, no. 1 (1953): 1–15; D. N. Winch, "Classical Economics and the Case for Colonization," *Economica* 30, no. 120 (1963): 387–99; R. N. Ghosh, "The Colonization Controversy: R. J. Wilmot-Horton and the Classical Economists," *Economica* 31, no. 124 (1964): 385–400; Edward R. Kittrell, "The Development of the Theory of Colonization in English Classical Political Economy," *Southern Economic Journal* 31, no. 3 (1965): 189–206; Donald N. Winch, "The Classical Debate on Colonization: Comment," *Southern Economic Journal* 32, no. 3 (1966): 341–45. Edward R. Kittrell, "The Classical Debate on Colonization: Reply," *Southern Economic Journal* 32, no. 3 (1966): 346–49; R. N. Ghosh, *Classical Macroeconomics and the Case for Colonies* (Calcutta: New Age Publishers, 1967); Bernard Semmel, *The Rise of Free Trade Imperialism*. Wilmot-Horton's involvement in emigration schemes during the period 1815-1830 is discussed at length in Hugh J.M. Johnston, *British Emigration Policy 1815-1830: 'shovelling out Paupers'* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972).

housed at Derbyshire Record Office. His correspondents included political economists such as Thomas Chalmers, John Ramsay McCulloch, Thomas Tooke, Francis Place, David Ricardo, Sydney Smith, Nassau Senior, James Mill, and Robert Torrens. In addition, he exchanged letters with politicians George Canning, John Wilson Croker, Henry Goulburn, Thomas Spring Rice, Robert Peel, William Wilberforce, and William Huskisson.⁶⁴ Scholars of Malthus, including R.N. Ghosh, Donald Winch, and Patricia James, have published some of these letters in whole and/or in part, but several letters have curiously been omitted. These letters are subject to analysis in chapters three and four.⁶⁵ In the examination of this correspondence, chapter four will capture extra-parliamentary politics working in a different realm, through two entities: the spoken forum of the Political Economy Club, and the written forum of a nineteenth century republic of letters. In both cases, those within the formal political system interacted with those without formal office. Little has been written about the Political Economy Club, formed in 1821 by prominent political economists including Malthus, David Ricardo, James Mill and Thomas Tooke. I have tried to reconstruct its history from diaries of club members and cross referenced the entries with personal correspondence. A particularly fruitful source is the diary of John Lewis

⁶⁴ See “Who’s Who in the Dissertation,” 247-255.

⁶⁵ The Derbyshire Record Office holds two files that contain twenty letters written by Malthus to Wilmot-Horton (dated between 1823 and 1831) and one letter written by Malthus to Nassau Senior that must have been passed on to Wilmot-Horton. In addition, there is an 86-page manuscript which includes (and repeats) some of the letters from Malthus, as well as Wilmot-Horton’s originating letters. It is entirely possible that Wilmot-Horton intended to publish these letters as the “Fifth Series” of *An Inquiry into the Causes and Remedies of Pauperism*. R. N. Ghosh, “Malthus on Emigration and Colonization: Letters to Wilmot-Horton,” *Economica* 30, no. 117 (1963): 45–62, 46; The “First Series” of the *Inquiry* contained Wilmot-Horton’s correspondence with C. Poulett Thomson, the “Second Series” with M. Duchatel, the “Third Series” with Sir Francis Burdett, and the “Fourth Series” with Nassau Senior. Robert Wilmot Horton, Sir, *The Causes and Remedies of Pauperism in the United Kingdom Considered* (London: E. Lloyd, 1830). A search of Malthus scholar Patricia James’s archive, hosted by the Institute of Intellectual History at the University of St. Andrews, confirms that several of the letters between Malthus and Wilmot-Horton were not used in “Population Malthus.” <http://arts.st-andrews.ac.uk/intellectualhistory/islandora/object/intellectual-history:james>. In addition, John Pullen’s recent comprehensive list of Malthus’s known correspondence confirms that some of the letters housed at Derbyshire Record Office have not been published. John Pullen, “The Other Correspondence of T. R. Malthus: A Preliminary List and Selected Commentary,” *History of Political Economy* 48, no. 1 (March 2016): 65–110.

Mallet (1775-1861), who documented questions that were the subject of conversation at the meetings. The republic of letters described in this fourth chapter is broadly conceived of as operating in three overlapping parts: first, in written correspondence between intellectuals who considered themselves in some way separate from society; second, in anonymous review articles (written by these same intellectuals); and third, in the parallel conversation going on in the popular press.

Chapter five puts the dissertation's thesis to the test by providing a case study of Anglo-Irish statesman Arthur Wellesley, the first duke of Wellington (1758-1853) and his engagement with extra-parliamentary politics. Wellington is a quintessential representative of the complexities of politics, paternalism and the obsessions regarding security and stability. During his ephemeral tenure as Britain's prime minister (1828-1830) Wellington became embroiled in polemical debates over the Poor Laws in Ireland, Catholic emancipation, and in agricultural riots in the South of England. This chapter will examine Wellington's role in considerations of overpopulation, food shortages and assisted emigration, and will ask how Wellington knew what he knew, and how his knowledge claims were made. Wellington held almost identical ideological and pragmatic beliefs as Anglo-Irish statesman Edmund Burke (1729-1797); viewing Wellington through the lens of Burke's *Thoughts and Details on Scarcity* provides an additional dimension to this chapter's conclusion. While several historians have claimed that Wellington "failed to appreciate newspapers, journals or journalists" his pragmatic approach to the nation's concerns—including emigration and the Poor Laws—point to the contrary and to his familiarity and involvement with extra-parliamentary and parliamentary debates.

The conclusion will review the themes explored in the dissertation as well as examining the period immediately after Wellington's resignation as prime minister, 1830-1834. While

large-scale assisted emigration was ultimately marginalized in favor of massive reliance on imports of raw materials, the impetus for assisted emigration policy remained. One consequence of the period, therefore, was the inclusion of a form of assisted emigration policy in socio-political legislation of a different kind—the reform of the Poor Laws. Provision for the emigration of the poor, with the cost being borne by an emigrant's home parish, was included in section 62 of the Poor Law Amendment Act (1834), and this provision will be considered in light of the dissertation's findings.

Any study of the Anglo-Irish Wellington, particularly his political career, is replete with difficulties. First, during the Irish Civil War in 1922 and the subsequent formation of the Irish Free State, many Irish records were destroyed at the Four Courts in Dublin. Other military records have also disappeared from Dublin Castle making the task of the historian rather challenging.⁶⁶ Second, the present Duke of Wellington and his archivist have been overwhelmed by “researchers” writing on the 200th anniversary of the Battle of Waterloo (2015), and access to many of Wellington's private papers has been wisely restricted. Finally, when asked to decipher one of his own letters the Duke protested, “It was my business to write the letter. It is your duty to read it”⁶⁷ which is all very well if you can read his handwriting. This last difficulty became apparent *after* my interest in Wellington had been cultivated. Nevertheless, an exhaustive look at Wellington's private correspondence held at the University of Southampton and his other published correspondence has facilitated additional lines of inquiry and offered alternative

⁶⁶ For a more detailed and rather interesting explanation of the missing source material see Major S.H.F. Johnston, “The Irish Establishment.” *The Irish Sword*, Vol. 1 (1949-1953): 33-36, and Albert Tucker, “The Army in the Nineteenth Century” in Robin Higham ed. *A Guide to the Sources of British Military History* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1971)

⁶⁷ Herbert Maxwell, *The Life of Wellington* (London: Boston, Little & Brown and co., 1899), 288.

viewpoints to challenge my thesis.⁶⁸

II. An Age of Transition

Britain's rapid and profound transformation—between the publication of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* in 1776 and the passing of the New Poor Laws in 1834—has been described in conceptual terms as falling in a period of “Great Transformation,” a “Great Divergence,” and an “Imperial Meridian,” as well as in political-economic terms as “Progress and Poverty,” “Poverty, Progress, and Population,” “Riches and Poverty,” and “The Idea of Poverty.” The “Spirit of the Age” of Britain's transformation is well documented too: “The Age of Revolution,” “The Age of Atonement,” and “The Age of Improvement,” as well as it being known as a time “When Information Came of Age.”⁶⁹ Yet however scholars have characterized the era, it is impossible to disaggregate the intersecting economic, political, and societal themes

⁶⁸ The most widely regarded Wellington biographies include: Edward Du Cann, *The Duke of Wellington and his political career after Waterloo – the caricaturists' view* (Woodbridge: Antique Collectors' Club, 2000); R.E. Foster, “Mr. Punch and the Iron Duke,” *History Today* (May 1984), Vol.34, Issue 5, 36-42; Ruscombe Foster, “The Iron Duke: Wellington's Political Career,” *Modern History Review*, Vol.5, (4) 1994, 15-17; Elizabeth Longford, *Wellington: Pillar of State* (New York and London: Harper & Row Publishers, 1972); Neville Thompson, *Wellington after Waterloo* (London and New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1986); Norman Gash, *Wellington: Studies in the Military and Political Career of the First Duke of Wellington* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1990); Philip Guedalla, *Wellington* (New York and London: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1931); Christopher Hibbert, *Wellington: A Personal History* (London: Harper Collins, 1997); Richard Holmes, *Wellington: The Iron Duke* (London: Harper Collins, 2003).

⁶⁹ Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time*, ed. Joseph E. Stiglitz and Fred Block (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2001); Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence*; C. A. (Christopher Alan) Bayly, *Imperial Meridian: The British Empire and the World, 1780-1830*, Studies in Modern History (London; New York: Longman, 1989); M. J. (Martin J.) Daunton, *Progress and Poverty: An Economic and Social History of Britain, 1700-1850* (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 1995); E. A. (Edward Anthony) Wrigley, *Poverty, Progress, and Population* (Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Donald Winch, *Riches and Poverty: An Intellectual History of Political Economy in Britain, 1750-1834*, Ideas in Context (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Gertrude Himmelfarb, *The Idea of Poverty: England in the Early Industrial Age* (New York: Knopf, 1984); Gertrude Himmelfarb, ed., *The Spirit of the Age: Victorian Essays* (New Haven ; London: Yale University Press, 2007), also taken in reference to William Hazlitt's collection of essays, *The Spirit of the Age* (1825) and John Stuart Mill's essay of the same name (1831); E. J. (Eric J.) Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution 1789-1848* (New York: Vintage Books, 1996); Boyd Hilton, *The Age of Atonement: The Influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought, 1795-1865* (Oxford: New York: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 1987); Asa Briggs, *The Age of Improvement, 1783-1867*, Silver Library (Harlow, England; New York: Longman, 2000); Daniel R. Headrick, *When Information Came of Age: Technologies of Knowledge in the Age of Reason and Revolution, 1700-1850*, ed. Daniel R. Headrick (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).

that contributed to Britain's transformation from an organic economy to an energy-rich, industrialized nation during a period of intense socio-economic strain.⁷⁰

Broad historical conceptualizations of this transitional period add value to this dissertation because they provide global context to the events, processes, and institutions that prevailed in this era (as well as those hungover from the previous one). For example, Kenneth Pomeranz has argued that sustained economic growth in Britain/northwestern Europe resulted in a “Great Divergence” from Asia, no earlier than 1750. It was caused by a set of global conjunctures, or accidents, which allowed Britain to break out of its ecological bottleneck.⁷¹ Karl Polanyi challenged the notion of self-regulation of the markets in the “Great Transformation” from mercantilism to economic liberalism. It was not industrialization that created social disruption per se, but rather economic notions that the markets should prevail.⁷² Christopher Bayly posited that the period 1780-1830 constitutes a vigorous British resurgence, a second British Empire sitting on the hinge between the early modern and modern, which represented an urge to open markets and export civilized values; its driving forces were hierarchy, order and “agrarian patriotism.”⁷³ For Giovanni Arrighi, 1740-1930 defined Britain's period of hegemony—characterized by territorialization and financial expansion.⁷⁴ For Peter Cain and Anthony Hopkins, British overseas expansion took place during the “long eighteenth century” and was made possible by “gentlemanly capitalists,” a new class of merchants, financiers and

⁷⁰ E.A. Wrigley, *The Path to Sustained Growth: England's Transition from an Organic Economy to an Industrial Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

⁷¹ Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence*.

⁷² Polanyi, *The Great Transformation*.

⁷³ “Agrarian Patriotism” was a conservative and royalist ideology that idealized hierarchical rural society. C. A. (Christopher Alan) Bayly, *Imperial Meridian: The British Empire and the World, 1780-1830*, Studies in Modern History (London; New York: Longman, 1989).

⁷⁴ Giovanni Arrighi, *The Long Twentieth Century: Money, Power and the Origins of Our Times* (London and New York: Verso, 2010).

businessmen who create an empire based on credit and commerce.⁷⁵ Patrick O'Brien et al argued that the answer to the Britain's transition could be found by looking at mercantilist regulation and pressure group politics, rather than being concerned with supply and demand, prices and costs. All these factors operated within a framework of legislation promulgated and enforced by central government in London between 1696 and 1774.⁷⁶ For Douglass North and Barry Weingast, new institutions allowed the British government to commit credibly to upholding property rights, protecting wealth and eliminating confiscatory government. Their success was remarkable, as evidence in the changing capital markets showed, and it paved the way for the Industrial Revolution.⁷⁷

Narrower historical interpretations have tried to posit specific explanations for Britain's dramatic economic and industrial transition (themes interwoven into the narrative of this dissertation). Revisionist historians have explained the transition by analyzing the Industrial Revolution's timing, duration, speed, and impact.⁷⁸ Robert Allen has argued that the Industrial Revolution was invented in Britain in the eighteenth century because it paid to invent it there, while it would not have been profitable in other times and places. Population and income were growing rapidly between 1740 and 1800, and the agricultural revolution was the result of growth of cities and manufacturing, and the consequent rise in demand for food. Farmers either sold up

⁷⁵ The "long eighteenth century" is generally accepted as the Glorious Revolution (1688) to the Great Reform Bill (1832). P. J. Cain and A. G. (Antony G.) Hopkins, *British Imperialism, 1688-2000* (Harlow, England; New York: Longman, 2002).

⁷⁶ Patrick O'Brien, Trevor Griffiths, Philip Hunt, "Political Components of the Industrial Revolution: Parliament and the English Cotton Textile Industry, 1660-1774," *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. 44, No. 3 (Aug., 1991), pp.395-423.

⁷⁷ Douglass C. North and Barry R. Weingast, "Constitutions and Commitment: The Evolution of Institutional Governing Public Choice in Seventeenth-Century England," *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 49, No. 4 (Dec., 1989), pp. 803-832.

⁷⁸ Periodization for the Industrial Revolution is problematic, with a wide variety of dates advanced in the historiography. Since the chronological goal posts for the Industrial Revolution are always moving, but the subject of this dissertation—namely the debates on emigration, 1798-1835—are not, I have used the term "Industrial Revolution" loosely to mean different aspects of economic change that took place during the years 1700-1835 (the chronological termination of this study).

and moved to the city or increased productivity to keep up, to allow them to participate in the consumer revolution. The prices that governed these profitability considerations were the result of Britain's success in the global economy after 1500, so the Industrial Revolution can be seen as a sequel to the first phase of globalization.⁷⁹

Like Allen, E.A. Wrigley's stadial account of the Industrial Revolution has focused on the emergence of coal to explain Britain's transition from being one of the least urbanized countries in Europe in the sixteenth century, to the most urbanized in the nineteenth. Prior to the Industrial Revolution organic economies were entirely dependent upon the use of the land (which was fungible) to provide raw materials and food, and land was a fixed supply, which prevented indefinite growth. In contrast, mineral economies (coal, peat) were consumptible (consumed by wear, decay and attrition) but provided much greater supplies of energy. In short, Wrigley placed his emphasis on coal to explain the switch from a Smithian economy to a high-energy economy. Urban growth, especially London, created a substantial and growing market for food, which encouraged rising agricultural productivity and improvements in transport facilities. Until 1800 then, the country remained largely self-sufficient in food, despite the great rise in population, from 4.2 to 8.7 million; migration to the towns made a difference as it removed the natural surplus. Secondary employment in industry helped sustain growth, and population also created demand. While there are other interpretations of the Industrial Revolution that focus on cultural forces, the role of the state and institutions, Wrigley's thesis is particularly instructive, as a concurrent theme in this current study is the balance between the population and the land.⁸⁰

⁷⁹ Robert C. Allen, *The British Industrial Revolution in Global Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

⁸⁰ Joel Mokyr argues that the animating impulse for economic development originated in the realm of ideas, the ease of which knowledge circulated, and access to knowledge. In short, social and economic growth led to progress through the twin concepts of the expansion of useful knowledge (Baconian Program) and the rational reforms of institutions (the Enlightenment). *The Enlightened Economy: An Economic History of Britain 1700-1850* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009). Douglass C. North and Barry R. Weingast posit that the new

Moreover, ultimately, emigration was marginalized in favor of massive reliance on imports of raw materials, a point emphasized by Wrigley.⁸¹ This is the context for the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century discussions on population pressure and emigration, that are the subject of this dissertation.

III. Population Politics

The first of several major themes that runs throughout this study is population—its conceptualization and politicization—before and during Britain’s transition from an agricultural society to an industrial one. To be clear, this study is not concerned with historical demography, examining the form and nature of long-term population change, or the methods historians have used to measure population growth over time. Rather, it touches on the way in which “population” was understood by contemporaries in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Britain.⁸² The term “population,” meaning the “collected inhabitants of a given area,” was not in common use until the eighteenth century. Before that, the term changed with different social and

institutions allowed the government to commit credibly to upholding property rights. Their success was remarkable, as evidence in the changing capital markets shows. “Constitutions and Commitment: The Evolution of Institutional Governing Public Choice in Seventeenth-Century England” *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 49, No.4 (Dec., 1989), pp. 803-832. Eric Williams claims that Negro slavery and the slave trade provided the capital that financed the Industrial Revolution in England, and that mature industrial capitalism destroyed the slave system. *Capitalism and Slavery* (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press (1944) 1994). Maxine Berg argues that the key to the Industrial Revolution is found in the dynamics of technological creativity and the structures of industrial communities. *The Age of Manufactures, 1700-1820: Industry, Innovation and Work in Britain*, Second Edition (London and New York: Routledge, 1994).

⁸¹ Wrigley, *The Path to Sustained Growth*, 57-60.

⁸² For the population history of Great Britain see: E.A. Wrigley, “British Population during the ‘long’ eighteenth century, 1680-1840,” in Roderick Floud and Paul Johnson, eds., *The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain. Vol. 1, Industrialisation, 1700-1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 57-95; Michael Anderson et al., eds., *British Population History: From the Black Death to the Present Day* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996); E.A. Wrigley, *The Population History of England, 1541-1871: A Reconstruction*, ed. R. S. Schofield, Studies in Social and Demographic History (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1981); Michael Flinn, *British Population Growth, 1700-1850; Prepared for the Economic History Society*, ed. Economic History Society, Macmillan Student Editions (London: Macmillan, 1970); Michael Flinn, ed., *Scottish Population History: From the 17th Century to the 1930s* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1976); D.V. Glass, *Population in History; Essays in Historical Demography* (London: E. Arnold, 1965). For Irish population history, see: K.H. Connell, *The Population of Ireland, 1750-1845* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1975).

economic contexts. Ted McCormick has suggested three phases—from qualitative through quantitative—that defined the way that population was discussed and understood prior to the eighteenth century. The first stretched from the early sixteenth century through to the seventeenth century, a period when “population as an abstract quality took a back seat to specific, localized, and qualitatively defined “multitudes” whose existence was bound up with particular legislative interventions.”⁸³ During the second phase (seventeenth century up to the Restoration), “specific multitudes came to be seen as products of regional or national environment or “situation,” tied to “nature” but subject also to scientific interventions therein...” In the third phase, from the Restoration onwards, population was “conceptualized as both an autonomous natural and historical process of “multiplication” and a quantifiable totality, the foundation of economic and social analysis.”⁸⁴

During the third phase, population analysis was taken up by Enlightenment thinkers, who debated the fundamental question of whether the population of Europe was in fact growing. To start the discussion, Montesquieu (1689-1755) expressed his views in his work *The Persian Letters* (1721). In a letter purportedly written by Rhedi, an Islamic traveler, Montesquieu stated: “Perhaps you have not noticed something which continually surprises me. How is it that the earth is so sparsely populated, compared to what it was formerly? How has nature come to lose that prodigious fertility of the earliest times?” Rhedi calculated that “hardly one-tenth as many people are now on the earth as there were in ancient times.”⁸⁵ Montesquieu continued his exploration of population and its relationship to nature, the environment, and the state in *The Spirit of the Laws*

⁸³ Ted McCormick, “Population: Modes of Seventeenth-Century Demographic Thought,” in Philip J. Stern and Carl Wennerlind, eds., *Mercantilism Reimagined: Political Economy in Early Modern Britain and Its Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 25.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 26.

⁸⁵ Charles de Secondat, baron de Montesquieu, *The Persian Letters.*, ed. George Robert Healy, Library of Liberal Arts (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1964), 187-88. See also 189-207.

(1748).⁸⁶ Later Enlightenment thinkers, including Benjamin Franklin and David Hume, tried to draw a distinction between population growth in primitive societies and population growth in modern societies; Hume in particular disagreed with Montesquieu on population decline in Europe.⁸⁷ However, there was an underlying assumption that the population health and wealth of a nation was measured by its population size and growth, and that the earth could hypothetically sustain its current population.⁸⁸

Toward the end of the eighteenth century, amid a decade of unrest and economic turbulence, questions arose not only about limits to population growth but also the responsibility of the state to address it. In 1796, Malthus, aged 30, wrote an early, unpublished version of his *Essay on Population* entitled *The Crisis, a View of the Present Interesting State of Great Britain by a Friend to the Constitution*.⁸⁹ Two years later (at the urging of his father), Malthus published *An Essay on Principle of Population, as it affects the Future Improvement of Society, with Remarks on the Speculations of Mr. Godwin, M. Condorcet, and Other Writers*. In it, Malthus famously described his theory, which was an attack upon William Godwin's *An Enquiry into Political Justice* (1796) and the Marquis de Condorcet's *Esquisse d'un tableau historique des progrès de l'esprit humain* (1795), both of which envisioned a future utopian society.⁹⁰ Malthus

⁸⁶ Charles de Secondat, baron de Montesquieu, *The Spirit of the Laws*, ed. Anne M. Cohler, Basia C. Miller, and Harold Samuel Stone, Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 427-456.

⁸⁷ David Hume, "Of the Populousness of Ancient Nations," in Carl von Linne – et al., eds., *Race and the Enlightenment: A Reader* (Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1997), 29.

⁸⁸ Ted McCormick, "Who were the pre-Malthusians?" in Robert J. Mayhew, ed., *New Perspectives on Malthus* (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 36; Robert J. Mayhew, *Malthus: The Life and Legacies of an Untimely Prophet* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2014), 25; Kenneth Smith, *The Malthusian Controversy* (London, Routledge & Paul, 1951), 7-32.

⁸⁹ James, 50. *The Crisis* manuscript has now been lost.

⁹⁰ William Godwin, *Enquiry Concerning Political Justice, and Its Influence on Morals and Happiness*, 2 v. (London: Printed for G. G. and J. Robinson, 1798); Jean-Antoine-Nicolas de Caritat Condorcet, *Esquisse d'un tableau historique des progrès de l'esprit humain*, 2 v. in 1 (Paris: Bureaux de la publication, 1866). *Esquisse d'un tableau historique* was published posthumously in 1795, after Condorcet's imprisonment by Robespierre and subsequent death.

began with two postulates: that “food is necessary to the existence of man” and that “the passion between the sexes is necessary and will remain nearly in its present state.” Henceforth, over four chapters, Malthus pessimistically argued that the population tended to increase more rapidly than the food supply leading to starvation, overcrowding and epidemics. He stated, “The only true criterion of a real and permanent increase in the population of any country is the increase of the means of subsistence.” If there was no increase in subsistence, the population had to be checked; preventative checks included delaying marriage and the rearing of children, and positive checks included famine, war and disease.⁹¹ In writing the *Essay*, Malthus became not only an observer but also a theoretician of the Britain’s labored transition from an agricultural to industrial society, a transition epitomized by industrial and political agitation, unemployment, poor harvests, and population growth.

IV. The “Condition-of-England”

While Adam Smith welcomed population growth, Malthus viewed it as the “harbinger of catastrophe.”⁹² Yet both feared that the population always had the potential to outstrip the land’s capacity to produce food, leading to food shortages and a drop in real wages.⁹³ As such, conceptualizations of population were interconnected with debates about a second major theme in this study—what contemporaries called the “condition-of England” and what current scholars label “standard of living,” “quality of life,” and “nutritional status.” Historians and economists

⁹¹ Malthus, *Essay on Population*, Gilbert, ed., 12, 57.

⁹² Boyd Hilton, *A Mad, Bad & Dangerous People: England 1783-1846* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006), 343. Hilton’s view is not shared by all. E.A. Wrigley viewed Smith and Malthus as more closely aligned. E.A. Wrigley, *Continuity, chance & change: The character of the industrial revolution in England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 94.

⁹³ E. A. Wrigley, “Malthus on the Prospects for the Labouring Poor.” *The Historical Journal* 31, no. 4 (1988): 813-29, 826-8. Malthus, *Essay on Population*, Winch and James, Chapter I; Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, ed. Cannan, Bk I, Ch. xi, Pt. I, p.163.

have generally used the term “standard of living” to refer to the measurement of wages (adjusted for changes in the price of “baskets of goods”); “quality of life” to refer to leisure time, quality of goods and services, and change in health and morbidity; and “nutritional status” as the “energy which has been used for growth once the demands of body maintenance, resistance to disease, play, and work have been satisfied.”(This differs from “nutrition,” which is defined as “the amount and nature of energy ingested in the form of food and drink.”)⁹⁴ Britain’s transition from an agricultural society to an industrial one included an undisputed dietary transition: grains gave way to the white bread loaf, meat consumption began to rise, sugar and milk consumption increased, and potatoes became a staple food.⁹⁵ Nevertheless, no clear consensus exists among historians about the impact of improved nutrition on living standards. Thomas McKeown’s well-known thesis—that falling mortality rates in early nineteenth century Britain were due to improved nutrition rather than medical intervention (1976)—has been restated as well as challenged.⁹⁶ For example, Robert Fogel argued that chronic malnutrition persisted during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and the calorific intake of the typical worker in England was considered very low, so low in fact that, “even prime-age males had only a meager amount of energy available for work.”⁹⁷ Floud et al have reinforced McKeown, Fogel and Allen’s theses by demonstrating the increase in calorific consumption and amount of food available for human consumption during the early nineteenth century.⁹⁸ More recently, Robert

⁹⁴ Floud, *The Changing Body*, 6-12, 11; Daunton, *Progress and Poverty*, 420-446.

⁹⁵ Chris Otter, *The British Nutrition Transition and its Histories*, Paper delivered to the Nicolson Center on British Studies, University of Chicago; Sidney Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York, NY: Viking, 1985).

⁹⁶ Thomas McKeown, *The Modern Rise of Population* (New York: Academic Press, 1976); Charles H. Feinstein, “Pessimism Perpetuated: Real Wages and the Standard of Living in Britain during and after the Industrial Revolution,” *The Journal of Economic History* 58, no. 3 (1998): 625–58; Allen, *British Industrial Revolution*.

⁹⁷ Robert William Fogel, *The Escape from Hunger and Premature Death, 1700-2100: Europe, America, and the Third World*, Cambridge Studies in Population, Economy and Society in Past Time (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 8-13.

⁹⁸ Floud, *The Changing Body*, 151-169, 158.

Allen has argued that a higher level of food consumption in northwestern Europe led to “better health, longer life, and a more productive workforce,” which was integral to the Industrial Revolution.⁹⁹

Contemporary concerns about the quality and quantity of food available for consumption were significant.¹⁰⁰ In *Thoughts and Details on Scarcity*, Edmund Burke (1729-1797) noted a simple balance between scarcity and abundance, which was the quantity of wealth and the number of people:

The labouring classes are only poor, because they are numerous. Numbers in their nature imply poverty. In a fair distribution among a vast multitude, none can have much. That class of dependent pensioners called the rich, is so extremely small that if all their throats were cut, and a distribution made of all they consume in a year, it would not give a bit of bread and cheese for one night’s supper to those who labour, and who in reality feed both the pensioners and themselves.¹⁰¹

Burke’s observations about the order of things included a calculation about the unequal distribution of food between the rich and the poor. Whether intentional or not, his comments also highlighted the reality of Britain’s inadequate and vulnerable food supply. Poor harvests led to food shortages, which resulted in dearth, “scarcity which makes food dear,” and famine, “a shortage of food or purchasing power that leads directly to excess mortality from starvation or

⁹⁹ Allen, *British Industrial Revolution*, 48.

¹⁰⁰ Michael Turner, “Corn Crises in Britain in the Age of Malthus” in Michael Edward Turner, ed., *Malthus and His Time* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1986), 112-128, 113; W. E. Minchinton, “Agricultural Returns and the Government during the Napoleonic Wars,” *The Agricultural History Review* 1, no. 1 (1953): 29–43; Albritton Jonsson, *Enlightenment’s Frontier*, 213, 223-231; R. B. Outhwaite, *Dearth, Public Policy, and Social Disturbance in England, 1550-1800*, ed. Economic History Society, Studies in Economic and Social History (Houndsmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan Education, 1991); Roger Wells, “The Revolt of the South-West, 1800-1801: A Study in English Popular Protest,” *Social History* 2, no. 6 (1977): 713–44; Roger A.E. Wells, *Dearth and Distress in Yorkshire 1793-1802*, Borthwick Papers No. 52 (University of York, 1977), 22; E.A. Wrigley, “Corn and Crisis: Malthus on the High Price of Provisions,” *Population and Development Review*, 25, no. 1 (1999): 121-28.

¹⁰¹ Edmund Burke, “Thoughts and Details on Scarcity” in *The Works of Edmund Burke, Volume IV* (facsimile of the edition published in 1839 by Charles C. Little and James Brown, Boston by Elibron Classics, 2005), 252.

hunger-induced diseases.”¹⁰² Poor harvests were particularly acute during the years 1795-1796, 1799-1801, 1810-13 and 1816-18, the cold years of the “Little Ice Age.”¹⁰³

In 1816, known as “the year without a summer” during a period of sustained volcanic activity, dense volcanic dust from three major eruptions decreased “the absorption of incoming solar radiation by reducing the transparency of the atmosphere” resulting in lower surface temperatures.¹⁰⁴ Lower temperatures were accompanied with violent thunderstorms that battered crops, and the meagre harvest led to “social unrest, pillaging, rioting, and criminal violence” across Europe in 1816.¹⁰⁵

Table 1.2. *Price of wheat and commodity price index by decade, 1781-1850*

| Decade | Average price of wheat (s. per quarter) | Commodity price index |
|-----------|--|--------------------------|
| 1781-1790 | 47.9 | |
| 1791-1800 | 63.5 | 109.4 |
| 1801-1810 | 84.0 | 138.1 |
| 1811-1820 | 87.5 | 139.4 |
| 1821-1830 | 59.4 | 98.6 |
| 1831-1840 | 56.9 | 94.1 |
| 1841-1850 | 53.3 | 84.3 |

Source: Boyd Hilton, *A Mad, Bad & Dangerous People? England 1783-1846* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006), 7.

¹⁰² Samuel Johnson, *Johnson’s English Dictionary*, ed. John Walker and Samuel Johnson (Boston: N. Hale, etc., etc., 1835), 264. //catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/011629548; Cormac Ó Gráda, *Famine: A Short History* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2009), 4-5; For Oxford English Dictionary definitions see E.A. Wrigley, "Corn and Crisis: Malthus on the High Price of Provisions," *Population and Development Review*, 25, no. 1 (1999): 121-28, 121.

¹⁰³ Outhwaite, 49; Brian M. Fagan, *The Little Ice Age: How Climate Made History 1300-1850* (New York: Basic Books, 2000), 179; Michael Turner, “Corn Crises in Britain in the Age of Malthus,” Michael Edward Turner, ed., *Malthus and His Time* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1986), 177.

¹⁰⁴ Fagan, 169.

¹⁰⁵ Fagan, 172; Outhwaite, 13; Ó Gráda, *Famine: A Short History*, 17, 6-7. Ó Gráda identifies “rising prices, food riots, an increase in crimes against property, a significant number of actual or imminent deaths from starvation, a rise in temporary migration, and frequently the fear and emergence of famine-induced infectious diseases” as common symptoms of famine.

Despite the high price of provisions during the unproductive seasons of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (see Table 1.2), the food supply was arguably “regulated” by the Assize of Bread, the Corn Laws, and the “moral economy.” The Assize of Bread was a widely enforced statute based on the principle that a “loaf” would be sold at a constant price, while its weight would vary according to the changes in the price of grain.¹⁰⁶ The Corn Laws either imposed heavy duties on imported grain or prevented its import entirely when prices in England reached a certain specified level.¹⁰⁷ The “moral economy,” an economy based upon just prices and wages famously described by E.P. Thompson, operated within a popular consensus as to what were legitimate and what were illegitimate practices in marketing, milling, and baking.¹⁰⁸ Riots may have been triggered by soaring prices, by malpractice, or by hunger, but Thompson argued that the grievances of the men and women in the crowd were informed by the belief that they were defending traditional rights or customs, and in general were supported by the wider consensus of the community. Compelling as it is, Thompson’s interpretation is not immune to criticism, as food shortages and high prices were a national phenomenon whereas the rioting tended to break out in certain localities and not others.¹⁰⁹

In Ireland, a land overly reliant on the potato, food shortages plagued the country in the

¹⁰⁶ Sidney Webb and Beatrice Webb, “The Assize of Bread,” *The Economic Journal*, 14, no. 54 (1904): 196–218; James Davis, “Baking for the Common Good: A Reassessment of the Assize of Bread in Medieval England,” *The Economic History Review*, 57, no. 3 (2004): 465–502.

¹⁰⁷ For a cogent dissection of the politics of corn protectionism during Britain’s post-war economic depression see Boyd Hilton, *Corn, Cash, Commerce: The Economic Policies of the Tory Government, 1815-1830* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977).

¹⁰⁸ E.P. Thompson, “The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century” and “The Moral Economy Reviewed” in *Customs in Common: Studies in Traditional Popular Culture* (New York: The New Press, 1993), 185-351; Kenneth Morgan, *The Birth of Industrial Britain: Social Change, 1750-1850* (Harlow, England; New York: Pearson Longman, 2004), 75; Outhwaite, 54-56; Gertrude Himmelfarb, *The Idea of Poverty: England in the Early Industrial Age* (New York: Knopf, 1984), 41.

¹⁰⁹ Morgan, *The Birth of Industrial Britain: Social Change*, 77; John Stevenson, “The “Moral Economy” of the English Crowd: Myth and Reality,” in Anthony Fletcher and John Stevenson, eds., *Order and Disorder in Early Modern England* (Cambridge Cambridgeshire; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 67; Charles Tilly, *Popular Contention in Great Britain, 1758-1834* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1995), 228-232.

eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.¹¹⁰ After the Act of Union in 1800, Ireland became the bread basket for England, and by the mid-1820s, Ireland supplied 70% of Britain's wheat imports.¹¹¹ Karl Marx (1818-1883) described Ireland as “merely an agricultural district of England which happens to be divided by a stretch of water from the country for which it provides corn, wool, cattle and industrial and military recruits.¹¹² Irish grains kept English bread prices low, while the Irish themselves lived off potatoes, “the luxury of the rich and the food of the poor; the chief cause of our population and the greatest security against famine.”¹¹³

Malthus wrote little about Ireland, yet his message was clear: the potato had loosened both the positive and preventative checks to population:

The details of the population of Ireland are but little known. I shall only observe, therefore, that the extended use of potatoes has allowed of a very rapid increase of it during the last century. But the cheapness of this nourishing root, and the small pieces of ground which, under this kind of cultivation, will in average years produce the food for a family, joined to the ignorance and barbarism of the people, which have prompted them to follow their inclinations with no other prospect than an immediate bare subsistence, have encouraged marriage to such a degree that the population is pushed much beyond the industry and present resources of the country; and the consequence naturally is, that the lower classes of people are in the most depressed and miserable state.¹¹⁴

In a letter to David Ricardo in 1817, Malthus wrote: “the land of Ireland is infinitely more peopled than in England: and to give full effect to the natural resources of the country a great part of the population should be swept from the soil.” These unfortunate comments (which were

¹¹⁰ Redcliffe N. Salaman, *The History and Social Influence of the Potato, With a Chapter on Industrial Uses by W. G. Burton.*, Cambridge University Press Library Editions (London, New York: [Syndics of the Cambridge University Press], 1970), 245-288; K.H. Connell, *The Population of Ireland, 1750-1845* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1975), 121-162.

¹¹¹ James Belich, *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Anglo-World, 1783-1939* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 445-6.

¹¹² Karl Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*, Volume One, translated by Ben Fowkes (New York: Vintage Books, 1977), 860.

¹¹³ Cited in Fagan, 185.

¹¹⁴ Cited in James, 145-146. T.R. Malthus, *An Essay on Population*, ed. Walter Layton and T.R. Malthus, Everyman's Library, (London: New York: J.M. Dent; E.P. Dutton, 1941), 277-8.

<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=coo.31924013688233;view=1up;seq=11>

later qualified) did little to temper the narrative of a “gigantic inevitable famine.”¹¹⁵ Was it, as the *Edinburgh Review* had argued, “all the potato”? For some, Ireland in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries came to represent a classic manifestation of Malthusianism: a population that tended to increase geometrically and relied on potato cultivation for its food supply that was checked by famine.¹¹⁶ It is true that deficiencies in the potato crop (such as the fourteen partial or complete famines between 1816 and 1842, and then 1845-6) resulted in dearth, famine, and death on a massive scale in Ireland.¹¹⁷ However, such explanations are insufficient because the food supply alone did not account for the particular social and political path of rural Irish society between 1700 and 1850. Scholars have challenged the Malthusian explanation about the potato being the source of all Ireland’s problems and an inevitable consequence of too large a population.¹¹⁸ For example, Cormac Ó Gráda and Joel Mokyr have painted a more nuanced picture of Irish living standards in the pre-famine period, arguing that the Irish economy “did not fall behind in nutritional status and that there was no substantial

¹¹⁵ Quoted in Joel Mokyr, "Malthusian Models and Irish History," *The Journal of Economic History* 40, no. 1 (1980): 159-66; Alex De Waal, *Mass Starvation: The History and Future of Famine*, Edited by Alex De Waal, (Cambridge, UK; Polity Press, 2018), 36-52.

¹¹⁶ Scholars attributing a Malthusian framework to explain nineteenth century Ireland include: John Kenneth Galbraith, *The Age of Uncertainty* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1977), 37-8; William Petersen, *Malthus: Founder of Modern Demography* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers, 1999), 102-10. See also Eric B. Ross, *The Malthus Factor: Population, Poverty, and Politics in Capitalist Development* (London; New York: New York: Zed Books; Distributed in the USA exclusively by St. Martin’s Press, 1998), 31-54; Tim Pat Coogan, *The Famine Plot: England’s Role in Ireland’s Greatest Tragedy*, 1st ed. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 36, 130.

¹¹⁷ R.F. Foster, *Modern Ireland, 1600-1972* (London, England: New York, N.Y., USA: A. Lane; Viking Penguin, 1988), 320.

¹¹⁸ Connell argued that the potato not only provided a “prerequisite for the growth of population; it also provided a mechanism; it not only permitted but encouraged increase.” K.H. Connell, *The Population of Ireland, 1750-1845* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1975), 160. However, Connell did not attribute it as the sole explanation. See also K.H. Connell, “The History of the Potato,” *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. 3, No. 3 (1951): 388-395; Joel Mokyr, “Malthusian Models and Irish History,” *The Journal of Economic History*, (Mar., 1980): 159-166. “Malthus’s Zombie” in Alex De Waal, *Mass Starvation: The History and Future of Famine*, ed. Alex De Waal (Cambridge, UK; Polity Press, 2018), 36-52.

difficulty in feeding a rapidly growing population.”¹¹⁹ Other comparative and interdisciplinary perspectives have dismantled this oversimplified but dominant narrative (which persisted for much of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries) that Malthusian doctrines explained all of Ireland’s woes, with considerations such as land ownership, the relative absence of protoindustrialization, and the size of Irish markets and towns posited as more plausible explanations.¹²⁰

V. Malthusianism, Poverty & the Poor Laws

My dear Thimble, you know that our great master, Parson Malthus, lays it down, that population always treads closely upon the heels of subsistence. Acting upon this principle, and fully agreeing with you, that the country is ruined by surplus population, I deem it a duty to my beloved country for the happiness and honour of which I have so long been toiling and making so many sacrifices, to suffer no subsistence to be in my house beyond a bare sufficiency to keep body and soul together. I have, therefore, told Farmer Stiles to send this to you to-morrow morning, and provide you with bed, board, &c., and I will call on you at his house about breakfast time.

(*Surplus Population: A Comedy in Three Acts* by William Cobbett, 1831)¹²¹

Malthusianism—both then and now—became not only an explanation (albeit a reductionist one) for the Irish famine but also more broadly part of the nineteenth century narrative on poverty. Malthus’s principles of population, as laid out in his *Essay*, were his intellectual contribution to the discourse on poverty and they were invoked with regularity at a time when concerns over population pressure and expenditure on poor relief had reached unprecedented levels.

¹¹⁹ Cormac Ó Gráda, “Malthus and the Pre-Famine Economy,” *Hermathena*, no. 135 (1983): 75–95. See also Cormac Ó Gráda and Joel Mokyr, “Poor and getting poorer? Living standards in Ireland before the famine,” in Cormac Ó Gráda, *Ireland’s Great Famine: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, ed. Cormac O. Grada et al. (Dublin, Ireland: University College Dublin Press, 2006), 24–47.

¹²⁰ For a good summary of the scholarship on this subject see Graham Davis, *The Irish in Britain 1815-1914* (Dublin; New York: Gill and Macmillan, 1991), 10–37.

¹²¹ William Cobbett, *Surplus Population and Poor-law Bill: A Comedy in Three Acts* ([England] (London: s.n., W. Cobbett, 1835).



1.2. (Thomas) Robert Malthus (1766–1834)
by John Linnell, 1833 © National Portrait Gallery, London.

What stands out during Malthus’s lifetime are the hostile criticisms of his principles from many quarters, most notably by romantic poets Robert Southey and Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Tory paternalist Michael Sadler, and writers William Hazlitt and William Cobbett.¹²² On the other hand, Malthus garnered plenty of support among his contemporaries and managed to win over many influential people including prime minister William Pitt and theologian William Paley. Political economists Thomas Chalmers, David Ricardo, Sir James Mackintosh, Jeremy Bentham and James Mill also supported Malthus on many issues.¹²³ The word “Malthusian” literally

¹²² Huzel, *The Popularization of Malthus*; Winch, *Riches and Poverty*, 223-405.

¹²³ T.H. Hollingsworth, “The Influence of Malthus on British Thought,” in International Conference on Historical Demography (1980: Paris et al., eds., *Malthus Past and Present* (London; New York: Academic Press, 1983), 213-221.

meant “a follower of Malthus,” yet in spite of Malthus’s many equivocations and textual revisions to his arguably ambiguous works, his principles were frequently (and unambiguously) oversimplified and appropriated by his adherents and critics to justify a whole host of fanatical commentary on poverty.¹²⁴ Most directly, his principles were employed to effect two types of administrative solutions that were proposed to address poverty: assisted emigration (“shoveling out paupers”) and dealing with those left behind (reforming the Poor Laws). These solutions were summed up perfectly by *The Belfast NewsLetter*, which published the following House of Commons debate (1830):

“Robert Wilmot-Horton stated: “it was the potato system which led to the redundancy of the population of Ireland - (Laughter) - and that it would be unjust to that country to apply the poor laws to it until its redundant population was removed.” Horton suggested that the pauper population of Ireland was “abstracted” to a far-off colony. Alexander Baring MP added that “experience had proved that the theory of Mr. Malthus was correct. There were evidently only two remedies for this evil; the one was emigration – the other, reverting to the original intention of the poor laws, and giving no relief to able-bodied persons.””¹²⁵

As suggested in the above Commons debate, the increasing burden of the Poor Laws was one of the most urgent issues in industrializing Britain. England’s welfare system dated back to 1601 and operated on the principle that each parish should care for its own poor, paid for by local taxation. By the late eighteenth century, with the cost of poor relief growing at a faster rate than the population, the Poor Laws were viewed as an unnecessary drain on private income and a

¹²⁴ Y. Charbit, “The Fate of Malthus’s Work: History and Ideology,” in International Conference on Historical Demography (1980: Paris et al., eds., *Malthus Past and Present* (London; New York: Academic Press, 1983), 17-30; Girish Mishra, *Malthus and His Ghost* (New Delhi: Manak Publications, 2001); Eric B. Ross, *The Malthus Factor: Population, Poverty, and Politics in Capitalist Development* (London ; New York : New York: Zed Books ; Distributed in the USA exclusively by St. Martin’s Press, 1998); Derek S. Hoff and Thomas Robertson, “Malthus Today,” in Mayhew, ed., *New Perspectives on Malthus*, 267-293. From the 1870s onwards, “Malthusian” referred to supporters of birth control, see Robert J. Mayhew, *Malthus: The Life and Legacies of an Untimely Prophet* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2014), 150-151.

¹²⁵ *The Belfast NewsLetter*, “Imperial Parliament,” Tuesday, March 16th 1830.

barrier to the free movement of peoples.¹²⁶ In the first edition of his *Essay* (1798) Malthus advocated for the “abolition of all the present parish laws” on the grounds that although they may have “alleviated a little of the intensity of individual misfortune, they have spread the general evil over a much larger surface.”¹²⁷ For Malthus—and several other classical economists—poor relief involved profound moral issues, and their baseline thinking on poverty was one that is familiar to this day: “It is by no means to be wished that any dependent situation should be made so agreeable, as to tempt those who might otherwise support themselves in independence.”¹²⁸ It is beyond the scope of this dissertation to dive into the immense literature on the Poor Laws other than to note that between 1817 and 1831, several parliamentary select committees examined the economic effects of the Poor Laws, and in doing so, Malthus’s *Essay* received considerable attention.¹²⁹ As I will argue in the third chapter, Malthus shaped the entire discourse on the poor (leading up to Poor Law reform in 1834) and as such he was uniquely qualified to contribute to solving the problems of poverty, destitution and overpopulation created during the

¹²⁶ George R. Boyer, *An Economic History of the English Poor Law, 1750-1850* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Raymond Gibson Cowherd, *Political Economists and the English Poor Laws: A Historical Study of the Influence of Classical Economics on the Formation of Social Welfare Policy* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1977).

¹²⁷ Malthus, *Essay on Population*, Gilbert, ed., 36.

¹²⁸ T.R. Malthus, *The Crisis, a View of the Present Interesting State of Great Britain by a Friend to the Constitution* (1796) which was quoted in Bishop Otter’s *Memoir* and cited by James, 53.

¹²⁹ Literature on the Poor Laws most relevant to this dissertation includes: J. R. (John Riddoch) Poynter, *Society and Pauperism: English Ideas on Poor Relief, 1795-1834* (London: Toronto: Routledge & K. Paul; U. of Toronto P., 1969); Anne Digby, “Malthus and Reform of the Poor Law,” in International Conference on Historical Demography (1980: Paris et al., eds., *Malthus Past and Present* (London; New York: Academic Press, 1983), 97-110; Niall O’Flaherty, “Malthus and the ‘end of poverty’” in Mayhew, ed., *New Perspectives on Malthus*, 74-104; Himmelfarb, *The Idea of Poverty*, 100-176. Interesting scholarly debates on the Poor Laws include those between Peter Solar and Steve Ling, and between Peter Mandler and Anthony Brundage/David Eastwood. Peter M. Solar, “Poor Relief and English Economic Development before the Industrial Revolution,” *The Economic History Review*, New Series, 48, no. 1 (1995): 1-22; Steve King, “Poor Relief and English Economic Development Reappraised,” *The Economic History Review*, New Series, 50, no. 2 (1997): 360-68; Peter M. Solar, “Poor Relief and English Economic Development: A Renewed Plea for Comparative History,” *The Economic History Review*, New Series, 50, no. 2 (1997): 369-74; Peter Mandler, “The Making of the New Poor Law Redivivus,” *Past & Present*, no. 117 (1987): 131-57; Anthony Brundage, and David Eastwood, “The Making of the New Poor Law Redivivus,” *Past & Present*, no. 127 (1990): 183-94; Peter Mandler, “The Making of the New Poor Law Redivivus: Reply,” *Past & Present*, no. 127 (1990): 194-201.

transitional period in British history. Moreover, the renewed debate on the Poor Laws facilitated dialogue on other possible solutions to the surplus population—emigration and colonization.

Could emigration mitigate the costs of poor relief?

VI. Internal Migration, Emigration and Colonization

One final theme in this study is its primary focus: migration, emigration and colonization.

Britain's emigration story is a familiar one yet in the space and time period that this study encompasses, Britain's story contains certain distinguishing characteristics. In its most basic origins, it started with local migration, the movement of peoples from rural cottages to towns and villages, and transformed into global migration, with indigenous peoples scattered across oceans and continents. The degree, pace, impact, and volume are significant in understanding the dynamics of the time.¹³⁰ What were the emigrants' motives and means? Did increasing pauperism and high food prices in Britain trigger an exodus?

English explorers Sir Walter Raleigh (c.1554-1618) and Sir Francis Drake (c.1540-1596) initiated an interest and impulse to cross the Atlantic. The imperative to participate in the Atlantic world came in the 1550s when royal encouragement was given to voyagers looking for outlets for exports.¹³¹ As such, England's early forays coincided with the growth and centralization of the Elizabethan state and the strengthening of its navy. Exports and trading soon turned to dreams of settlement, and in 1585 the first colonization party was sent to Roanoke, North Carolina, under the leadership of Sir Richard Grenville (1542-1591). It was a miserable

¹³⁰ N. H. Carrier and J.R. Jeffery, *External Migration: A Study of the Available Statistics, 1815-1950* (London: 1953), Table B (1) 90-91, cited in Marjory Harper, *Migration and Empire*, ed. Stephen Constantine, Oxford History of the British Empire Companion Series (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 2.

¹³¹ Richards, *Britannia's Children*, 33-35. For a good summary of the period prior to 1600 see Richards Ch.2, "The Westward Thrust," pp. 17-32.

failure. Nevertheless, ideas of forming a permanent settlement persisted, and Sir Humphrey Gilbert (c. 1539-1583), half-brother of Sir Walter Raleigh, founded the first English colony in North America. He also developed plans for assisting the poor with emigration across the Atlantic as a solution for the perceived social and economic problems of the day—a theme taken up two hundred years later.¹³²

In pre-industrial Britain, the internal migration of peoples looking for work often led to a spillover of emigration to North America.¹³³ From the mid-eighteenth century onwards, the growth of Britain's industrial towns created an interplay of forces affecting emigration. Population increase, war, changes in agrarian society, and Enlightenment thinking came to bear on social, political and economic problems afflicting Britain, including concerns about population loss to the colonies. Proponents of internal colonization imagined reclaiming waste lands in Scotland and Ireland as an alternative to overseas empire.¹³⁴ Agrarianism became “an icon for national integration and for patriotism, which could bring together great landowners, yeoman farmers and professional people in a moral community...”¹³⁵ Scottish versions of agrarian patriotism were fraught with rival notions of improvement and resource scarcity.¹³⁶ In Ireland, agrarian violence, tensions between Catholic nationalists and Protestant elites, and difficulties with economic integration made internal colonization virtually impossible.¹³⁷ Instead,

¹³² Alison Games claims that it was not the surplus population that was traveling during this period, 1600-1800. Alison Games, “Migration,” in David Armitage and M. J. (Michael J.), Braddick eds., *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 31-50, 36.

¹³³ Bernard Bailyn, *The Peopling of British North America: An Introduction*, The Curti Lectures, The University of Wisconsin (New York: Vintage Books, 1986).

¹³⁴ For Tory proponents of internal colonization see Anna Gambles, *Protection and Politics: Conservative Economic Discourse, 1815-1852* ([Suffolk, England]: Rochester, NY: Royal Historical Society; Boydell Press, 1999), 169-174.

¹³⁵ Bayly, *Imperial Meridian*, 80.

¹³⁶ Albritton Jonsson, *Enlightenment's Frontier*.

¹³⁷ Bayly, *Imperial Meridian*, 80-89. See these arguments expressed in “Commons Sitting of Friday, February 15, 1827,” *Hansard*, 2nd Series, Volume 16 (February 15, 1827). For a recent reevaluation of early nineteenth century efforts to reclaim Irish bogs see Esa Ruuskanen, “Encroaching Irish Bogland Frontiers: Science, Policy and Aspirations from the 1770s to the 1840s,” in *Histories of Technology, the Environment and Modern Britain*, edited by Jon Agar and Jacob Ward, (London: UCL Press, 2018), 22-40. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctvqhsmr.6>.

the Irish were drawn in large numbers to Britain to undertake unskilled and semi-skilled jobs, particularly in the industrializing communities of western Scotland and north-west England. In addition, temporary farm workers, known as *spalpins*, traveled from many Irish ports to seek work during harvest season.¹³⁸ The influx of Irish (and the related social problems) created a culture of anti-Irishness. Most prevalent in the local and provincial British press, fears were expressed that the Irish would not only lower living standards but also debase the character of the English laborer.¹³⁹ As R.D. Collison Black noted, emigration was not “a purely Irish question; it was one aspect of the whole ‘condition-of-England question.’” Nevertheless, most of the “participants in the [emigration] debate took it for granted that Ireland was the key factor in the problem.”¹⁴⁰

Classical political economists attitudes’ toward emigration and colonization were equivocal, in part because of differences in opinion on the nature and causes of poverty and population pressure.¹⁴¹ K.E. Knorr argued in *British Colonial Theories* that before the publication of Malthus’s first *Essay*, a large population was generally regarded as desirable.¹⁴² After 1798, this position changed, and Knorr credited Henry Brougham, founder of the *Edinburgh Review*, as the one who “finally, pointed out that emigration to the colonies facilitated the egress of surplus population.”¹⁴³ Bernard Semmel added to this thread in *The Rise of Free Trade Imperialism* by devoting four pages to Henry Brougham, noting that “Brougham anticipated almost all of the arguments which subsequent theorists and advocates of colonization

¹³⁸ Donald M. MacRaild, *The Irish Diaspora in Britain, 1750-1939*, Social History in Perspective (Houndmills, Basingstoke, England: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 35.

¹³⁹ Michael Willem De Nie, *The Eternal Paddy: Irish Identity and the British Press, 1798-1882*, History of Ireland and the Irish Diaspora (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2004), 5-35; MacRaild, 170-173; Collison Black, 210; Colley, 329-330.

¹⁴⁰ Collison Black, 209.

¹⁴¹ Winch, *Classical Political Economy and Colonies*, 72.

¹⁴² Knorr, 220.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 224.

would put forward.”¹⁴⁴ In a similar vein Michael Fry noted in *The Scottish Empire* that Brougham, and the *Edinburgh Review*, was the first to rethink political economic assumptions regarding the importance of the colonies.¹⁴⁵ All three scholars credit Brougham and the *Edinburgh Review* with promoting emigration to the colonies as a remedy for overpopulation, but do not look beyond 1806. Conversely, scholars such as Edward Kittrell and R.N. Ghosh argued that early nineteenth century political economists were critical of assisted emigration schemes: “given free trade, the classical economists did not see any economic need for colonization.”¹⁴⁶ Despite counter-arguments by Donald Winch— that the position of classical political economists during this time period was far from monolithic— Kittrell and Ghosh’s position was resurrected in 2011 by Stimson and Milgate: “With important exceptions, the view that on the whole, colonies were liabilities rather than assets had become almost mainstream in classical circles by the early 1820s.”¹⁴⁷

More recent scholarship about the favorability of the colonies includes the work of James Belich, who uses the “Anglophone World” as a way of examining and interpreting the phenomena of mass migration and colonization.¹⁴⁸ Belich argues that from the 1800s onwards emigration was no longer considered as social excretion. Specifically, he mentions the positive influence of writers, the press, and pamphlets in the emigration process, yet falls short in adequately describe the various ideological positions in the debate. In short, there is no

¹⁴⁴ Semmel, 45.

¹⁴⁵ Michael Fry, *The Scottish Empire* (East Lothian and Edinburgh: Tuckwell Press and Birlinn, 2001), 54.

¹⁴⁶ Edward Kittrell, “The Development of the Theory of Colonization in English Classical Political Economy,” *Southern Economic Journal*, Vol. 31, No.3 (Jan., 1965), pp.189-206, 205-206; Edward Kittrell, “Wakefield’s Scheme of Systematic Colonization and Classical Economics,” *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, Vol. 32, No.1 (Jan., 1973), pp.87-111; R.N. Ghosh, “Malthus on Emigration and Colonization: Letters to Wilmot-Horton,” *Economica*, New Series, Vol.30, No.117 (Feb., 1963), pp.45-62; R.N. Ghosh, “R.J. Wilmot-Horton and the Classical Economists,” *Economica*, New Series, Vol.31, No.124 (Nov., 1964), pp.385-400.

¹⁴⁷ Donald N. Winch, “The Classical Debate on Colonization: Comment,” *Southern Economic Journal*, Vol. 32, No.3 (Jan., 1966), pp.341-345, 345; Milgate and Stimson, 201.

¹⁴⁸ Belich, *Replenishing the Earth*.

Malthusian crisis or Selkirk plan in Belich, and he provides little detail about the socio-economic impetus for emigration.¹⁴⁹ Conversely, Alison Bashford and Joyce Chaplin have breathed new life into the centrality of colonization and emigration as perennial political-economic themes in post-war Britain. Moreover, Malthus is the subject of their analysis. They stated: “Since settler colonialism and political economy were powerfully fused in these population-driven emigration schemes, it is unsurprising that Malthus’s principle was invoked readily and regularly.”¹⁵⁰

While positive checks such as delayed marriage were essential in containing population growth, Malthus allowed from the outset that in certain circumstances, “emigration may be useful as a temporary relief.”¹⁵¹ He stuck to this conviction for the rest of his life. In addition, two other characteristics of Malthus’s thinking on emigration held true from the outset: first, that

¹⁴⁹ Just as emigration—its rationale and acceptance—has changed over the centuries, historians’ understandings of it have evolved. In one of the earliest scholarly works, *A History of Emigration from the United Kingdom to North America*, published in 1913, Stanley C. Johnson privileged institutional archives over contemporary emigrant stories. As such, the history of emigration in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, “may be traced from Government reports and papers which have, from time to time, been published.” Stanley Currie Johnson, *A History of Emigration from the United Kingdom to North America, 1763-1912*, Studies in Economics and Political Science...No. 34 in the Series of Monographs by Writers Connected with the London School of Economics and Political Science (New York, London.; E.P. Dutton and co.; G. Routledge & sons, ltd., 1913), 8. The apparent paucity of sources may explain Johnson’s slapdash description of the relative ease with which Lord Selkirk’s emigration scheme operated: “This Scotchman banded together a number of thrifty farmers of his own race who had given up their highland territories, and escorted them to Prince Edward Island, where they were comfortably located on a settlement vacated by the French.”(Compare this with Bashford and Chapin’s description in *The New Worlds*, p.213. In 1928, Helen Cowan shattered the belief that “no extensive description of British emigration to the British American colonies, beyond Johnson’s excellent survey, could be written because of the lack of first-hand sources.” This was achieved “by the discovery of the vastness of the manuscript materials” which had been preserved in the Emigration Room of the old Colonial Office. Helen I. Cowan, *British Emigration to British North America; the First Hundred Years* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961). H.J.M Johnston’s work *British Emigration Policy, 1815-1830* describes the six assisted emigration schemes of Lord Liverpool’s administration between 1815 and 1826, and the role of Robert Wilmot-Horton. The study also considers the debates of political economists on the merits of assisted emigration. While Johnston’s work provides a thorough examination of emigration policy in the time period, it neglects the significance of the periodical press despite the fact that there were at least twenty-two articles published between 1815 and 1830 referencing emigration in one journal alone, and at least sixty on the interrelated topic of population. Hugh J.M. Johnston, *British Emigration Policy 1815-1830: 'shovelling out Paupers*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972). Bumsted’s *The People’s Clearance* examines a less well-known phase of Highland emigration to British North America between 1770-1815. It includes a valuable overview of the competing interest groups in discussions on Scottish emigration. Nevertheless, he also completely overlooks periodicals in these early debates. J.M. Bumsted, *The People’s Clearance: Highland Emigration to British North America, 1770-1815* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1982).

¹⁵⁰ Bashford and Chaplin, *The New Worlds*, 202.

¹⁵¹ T.R. Malthus, *Essay on Population*: ed. Winch and James, 87.

attachment to one's native land presented an obstacle to emigration, and second, the "vacuum theory" of emigration and colonization.¹⁵² Nevertheless, with a much-enlarged commentary on emigration in the second *Essay*, a more favorable tone in the post-war period, and his role as chief witness in the Select Committee on Emigration (1827), Malthus became a reluctant but ambivalent supporter, as his later correspondence with Robert Wilmot-Horton suggests. Wilmot-Horton—a disciple of Malthus and the man most responsible for developing Britain's assisted emigration schemes using political-economic arguments—proposed that poor families were sent from Britain to Upper Canada and supported until they were able to provide for themselves. The scheme would be financed initially by loans to the parishes.

Wilmot-Horton distinguished between "emigration" and "colonization" in the Third Report from the Select Committee on Emigration as follows: emigration was "a mere pouring of an indefinite quantity of labourers...without capital, into a country where there is a very small proportion of capital previously existing to employ them." Colonization was "the planting of colonists in a soil prepared to receive them, aided by a small portion of capital, to enable them immediately to take root and flourish."¹⁵³ This distinction is curious, given that Wilmot-Horton often used the terms interchangeably when in fact he was a proponent of the latter. Yet, as chapter four and five will suggest, neither his definitions nor his schemes were universally accepted by his contemporaries, and the delicate subject of government involvement triggered the most consternation.

¹⁵² Ibid., 87. The "vacuum theory" (the idea that the population gap created by the emigrants would soon refill) was part of his broader narrative on oscillations in population. that the population gap created by the emigrants would soon refill. See Malthus's comments in Robert John Wilmot-Horton, "Select Committee on Emigration from United Kingdom Third Report, Minutes of Evidence, Appendix," House of Commons Papers, 1826, 311-27, Q.3198, Q.3231, Q.3222, Q, 3395. That said, Malthus softened his stance on this point and admitted that measures could be taken to mitigate the vacuum filling, such as pulling down cottages vacated by emigrants, Q. 3251.

¹⁵³ Robert John Wilmot-Horton, "Select Committee on Emigration from United Kingdom Third Report, Minutes of Evidence, Appendix," House of Commons Papers, 1826, 35. See also H. J.M. Johnston, 109-128.

For assisted emigration to be successful there had to be a benefit to the colony, individual, and the mother country. As unlikely supporters of state-sponsored emigration for the poor, Tory romantic poets Robert Southey and William Wordsworth believed that the colonies “offered a global canvas upon which to reconstitute lost community and reanimate the human mind.”¹⁵⁴ Yet the effects of emigration on the two populations—the one sent out and the one left behind—was far from settled. For many, emigration schemes were not acceptable in any form, viewed as a form of cruel transportation akin to the punishment handed down to criminals; for others, the cost to the taxpayer of transporting the poor was exorbitant and prohibitive; finally, for many it was unclear who exactly constituted “the poor” in the first place. Robert Wilmot-Horton categorized “the poor” in four ways: the “laboring poor” (poor persons in work), the “helpless poor” (poor persons who could not work), “paupers” (poor persons who were able and wanted to work, but could not find work), and “beggars” (poor persons who were able to work, but did not want to). Paupers and beggars combined made up the “redundant” population, the potential beneficiaries of his assisted emigration schemes.¹⁵⁵

From the 1830s onwards, Edward Gibbon Wakefield (1796-1862), “builder of the British Commonwealth,” became an important rival and successor to Wilmot Horton.¹⁵⁶ Wakefield’s contribution is briefly touched upon in chapter four and the conclusion but generally it falls beyond the periodization of this dissertation. Despite their different approaches, both Wilmot-Horton and Wakefield’s rationale were identical and simple—the passage of British emigrants to overseas colonies paid for out of public funds, with the dual purpose of relieving the economy of

¹⁵⁴ Karen O’Brien, “Colonial Emigration and Tory Romanticism,” in Duncan Kelly, ed. *Lineages of Empire: The Historical Roots of British Imperial Thought*, Proceedings of the British Academy (Oxford: Oxford University Press [for] The British Academy, 2009), 167.

¹⁵⁵ Wilmot-Horton, *Inquiry*, Fourth Series, 3-5.

¹⁵⁶ Paul Bloomfield, *Edward Gibbon Wakefield, Builder of the British Commonwealth* (London: Longmans, 1961); Semmel, 76-130.

surplus population and strengthening the empire. Wilmot-Horton failed to convince legislators and the public of the efficacy of his scheme, which was mainly addressed at relieving pauperism. On the other hand, Wakefield managed to win over critics and policy makers, and his scheme of systematic colonization—funded through the proceeds of the sale of colonial lands and taxes on rents in the colonies—arguably elevated him as the nineteenth century’s chief theorist of empire-building.

Emigration became one potential solution to the purported crisis in Britain’s “Age of Transition.” The broad themes described above—population politics, living standards, Malthusianism, poverty, internal migration, emigration and colonization—form the framework for late eighteenth and early nineteenth century discussions on population pressure and emigration that are the subject of this dissertation. In addition to broad themes, individuals have also become subjects of this dissertation. By asking whether civil society, influenced by the liberal writings of politicians and political economists, was a potent enough movement to address issues such as population pressure and assisted emigration in a time of purported crisis, prominent figures such as Thomas Robert Malthus, Robert Wilmot-Horton and the Duke of Wellington share the stage with lesser-known actors. The concept of extra-parliamentary politics (a realm outside of formal politics) as a necessary force that pushed these issues to the forefront of public debate operated through agents that included these lesser-known actors such as journalists, intellectuals, pamphleteers, readers, and appointed officials across the political spectrum. The common denominator, political economy—its practitioners and popularizers—is where we first turn.

CHAPTER TWO: “Review-like” Essays and “Essay-like” Reviews

I. Introduction

In 1830, Francis Place (1771–1854), radical and author of *Illustrations and Proofs of the Principles of Population*, made the following bold assertion:

So far from the Political Economists calling “boldly and loudly” for emigration, there is not a single writer of eminence on the subject of Political Economy who has not condemned every one of the projects which have been started to promote emigration. Every one of them has...doubted that emigration could be beneficial to the working people on any practicable scheme whatever.¹

Many historians of economic thought have either regurgitated Place’s argument or denied that political economists published writings on assisted emigration until after Place’s comments. Yet Place’s stated positions, and the historical record on early nineteenth century emigration debates, do not match up.² On the contrary, from 1800 onwards, numerous distinguished contributors to quarterly journals the *Edinburgh Review*, the *Quarterly Review*, and the *Westminster Review* (including political economists T.R. Malthus, J. R. McCulloch, Francis Horner, Thomas Chalmers, Robert Torrens, Nassau Senior, Edwin Chadwick, and James Mill) favored emigration as a solution to the Great Britain’s economic and social problems.

The *Edinburgh Review* (1802), followed by the *Quarterly Review* (1809), and the *Westminster Review* (1824) became the pre-eminent vehicles for popularizing ideologies of early

¹ Francis Place, *Illustrations and Proofs of the Principle of Population* (London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1930), 323.

² Edward Kittrell, “The Development of the Theory of Colonization in English Classical Political Economy,” *Southern Economic Journal*, Vol. 31, No.3 (Jan., 1965), pp.189-206, 205-206; Edward Kittrell, “Wakefield’s Scheme of Systematic Colonization and Classical Economics,” *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, Vol. 32, No.1 (Jan., 1973), pp.87-111; R.N. Ghosh, “Malthus on Emigration and Colonization: Letters to Wilmot-Horton,” *Economica*, New Series, Vol.30, No.117 (Feb., 1963), pp.45-62; R.N. Ghosh, “R.J. Wilmot-Horton and the Classical Economists,” *Economica*, New Series, Vol.31, No.124 (Nov., 1964), pp.385-400; Murray Milgate, Shannon Stimson, *After Adam Smith: A Century of Transformation in Politics and Political Economy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 201; Wendy Cameron and Mary McDougall Maude, *Assisting Emigration to Upper Canada: The Petworth Project, 1832-1837* (Montreal and London: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2000), 32.

nineteenth century Britain, in particular the newly-fashionable ideas of political economy. By discussing emigration and other great economic controversies of the day—the Corn Laws, food scarcities, population pressure, conditions in Ireland, and the Poor Laws— as well as critiquing noteworthy economic literature, the ‘quarterlies’ were devoted to unpacking arguments and promoting solutions for the grave problems facing Great Britain. The *Edinburgh Review* “began the system” and was known for its “immense superiority” over the other journals.³ Three of its four main founders—Francis Jeffrey (1773-1850), Francis Horner (1778-1817), and Henry Brougham (1778-1868)—were educated in Edinburgh and learned the doctrine of classical political economy from Dugald Stewart (1753-1828), professor of Moral Philosophy at Edinburgh University.⁴ It is only fitting then, that in its inaugural edition the *Edinburgh Review* commented on a peculiarly Scottish problem. In an eloquent and bold review of Alexander Irvine’s *An Inquiry into the Causes and Effects of Emigration from the Highlands and Western Islands of Scotland*, the *Edinburgh Review* proposed that the subject of emigration should be evaluated not by a jingoistic Scottish clergyman such as Irvine but by an enlightened government as a matter of national policy.⁵ The argument in question—whether to prevent emigration in order to retain Britain’s population or whether to assist emigration in order to rid the countryside of its unfed, excess poor—was, after all, of great public concern, and not one to be tackled by a mere parish priest with no training in the discipline of political economy.

³ Walter Bagehot, “The First Edinburgh Reviewers” in *The Collected Works of Walter Bagehot: The Literary Essays (in two volumes) Volume One*, ed. Norman St John-Stevan (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965), 313; *Selections from the Correspondence of the Late Macvey Napier, edited by his son* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1879), 463.

⁴ Biancamaria Fontana, *Rethinking the politics of commercial society: the Edinburgh Review 1802-1832* (Cambridge and London: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 3.

⁵ “Irvine’s Inquiry into the Causes and Effects of Emigration from the Highlands and Western Islands of Scotland,” *ER*, 1:1 (1802: Oct.), p.61-63

Two years after assessing Irvine's work, the *Edinburgh Review* favorably reviewed Lord Selkirk's *Observations on the Present State of the Highlands of Scotland*, in which Thomas Douglas, fifth earl of Selkirk (1771-1820) outlined his plan for an assisted emigration scheme to drain the overflow of population in the Scottish Highlands to the colonies.⁶ The same edition of the journal contained a positive appraisal of Talleyrand's *Essai sur les avantages à retirer des colonies nouvelles dans les circonstances présentes* (1797), in which the crafty and cynical Talleyrand (1754-1838) advocated for the establishment of new colonies to alleviate overpopulation and social unrest created by the French Revolution.⁷ The author reviewing Talleyrand's work, Henry Brougham, had previously published his *Inquiry into the Colonial Policy of the European Powers*, in which he proposed the idea that colonial settlements could provide a remedy against the evils of surplus population, one of the biggest causes of social unrest.⁸ The idea of promoting emigration to the colonies as a remedy for overpopulation was not necessarily new; nevertheless, several historians of economic thought have credited Brougham with originality on this idea. Over the next thirty years, the 'quarterlies' would debate this and other questions, such as food scarcity, population pressure, and assisted emigration schemes.⁹

This chapter focuses on the quarterly review journals and their role in discussing, disseminating and popularizing emigration plans to alleviate the nation's depressed state. It chronologically traces various arguments that played out in the *Edinburgh Review* (and to a

⁶ "Observations on the Present State of the Highlands of Scotland; with a View of the Causes and probably Consequence of Emigration. By the Earl of Selkirk," *ER*, 7:13 (1805: Oct), p.185.

⁷ "Essai sur les vantages à retirer de Colonies Nouvelles dans les Circonstances présentes. Par le Cit. Talleyrand," *ER*, 6:11 (1805: Apr.) p.63.

⁸ Henry Brougham, *Inquiry into the Colonial Policy of the European Powers*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1803).

⁹ Fontana argues that these debates may have been present in eighteenth century discourse. Fontana, 62. Scholars crediting Henry Brougham include: Klaus. E. Knorr, *British Colonial Theories, 1570-1850* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1944), 224; Bernard Semmel, *The Rise of Free Trade Imperialism: Classical Political Economy, the Empire of Free Trade and Imperialism, 1750-1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 44-47; Michael Fry, *The Scottish Empire* (East Lothian and Edinburgh: Tuckwell Press and Birlinn, 2001), 54; Fontana, 62.

lesser extent the *Quarterly* and the *Westminster*) and more widely in intellectual and popular discourse. It is the argument of this chapter that ‘quarterly’ journals provided a platform for extra-parliamentary discussions on surplus population and assisted emigration and contributed to the shared space of debate that included newspapers, pamphlets, and petitions. Moreover, ‘quarterly’ journals were, at a minimum, useful vehicles for pushing issues in front of policymakers and commissioners concerned with finding alternative pathways to a successful transition from an agricultural to industrial society. This chapter takes issue with the existing literature on a number of key themes and concepts explored in this dissertation’s introductory chapter, including surplus population, food scarcity, emigration, and the popularization of political economy.

Regarding the *Edinburgh Review*, one of the earliest studies by John Clive offered an insightful overview of the journal and its founders but provided little analysis of its content.¹⁰ Other monographs by Thomas Crawford, James Greig, George Pottinger, and Philip Flynn have focused mainly on reviewer Francis Jeffrey and the influence of his Scottish philosophical background on his literary criticism.¹¹ William Christie, Massimiliano Demata, and Duncan Wu have examined cultural aspects of the journal to the neglect of the political, social, and economic considerations.¹² A later study by Donald Winch et al is also restrictive in that it focused principally on the early Scottish founders.¹³ More recently, Biancamaria Fontana has considered

¹⁰ John Clive, *Scotch Reviewers: The Edinburgh Review, 1802-1815* (London: Faber and Faber LTD, 1957).

¹¹ Thomas Crawford, *The Edinburgh Review and Romantic Poetry (1802-29)* (Auckland University College, Bulletin no. 47, English Series 8, 1955); James A. Greig, *Francis Jeffrey and the Edinburgh Review* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1948); Philip Flynn, *Francis Jeffrey* (Newark: University of Delaware Press; London: Associated University Presses, 1978); George Pottinger, *Heirs of the Enlightenment: Edinburgh Reviewers and Writers 1800-1830* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1992).

¹² Massimiliano Demata and Duncan Wu, eds., *British Romanticism and the Edinburgh Review*, Bicentenary Essays (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002); William Christie, *The Edinburgh Review in the Literary Culture of Romantic Britain: Mammoth and Megalonyx* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2009).

¹³ Stefan Collini, Donald Winch and John Burrow, *That Noble Science of Politics: A Study in Nineteenth Century Intellectual History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

the intellectual and political identity of the journal.¹⁴ Her analysis included a discussion of the informal institutionalization of political economy, but the commercial component of her argument is framed around debates on Whig politics (politics which Whig politician Lord Holland (1773-1849) characterized in 1810 as “peace, economy and reform”¹⁵). Furthermore, no significant mention is made of debates on population pressure, emigration, or anything for that matter beyond 1832. Kathryn Chittick’s study also suffered from the same neglect.¹⁶

The *Quarterly Review* has received even less attention by historians than the *Edinburgh*. Both journals had the same review format and attracted numerous distinguished contributors; the *Edinburgh* launched the so-called “great reviews” and was generally acknowledged to be “superior in genius and vivacity,” which may explain its greater appeal to scholars.¹⁷ More likely though, the *Edinburgh* from its outset published economic articles, whereas the *Quarterly* was much less interested, at least initially, in extensive treatment of political economic topics.¹⁸ As a result, historians of nineteenth century British political economy and politics have embraced the *Edinburgh*, cherry-picking its economic articles at the expense of the *Quarterly*, which has garnered the attention of scholars of nineteenth century literature and print culture. Some noteworthy efforts have been made to reconstruct details about the *Quarterly Review*. Hill Shine and Helen Chadwick Shine’s work comprised a short, 14-page introduction about the journal’s

¹⁴ Fontana.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 113.

¹⁶ Kathryn Chittick, *The Language of Whiggism: liberty and patriotism, 1802-1830* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2010).

¹⁷ P.N. Furbank and W.R. Owens, *Defoe De-Attributions: A Critique of J.R. Moore’s Checklist* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2003), p. xiii.

¹⁸ Between 1809 and 1814, 17% of articles (46 of 268) in the *Edinburgh Review* specifically reviewed economic and political literature compared with 6% of articles (22 of 331) in the *Quarterly Review* over the same time period. Economic and political topics included: law, political speeches, political reform, currency, bullion, commerce, trade, the East India Company, the Poor Laws, subsistence, emigration, and agriculture. George Nesbitt claimed that fully half of a typical number of the *Edinburgh* and *Quarterly* in 1810 consisted of articles on affairs of the day, but my analysis does not support this. George Lyman Nesbitt, *Benthamite Reviewing; the First Twelve Years of the Westminster Review, 1824-1836*, Columbia University Studies in English and Comparative Literature (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934), 5.

contributors, and the rest of the book is devoted to identifying the authorship of each article from 1809 to 1824. Frank Fetter's later analysis included contributors to the *Quarterly* up to 1852, but his introductory remarks also contained little beyond listing basic sources of information on authorship.¹⁹ Joanne Shattock has provided insight on the management of both journals and the individuals tasked with their editorship, however she missed the impact of the *Edinburgh* and the *Quarterly* in the tumultuous post-war years (1815-1830), including the journals' appeals to intellectual and elite circles on the nation's social and economic distress.²⁰

The *Westminster Review*, the third of the "great reviews" has received negligible attention, despite having intellectual heavyweights such as Jeremy Bentham, James Mill and John Stuart Mill among its known contributors. Part of the difficulty in reconstructing the *Westminster*'s history is due to the journal's changing owners and editors between 1824 and 1851, and apparently no records of its publishers have survived. The task of piecing together its past and identifying the authorship of its articles has therefore been highly problematic, and without supporting evidence or proof of authorship, it is likely that the articles are of less interest to scholars.²¹ Secondary literature on the *Westminster* has mostly been subsumed into broader

¹⁹ Frank Whitson Fetter, "The Economic Articles in the Quarterly Review and Their Authors, 1809-52, II" *Journal of Political Economy*, 66, no. 2 (1958): 154-70.

²⁰ Specifically, Shattock focuses on the period 1824-1840, arguing that in the 1830s the 'quarterlies' had significant political influence, a point that is certainly valid in the lead up to the Reform Bill of 1832— a bill that extended voting rights to a large number of male citizens with substantial property. Joanne Shattock, *Politics and Reviewers: The Edinburgh and the Quarterly in the Early Victorian Age* (London; New York: Leicester University Press, 1989). In the most comprehensive examination of the *Quarterly Review* to date, Jonathan Cutmore argues that one reason why the history of the journal had not been written before is because "there was too much information, unpublished and otherwise, to be tackled by any researcher with an eye on the health of his or her academic career." With over 15,000 pages published under the editorship of William Gifford—the first editor of the *Quarterly*—and thousands of unpublished letters scattered around the world, the scope of Cutmore's historical investigation is impressive. For the purposes of this project however, Cutmore's analysis falls short, ending prior to the major parliamentary debates on emigration in 1826-1827. Jonathan Cutmore, *Contributors to The Quarterly Review: A History, 1809-25*, History of the Book (London; Brookfield, Vt.: Pickering & Chatto, 2008), 2.

²¹ Frank W. Fetter, "Economic Articles in the Westminster Review and Their Authors, 1824-51" *Journal of Political Economy*, 70, no. 6 (1962): 570-96, 582. It is worth noting that despite attempts by historians such as Leroy Buckingham, Elizabeth Schneider, and Frank Fetter to identify the authors of the all the 'quarterlies,' the penmanship of many articles is still a mystery. In *Scotch Reviewers*, Clive bases his attributions on Leroy H. Buckingham's authoritative Yale dissertation (unpublished): "The Authorship of the First Twenty-Five Numbers of

discussions on nineteenth century print culture, or biographies of its main contributors, with a couple of exceptions.²² George Nesbitt's *Benthamite Reviewing* remains the most detailed treatment of the journal to date, although Frank Fetter's analysis on the authorship of the *Westminster*'s articles from 1824-51 does contains a useful introduction to the journal, its mission, vision and philosophy.²³

the *Edinburgh Review* (1802-1808)," Yale University, 1938. His dissertation has been checked by three other important articles: Elisabeth Schneider et al, "Brougham's Early Contributions to the *Edinburgh Review*: A New List," *Modern Philology*, XLII (1945), 152-73; Elisabeth Schneider et al, "Early *Edinburgh Reviewers*: A New List," *Modern Philology*, XLIII (1946), 192-210; and Frank W. Fetter, "The Authorship of Economic Articles in the *Edinburgh Review*, 1802-1847," *The Journal of Political Economy*, LXI (1953), 232-259. The most frequently cited source is W. A. Copinger, *On the Authorship of the First Hundred Numbers of the "Edinburgh Review"* (Manchester, 1895) but that is now accepted to contain many errors. Likewise, Hill Shine and Helen Chadwick Shine's attributions in *The Quarterly Review Under Gifford: Identification of Contributors, 1809-1824*, (Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 1949) have since been corrected by Frank Fetter, "The Economic Articles in the *Quarterly Review* and Their Authors, 1809-52. II," *Journal of Political Economy*, 66, no. 2 (1958): 154-70, and then most recently Jonathan Cutmore. Fetter repeated the same methodology for the *Westminster Review*, in Frank W. Fetter, "Economic Articles in the *Westminster Review* and Their Authors, 1824-51," *Journal of Political Economy* 70, no. 6 (1962): 570-96. For the purposes of my argument—in particular to refute scholars who claim that political economists before 1830 did not favor emigration—it has been necessary to accurately identify the authors of relevant articles in the *Edinburgh*, *Quarterly* and *Westminster* Reviews. Personal correspondence was cross-referenced to identify authorship in a number of cases. Otherwise, for *Edinburgh Review* articles published before 1824, I have relied on the work of Fetter, and for articles published between 1824 and 1832, I have borrowed from Fontana's methodology and used the attributions of the *Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals*. For the *Quarterly Review* I have used the attributions of Jonathan Cutmore for articles published up to 1826, and the *Wellesley Index* for articles between 1826 and 1832. For the *Westminster Review* I have relied entirely on the *Wellesley Index*. Although the *Wellesley Index* covers periodicals from 1824 to 1900, the exception is the *Edinburgh Review*, which is covered from 1802 onwards. Since the publication of Fontana's work, the *Curran Index* has been created, which contains additions, corrections, and expansions of the *Wellesley Index*.

<http://victorianresearch.org/curranindex.html>. I have used this resource to check for revisions to the *Wellesley Index* since 2003. Jonathan Cutmore, *Contributors to The Quarterly Review: A History, 1809-25*, History of the Book (London; Brookfield, Vt.: Pickering & Chatto, 2008).

²² For print culture, see Elisabeth K. Chaves, *Reviewing Political Criticism: Journals, Intellectuals, and the State*, Public Intellectuals and the Sociology of Knowledge (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2015), 31-53; Walter E. Houghton, "Periodical Literature and the Articulate Classes," in Joanne Shattock and Michael Wolff, eds., *The Victorian Periodical Press: Samplings and Soundings* (Leicester: Toronto; Buffalo: Leicester University Press; University of Toronto Press, 1982), 3-27; Andrew King and John Plunkett, eds., *Victorian Print Media: A Reader* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 11-13, 14-21, 240-5, 340-5. For Jeremy Bentham, see Philip Schofield, *Bentham: A Guide for the Perplexed* (London; New York: Continuum, 2009). For James Mill see Alexander Bain, *James Mill: A Biography, 1882* (New York: A.M. Kelley, 1967). For John Stuart Mill, see F. Rosen, *Mill*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

²³ Frank W. Fetter, "Economic Articles in the *Westminster Review* and Their Authors, 1824-51" *Journal of Political Economy* 70, no. 6 (1962): 570-96.

II. The ‘Quarterlies’: Reviewers and Readers

In 1802, Scottish judge and author Henry Cockburn (1779-1854) enthusiastically described a momentous event that was taking place in Edinburgh:

The effect was electrical. And instead of expiring as many wished, in their first effort, the force of the shock was increased in each subsequent discharge. It is impossible, for those who did not live at the time, and in the heart of the scene, to feel or almost to understand, the impression made by the new luminary, or the anxieties with which its motions were observed. It was an entire and instant change for everything that the public had been accustomed to in that sort of composition.²⁴

Cockburn’s impressionistic account could be mistaken for being the unveiling of the steam engine or some other equally magnificent invention of the age. Instead, he was referring to the launch of the *Edinburgh Review*. The format of the *Edinburgh Review* and other ‘quarterlies’ was not a nineteenth century invention; since the mid-eighteenth century, review journals had printed a series of articles containing a detailed critique of as many works of current literature as possible. The journals had an overall appearance of distinction and importance compared with the disgrace and degradation generally associated with newspapers.²⁵ The *Nineteenth-Century Serials Edition* noted: “Whereas newspapers are focused around a very delimited notion of the present and are designed to be superseded once that moment has passed, a periodical—despite also being predicated on the notion of the moment—tends to provide apparatus that is oriented to its continuing relevance in the future.”²⁶ ‘Quarterlies’ then, which were grandiloquent and weighty, also achieved elevated status over other periodicals, such as *Tatler* and *The Spectator*,

²⁴ Henry Cockburn, *The Life of Lord Jeffrey with a Selection from his Correspondence*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1852), I, 131.

²⁵ See Shattock, *Politics and Reviewers*, 6. For a comparison of periodicals versus newspapers see Laurel Blake, “Markets, Genres, Iterations,” in Andrew King, Alexis Easley and John (John S.) Morton, eds., *The Routledge Handbook to Nineteenth-Century British Periodicals and Newspapers* (Abingdon, Oxon ; Routledge, 2016), 237-248.

²⁶ Cited in King et al, eds., 4.

which were considered ‘light’ and entertaining, only able to deal with “small fragments, or the extreme essence of a subject.”²⁷ To be clear, one edition of the *Edinburgh, Quarterly*, or *Westminster* ran to three hundred pages, which took a degree of stamina to not only read but also to write. Moreover, it was not always clear, as journalist and “Spare Chancellor” Walter Bagehot (1826-1877) commented, whether the articles were “review-like essays” or “essay-like reviews.”²⁸ Some articles published in the ‘quarterlies’ (review-like essays) reviewed works on popular subjects and extrapolated with additional partisan commentary and opinion, providing short views and clear sentences that made “reading pleasant.”²⁹ Conversely, as Terry Eagleton noted, many of the essays in the ‘quarterlies’ (essay-like reviews) focused on specific economic, political, and social questions and then fastened the name of a recent publication to them in order to make it appear as though they were legitimate reviews.³⁰ Finally, it is worth noting that even though articles were written and published anonymously, the authorship of many significant articles was well known in literary and political circles.³¹ As Shattock has claimed, “Everyone knew Macaulay’s reviews, most guessed Brougham’s and Southey’s and thought they knew Croker’s.”³²

Literature in the context of the quarterly journals encompassed all branches of knowledge including biography, history, politics and literary works—poetry, novels and plays. Most significantly, the ‘quarterlies’ discussed all the great economic controversies of the day.

²⁷ Bagehot, 313. See also Gertrude Himmelfarb, ed., *The Spirit of the Age: Victorian Essays* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2007), 18-28.

²⁸ Bagehot, 312.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 311.

³⁰ Terry Eagleton, *The Function of Criticism*, *Radical Thinkers* (London; New York: Verso, 2005), 38; Shattock, *Politics and Reviewers*, 112.

³¹ Shattock, *Politics and Reviewers*, 15.

³² *Ibid.*, 18.

According to Bagehot, the format of journals such as the *Edinburgh Review*, the *Quarterly Review*, and the *Westminster Review* came into existence for a specific purpose:

The modern man must be told what to think – shortly, no doubt – but he *must* be told it. The essay-like criticism of modern times is about the length which he likes. The *Edinburgh Review*, which began the system, may be said to be, in this country, the commencement on large topics of suitable views for sensible persons.³³

The Scottish education system, rich in subject matter (including a generous helping of moral philosophy) produced perfect reviewers, able to disseminate suitable views for sensible persons. Three of the *Edinburgh Review*'s four main founders— Francis Jeffrey, Francis Horner, and Henry Brougham—were educated in Edinburgh and had been active members of two debating societies, the Speculative Society and the Academy of Physics.³⁴



2.1. *Henry Peter Brougham, 1st Baron Brougham and Vaux (1778–1868)*
by Sir Thomas Lawrence, 1825
© National Portrait Gallery, London.³⁵

³³ Bagehot, 313.

³⁴ Fontana, 3.

³⁵ 3136 NPG

The fourth, Sydney Smith, had moved to Edinburgh after studying to be an ordained Church of England minister at New College, Oxford. According to Whig politician Lord Holland, Sydney Smith suggested the idea of the *Edinburgh Review* to Jeffrey and Horner in the winter of 1801-1802. Brougham later joined the three and planned the first edition for the spring and summer of 1802.³⁶ Initially, their motto *Tenui musam meditamus avena* – “We study the Muses on oatmeal” was not too far from the truth: Smith, Horner, Jeffrey and Brougham were young and poor although exceptionally bright.³⁷ It is partly because of their dissatisfaction with their professional lives (three of the four were lawyers but employed on a casual basis) that the reviewers were able to devote time and great enthusiasm to the journal.

With its overtly Scottish bias³⁸ and the Scottish erudition of its founders, the *Edinburgh Review* had a respectable heritage, one that descended from writers such as David Hume, Adam Smith, judge Henry Home, Lord Kames (1696-1782), and moral philosopher Dugald Stewart (1753-1828).³⁹ In particular, it was Stewart who exerted the most influence over the reviewers.⁴⁰ By espousing Adam Smith’s *Wealth of Nations* as the core doctrine of political economy,

³⁶ Henry Richard Vassall, Third Lord Holland, *Further memoirs of the Whig Party 1807-1821 with some Miscellaneous Reminiscences*, ed. Lord Stavordale (New York: E.P. Dutton and Company, 1905), 386-387.

³⁷ Clive, 26.

³⁸ Fiona Stafford has argued that the journal “can be seen to promote Scottish interests and to emphasize Scottish capabilities, while still welcoming a larger sphere of influence and opportunity.” “The *Edinburgh Review* and the Representations of Scotland,” in Demata, and Wu, 44.

³⁹ Fontana, 4. In “An Inquiry into the State of National Subsistence, as connected with the Progress of Wealth and Population. By W. T. Comber,” *ER*, 13:25 (1808: Oct.), p.210, the *Edinburgh Review* admitted that its reviewers had derived from Adam Smith “that clear knowledge of the corn trade which we now possess.” It is worth noting however, that on occasion the *Edinburgh* reviewers *disagreed* with Smith on the finer points of political economy. See, for example “Considerations upon Trade with India; and the Policy of continuing the Company’s Monopoly,” *ER*, 10:20 (1807: July) p.339; Brougham, 117-118; For more on the “respectable heritage” of the *Edinburgh Review* including notables from the Scottish Enlightenment, see Tatsuya Sakamoto and Hideo Tanaka, eds., *The Rise of Political Economy in the Scottish Enlightenment* (London and New York: Routledge, 2003); and Donald Rutherford, *In the Shadow of Adam Smith: Founders of Scottish Economics, 1700-1900* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012)

⁴⁰ Fontana, 4; Stefan Collini, *That Noble Science of Politics: A Study in Nineteenth-Century Intellectual History*, ed. Donald Winch and J. W. (John Wyon) Burrow (Cambridge Cambridgeshire; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 25-61.

Stewart left an indelible mark on his students. In particular, he impressed upon them the need to become intellectual ambassadors and to diffuse useful knowledge:

It is...in times of general darkness and barbarism, that what is commonly called originality of genius most frequently appears: and surely the great aim of an enlightened and benevolent philosophy, is not to rear a small number of individuals, who may be regarded as prodigies in an ignorant and admiring age, but to diffuse, as widely as possible, that degree of cultivation which may enable the bulk of a people to possess all the intellectual and moral improvement of which their nature is susceptible.⁴¹

As a result of Stewart's pedagogical influence, the *Edinburgh Review* became the primary vehicle for popularizing the doctrines of political economy. Classic political economy, as employed by the *Edinburgh Review*'s founders, referred to an analysis of commercial society at large, and, it captured public attention "like a fad, acquired media, spokespeople, and classics that it did not have before, and was conspicuously brought to bear on a wide assortment of urgent economic problems in the spectacle of public life."⁴² According to Gary Langer, political economy caught on this period for a variety of reasons: an increase in the number of books and pamphlets published about political economy; more people devoted to its scientific pursuit, including T.R. Malthus, David Ricardo, Robert Torrens and J.R. McCulloch; the first university chair of political economy was established at Oxford in 1825 (although an earlier chair was instituted at the East India Training College at Haileybury in 1806); political economy made an appearance in Parliament in the person of David Ricardo; free-trade, argued on Smithian grounds, attained the status of truism; the Political Economy Club was established; and contemporaries made frequent references to political economy as having become the 'fashion' or the 'rage,' including writer Maria Edgeworth (1768-1849), politician and author Lord John

⁴¹ Dugald Stewart, *Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind*, 3 vols. (1792-1827), i, 27.

⁴² Gary F. Langer, *The Coming of Age of Political Economy, 1815-1825*, Contributions in Economics and Economic History, Number 72 (New York and London; Greenwood Press, 1987), 1.

Russell (1792-1878), philosopher John Stuart Mill (1806-73), poet and politician Lord Byron (1788-1824), and radical politician and journalist William Cobbett (1762-1835).⁴³ Boyd Hilton argues a more nuanced approach to the popularization of political economy, emphasizing the role that evangelicalism played in attitudes toward the pressing economic and social problems of the early nineteenth century and the interplay between “Christian economics” and “professional” economics. According to Hilton, political economy became popularized because of economic imperatives in a period of discontent, the lively debate between the physiocrats and *économistes*, and the “army of mainly Whig disciples” from Edinburgh who were incorporating ““economics” into political and public discussion.”⁴⁴

The *Quarterly Review* was founded in 1809 by publisher John Murray II (1778-1843) and other powerful literary and political figures, including novelist Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832) and Tory politician George Canning (1770-1827). Canning then appointed critic and satirist William Gifford (1756-1826) as the journal’s first editor. The *Quarterly* was created in direct response to the *Edinburgh Review*, to combat its politics and “radically bad principles.”⁴⁵ Jonathan Cutmore has identified three noteworthy *Edinburgh* articles that, due to their irksome nature, contributed to the establishment of the *Quarterly*: first, Francis Jeffrey’s review (July 1807) of Cobbett’s *Political Register*, the content of which “contained political sentiments liberal enough to raise the ire even of the Whig denizens of Holland House”⁴⁶; and second, Henry Brougham’s review of politician Samuel Whitbread’s anti-war pamphlet *Letter on Spain*, which “challenged the British

⁴³ Langer, 3.

⁴⁴ Boyd Hilton, *The Age of Atonement: The Influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought, 1795-1865* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 37-38.

⁴⁵ D. H. Reiman, *The Romantics Reviewed: Contemporary Reviews of British Romantic Writers*, 5 vols (New York: Garland, 1972), Part C, vol.2, p.751.

⁴⁶ Cutmore, 7. Holland House refers to Lord Holland, who wrote in his memoirs that the Cobbett article first irrevocably stamped the *Edinburgh Review* as a partisan publication, cited in Clive, 104. The review is "Cobbett's Political Register," *ER*, 10, no. 20 (Jul 01, 1807).

government's optimism that the Spaniards could succeed in their rebellion."⁴⁷ The third, Brougham's review—*Don Pedro Cevallos on the French Usurpation of Spain* in which he suggested that aristocrats and reformers back home could learn from the Spanish uprising—enraged many conservatives who felt it was a near-republican proclamation and an attack on Britain's aristocratic underpinnings.⁴⁸ The *Quarterly Review* was born, therefore, "in defence of the social, cultural, and constitutional status quo."⁴⁹ Notable contributors included essayist William Hazlitt (1778-1830), writer and social critic Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881), Romantic poet and critic Robert Southey (1774-1843), Irish statesman and author John Wilson Croker (1780-1857), essayist Charles Lamb (1775-1834), economist Nassau Senior (1790-1864), statesman John Barrow (1764-1848), and judge John Taylor Coleridge (1790-1876). Like the *Edinburgh*, the variety of subjects discussed in the *Quarterly* was enormous—literature, science, travel, and political economic topics, including "the sad realities of overpopulation, poor laws, corn laws, and emigration"—and the reviews were undertaken with the same intellectual depth, wit, and political critique as its northern rival.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Cutmore, 7. For Samuel Whitbread's letter to Lord Holland, see D. R. Fisher, *Whitbread, Samuel (1764–1815), Politician*, ODNB; Dean Rapp, *Samuel Whitbread (1764-1815) : A Social and Political Study*, Modern European History (New York: Garland Publishing, 1987).

⁴⁸ Cutmore, 7. Brougham's first review: "A Letter from Mr. Whitbread to Lord Holland, on the Present Situation of Spain." *ER*, 12, no. 24 (Jul 01, 1808). The Spanish uprising of 1808 was part of the Peninsular War (1807-1814), a conflict between the Napoleon Bonaparte, Great Britain and the Kingdom of Portugal for control of the Iberian Peninsula. Initially, in 1807, French and Spanish armies invaded Portugal. However, in 1808, Napoleon turned on Spain in order to place his own brother Joseph on the throne, sparking an uprising by the Spanish. Brougham's second review: "Exposition of the Practices and Machinations which Led to the Usurpation of the Crown of Spain, and the Means Adopted by the Emperor of the French to Carry it into Execution. by Don Pedro Cevallos, First Secretary of State and Despatches to His Catholic Majesty Ferdinand VII." *ER*, 13, no. 25 (Oct 01, 1808).

Brougham's reference to overthrowing the throne was viewed by some as bordering on sedition. For more on the Peninsular Wars (campaigns of 1808) see Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington, *The Despatches of Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington: During His Various Campaigns in India, Denmark, Portugal, Spain, the Low Countries, and France, from 1799 to 1818*, ed. John Gurwood, (London: J. Murray, 1837).

⁴⁹ Cutmore, 9.

⁵⁰ Shine and Shine, ix.

The third of the triumvirate, the *Westminster Review*, founded by philosopher Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832) and political economist and historian James Mill (1773-1836) in 1824, solidified and in many ways legitimized the role that ‘quarterlies’ played in critical, extra-parliamentary debates on issues of the day.⁵¹ The *Westminster Review* was created in opposition to the *Edinburgh Review* and *Quarterly Review*, to challenge the “aristocratic bias” of the existing reviews and to “promote the philosophy and the policy proposals of the Utilitarians and Philosophical Radicals.”⁵² While the *Westminster* arrived half a generation later than the *Edinburgh* and *Quarterly* (thereby missing significant political and economic controversies before 1824), it adds value to this study because of the journal’s critical reporting on the Select Committee on Emigration in 1826 and 1827. The *Westminster* devoted extended discussion time to economic issues and acted as a “review of reviews,” critiquing political reviews published by its rivals.⁵³ In a prospectus written prior to its launch, the journal elucidated its position:

In projecting this new Quarterly Review the conductors conceive that they are about to take possession of ground entirely unoccupied by any prior publication. The other critical works of the same kind are the same powerful and efficient advocates of their respective parties, but it is the firm and dedicated determination of the Editors of the Westminster Review to take part with no faction, to support no body of men, and to perform the duties of office they have undertaken, and in which they are not untried, as uninfluenced by personal enmity as by personal friendship.⁵⁴

The *Westminster* (with a few exceptions) held a consistent view on economic policy, espousing the belief that “the laws of political economy provided the proper guide for advancing the welfare of mankind.”⁵⁵ Political economy was not the dismal science, but rather it was “a

⁵¹ Due to its relative late arrival, analysis of the *Westminster Review* is limited to a six-year window of time.

⁵² Fetter, “Economic Articles in the Westminster Review and Their Authors, 1824-51,” 570. For a summary of the acrimonious relationship between the *Edinburgh* and the *Quarterly*, see Nesbitt, 3-19; Collini, 93-106.

⁵³ Chaves, 49.

⁵⁴ Cited in Nesbitt, 35. Chaves inaccurately attributes this quote to J.S. Mill rather than James Mill. Chaves, 41.

⁵⁵ Fetter, “Economic Articles in the Westminster Review and Their Authors, 1824-51,” 571.

message of hope to all men” except “aristocrats” and “monopolists.”⁵⁶ The *Westminster’s* agitation against the aristocracy was expressed in its radical criticism of the ruling classes, and its reaffirmation in the power of the middle and working classes:

The favourable opinions of people in power are the opinions which favour their own power; those opinions which we have already characterized as being the grand instruments of evil in this world, the ultimate and real cause of the degradation and misery of the great mass of mankind.⁵⁷

Of its founders, Jeremy Bentham was seventy-six when the *Westminster* was launched. He personally contributed very little to the journal, instead leaving it to others to spread his doctrine.⁵⁸ His now famous slogan—“The Greatest Happiness of the Greatest Number,” which stated that the best type of social organization is one that secures the greatest amount of happiness by allowing each person to pursue their own interests—became the slogan of the *Philosophic Radicals* and the *Westminster Review*.⁵⁹

Historians and contemporaries generally agree that the *Edinburgh Review* existed as an organ of the Whigs, the *Quarterly Review* as an organ of the Tories, and the *Westminster Review* as an organ of the Utilitarians, but the precise nature of these relationships is still unclear.⁶⁰ For example, it is worth noting that *Edinburgh* reviewers Francis Horner and Henry Brougham became prominent Whig members of Parliament, and later contributor Thomas Babington

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 573.

⁵⁷ James Mill, “Periodical Literature,” *WR*, Vol. I, Art. XI (1824), 208.

⁵⁸ Based on the work of Fetter (“Economic Articles in the *Westminster Review* and Their Authors, 1824-51,” 585) it appears likely that Bentham only contributed to one article, “The Greatest Happiness Principle,” which was coauthored by Thomas Perronet Thompson in the *Westminster Review*, Vol. XI, No. XXI, (July, 1829), Art. XVI. However, Nesbitt claims that Bentham may have contributed to four more articles (Nesbitt, 177-8).

⁵⁹ F. Rosen, *Bentham, Jeremy (1748–1832), Philosopher, Jurist, and Reformer*, ODNB. For an explanation of the origins of and contestation over Bentham’s “Greatest Happiness Principle” see J.H. Burns, “Happiness and Utility: Jeremy Bentham’s Equation,” *Utilitas*, Vol. 17, No. 1, March, 2005.

⁶⁰ Fontana, 6; Clive, 71; Philip Connell, *Romanticism, Economics and the Question of ‘Culture’* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 93; Bagehot, 318, 323; Matthew Arnold, “The Function of Criticism at the Present Time,” *Essays in Criticism*, First Series (London: Macmillan, 1865), 19-20; Shattock, 31; Chaves, 44.

Macaulay (1800-59) became a leading Whig politician. All three wrote prolifically for the *Edinburgh* while actively pursuing political careers, yet one of the *Edinburgh Review*'s most important contributors from the 1820s onwards, J.R. McCulloch, never joined a political party.⁶¹ The *Quarterly Review*'s chief political writer, John Wilson Croker, promulgated staunch Tory/Conservative views in the pages of the journal while holding numerous offices as a Tory Member of Parliament.⁶² On the other hand, the *Westminster Review* did not associate itself with either political party and instead expressed a critique of the status quo. Radical Thomas Perronet Thompson (1783-1869), co-owner of the *Westminster Review* between 1829 and 1836 and MP for Hull and Bradford, contributed over forty articles and held changing political allegiances.⁶³

Reviewers often courted rival journals, for example, Henry Brougham, John Stuart Mill, political economist Nassau Senior (1790-1864), legal scholar Macvey Napier (1776-1847), Sir Walter Scott, and T.R. Malthus wrote for both the *Edinburgh Review* and the *Quarterly Review*. James Mill wrote for the *Edinburgh Review* and the *Westminster Review*. Similarly, the readership read widely, sampling more than one journal. Diarist Henry Crabb Robinson (1775-1867) read the *Quarterly* and the *Edinburgh* on a regular basis and wrote for the *Westminster Review*.⁶⁴ Diarist Charles Greville (1794-1865) read the *Edinburgh*, the *Quarterly*, the *Foreign Quarterly*, and *The Times*.⁶⁵ Arthur Wellesley, the first Duke of Wellington (1769-1852), read the *Quarterly* and the *Edinburgh*, which speaks to his familiarity with liberal principles and his

⁶¹ Fontana, 6

⁶² William Thomas, *Croker, John Wilson (1780–1857), Politician and Writer*, ODNB. Robert Portsmouth, *John Wilson Croker: Irish Ideas and the Invention of Modern Conservatism, 1800-1835* (Dublin; Portland, OR: Irish Academic Press, 2010), ix.

⁶³ Michael J. Turner, *Thompson, Thomas Perronet (1783–1869), Army Officer and Politician*, ODNB.

⁶⁴ Henry Crabb Robinson, *Diary, Reminiscences and Correspondence of Henry Crabb Robinson*, ed. Thomas Sadler and Henry Crabb Robinson (Boston: J.R. Osgood, 1871). In his reminiscences, he referenced articles in the *Edinburgh Review* 21 times, and the *Quarterly Review* 15 times. Nesbitt claims that Crabb Robinson contributed four articles to the *Westminster Review* (Nesbitt, 180). Likely if he was writing for the *Westminster*, he was also reading it!

⁶⁵ Charles Greville, *The Greville Memoirs.*, ed. Charles Greville (London, 1885). In his memoirs, Greville references articles in the *Edinburgh Review* 5 times, and the *Quarterly Review* twice, and *The Times* 25 times.

pragmatic approach to the complexities of the times.⁶⁶ Reviewers differed in their political views, and both reviewers and readers vacillated in their loyalty to individual journals. Nevertheless, commonality existed in two areas: first, in the shared commitment of the reviewers to act as intellectual ambassadors and create a forum for critical debate, and second in the unified readership of the ‘quarterlies.’ This “mass of influential persons” or “multitude,” as Walter Bagehot referred to the readership, comprised intelligent, educated, articulate, middle-to upper class men.⁶⁷ Shattock has claimed that both the *Edinburgh* and the *Quarterly* drew its readers from “a relatively unified group, intelligent, educated, middle-class and serious-minded.”⁶⁸ Langer argued that it was “a public peopled by the middling and upper classes that the *Edinburgh Review* was meant to appeal and, among those, only they who had an interest in political life, aesthetic refinement, and the sciences.”⁶⁹ Clive stated that the bulk of the *Edinburgh’s* readers belonged to the upper and middle classes.⁷⁰ Demata and Wu claimed that the journal drew its readers “from the lower clergy, shopkeepers, teachers, and lesser professionals who composed the middle classes.”⁷¹ The *Quarterly Review’s* readers were drawn from the “artistocratical” class, and the *Westminster Review’s* readers were described as, “to a large extent, among the non-opulent and democratic classes, whose access to books is principally by associations of various sorts.”⁷²

As Clive noted though, those who purchased the ‘quarterlies’ had to be fairly well off. For example, the *Edinburgh Review* cost six shillings per issue from its inception, but the

⁶⁶ Lord Ellenborough, February 19th, 1831, in *Three Early Nineteenth Century Diaries*, ed. Arthur Aspinall, (London: Williams and Norgate LTD, 1952), 54. See also chapter five.

⁶⁷ Bagehot, 311.

⁶⁸ Shattock, *Politics and Reviewers*, 13.

⁶⁹ Langer, 68.

⁷⁰ Clive, 136.

⁷¹ Demata and Wu, 3.

⁷² Chaves, 50. Sir John Bowring cited in Nesbitt, 36.

average price of labor in English Cotton manufactures at the time was two shillings per day.⁷³ The price of the *Quarterly Review* was fixed at five shillings in 1809 and the *Westminster Review* fixed at six shillings in 1824.⁷⁴ Concerning circulation, there are no official publication figures for any of the ‘quarterlies.’ Demata and Wu claimed that the first issue of the *Edinburgh* in October 1802 had a print run of 750, followed by a second edition of equal size. By 1809, the print run had risen to 9,000, and by 1815 it was up to 13,000.⁷⁵ The average print run of the *Quarterly Review* totaled 12-14,000 copies.⁷⁶ The *Westminster*’s initial print run in 1824 has been estimated at 3,000 copies and in 1860 as 4,000, but no figures exist for the intervening period.⁷⁷ Of course, these figures do not account for the journals being passed through several hands, and on this basis, Langer estimated readership figures for the *Edinburgh Review* of 200,000 in 1814; it can be assumed that the *Quarterly*’s figures were similar.⁷⁸ What is significant about these statistics is that in a period of twelve years, the circulation of the *Edinburgh* and *Quarterly Review* increased nearly twenty-fold. In addition, both journals were referenced extensively in other economic literature such as political pamphlets, books, periodicals, in ‘letters-to-the-editor,’ and in the popular press, which suggests that the public’s acquaintance with the journals increased substantially in the years leading up to the parliamentary debates on assisted emigration.⁷⁹ However, further research is needed to establish the precise nature of the references.

⁷³ Clive, 135. The ‘quarterlies’ occasionally commented on their own readership. In 1823 for instance, the *Edinburgh Review* noted that William Cobbett’s essay *Cottage Economy* was addressed to the laboring classes, while “our observations must be understood as principally intended to impress upon the wealthier orders of the community.” The price of the *Quarterly Review* is cited in Cutmore, 37.

⁷⁴ William St. Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 186-209.

⁷⁵ Demata and Wu, 3; Fontana cites the same figures, 4.

⁷⁶ Shattock, 12; Cutmore cites the average print run as closer to 13,000 copies. Cutmore, 185.

⁷⁷ Nesbitt, 36-7; Houghton, cited in Shattock, 7.

⁷⁸ Langer, 68.

⁷⁹ See Appendix I, II, & III: Extra-parliamentary references to the *Edinburgh*, *Quarterly* and *Westminster* Reviews.

III. Travel Narratives, *Prize Essays* and *Observations*

The ‘quarterlies’ reviewers then, arguably confident of their power and influence inside and outside of Parliament, habitually discussed controversial politico-economic topics in the pages of the journals. One way in which the *Edinburgh*, *Quarterly*, and *Westminster* reviews were able to disseminate useful political-economic knowledge to their readers was via critiques of the numerous travel narratives that were published every year in Britain.⁸⁰ Since the eighteenth century, travel narratives had “relayed the nuances, quirky events, subtle details, dangerous escapades and reflective moments” to readers who lived vicariously through the journeying of others. Travel writings constructed images of other cultures, including those on the borderlands of Europe, and identified political, social, and economic characteristics that were similar or dissimilar to civilized European society. Observations frequently included demographic, geographic and topographical comparisons.⁸¹ Reviews of travel narratives in the ‘quarterlies’ frequently drew their readers attentions to observations on population and subsistence, thereby allowing the journals to enter into discussions on domestic concerns over surplus population, subsistence crises, and other related issues.⁸²

⁸⁰ Between 1802 and 1832 there were on average three reviews of travel narratives per quarterly edition of the *Edinburgh Review*, and between 1809 and 1832 there were two in the *Quarterly Review*. Between 1824 and 1832, the *Westminster Review* published on average three standalone reviews, plus a single review that combined multiple pieces of travel literature, per quarterly edition.

⁸¹ Brian Dolan, *Exploring European Frontiers: British Travellers in the Age of Enlightenment* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2000), 7-15; Jeremy Black, *The British Abroad: The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1992). For more about high culture, the creation of patriotic sensibilities, and English society see John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1997).

⁸² Travel narratives in the *Edinburgh Review* (1802-1832) that included commentary by the reviewer on population and/or the food supply were numerous. The following search terms were used: “population” “food,” “bread,” “diet” “subsistence”) and the terms appeared either once or several times in the following number of unique travel narrative reviews: “population”- 26 reviews; “food”- 25 reviews; “bread”- 11 reviews; “diet” – 7; “subsistence”- 5 reviews. Examples from all three journals of commentary by the reviewer on population and/or the food supply include: **Ottoman Empire:** Persia: “A Tour of Shiraz, by the Route of Cazrum and Firuzabad; with various Remarks on the Manners, Customs, Laws, Languages and Literature of the Persians, etc. By Edward Scott Waring, Esq.” *ER*, 10:19 (1807: Apr.) p.61. **Africa:** “Barrow’s Travels into the Interior of Southern Africa,” *ER*, 4:8 (1804: July) p.443; “Travels into Southern Africa in the Years 1803, 1804, 1805 and 1806. By H. Lichenstein, M.D.

A second way in which the *Edinburgh*, *Quarterly*, and *Westminster* reviews were able to foster an exchange of ideas between readers and writers was through the select review of pamphlets and books on current affairs, particularly ones that served their own intellectual and political goals. Often lengthy, many reviews would barely reference the publication, but rather would explore a subject and “hang” a review onto it (an essay-like review). *Edinburgh* reviewer Henry Brougham openly admitted that his contributions were not “reviews,” and his work frequently arrived in front of the editors with the heading left blank.⁸³ With this in mind, the

Translated from the German by Anne Plumtre,” *ER*, 21:41 (1813: Feb.), p.53; **North America**: “The Stranger in America; Containing Observations made during a long Residence in that Country, on the Genius, Manner and Customs of the People of the United States, etc. etc. By C.W. Janson, Esq.” *ER*, 10:19 (1807: Apr.) p.103; “A Journal of the Voyages and travels of a corps of Discovery, under the command of Captains Lewis and Clarke, from the mouth of the River Missouri through the interior parts of North America, to the Pacific Ocean. By Patrick Gass, one of the Persons employed on the Expedition,” *QR*, 2:6 (1809: May.) p.293; “Travels in the United States of America,” *WR*, Vol. 1, No.1, Art. VI (Jan – April 1824) pp. 101-119. **Canada**: “Travels through the Canadas. By G. Heriot, Esq.” *ER*, 12:23 (1808: Apr.) p.212. **South America**: “A Voyage to the Demerary; containing a Statistical Account of the Settlements there, and of those of the Essequibo, the Berbice, and other contiguous Rivers of Guiana. By Henry Bolingbrooke, Esq.,” *ER*, 12:24 (1808: July) p.410. “Miscellaneous: Schmidtmeier’s Travels in Chile,” *WR*, Vol. 1, No.1, Art. XII (Jan–April 1824) pp. 269-288. **Australasia**: “Collins’s Account of New South Wales, vol. 2,” *ER*, 2:3 (1803:Apr.) p.30; “Some Account of New Zealand, particularly the Bay of Islands, and surrounding Country; with a Description of the Religion and Government, Language, Arts, Manufactures, Manners and Customs, of the Natives, etc. By John Savage, Esq, Surgeon and Corresponding Member of the Royal Jennerian Society,” *ER*, 10:20 (1807: July) p.471. **India**: “Percival’s Account of Ceylon,” *ER*, 2:3 (1803: Apr.) p.136; “Asiatic Researches; or Transactions of the Society instituted in Bengal, for inquiring into the History and Antiquities, the Arts, Sciences and Literature of Asia. Vol. X,” *ER*, 16:32 (1810:Aug), p.384; ; “A Journey from Madras, through the Countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar, performed for the express purpose of investigating the state of Agriculture, Arts, and Commerce, and the Religion, etc. etc. in the Countries acquired by the Honourable East India Company, in the late and former Wars, from Tippu Sultan. By Francis Buchanan, M.D. F.R.S. etc.,” *ER*, 13:25 (1808: Oct.) p.82. **China**: “Travels in China, etc. in which it is attempted to appreciate the rank which this extraordinary Empire may be considered to hold in the scale of civilized Nations, by John Barrow, Esq. late private Secretary to the Earl of McCartney,” *ER*, 5:10 (1805:Jan.) p.295; **West Indies**: “Notes on the West Indies, written during the Expedition under the Command of the late Gen. Sir Ralph Abercrombie; including Observations on the Island of Barbadoes, and the Settlements captured by the British Troops on the Coast of Guiana, etc. etc. By G. Pinckard, M.D.,” *ER*, 9:18 (1807: Jan.) p.304. **Europe**: “Voyages and Travels in the Years 1809, 1810 and 1811, containing Statistical, Commercial and Miscellaneous Observations on Gibraltar, Sardinia, Sicily, Malta, Serigo and Turkey. By John Galt,” *ER*, 23:45 (1814:Apr.), p.51; “Tennent’s tour through parts of the Netherlands, Holland, Germany, Switzerland, Savoy and France in the Year 1821-2, including a description of the Rhine voyage in the middle of Autumn, and the stupendous scenery of the Alps, in the depth of winter,” *WR*, Vol. II, IV: VI (1824: Oct.), p.403; “Account of Ireland, Statistical and Political. By Edward Wakefield,” *ER*, 20:40 (1812: Nov), p.348; **World**: “A Voyage round the World in the years 1800, 1801, 1802, 1803, and 1804, etc. 3 vol. By John Turnbull,” *ER*, 9:18 (1807: Jan.) p.332; “Travels of Mizra Abu Taleb Khan (commonly called the Persian Prince) in Asia, Africa and Europe, during the Years 1799, 1800, 1801 and 1802. Written by himself in the Persian language and translated by Charles Stewart, Esq.,” *QR*, 4:7 (1810: Aug) p.80.

⁸³ Shattock, 112.

review expressing the *Edinburgh Review*'s early endorsement of emigration, might not seem as insignificant as it does at first glance. Alexander Irvine's *An Inquiry into the Causes and Effects of Emigration from the Highlands and Western Islands of Scotland*, critiqued in the inaugural edition of the journal, extended to barely a page and a half.⁸⁴ In its consummately witty style, the *Edinburgh Review* expressed its wonder, "as natives of the lowland district," at Irvine's claim that emigration from the Highlands is a "singular phenomenon in the history of Britain, that so many citizens should leave the most favoured province."⁸⁵ Unimpressed by the tedious and excessive patriotism of Irvine, and his somewhat unscientific methodology, Francis Horner (the review's author⁸⁶) preceded to make his own summation of the status quo: "The history of Highland emigration is intimately connected with that of agricultural improvements of the island: and our interest is at present heightened, by the temporary effects that result from the recent cessation of hostilities." In concluding, Horner reminded the *Edinburgh Review*'s readers that:

These consequences, indeed, are not confined to the Highlands. The general subject, considered as an article of political philosophy, might be illustrated by present examples from every district of the country, and from every department of industry. And the description of that conduct, which an enlightened Government will pursue, with regard to emigration, would involve some of the most sacred privileges of mankind.⁸⁷

⁸⁴ "Irvine's Inquiry into the Causes and Effects of Emigration from the Highlands and Western Islands of Scotland," *ER*, 1:1 (1802: Oct.), p.61

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 62.

⁸⁶ Frank Whitson Fetter, "The Authorship of Economic Articles in the *Edinburgh Review*, 1802-47," *The Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. 61, No.3 (Jun., 1953), pp. 232-259, 243.

⁸⁷ "Irvine's Inquiry," *ER*, 1:1 (1802: Oct.), p.63.

Within a few months of these animated remarks, *Edinburgh* reviewer Henry Brougham independently published *An Inquiry into the Colonial Policy of the European Powers*, which was a wordy defense of colonial trade.⁸⁸ Brougham, a young lawyer and Whig politician in the making, argued that colonies should be considered as part of a single empire, not as distant foreign countries.⁸⁹ Unquestionably, the most interesting and original part of Brougham's argument concerned the idea that colonial settlements could provide a remedy against the evils of surplus population and excess capital—surplus population generated social unrest, and surplus capital favored excessive speculation:

When the population of a community has become very great in proportion to its means of subsistence, the price of labour is diminished, and a large accumulation of inhabitants is always to be found floating, as it were, in the country...often inclined, in their idleness and exigencies to adopt various means of procuring relief; ..In like a manner, when the wealth of a country has greatly increased, and the lines of employment for stock are not multiplied at the same time; the profits are diminished, and a great part of the national capital floats about, shifting from one occupation to another, in order to obtain higher profits.⁹⁰

The colonies therefore, offered the perfect remedy against these evils: colonies not only provided an outlet for superabundant capital but also provided opportunities for laborers from the mother country, or as Brougham stated, “the overflowing, or rotten part of the state's population” had

⁸⁸ Michael Lobban, *Brougham, Henry Peter, First Baron Brougham and Vaux (1778–1868), Lord Chancellor*, ODNB.

⁸⁹ Henry Brougham, Baron, *An Inquiry into the Colonial Policy of the European Powers, Making of the Modern Economy* (Edinburgh: Printed for E. Balfour [et al.], Printed by D. Willison), 1803), vol. 1, 5-6, 117-18. Of course, Brougham's comments could be understood as a criticism of Smith's position in *The Wealth of Nations*. The argument that through colonization the excess population could be drained from the mother country was not new. In *British Colonial Theories 1570-1850*, Knorr describes the three phenomena of idleness, crime and social unrest, which led to discussions in the early seventeenth century about the colonies becoming a dumping ground for undesirables.⁸⁹ Conversely, in the eighteenth century the argument shifted, and many writers of the period expressed the view that a large working population was an important source of national wealth and power. But as Knorr concludes, the majority maintained that “the loss of population [to the colonies] was in the final analysis profitable to the mother country because the possession of colonies in the tropical and sub-tropical zone assured Britain of the supply of war materials, because the colonial population consumed English manufactures, and because the import and export trade between colonies and the mother country gave rise to a large metropolitan carrying trade.” Knorr, 41-48, 80.

⁹⁰ Brougham, *Inquiry*, vol.2, 218-219.

“found a vent in the distant parts of the empire.”⁹¹ By making these claims, Brougham had anticipated many of the future arguments that proponents of colonization would put forward.

Following Irvine’s *Emigration* in 1802 and the publication of Brougham’s *Inquiry* in 1803, the *Edinburgh Review* continued its discussion of emigration in 1804. Critiquing *Prize Essays and Transactions of the Highland Society of Scotland*, an anonymous *Edinburgh* reviewer warned that, “It is evident, that no regular and systematic plan of improvement can be laid down or pursued, until the present situation of the Highlands, and of their inhabitants, is fairly and fully ascertained.”⁹² The reviewer was responding to the Highland Society’s recommendations to introduce wheat, rye, cabbage, and other crops without first ascertaining “whether it would be better to extend the culture of *grain*, or to keep the Highland districts entirely in *pasture*.”⁹³ Of particular concern to the reviewer was the notion that by producing grain it would “afford subsistence to a much greater number of inhabitants” and therefore, “increase the population of the country.”⁹⁴ However, the reviewer concluded that, “If work cannot be found for the former [peasants] in their native country, it will be much better for the public, and ultimately for themselves, that they should go where it can be found, than that they should continue to exist and multiply in indolence and wretchedness at home, neither able to support themselves, nor willing that others should take their place.”⁹⁵

The Highland Society of Scotland, an organization devoted to safeguarding and improving the Highlands, held its first meeting in Edinburgh in 1784. Its activities included

⁹¹ Ibid., 159-160.

⁹² “Prize Essays and Transactions of the Highland Society of Scotland, vol. II,” *ER*, 4:7 (1804: Apr.), 63. The author is unknown.

⁹³ Ibid., 64.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 65.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 74.

collecting information on the land and population, and preserving Highland culture.⁹⁶ What the reviewer of the Highland Society's *Prize Essays* actually wrote, as Albritton Jonsson has argued, was a broad critique of the Highlands—its progress, assimilation, and political economy—promulgating the ideas of Adam Smith and David Hume while at the same time ridiculing improvers and natural historians such as Rev. John Walker (1731-1803) and novelist Henry Mackenzie (1745-1831) who were trying to preserve and improve the Highland community.⁹⁷ In other words, the *Edinburgh Review*, in the classical liberal tradition, stressed the need for free trade, commercial growth and letting nature follow its course, rather than intervention by way of spade husbandry and wasteland reclamation. Moreover, the timing of *Prize Essays* review, and the critique of Alexander Irvine's *Inquiry* the year before, is noteworthy. The brief period of peace with France between 1801 and 1803 after the Treaty of Amiens had resulted in a wave of emigration which greatly concerned those invested in improving the Highlands. As a result, two contradictory narratives, or "rival ecologies" clashed over the Highlands and its people. Those defending the Highlands—John Walker, Henry Mackenzie, and agricultural improver Sir John Sinclair (1754-1835), pushed for state intervention, and the need to restrict emigration through legislation. Those promoting the liberal ideology—Thomas Douglas, fifth earl of Selkirk, and the *Edinburgh Review*—defended political economic principles and voluntary emigration.⁹⁸

Given this intellectual rivalry, it was not surprising that eighteen months after the review of the *Prize Essays* the *Edinburgh Review* published one of its most significant contributions on emigration to date: *Observations on the Present State of the Highlands of Scotland; with a View*

⁹⁶ Fredrik Albritton Jonsson, *Enlightenment's Frontier: The Scottish Highlands and the Origins of Environmentalism*, Lewis Walpole Series in Eighteenth-Century Culture and History (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 117-120.

⁹⁷ For a detailed account of the Highland Society's *Prize Essays and Transactions*, and the liberal assault by the *Edinburgh Review*, see Albritton Jonsson, 245-247.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 232-233.

of the Causes and probable Consequences of Emigration by Thomas Douglas, fifth earl of Selkirk.⁹⁹ Selkirk responded directly to Irvine's *Prize Essays* after having read Malthus' *Essay on Population* and observing the overcrowded population in Scotland. His *Observations* focused on the "inconsistency of the opponents of emigration," and he staunchly defended the exodus of Scottish Highlanders to North America.¹⁰⁰ Consisting of two sections, his work first outlined a description of the nature and causes of emigration, and second described details of an assisted emigration scheme to Prince Edward Island, near the coast of Nova Scotia, which had been initiated in 1803. Naturally, the *Edinburgh Review* seized the opportunity to present a detailed critique of Selkirk's work for its readers; Francis Horner, the author of this particular review, sincerely thanked Selkirk for laying out the history of emigration "as connected with the improvements on landed property" and explaining "the policy which an enlightened government should pursue."¹⁰¹ Lauding Selkirk's views as ones that "we have always entertained," Horner further noted that the book had made a "large contribution" to the theory of political economy.¹⁰²

Horner's lengthy essay not only summarized Selkirk's position on emigration but also advanced the political-economic opinions of the *Edinburgh Review*'s editors.¹⁰³ First, Horner admitted that, "emigration does not necessarily imply a permanent diminution of local numbers, but, on the contrary, may leave resources for a larger increase of a different sort of inhabitants."¹⁰⁴ In other words, there was no guarantee that emigration would ultimately reduce

⁹⁹ Observations on the Present State of the Highlands of Scotland; with a View of the Causes and probably Consequence of Emigration. By the Earl of Selkirk," *ER*, 7:13 (1805: Oct), p.185.

¹⁰⁰ Knorr, 223; Albritton Jonsson, 248-252. For the most comprehensive biography of Selkirk see J. M. Bumsted, *Lord Selkirk: A Life* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2009), 133-149, 133.

¹⁰¹ "Observations," (1805), 185. Fetter claims that the author is Francis Horner: Fetter, *The Authorship of Economic Articles in the Edinburgh Review*, 245.

¹⁰² "Observations," (1805), 186

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 187

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 193

the numbers of inhabitants, but it would change their “character and composition.”¹⁰⁵ Second, Horner noted that Highland emigration may result in a loss of “that valuable supply of soldiers.” However, he went on to point out that circumstances had changed and the immediate need for soldiers (during the Napoleonic Wars) “no longer existed” as the nature of Highland recruitment had changed.¹⁰⁶ The third charge that Horner responded to concerned schemes for alleviating the plight of the landless, such as “great public works, cultivation of waste lands, the encouragement of the fisheries, and the introduction of manufactures,” which were proposed, according to Horner, out of a “feeble and mistaken humanity.”¹⁰⁷ He noted that not one of the schemes “is applicable to the circumstances of those who are inclined to emigrate and can afford it.”¹⁰⁸ With regard to the specifics of the schemes: the cultivation of the wastelands might appear “promising at first” but “only appear so while we forget the soil and climate, and tenures of the Highlands”; the great public works such as the Caledonian Canal and the Highland roads and bridges were “noble undertakings” but only resulted in temporary employment; the encouragement of fisheries would similarly remove people from the land, a move that would be unacceptable to tenants “even of the lowest orders.” Only the introduction of manufactures might present no problem, but Horner argued that its introduction to the Highlands was “wholly impracticable.”¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 193.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 194. Chieftains used to raise an army of men from its tenantry based on the feudal principle. However, after the Seven Years War the relationship between the Chieftains and the tenants changed to one of landlord and tenant. As a result, men were recruited from Glasgow and other manufacturing towns, as well as Ireland. Tenants were left with no land, and therefore, legal restrictions to stop emigration were no better than “violent injustice.” Ibid., 195. Andrew Mackillop confirms Horner’s assertion in *‘More Fruitful than the Soil’: Army, Empire and the Scottish Highlands, 1715-1815* (East Linton: Tuckwell, 2000), 168-203.

¹⁰⁷ “Observations,” (1805), 195.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 196.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid. It could be considered impracticable because of the geography of the Highlands, transportation of goods, and an unwillingness on the part of investors to front necessary capital investment.



2.2. *Francis Horner (1778–1817)*
by Sir Henry Raeburn, 1812
© National Portrait Gallery, London.¹¹⁰

Moving on to the second part of Selkirk’s argument, Horner concurred with Selkirk that the “overflowings of our own population should contribute to the strength and improvement of our own colonies” rather than continuing to settle in the United States.¹¹¹ In other words, emigration specifically to the colonies rather than a foreign country would strengthen the British Empire as a whole, and form a barrier “against the contagion of American sentiments.”¹¹² Horner fully endorsed Selkirk’s efforts to set up a colony in Prince Edward Island and concluded, in line with the *Edinburgh Review*’s professed ideology, that Selkirk had cast light “on one of the most intricate parts of the science of oeconomy, that in which the theory of wealth and the theory of

¹¹⁰ 485 NPG

¹¹¹ “Observations,” (1805), 198.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 199.

population are examined in connexion.”¹¹³ In reviewing Selkirk’s *Observations*, Horner had assigned the authority of the opinions he expressed to the *Edinburgh Review* itself.¹¹⁴ In other words, the journal, writ large, provided a common voice to a particular political position.

Between the publication of Selkirk’s *Observations* and the release of the First Report of the Select Committee on Emigration in 1826, the *Edinburgh* and the *Quarterly*—and from 1824 onwards, the *Westminster*—incorporated commentary on emigration into 130 reviews (mainly reviews of travel narratives and pamphlets on population).¹¹⁵ For example, in 1808, while reviewing *A Statistical and Historical Inquiry into the Progress and Magnitude of the Population of Ireland* by Thomas Newenham, Esq., the *Edinburgh Review* noted with alarm the very rapid increase in the country’s population.¹¹⁶ The causes of the rapid increase could not be explained, according to the *Edinburgh Review*, by those positions laid down by Hume and Smith, “‘wise institutions,’ and an ‘increasing demand for labour.’” Instead, “Under circumstances

¹¹³ Ibid., 202. Albritton Jonsson argues that Horner “presented a much more pessimistic assessment of northwestern improvement” in that he dismissed the Highlands’ climate, its food supply and its manufacturing ability.

¹¹⁴ For the impact of the collective voice of a journal (or lack thereof) see Francesca Benatti “Irish Patriots and Scottish Adventurers: The “Irish Penny Journal,” 1840-1841,” *The Canadian Journal of Irish Studies*, 35, no. 2 (2009): 36-41.

¹¹⁵ *Edinburgh Review*, 69 articles; *Quarterly Review*, 54 articles; and the *Westminster Review*, 7 articles. For example, in a sharp critique of *A Tour of America in 1798, 1799 and 1800*, by Richard Parkinson, the *Edinburgh Review* railed against his practical inferences against emigration and his complaints about the “evils of a scanty population.” “A Tour in America in 1798, 1799 and 1800: Exhibiting Sketches of Society and Manners, and a particular Account of the American system of Agriculture, with its recent Improvements. By Richard Parkinson, late of Orangehill, near Baltimore,” *ER*, 7:13 (1805: Oct.), p.34. Other examples of ‘quarterlies’ reviews that incorporated the subject of emigration into their general discussion includes: “ART. XIV. A Sketch of the Causes and Consequences of the Late Emigration to the Brazils,” *ER*, 12, no. 23 (04, 1808); “ART. IV. Notes on a Journey in America, from the Coast of Virginia to the Territory of the Illinois,” *ER*, 30, no. 59 (06, 1818): 120-140; “The History of Barbadoes, from the first Discovery of the Island 1605, till the Accession of Lord Seaforth, 1801. By John Poyer, pp. 618. 1 vol. 4to. London, Newman, 1808,” *QR*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (1809), Art. II, 259-269; “Koster’s *Travels in Brazil*,” *QR*, Vol. 16, No. 32 (Jan. 1817), Art. 4, pp.344-87; “ART. II.-1. A Statistical Account of the British Settlements in Australasia, Including the Colonies of New South Wales and Van Diemen’s Land,” *QR*, 32, no. 64 (10, 1825): 311-342; “ART. III. Travels in the Island of Iceland, during the Summer of the Year 1810,” *QR*, 7, no. 13 (03, 1812): 48-92; “ART. VIII.1. A Statistical Account of the British Settlements in Australasia; Including the Colonies of New South Wales, and Van Diemen’s Land, with an Enumeration of the Advantages which they Offer to Emigrants, as Well with Reference to each Other, as to the United States of America and the Canadas: And Directions and Advice to Emigrants,” *WR*, vol. 3, no. 6 (04, 1825): 448-487; “ART. VIII.-Letters from North America, Written during a Tour in the United States and Canada,” *WR*, vol. 2, no. 3 (07, 1824): 170-179.

¹¹⁶ “Newenham and others on the State of Ireland,” *ER*, 12:24 (1808: July) p.337.

apparently the most opposite, Ireland has increase with extraordinary rapidity; and this fact affords so striking an illustration of the doctrines which Mr. Malthus thus has advanced in his late Essay on Population.”¹¹⁷ So dire was the situation that the reviewer warned that Britain’s union with Ireland could be in jeopardy; if the population continued to increase at its present rate it could not share, “in every respect, the full benefits of its constitution.”¹¹⁸ In 1813, in response to a series of pamphlets on the state of Ireland, the *Edinburgh Review* made additional grim observations:

Indigence, barbarity, ferocity – little value for property, in which they can hardly be said to have any share – a disposition to movement and enterprise, and yet a tendency to sloth, may be considered as the general characteristics of human nature in the very lowest stages of improvement; and can scarcely be denied to compose, at this moment, a true picture of the Irish population.¹¹⁹

Implicit in the reviewer’s comments is a prejudice towards the Irish, a concern over rural immiseration in Ireland linked with anxiety about the degeneration of English racial stock if the Irish should travel to mainland Britain.¹²⁰

The mixing of English and Irish peoples had been a consequence of centuries of internal migration, but internal strife in the British Isles and contests for political control over lands resulted in a relationship between the two peoples that could hardly be described as “static unity of race.”¹²¹ During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries an Irish influx to England was significant enough to cause complaints in Ireland about its “loss of population and depletion of

¹¹⁷ The journal went on to defend Hume and Smith, stating that, “Nothing, however, that this author has said tends really to contradict these positions of our illustrious countrymen. It is still true that wise institutions, and an increasing demand for labour, are most powerful promoters of population.” “Newenham and others on the State of Ireland,” *ER*, (1808) p.339.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.343.

¹¹⁹ “Publications on the State of Ireland,” *ER*, 21:42 (1813: July), 343.

¹²⁰ Michael Willem de Nie, *The Eternal Paddy: Irish Identity and the British Press, 1798-1882*, History of Ireland and the Irish Diaspora (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2004), 5-13.

¹²¹ Eric Richards, *Britannia’s Children: Emigration from England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland since 1600* (London; New York: Hambledon and London, 2004), 22.

its workforce.”¹²² Following its invasion and colonization in the seventeenth century, Ireland experienced an increase of almost 100,000 Scots, Welsh and English migrants.¹²³ Tensions frequently boiled over in this “laboratory” for English expansion, and as the eighteenth century rolled on the country seemed on the brink of civil war. In 1799, after an uprising by the United Irishmen, the *Kentish Chronicle* decried Ireland as “wretchedly deplorable,” seemingly inhabited by “hordes of plundering Arabs than a people of civilized Europe.”¹²⁴ The recommendation — that “no principle can be more wise than that of having one legislature and one government for one empire”—was soon fulfilled, and Ireland and England officially joined in union in 1801.¹²⁵

Once the two countries were united, it was held that the Irish would be raised up to the level of the English people. The *Times* observed that Ireland would be transformed:

We are persuaded that nothing short of an incorporated union can render Ireland worth the possession or even desirable to live in. By a close connection and intercourse between the two countries the lower orders of people in Ireland will become more familiarized to the habits of industry and commerce; and by adopting English manners, they will be humanized so as to allow gentleman to live as comfortably and safe on their estates there as in England.¹²⁶

Explicit in this statement is the dehumanizing of British colonial subjects and an emphasis on class roles. Implicit is the assumption that the Irish population would stay put and civilize within its own borders.¹²⁷ Yet in the early years of the nineteenth century Irish harvest workers crossed

¹²² *Ibid.*, 24.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 30.

¹²⁴ *Kentish Gazette*, March 29, 1799, quoted in de Nie, 69.

¹²⁵ *Morning Post and Gazeteer*, August 7, 1800, quoted in de Nie, 71

¹²⁶ "Yesterday arrived a Mail from Dublin, by which we have a long letter from our Correspondent," *The Times*, 5 Dec. 1798, p. 3. *The Times Digital Archive*, <http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/8mXAr1>. Accessed 14 Jan. 2019.

¹²⁷ The idea of Anglicizing the Irish is different than notions of a biological inferiority of the Irish. Such racial arguments appear later in the nineteenth century. See Colin Kidd, *The Forging of Races: Race and Scripture in the Protestant Atlantic World, 1600-2000* (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge UP, 2006).

the Irish sea in droves and swallowed up much of the available work.¹²⁸ Alarmed by their sheer numbers, the press joined the chorus of voices calling for the removal of the Irish from Britain and their return to the bogs of Ireland. The fearmongering rhetoric expressed by the *Edinburgh Review* then—that a race which had not evolved beyond a primitive state was multiplying in alarming proportions—appeared to give meaning to prejudicial ideology that blamed the Irish for the country’s economic woes.¹²⁹ The journal’s proposed remedy? “That improvement is the natural tendency of human beings themselves. All that legislators have to do, is remove obstacles.”¹³⁰

Curiously, the reviewer of the first *Edinburgh* article, *Newenham and others on the State of Ireland*, was none other than Thomas Robert Malthus, and the reviewer of the second article, *Publications on the State of Ireland*, was arguably James Mill.¹³¹ Is it possible that the authors, particularly high-profile intellectuals writing for the *Edinburgh Review*, used the journal as a cover to propagate or test controversial ideas that might otherwise have been embarrassing or resulted in condemnation? In the case of Malthus, his theories (and prejudices) had been scrutinized in public before he made his anonymous comments on population in the pages of the

¹²⁸ For example: “Correspondence,” *The York Herald* (York, England), Saturday, September 20, 1806, Issue 848; “Friday’s Express,” *The Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury* (Stamford, England), Friday, September 18, 1812, pg. 3, Issue 4252; “Vagrancy,” *The Westmorland gazette, etc.* (Kendal, England), Saturday, December 19, 1818, pg. 1, Issue 31; “Petition of the Irish Labourers,” *The Morning Post* (London, England), Tuesday, January 4, 1820, Issue 15276; “News,” *Cambridge Chronicle and Journal, etc.* (Cambridge, England), Friday, January 28, 1820, pg. 1, Issue 2988. For the impact on employment see Jeffrey G. Williamson, “The impact of the Irish on British labor markets during the Industrial Revolution,” in Roger Swift and Sheridan Gilley, eds. *The Irish in Britain, 1815-1939* (Savage, Md.: Barnes & Noble Books, 1989), 134-162. Data on the exact number of Irish immigrants in early nineteenth century Britain is limited. Ó Gráda estimated that there were 500,000 Irish settlers in Britain in 1851 (based on Census data). Cormac Ó Gráda, “A Note on Nineteenth-Century Irish Emigration Statistics.” *Population Studies* 29, no. 1 (1975): 143-49. doi:10.2307/2173431. Graham Davis estimated that the number of Irish-born residents in Britain in 1841 was 400,000. Graham Davis, *The Irish in Britain 1815-1914* (Dublin; New York: Gill and Macmillan, 1991), 52. J. A. Jackson claims that in 1820 the number of Irish-born residents was approximately 280,000 but provides no information on the source of his data. J. A. (John Archer) Jackson, *The Irish in Britain* (London, Cleveland: Routledge and Paul; Press of Western Reserve University, 1963), xiv.

¹²⁹ Panikos Panayi, *Immigration, Ethnicity, and Racism in Britain, 1815-1945* (Manchester [England]; Manchester University Press, 1994). 114; De Nie, 6.

¹³⁰ “Publications on the State of Ireland,” *ER*, 21:42 (1813: July), 364.

¹³¹ Fetter, “The Authorship of Economic Articles in the *Edinburgh Review*,” 246, 248.

journal, and as Ó Gráda has argued, “there is no evidence that Malthus did much special research” for this particular review. Nevertheless, in his anonymous article on Newenham, Malthus wrote that the “oppression of the Catholic majority in Ireland was conducive to a high birth rate,” a theme which is absent from his *Essay on Population*.¹³² In short, Malthus argued that if Catholics were given something to live for “besides the mere support of their families on potatoes” their habits of marrying early might change.¹³³ Mill’s anonymous review was published prior to most of his major works, nevertheless, his sentiments were soon repeated. Mill wrote his *History of British India* at the same time as writing his *Edinburgh* article on Ireland, and even though the former was not published until 1818, his judgements on the “other” and denunciations of ignorant and backward cultures appeared in both works.¹³⁴

Conversely, Henry Brougham’s contributions to the *Edinburgh* contained nothing new and his additional comments on Talleyrand’s *Essai* in the pages of the *Edinburgh Review* (1805) were merely a restatement of his earlier published opinions on emigration from 1803. Similarly, in 1812 *Quarterly* reviewer and poet laureate Robert Southey wrote a review of Patrick Colquhoun’s *Propositions for Ameliorating the Conditions of the Poor*, and his expressed views were not new.¹³⁵ Written as an essay-like review, Southey used Colquhoun’s pamphlet as an

¹³² Cormac Ó Gráda, “Malthus and the Pre-Famine Economy,” in *Hermathena*, No.135, *Economists and the Irish Economy* (Winter 1983), pp.75-95, 79.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 80.

¹³⁴ For more on Mill’s “otherness” in the *History of British India* see Ronald Inden, “Orientalist Constructions of India,” *Modern Asian Studies* 20, no. 3 (1986): 401-46, 409; Thomas R. Metcalf, *Ideologies of the Raj*, New Cambridge History of India (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 30-31; Nicholas B. Dirks, *Castes of Mind: Colonialism and the Making of Modern India* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2001), 31-38; Pitts, 104.

¹³⁵ For the genesis of Southey’s ideas on emigration, see Karen O’Brien, “Colonial Emigration and Tory Romanticism, 1783-1830” in Duncan Kelly, ed., *Lineages of Empire: The Historical Roots of British Imperial Thought*, Proceedings of the British Academy (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press [for] The British Academy, 2009), 171-174; Donald Winch, *Riches and Poverty: An Intellectual History of Political Economy in Britain, 1750-1834*, Ideas in Context (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 311-312. On Romanticism and political economy, see Philip Connell, *Romanticism, Economics and the Question of “Culture”* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); Winch, *Riches and Poverty*, 288-322; Massimiliano Demata and Duncan Wu -- et al., eds., *British Romanticism and the Edinburgh Review: Bicentenary Essays* (Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York: Palgrave

excuse to write 38-pages of commentary on Malthus, the Poor Laws, and the nation's distress.¹³⁶

Southey concluded his observations by advocating for emigration as a way of improving the condition of the poor:

Let the reader cast a thought over the map, and see what elbow room there is for England. We have Canada, with all its territory, we have Surinam, the Cape Colony, Austral-Asia, countries which are collectively more than fifty fold the area of the British Isles, and which a thousand years of uninterrupted prosperity would scarcely suffice to people. It is time that Britain should become the hive of nations, and cast her swarms; and here are lands to receive them. What is required of government is to encourage emigration by founding settlements, and facilitating means of transport.¹³⁷

Southey, whose views were distinctly Tory, wrote regular political articles for the *Quarterly* and often railed against the *Edinburgh's* "morals and its politics."¹³⁸ Formulating his thoughts about emigration in his early career, he expressed them in poetic form in "Botany Bay Eclogues" (1797) and *Madoc* (1805); Although his ideas started as more of a fantasy about the uses of emigration, he warmly embraced its pragmatic usefulness as a means to address poverty.¹³⁹ It is worth noting that Southey's position was not necessarily shared by other contributors to the *Quarterly Review*. In his 1816 article on Selkirk's *Sketch of the British Fur Trade in North America*, reviewer John Barrow (1764-1848)—second secretary at the Admiralty and promoter of exploration—expressed his skepticism for Selkirk's efforts in Prince Edward Island. Although he described Selkirk's emigration scheme as "in part a successful one," he went on to state, "We

Macmillan, 2002); Willie Henderson, *Economics as Literature*, Routledge Studies in the History of Economics (London ; New York: Routledge, 1995), 1-21; E.P. Thompson, *The Romantics: England in a Revolutionary Age* (New York: The New Press, 1997).

¹³⁶ O'Brien claims that Southey's *Quarterly* essay of 1812 was written about Malthus's *Essay on Population*, but the *QR* article does not support that claim. In fact, Southey retitled his essay on Colquhoun's *Propositions* as "On the State of the Poor, the Principle of Mr. Malthus's *Essay on Population*, and the Manufacturing System" and published it in a collection of essays entitled *Essays, Moral and Political*, 2 vols. (London, 1832), vol. 1, 75-158.

¹³⁷ Robert Southey, "Inquiry into the Poor Laws, etc." *QR*, Vol.8, No.16 (Dec. 1812), Art. IV, pp.319-56, 355.

¹³⁸ Cutmore, 6.

¹³⁹ O'Brien, 171-173. For Robert Southey, see Mark Storey, *Robert Southey: A Life* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1997); Geoffrey Carnall, *Southey, Robert (1774-1843), Poet and Reviewer*, ODNB.

have strong doubts, we confess, of the policy as well as the efficacy of Lord Selkirk's plan of Colonization."¹⁴⁰ Barrow was also expressed his ambivalence about plans in 1819 for government-assisted emigration to the Cape of Good Hope.¹⁴¹ That said, several noteworthy *Edinburgh, Quarterly* and *Westminster* reviewers in the post-war period—including J.R. McCulloch, Nassau Senior, and James Mill—endorsed emigration schemes in a consistent manner, not only in their published works but also anonymously in the pages of the 'quarterlies'. It is to the post-war period that we now turn.

IV. Empire as the Solution? The Post-War Emigration Debate

The Napoleonic Wars has been identified by some as the turning point in the fortunes of those reliant on the agrarian economy.¹⁴² Military recruitment dropped off as the threat of war dissipated, and demobilization resulted in massive unemployment. In mainland Britain, industrialization led to over-crowding in the new cities. The economy had slumped, and violence and unrest were commonplace in both rural and urban areas.¹⁴³ The *Edinburgh Review* critiqued several pamphlets expressing alarm at the deteriorating state of the country.¹⁴⁴ Referencing a

¹⁴⁰ "Lord Selkirk, and the North-west Company," *QR*, vol. 16, No. 31 (Oct. 1816), Art. 8, pp.142. According to Cutmore, Barrow's *Quarterly Review* articles "played a significant part in creating the nineteenth-century enthusiasm for exploration literature, and indeed, popular and official interest in world exploration itself." Cutmore, 74. See also J.M.R. Cameron, "John Barrow, the *Quarterly*'s Imperial Reviewer," in Jonathan Cutmore, ed. *Conservatism and the Quarterly Review: A Critical Analysis* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2007), pp.133-50.

¹⁴¹ "The Cape of Good Hope," *QR*, vol. 22, no. 43 (July 1819), Art. 10, pp.203-46.

¹⁴² Fredrik Albritton Jonsson, "The Enlightenment in the Highlands: Natural History and Internal Colonization in the Scottish Enlightenment, 1760-1830," PhD dissertation for the Department of History (The University of Chicago. Chicago: August, 2005), 4; Peter Connell, *The Land and the People of County Meath, 1750-1850* (Dublin, Four Courts Press, 2004), 95; Raymond Crotty, *Irish Agricultural Production: Its Volume and Structure* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1966), CH II.

¹⁴³ Charles Tilly offers an excellent analysis of popular unrest during this period. Charles Tilly, *Popular Contention in Great Britain 1758-1834* (Boulder and London: Paradigm Publishers, 2005)

¹⁴⁴ "An Inquiry into the Causes of the High Prices of Corn and Labour; the Depressions of our Foreign Exchanges and High Prices of Bullion during the late War; and Considerations of the Measures to be adopted for relieving our Farming Interest from the unprecedented Difficulties to which they are now reduced; with relative Tables and Remarks. By Robert Wilson, Esq.," *ER*, 26:51 (1816: Feb.) p.135; "The Speech of Charles C. Western Esq. M.P. on moving that the House should resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House, to take into Consideration the distressed State of the Agriculture of the United Kingdom, March 7th, 1816," *ER*, 26:52 (1816:June) p.255; "The

speech (in June 1816) by Charles Western MP on the distressed state of agriculture, the journal grimly stated that, “At no formal period of the history of this country was so great a so general a distress ever known to prevail, as that which has lately visited us, and of which the pressure unhappily still continues.”¹⁴⁵ It further noted that manufacturing, home trade, and foreign commerce were also suffering. After carefully laying out the technical reasons why the country was in a mess, the reviewer offered a remedy, which included reforming the Poor Laws.¹⁴⁶ The abolition of outdoor relief with a view to establishing greater self-reliance was one hallmark of economic liberalism, and from the beginning the *Edinburgh Review* supported Malthus’s position on the matter.¹⁴⁷ While the *Quarterly Review* vehemently disagreed with Malthus’s theory, the forthright response to deteriorating conditions by both the *Edinburgh* and the *Quarterly* contributed to a shared discourse of concern for the “multitudes.” Robert Southey noted that, “The same quantity of labour will no longer procure the same quantity of the necessities of life.” He continued, “In this point, God knows, the country stands truly in need of radical reform; but it is a reformation which cannot be effected by laws or by political changes; it must be in public opinion.”¹⁴⁸

By 1819, conditions in post-war Britain appeared to have reached crisis proportions, and there was a growing awareness of potential advantages of emigration.¹⁴⁹ The *Edinburgh Review*

Speech of H. Brougham Esq. M.P. in the House of Commons, April 9th, 1816, upon the State of Agriculture of the United Kingdom,” *ER*, 26:52 (1816: June) p.255; “National Difficulties practically examined,” *ER*, 27:54 (1816: Dec.), p.373; “Remedies proposed as Certain, Speedy, and Effectual, for the Relief of our present Embarrassments,” *ER*, 27:54 (1816: Dec). p.373.

¹⁴⁵ “The Speech of Charles C. Western Esq. M.P.,” (1816) p.255.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 275-277. Between 1817 and 1818, the *Edinburgh Review* published five “essay-like reviews” on the Britain’s continued distress.

¹⁴⁷ “Godwin’s reply to Parr,” *ER*, 1:1 (1802: Oct.), p.26. Since 1807, the *Edinburgh Review* had tolerated the proviso of giving some aid to the sick and the young but supported Malthus in proposing the complete exclusion of able-bodied laborers from parish relief. See “A Short inquiry into the Policy, Humanity, and Past Effects of the Poor Laws. By one of His Majesty’s Justices of Peace for the Three Inland Counties,” *ER*, 11:21 (1807: Oct.), p.115.

¹⁴⁸ “Reports on the Poor,” *QR*, 15:29 (1816: April), pp. 206.

¹⁴⁹ For the post-war economic crisis see: Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (New Haven, CT, USA: Yale University Press, 1992), 321-363; Boyd Hilton, *A Mad, Bad, and Dangerous People: England, 1783-*

did not deny the country's distress (which included unemployment, falling wages, and pauperism) and it responded forthrightly to proposals for relieving the nation's woes. One such plan by socialist and philanthropist Robert Owen (1771-1858), for a model community that contained allotments of land, came under severe criticism from the journal. Noting that his schemes had "not the most distant bearing upon the causes of our present distress," *Edinburgh* reviewer and political economist Robert Torrens (1780-1864) argued that, "so far from relieving the existing distress of the country, he would bring us as step nearer to that stationary state of society in which, as Adam Smith long ago observed, the conditions of the labouring classes becomes wretched in the extreme."¹⁵⁰ Torrens was referring to Smith's "stationary state" described in *Wealth of Nations*, the point at which a state "had acquired that full complement of riches which the nature of its soil and climate, and its situation with respect to other countries, allowed it to acquire; which could, therefore, advance no further, and which was not going backwards, both the wages of labour and the profits of stock would probably be very low."¹⁵¹

The *Edinburgh Review* also evaluated proposals to reform the Poor Laws in order to relieve national distress. Clearly articulating the journal's policy position, the reviewer, Rev. Sydney Smith, observed that "the present redundant population of the country has been entirely

1846, New Oxford History of England (Oxford: New York: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 2006), 1-24, 235-353; Frank O'Gorman, *The Long Eighteenth Century: British Political and Social History, 1688-1832*, Arnold History of Britain (London; New York: New York: Arnold; Distributed exclusively in the USA by St Martin's Press, 1997), 233-272, 321-342; Martin Daunton, "Social and Economic Life" in Colin Matthew – et al., eds., *The Nineteenth Century: The British Isles: 1815-1901*, Short Oxford History of the British Isles (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 41-51; E. P. (Edward Palmer) Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York: Vintage books, 1966), 603-710; Tilly, 240-283; J. E. Cookson, *Lord Liverpool's Administration: The Crucial Years, 1815-1822* (Edinburgh etc. : London: Scottish Academic Press; distributed by Chatto and Windus, 1975), 90-129.

¹⁵⁰ "Mr. Owen's Plans for Relieving the National Distress," *ER*, 32:64 (1819: Oct), p.464. According to Fetter, Robert Torrens authored this article: Fetter, "The Authorship of Economic Articles in the *Edinburgh Review*," 249. For more about classical political economic fears of a stationary state, see Daunton, 7-9; E. A. Wrigley, "The Limits to Growth: Malthus and the Classical Economists," *Population and Development Review*, Vol. 14, Supplement: Population and Resources in Western Intellectual Traditions, (1988), pp. 30-48. Albritton Jonsson, *Enlightenment's Frontier*, 255-56, 262-64.

¹⁵¹ Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, Cannan, ed., Book I, ix, 106.

produced by the Poor-Laws.”¹⁵² He further stated: “There are two points which we consider as now admitted by all men of sense. *First*, That the Poor Laws must be abolished; *2dly*, That they must be *very gradually* abolished. We hardly think it worth while to throw away pen and ink upon any one who is still inclined to dispute either of these propositions.”¹⁵³ According to Smith, gradual abolition was key so as to avoid immediately starving the population “into annihilation.”¹⁵⁴ The *Quarterly Review* articulated its position with more formal analysis and fewer wise-cracks. In an article referencing the reports from the Select Committee on the Poor Laws, statistician John Rickman (1771-1840)—assisted by Robert Southey—proclaimed that the Poor Laws had been misapplied and mismanaged, and that a reduction in the poor rates was desirable. Arguing that the Poor Laws had been injuriously applied and operated “as a perpetual bounty for the encouragement of pauperism,” the reviewers nevertheless stopped short of proposing an increase in or total abolition of the Elizabethan statute.¹⁵⁵

In addition to Owen’s utopian scheme and the reform of the Poor Laws, another potential pathway—that of emigration—was proposed in and out of Parliament as a way of alleviating the nation’s depressed state. Between 1815 and 1826, the Government conducted six experiments in state-assisted emigration, and although modest in size, these schemes generated public awareness on the potential advantages of relieving the distress of the lower classes.¹⁵⁶ Upper Canada and the Cape of Good Hope were the chosen venues, and as Johnston argues, the schemes were

¹⁵² “Summary Review of the Report and Evidence related to the Poor Laws. By S.W. Nicol,” *ER*, 33:65 (1820: Jan) p.95. According to Fetter, Sydney Smith authored this article. Fetter, “The Authorship of Economic Articles in the Edinburgh Review,” 250.

¹⁵³ “Summary View,” *ER*, 33:65 (1820: Jan), 95.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁵ “On the Poor Laws,” *QR*, vol. 18, No. 36 (Jan.1818), Art. 1, pp. 259-308, 261. Privately, Southey and Rickman’s views were not perfectly aligned, see Winch, *Riches and Poverty*, 311-314.

¹⁵⁶ See Johnston, 1-56. Government-assisted emigration schemes are discussed in greater depth in chapters three and four of this current study.

“inspired by domestic rather than colonial considerations.”¹⁵⁷ In July 1820, the *Quarterly Review* weighed in by surveyed three pamphlets on travel and emigration to Canada, and pinned a lengthy essay to its review. The reviewer, Richard Whately (1787-1863), Church of Ireland archbishop of Dublin and philosopher, launched his favorable analysis by stressing the importance of the subject of emigration, “too important a topic to be speedily exhausted of its interest.”¹⁵⁸ Whately added further directives about “the importance of our Canadian possessions, and the desirableness of having some authentic and practical information respecting them as widely diffused as possible.”¹⁵⁹ In the analysis that followed, he vacillated between noting the journal’s prevailing objections to emigration, and the nature of the advantages it promised. His main critique? “That all hopes of counteracting by emigration the evils of a redundant population must be utterly illusory; since the necessary expense of the voyage and outfit would place the remedy beyond the reach of those very persons for whose benefit it is proposed.”¹⁶⁰ Furthermore, he concurred with Malthus’s position, quoting the *Essay on Population* (1803): “with any view of making room for an unrestricted increase in population, emigration is perfectly inadequate; but as a partial and temporary expedient...it seems most useful and proper.”¹⁶¹ Whately’s objections notwithstanding, the *Quarterly* supported emigration as a mode of relief in circumstances when a clear benefit existed to the emigrant and those left behind:

..if we can, by such an expedient, not only provide for the individuals in question, but benefit others of the same class, by lessening the injurious competition in an overstocked

¹⁵⁷ Johnston, 56.

¹⁵⁸ Richard Brent, *Whately, Richard (1787–1863), Church of Ireland Archbishop of Dublin and Philosopher*, ODNB. “Emigration to Canada,” *QR*, vol. 23, No. 46 (July 1820), pp. 373-400, 373.

¹⁵⁹ “Emigration to Canada,” 375.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 387

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 387

market of labourers,- we may attain advantages which would have entirely escaped the view of a more short-sighted calculator.¹⁶²

In 1824, almost twenty years after Lord Selkirk published his *Observations*, the *Edinburgh Review* also articulated its continued support of attempts to direct surplus population toward the unsettled districts of Upper Canada. In its lengthiest essay-like review on emigration to date—a response to the government’s proposal to repeal the Combinations Acts and its effects on emigration—its reviewer, political economist John Ramsay McCulloch (1789-1864), noted his objections to restrictions on the free movement of peoples, and the relief to the unemployed that emigration would produce, on political-economic grounds:

The restraints on the emigration of artisans are as impolitic and inexpedient as they are unjust and unnecessary. Whenever population is redundant and the wages of labour depressed, every facility ought to be given to emigration. Were it carried to a considerable extent, it would have the effect, by lessening the supply of labour in the market, to raise the rate of wages, and to improve the condition of the labourers who remain at home.¹⁶³

McCulloch acknowledged the knock on-effects of emigration, cautioning that the vacuum created by those leaving would soon be filled. He also reiterated Malthus’s position on the natural disinclination to leave one’s native soil. Nevertheless, if incentives were provided, he did not doubt the efficacy of emigration schemes:

The rise in wages that must always follow every considerable emigration, would not only stimulate the principle of population, but would also weaken motives to emigrate, at the same time that it would give new strength to the natural repugnance which everyone has to leave his native country. Government, indeed, by giving bounties and encouragements to emigrants to Canada, South Africa and Van Diemen’s Land, has recently acknowledged the justice of this reasoning. They have acknowledged that emigration is not only harmless, but that it ought, in certain cases, to be artificially promoted.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶² Ibid., 388

¹⁶³ “Considerations on Emigration,” *ER*, 39:78 (1824: Jan.), p.342. McCulloch’s authorship has been confirmed by the Wellesley Index.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., 343.

The *Westminster Review* published its first extensive commentary on emigration in April 1825. Nineteen-year-old John Stuart Mill wrote the article, *On Emigration*, which pegged nine books and pamphlets to a forty-page essay-like review. Unlike the *Quarterly* and *Edinburgh* reviews which had focused their analyses on matters of emigration policy, the *Westminster* concerned itself with assisting “those who are discussing with themselves or others the subject of emigration.”¹⁶⁵ Echoing the journal’s stated mission, to represent “the true interests of the majority,” Mill essentially wrote a guide to ensure the happiness of those contemplating emigration by making sure they were fully informed of the intellectual, moral, and political state of the countries under consideration.¹⁶⁶ Without this advice, he argued, a prospective emigrant may not know what his best interests are. Concluding that “agricultural labours constitute the class which, by emigration, will escape the most evil here, encounter the least evil in the country to which they emigrate, and reap with most certainty, and in the shortest time, the advantages of emigration,” Mill felt vindicated that the journal had performed what it had undertaken to do— provide only general information and advice— even if the actual advice was a passive endorsement of emigration.¹⁶⁷ Mill’s article, *On Emigration*, certainly lacking what *Edinburgh* Reviewer Thomas Babington Macaulay (1800-1859) described as the “bold, dashing, scene-painting manner,” which “always succeeds best in periodical writing.” Nevertheless, it did meet the litmus test of an essay-like review: substantive critique of the relative shortcomings of each of the nine works under review was confined to the last three pages of the forty-page article. Mill’s work had secured the *Westminster*’s position as a contributor to extra-parliamentary

¹⁶⁵ “On Emigration,” *WR*, 39:78 (1825: April), 448-487, 449. According to Fetter, J.S. Mill authored this article. Fetter, “The Authorship of Economic Articles in the Westminster Review,” 584.

¹⁶⁶ For the journal’s position, see “Periodical Literature,” *WR*, Vol. I, No. I, (1824: Jan.). Quote cited in Nesbitt, 35. “On Emigration,” *WR*, 471. See also Nesbitt, 48.

¹⁶⁷ “On Emigration,” *WR*, 481, 483.

debates on the critical issue of emigration.¹⁶⁸

V. Responses to the Select Committee on Emigration

On March 14, 1826, after ten years of post-war disturbances and rising levels of pauperism, the House of Commons ordered the appointment of a Select Committee to inquire into the expediency of encouraging emigration from Britain. The Committee's reports were discussed extensively in the press, and in what followed, "the arguments for and against emigration were thrashed out at length, and most of the leading economists of the day were drawn into the controversy."¹⁶⁹ First, to the oldest of the 'quarterlies,' the *Edinburgh Review*. Its response to the three Select Committee reports is instructive because it is possible to detect a measurable change in the journal's rhetoric on emigration. Prior to 1825, its articles contained technical political-economic discussions of emigration and population, supported with statistical data. Post-1825, reviews utilized alarmist rhetoric and proposed pragmatic solutions. How can this shift be explained? One explanation is that the near-hysteria that was sweeping the country at the time—particularly on Irish emigration—contributed to this editorial shift, with the journal reflecting wider public opinion.¹⁷⁰ A second explanation is contributor J.R. McCulloch's virtual monopoly of the *Edinburgh Review*'s economic articles from 1825 onwards. McCulloch's articles certainly lacked literary grace, originality, and technical analysis; nevertheless, his contribution to the journal was significant. According to Fetter, McCulloch's reviews "had a

¹⁶⁸ Macaulay, quoted in Shattock, *Politics and Reviewers*, 106.

¹⁶⁹ R. D. Collison Black, *Economic Thought and the Irish Question, 1817-1870* (Cambridge Eng.: University Press, 1960), 209. The Committee's report is analyzed in chapter four; for the purposes of this chapter it is instructive to examine how the 'quarterlies' relayed the report to their readers.

¹⁷⁰ Helen I. Cowan, *British Emigration to British North America; the First Hundred Years* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961), 85-92; Collison Black, 206-209; William Alexander Carrothers, *Emigration from the British Isles, with Special Reference to the Development of the Overseas Dominions* (London: P. S. King & son, ltd., 1929), 38-50.

great influence on public opinion, they added to the popular reputation of the *Edinburgh Review*, and they increased the public's estimation of McCulloch."¹⁷¹ This last sentence is suggestive, implying that the public was likely aware of the authorship of some of the journal's articles, and therefore McCulloch may have been aware of this fact too. The ease with which the *Edinburgh Review* was able to propagate ideas that centered round the banner of political economy would have appealed to contributors such as McCulloch, even more so if there was a potential to influence the policy-making process.

For example, in his 1825 review on Ireland, McCulloch warned the *Edinburgh's* readers that, "the destinies of the whole empire hang on these discussions. Ireland cannot sink into the abyss of poverty and degradation without dragging Great Britain after her."¹⁷² In a further article—written while Ireland was in the midst of famine—McCulloch expressed his frustration with the Government Committee on the State of Ireland. That the Committee was merely gathering facts and figures, and not disseminating information to the public exasperated McCulloch. He reminded the *Edinburgh Review's* readership of the necessity to promulgate useful information, saying it was the journal's business to "dispose and enable the public to cooperate in this great work, by laying shortly before them, from these authentic sources, the true state of the facts."¹⁷³ Using his own calculations on the population of Ireland, McCulloch grimly concluded that, "the population of Ireland has doubled in the last 30 years; and according to the most elementary

¹⁷¹ Fetter, "The Authorship of Economic Articles in the *Edinburgh Review*," 239.

¹⁷² "Population of Ireland in 1821, as taken by Act 51 Geo.III. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 18th July, 1823," *ER*, 41:82 (1825: Jan.) p.359.

¹⁷³ "Reports and Evidence on the State of Ireland, ordered to be printed by the House of Lords and the House of Commons. Session 1825." *ER*, 43:86 (1826: Feb.), p.462.

principles of economical science, and the facts which have been collected respecting it...we must further believe, that the population of Ireland is at this moment increasing at the same rate.”¹⁷⁴



2.3. *John Ramsay McCulloch (1789–1864)*
by Sir Daniel Macnee, exh. RA 1840
© National Portrait Gallery, London.¹⁷⁵

In cautioning that what was at stake was the “prosperity and safety of the whole empire,” McCulloch was merely reacting to one of the biggest security threats of the period, the seemingly unstoppable emigration of the Irish to England.¹⁷⁶ He noted with dismay that the expense of the passage from Ireland to Britain “had been reduced to almost nothing,” and that “thousands of poor creatures have been landed from steam-packets at Liverpool and Greenock within these two

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 489.

¹⁷⁵ 677 NPG

¹⁷⁶ “Reports and Evidence on the State of Ireland” *ER*, 43:86 (1826: Feb.), 495.

years.”¹⁷⁷ Far from Ireland affecting Great Britain remotely, he warned that “nothing ever exerted so direct, so immediate, so powerful and withal so destructive an influence over all our best interests. If we do not interfere to give another bias to the current of emigration, Great Britain will continue to be the outlet for the pauper population of Ireland.”¹⁷⁸ Finally, McCulloch warned that the report should excite enough attention and “induce the people and government of Great Britain to give their unqualified support to the principle of the measure recommended in the Report before us, of publicly contributing to assist emigration of the Irish poor, on a large scale, to our transatlantic dominions and other foreign possessions.”¹⁷⁹ For McCulloch, the first pragmatic question under consideration was simple: where do we send Irish emigrants? His reply—the British Dominions in North America, which possessed “the most ample means of providing for any number of emigrants that could possibly be sent out” —mirrored the Selkirk plan.¹⁸⁰ The second consideration for McCulloch (and undoubtedly the *Edinburgh Review*’s readers) was expense. In recollecting the 1823 assisted-emigration experiment to Canada, McCulloch calculated that the cost to the public of transporting 568 Irish emigrants was 12,539 pounds, but he defended it on the grounds that “the money expended on emigration would be well and profitably expended.”¹⁸¹ He cautioned that if Britain did not incur the expense of large-scale emigration, Ireland would languish in perpetual misery and Britain’s security would be threatened from being “overrun and degraded by the influx of Irish poor.”¹⁸² McCulloch argued that Ireland should “contribute to defray its expense in a larger proportion than Great Britain:

¹⁷⁷ “Report from, and Minutes of Evidence taken before, the Select Committee of the House of Commons, on Emigration from the United Kingdom. Printed by order of the House of Commons, 26th May, 1826.” *ER*, 45:89 (1826: Dec), p.54.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 55.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 57.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 59.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 68.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, 66.

And as the removal of the redundant population dispersed over the country, would be especially advantageous to the landlords, it is on them that the principal part of the expense ought certainly to fall.”¹⁸³

Prior to submitting his essay-like review on the Select Committee on Emigration for publication in the *Edinburgh Review*, McCulloch calculated its effect on public opinion. Sending an advance copy to Robert-Wilmot Horton (1784-1841)—undersecretary for the colonies and chairman of the Select Committee on Emigration—for approval, McCulloch offered a significant caveat: “I have stated some doctrines and opinions in which you will hardly be disposed to concur; but I cannot help thinking that the dispersion of 10,000 copies of such an article will have a considerable effect in calling the attention of the public to the measure in showing its vast importance & in facilitating its adoption.”¹⁸⁴ McCulloch’s confidence that periodical publications might teach the multitude of men what to think and what to say on the matter of assisted emigration was not too unreasonable. Radical and author Frances Place later wrote of McCulloch’s *Edinburgh Review* essay on emigration and the Combination Laws: “Parliament met again on Feb 3, 1824. Just before this time appeared the *Edinburgh Review*, No. 78...Its effect on many members [of Parliament] was remarkable; several of them told me there was no resisting the conclusive argument it contained, and one of them said he was prepared to speak the substance of the essay in the House.”¹⁸⁵

It is hard to prove conclusively the broader implication of Place’s comments, that the

¹⁸³ Ibid., 70.

¹⁸⁴ Letter from J.R. McCulloch to Robert Wilmot-Horton, 11th November, 1826, DRO D3155M1/C6431

¹⁸⁵ Graham Wallis, *Life of Francis Place*, (London, 1918), 208. See also Frank Whitson Fetter, *The Economist in Parliament, 1780-1868* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1980), 65. The parliamentary session Francis Place referenced is “Address on the King’s Speech at the opening of the Session,” Commons Sitting of Tuesday February 3, 1824,” *Hansard*, 2nd Series, Volume 10. The committee recommendation to repeal the Combination Laws was heard on May 21, 1824.

‘quarterlies’ had a direct effect on government policy (as opposed to simply disseminating information in a shared space of extra-parliamentary debate.) However, limited evidence suggests that the journals did have an impact. First, full text searches of the House of Commons Parliamentary Papers reveal that the ‘quarterlies’ were referenced in Parliament with regularity between 1809 and 1832. While this may indicate that the ‘quarterlies’ were increasing in status and readership during this time, it may also suggest a degree of influence over those in government circles.¹⁸⁶ Second, the nature of the references demonstrate that elected officials must have at least been reading the journal articles that they cited.¹⁸⁷ Third, the *Edinburgh Review*, *Quarterly Review*, and *Westminster Review* published articles on given topics preceding relevant parliamentary debates during which there were some direct references to those articles.¹⁸⁸ However, further research is needed to establish the relationship between those citing the articles, what they were citing, and why.

¹⁸⁶ See Appendix III. This is a time when many of the debates on redundant population, conditions in Ireland, and assisted emigration occurred, but it was also included the years leading up to Parliamentary Reform (1832) and Poor Laws reform (1834), which were popular topics of debate (see also Appendix IV).

¹⁸⁷ In about half the instances I examined, it is clear that the person referencing the journal must have read the article, because the observations made are sufficiently detailed, rather than a “Cliffs Notes” version. The other half of the references to the ‘quarterlies’ spoke more broadly about their overall political-economic leanings, the collective voices of the journals, and their weighty, expert views. Examples of detailed observations include: (i) “An eloquent writer in the *Edinburgh Review*, in a late criticism of Milton's religious work, translated, he had understood, by the present bishop of Winchester, called the two kings, Charles and James, Belial and Moloch; names which they justly deserved.” (“Lords Sitting of Monday, March 3, 1828,” *Hansard*, 2nd Series, Vol. 18, 924); (ii) “Speaking of the exercise of the veto against a measure carried by a zealous and nearly unanimous House of Commons, purely popular, the reviewer said, “No thinking man can contemplate, without dismay, the probable consequences of such a resistance: it is needless to say that the House of Lords would oppose a still feebler barrier to such a measure of popular legislation.” This, according to *The Edinburgh Review*, must be the judgment of every thinking man.” (“Commons Sitting of Wednesday, March 9, 1831,” *Hansard*, 3rd Series, Vol. 3, 248-326); (iii) “Now, the property of these Parguinotes, which was so given up to the Turks, was estimated, by the writer in the *Quarterly Review*, at 300,000.” (“Commons Sitting of Thursday, June 29, 1820,” *Hansard*, 2nd Series, Vol. 2, 106).

¹⁸⁸ (i) “Monopoly of the East India Company” discussed in “Lords Sitting of Monday, March 3, 1824,” *Hansard*, 2nd Series, Vol. 10. Prior to this debate the article referenced (on the East India Company’s Monopoly) appeared in the *Edinburgh Review* (January 1824) (ii) “Usury Laws Repeal Bill” discussed in “Commons Sitting of Thursday, May 1, 1817,” *Hansard*, 1st Series, Vol. 36, 94-106. Prior to this debate the article referenced (on the Usury Laws) appeared in the *Edinburgh Review* (Dec 1816) (iii) “Revenue of the Junior Branches of the Royal Family” discussed in “Commons Sitting of Friday, February 4, 1831,” *Hansard*, 3rd Series, Vol. 2, 135-194. Prior to this debate, the article referenced (on revenues of the public expenditure) appeared in the *Quarterly Review* (July & November 1829).

The *Westminster Review* published its weighty response to the Select Committee on Emigration's "First" Report two months prior to McCulloch's review in the *Edinburgh*, and a whole year before the publication of the "Second" and "Third" Reports on Emigration. The review's author remains ambiguous.¹⁸⁹ Fetter attributes the article to James Mill, citing Alexander Bain's biography of Mill as evidence, however a close reading of Bain's work supports no such assertion.¹⁹⁰ This trifling detail *is* significant because it makes it harder to assess the impact of views expressed on behalf of the *Westminster Review* by an "anonymous" intellectual versus the views expressed by a well-known political economist. James Mill had previously written a pamphlet on colonies, later published as a supplement to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.¹⁹¹ His analysis of the economic impact of colonization on the mother country also contained lengthy commentary on Malthusian population pressure and the practical implications of assisting the surplus population to emigrate:

It is only, in certain circumstances, however, that a body of people can be advantageously removed from one country, for the purpose of colonizing another. In the first place, it is necessary, that the land which they are about to occupy should be capable of yielding a greater return to their labour than the land which they leave; otherwise, though relief is given to the population they leave behind, their own circumstances are not better than they would have been had they remained.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁹ "Report from the Select Committee on Emigration from the United Kingdom." *WR*, (10, 1826): 342-373. The "First" Report was issued in 1826, the "Second" report issued in February 1827 as an interim report, and the "Third" report was issued in October 1827.

¹⁹⁰ Fetter, "The Authorship of Economic Articles in the Westminster Review," 584. Fetter cites Bain p.308 as proof of authorship, but that only mentions the "State of the Nation" review which appeared in the same edition of the *Westminster* as the "Emigration Report." It is possible that he conflated the two. The Liberty Fund has published Mill's work, which includes the "State of the Nation" but excludes the "Emigration Report." <https://oll.libertyfund.org/pages/james-mills-political-writings>. Similarly, the Wellesley Index excludes "Emigration report" from Mill's political writings.

¹⁹¹ James Mill, *Supplement to the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Editions of the Encyclopaedia Britannica, With Preliminary Dissertations on the History of the Science, Illustrated by Engravings* (Edinburgh, Archibald Constable and Company, 1824), "Colony," vol. 3, pp. 257-73.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*

Mill expressed reservations about the expense of removing a surplus population but admitted that it was beneficial in certain circumstances. The *Westminster*'s "Emigration Report" on the other hand had little to say about Malthusian concerns over the food supply. Rather, it rested its argument on "the simple and only fact, which, for any practical purpose, needs to be ascertained"—an excess population in any country is meant "not an excess relatively to land, but an excess relatively to the means of productive employment."¹⁹³ In the pages that followed, the *Westminster* reviewer challenged the cost of emigration, arguing that the experimental emigration of 1823, which took place at an expense of twenty pounds per head, could be reduced to just five pounds per head. Much of the blame for the exorbitant cost was levelled at the Passengers' Act, for interfering with free competition and stipulating "mischievous regulations."¹⁹⁴ The reviewer concluded by advocating for the emigration of Irish peasants, "not as *colonists*, but as *labourers*," because this mode of emigration was calculated to produce, "at the smallest expense, whatever good effects emigration is capable of producing at all."¹⁹⁵ In short, the *Westminster Review* endorsed assisted emigration in principle but expressed tangible concerns about the public expense.

The debate on assisted emigration, one that the *Edinburgh Review* had begun in 1802, remained in the forefront of public discussion while the Select Committee on Emigration was completing its work. In early 1828, all three 'quarterlies' reviewed the concluding "Third Report"¹⁹⁶ The authorship of the *Edinburgh*'s review of the report remains a mystery, but the reviewer, whoever it was, exclaimed that the subject of emigration, "is so momentous, that in our view of it, it outweighs either the cause or the result of any war in which this country ever was so

¹⁹³ "Report from the Select Committee," *WR*, (10, 1826), 343.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 359.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 372.

¹⁹⁶ "Third Report upon Emigration from the United Kingdoms, 1827," *ER*, 47:93 (1828: Jan.) p.204

engaged, except perhaps the last.”¹⁹⁷ The question for the journal was no longer “whether you will part, for political or speculative purposes, with that occasional supernumerary population, which floats on the surface, like a few loose shillings a man carries in his pocket...Unfortunately, the topic has now become one of necessity, and that as urgent as life itself.”¹⁹⁸ The *Edinburgh* gravely argued that the fate of the nation, even its empire, lay in jeopardy, and it called loudly, not for casual emigration, which it said was “little more than bleeding at the nose for inflammation on the lungs” but for regulated emigration.¹⁹⁹ Warning that, “unless a great nation is to sit down and resign itself to the calamity in its natural unmitigated form, we cannot imagine any expedient so effectual, economical, or desirable as emigration,”²⁰⁰ the reviewer reiterated the *Edinburgh Review*’s official position of advocating for emigration, which it had previously outlined in the journal in December, 1826:

The more we consider the subject, the more firmly are we convinced of the propriety of encouraging emigration, on a very large scale, to our Transatlantic possessions; and of defraying the cost of that emigration, partly by a tax on the rent of land, and partly and chiefly by a heavy tax on cottages, to be in every instance paid by the proprietor.²⁰¹

How did the *Quarterly Review* respond? Using similar language of an impending catastrophe, it remarked that the “time is fast approaching, when this must be regarded as one of the most important parts of the business of the state.” Its anonymous reviewer further observed that, “because it has no so been regarded in time, it is, that the increase of population, instead of a blessing, is to us an evil at this crisis time, - great, pressing, and all but insupportable.”²⁰² The

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., 212.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., 217

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., 219

²⁰⁰ Ibid., 220.

²⁰¹ Ibid., 329.

²⁰² “Reports of the Select Committee on Emigration from the United Kingdom,” *QR*, 37:74 (1828: Apr), 572.

Quarterly Review then painted a vivid scene of paupers rushing across the “floating bridge” between Ireland and England, and used it to frame its discussion on the evils it observed:

An immigration of Irish outcasts is going on, and systematically supported, which if it proceeds unchecked, must surely and speedily reduce the English labourer to the wretched condition of the Irish, that is, to the very lowest condition in which human beings have ever existed in any country calling itself civilized or Christian.²⁰³

Alarmed about the number of Irish migrants flocking to mainland Britain and the accompanying detrimental effects of the Irish “Paddy” on English civilization, the *Quarterly Review* prescribed “the sure remedy of emigration, for which our situation, our maritime means, and our extensive colonies afford facilities greater than have ever been possessed by any other people.”²⁰⁴

Despite their political differences, both the *Edinburgh* and *Quarterly* played on similar fears: a British empire collapsing and then rotting from within, corrupted and debased by Irish paupers flooding into mainland Britain. The *Westminster Review*, which began its life in opposition to the other two journals, concurred with its rivals, and its previously expressed unease about the cost of emigration was virtually forgotten. The reviewer of the “Third Emigration Report,” John Stuart Mill, attached weight to the Select Committee’s witness testimony and also took pains to explain the preventative measures that should be taken in addition to government-assisted emigration. Such measures included Malthusian preventative checks, abolition of the Poor Laws, and the prohibition of the Irish from landing on Britain’s shores.²⁰⁵

²⁰³ Ibid., 575.

²⁰⁴ Ibid. For the identity and character of the Irish “Paddy” see de Nie, 4-35.

²⁰⁵ “Third Report of the Emigration Committee.” *WR*, 9, (01, 1828), 112-137. According to Fetter, J.S. Mill authored this article. Fetter, “The Authorship of Economic Articles in the Westminster Review,” 584.

Ultimately, the recommendations of the Select Committee on Emigration (1827) were rejected for two main reasons. First, some members of the Cabinet felt that assisted emigration schemes were an expensive commitment, and second, that emigration would not ameliorate surplus population in the long run. In addition, fate took an unexpected turn when prime minister Lord Liverpool (1770-1828) had a stroke in early 1827. All unfinished business ground to a halt and it took weeks to form a new Cabinet, which was less willing to embrace emigration schemes than the previous one.²⁰⁶ It is tempting to view the efforts of the ‘quarterlies’ and their contributors therefore as a failure, since policy did not change as a result of disseminating information in a shared space of extra-parliamentary debate. However, limited evidence suggests that the journals *did* have an impact in pushing emigration in front of policymakers. This is borne out by the fact that interest in emigration did not fold and the subject continued to be debated within and without government circles (the subject of subsequent chapters). No sooner had Parliament rejected the recommendations of the Select Committee’s “Third Report” than the topic of assisted emigration (as a means of ameliorating distress) was up for discussion again in the House of Commons. In June 1828, a Member of Parliament read an extract from the *Quarterly Review* to the House, which he believed was “from the pen of Dr. Robert Southey.” After referencing the “Third Report” of the Emigration Committee, and statements respecting pauperism in Ireland, he concluded by stating that, “unless something in the way of emigration were applied as a remedy to the evil, the influx of Irish poor into England would reduce the English labourer to the wretched condition of the Irish – a condition lower and more miserable than that in which any human beings existed in any other civilized country on the face of the globe.” Next, he read an extract from the *Edinburgh Review* on emigration in which the reviewer

²⁰⁶ Johnston, 158-159.

strongly recommended emigration upon a large and extended scale, “as the only means by which the evils to be apprehended from the continued increase of the pauper population of Ireland could be averted.” Finally, he read from the *Westminster Review*, which he said, “embodied the opinions of a class of persons quite distinct from those represented by the two former publications.” In that article, the *Westminster* reviewer had recommended the adoption of a system of emigration. The Member of Parliament was Robert Wilmot-Horton and “he felt gratified at finding such authorities upon his side.”²⁰⁷

It did not end there. Prompted by attempts in Parliament to pass an assisted emigration bill in 1831, the ‘quarterlies’ engaged in further discussion on the efficacy of emigration schemes.²⁰⁸ In April that year the *Quarterly Review* devoted 48 pages of its journal to discuss a series of treaties, articles, and pamphlets under the banner “Population and Emigration.”²⁰⁹ Commenting on the bill that had been introduced by Tory politician Charles Gordon Lennox (1791-1860) and Whig politician Viscount Howick (1802-94) to the House of Commons, the journal observed that, “The evils under which the labouring classes have long been suffering, are acknowledged by all; and here is a practical proposal for affording them relief, which can do no harm to no one, since it is left to the option of all the parties concerned to avail themselves of the facilities it affords; and which must, as far as it is possible to anticipate its consequences, be beneficial to all.”²¹⁰ The government dropped the Emigration Bill of 1831, but fears that laborers might rise in opposition to the proposed amendment to the Poor Laws paved the way for further

²⁰⁷ “Commons Sitting of Tuesday, June 24, 1828,” *Hansard*, 2nd Series, Volume 19 (June 24, 1828). Robert Wilmot-Horton’s reliance on support from authoritative political-economists is explored in Chapters three and four.

²⁰⁸ Charles Gordon Lennox, the fifth Duke of Richmond who had served both Tory and Whig prime ministers, and Viscount Howick, undersecretary in the Colonial Office, attempted to pass an assisted Emigration Bill in March 1831.

²⁰⁹ “Population and Emigration,” *QR*, 45:89 (1831: Apr).

²¹⁰ “Letters on Systematic Colonization and the Bill now before Parliament, etc. By Charles Tennant, Esq.” *QR*, 45:89 (1831: Apr).

debate in and out of Parliament.²¹¹ Extra-parliamentary discussions by the ‘quarterlies’ on emigration and reforming the Poor Laws through focused critical review essays by well-known intellectuals and political economists undoubtedly assisted in keeping the conversation in the public domain. By the time 1834 came around, the addition of two clauses on assisted emigration into the Poor Laws Amendment Act had enabled newly bureaucratized Poor Laws commissioners to assist with emigration.²¹²

VI. Conclusion

Despite their partisan differences and vacillation between technical discussions and pragmatic solutions, the ‘quarterlies’ were united in their promotion of emigration to the colonies and pushed the issue to the forefront of public discourse through review articles that were written by a host of impressive intellectual ambassadors. To the reviewers, it went without saying that a thorough knowledge of matters such as population, emigration, and food shortage were necessary ingredients for an educated, modern society. Furthermore, to argue Frances Place’s position, that there was “not a single writer of eminence on the subject of Political Economy who has not condemned every one of the projects which have been started to promote emigration,” ignores the evidence in the voluminous editions of the *Edinburgh Review*, *Quarterly Review*, and *Westminster Review*, and also ignores the fact that many political economists who contributed to these journals championed the emigration cause in their major published works. In direct contradiction with his earlier statement, France Place admitted that J.R. McCulloch’s *Edinburgh* essay on emigration had a remarkable effect on members of Parliament. Similarly, Lord Holland

²¹¹ Wendy Cameron and Mary McDougall Maude, *Assisting Emigration to Upper Canada: the Petworth Project 1832-1837*, (Montreal and London: McGill-Queens University Press, 2000), 16.

²¹² This claim is explored further in the dissertation’s conclusion.

commented that it was “arguments in the *Edinburgh Review*” that “converted many to the same opinion in the course of a few months.”²¹³ It is worth noting that among the contributors to the ‘quarterlies,’ some became professional politicians, and took seats in Parliament—Francis Horner and Henry Brougham from the *Edinburgh Review*; politician John Wilson Croker and prime minister George Canning from the *Quarterly Review*; John Stuart Mill, Sir John Bowring (1792-1872) and Thomas Peronnet Thompson from the *Westminster Review*.²¹⁴ Their participation in public life undoubtedly required walking a tightrope between their role as ‘experts’ telling people what to think on the one hand and directly recommending or opposing government policy on the other. Arguably, this dual role helped create an educated literary public which used its authority to force the democratic institutions of the state to effect policy change. What impact, if any, did these individuals have on government legislation? Would it have been any different if they had avoided political office and just written journal articles, published works on political economy, and delivered university lectures? As Fetter has argued, there are five ways in which an economist, as a member of Parliament, can influence legislation: (1) voting; (2) speaking for or against a measure; (3) sponsoring, as a private member, legislation; (4) membership, and particularly chairmanship of a select committee; and (5) membership in the government.²¹⁵ Given this potential for influence, the contributors to the ‘quarterlies’ likely leveraged their positions as political-economic commentators to push issues in front of the

²¹³ Henry Richard Vassall Holland, Baron, *Further Memoirs of the Whig Party, 1807-1821, with Some Miscellaneous Reminiscences*, ed. Lord Stavordale (London: J. Murray, 1905), 15. Holland was referencing the issue of stopping assistance the Spaniards during the Peninsula War, a topic discussed in the *Edinburgh Review*. The article referenced by Holland is likely either “Letters from England. by Don Manuel Alvarez Espriella,” (1808), *ER*, 11(22), 370; or “A Letter from Mr. Whitbread to Lord Holland, on the Present Situation of Spain,” *ER*, 12, no. 24 (Jul 01, 1808): 433. It is unclear who or how many were ‘convinced’ by the *Edinburgh*’s arguments.

²¹⁴ Francis Horner was in office 1806-1817; Henry Brougham, 1810-1834; John Wilson Croker, 1807-1832; George Canning, 1804-1827; John Stuart Mill, 1865-68; John Bowring, 1835-37, 1841-49; Thomas Perronet Thompson, 1835-37, 1847-52, 1857-59.

²¹⁵ Frank Whitson Fetter, “The Influence of Economists in Parliament on British Legislation from Ricardo to John Stuart Mill,” *Journal of Political Economy*, 83, no. 5 (1975): 1051–64, 1053.

legislature, knowing that they would be able to influence policy, a point taken up in subsequent chapters.

When reflecting years later on the foundation of the *Edinburgh Review*, Sydney Smith commented:

The Catholics were not emancipated – the Corporation and Tests Acts were unrepealed – the Game Laws were horribly oppressive – Steel Traps and Spring Guns were set all over the Country – Prisoners tried for their Lives could have no Counsel – Lord Eldon and the Court of Chancery pressed heavily upon mankind – Libel was punished by the most cruel and vindictive imprisonments – the principles of Political Economy were little understood – the law of Debt and of Conspiracy were upon the worst possible footing – the enormous wickedness of the Slave Trade was tolerated – a thousand evils were in existence, which the talents of good and able men have since lessened or removed.”²¹⁶

While the list of ‘evils’ is impressive, and the sense of urgency apparent, one cannot ignore the implication of Smith’s last sentence, that by disseminating and popularizing political economic discourse to its readership the ‘quarterlies’ contributed to the force of extra-parliamentary politics—grabbing the public’s attention, pushing issues of concern in front of policy makers, and ameliorating the evil.

²¹⁶ Sydney Smith quoted in Massimiliano Demata and Duncan Wu, eds., 37.

CHAPTER THREE: The Popularization of the Parson

I. Introduction

In the first edition of his highly acclaimed *Essay on Population* (1798), Thomas Robert Malthus proclaimed, “I have taken no notice of emigration for obvious reasons.”¹ His rationale included the likelihood that other parts of Europe would “be under the same difficulties with regard to population” as the British Isles and therefore unable to admit new members, and that experience has shown “how much misery and hardship men will undergo in their own country.” In short, Malthus posited that there was no incentive to emigrate because it was better to starve at home than starve as a settler in a strange land.² Within five years of the first *Essay*, Malthus qualified his earlier dismissal of the significance of emigration. By introducing a new chapter in the second edition of the *Essay* (1803) devoted entirely to the subject, he opened the door to further debate about the dangers and difficulties of emigration. Malthus argued that while emigration did not fit neatly into the egalitarian society that philosopher and novelist William Godwin (1756-1836) had envisioned, it should be considered as a possible option, especially when there is a redundant population in cultivated parts of the world and sparse population in lands that are uncultivated.

In this new chapter, “Of Emigration,” Malthus surveyed the fate of early expeditions—by adventurers fired by powerful passions to uncultivated lands in the New World. He noted, “the thirst of gain, the spirit of adventure, and religious enthusiasm” that enabled them to “triumph over every obstacle,” to which he added pessimistically, “in a way to make humanity shudder,

¹ T.R. Malthus, *An Essay on the Principle of Population*, ed. Geoffrey Gilbert, World’s Classics (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 86.

² *Ibid.*, 87.

and to defeat the true end of emigration.”³ The reference to the enslaving and extirpation of the native population, and their elevation above the moral worth of their destroyers, painted a grim picture of European Conquistadors and is suggestive of Malthus’s disdain for the character of the early Spanish, and even French settlers. Even among English settlers, Malthus observed that, “none of the English colonies became any way considerable, till the necessary manners were born and grew up in the country.”⁴ Once colonies were established, Malthus conceded that, “the difficulty of emigration is indeed very considerably diminished.” But, not completely, for there were still transportation costs and support until the emigrants could settle in.⁵ The important question then became, who would furnish the resources to facilitate such emigration? Malthus’s response was incomplete, with conditions attached: if the government were to be involved, there would have to be a tangible colonial benefit.⁶ Should a colony be acquired and peopled through emigration, the gain would be “sudden and striking” but “of short duration,” because the geometrical ratio would soon fill up the land once more. (The geometric power of the population to increase referred to the doubling of the population in twenty-five years, while food production increased arithmetically i.e. by a constant factor and not enough to support the population):

It is evident, therefore, that the reason why the resource of emigration has so long continued to be held out as a remedy to redundant population is because, from the natural unwillingness of people to desert their native country, and the difficulty of clearing and cultivating fresh soil, it never is or can be adequately adopted. If this remedy were indeed really effectual, and had power so far to relieve the disorders of vice and misery in old states, as to place them in the condition of the most prosperous new colonies, we should soon see the phial exhausted, and when the disorders returned with increased virulence, every hope from this quarter would be for ever closed. ⁷

³ T.R. Malthus, *An Essay on the Principle of Population: Or, A View of Its Past and Present Effects on Human Happiness: With an Inquiry into Our Prospects Respecting the Future Removal or Mitigation of the Evils Which It Occasions*, ed. Donald Winch and Patricia James, Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought (Cambridge England; New York, NY, USA: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 81-82.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 84.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 85.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 85.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 87.

Malthus concluded “Of Emigration” by stating that as a way of making room for unrestricted population growth, emigration was “perfectly inadequate.” But, he added, “as a partial and temporary expedient and with a view to the more general cultivation of the earth, and the wider spread of civilization, it seems to be both useful and proper; and if it cannot be proved that governments are bound actively to encourage it, it is not only strikingly unjust, but in the highest degree impolitic to prevent it.”⁸ For Malthus, the distinction was clear. As a partial expedient, emigration served as a temporary answer to rid some of the surplus population, such as the Irish who were pouring into England and threatening its very existence. However, emigration also served to replenish the Earth, to spread *English* civilization to all corners of the globe.⁹

Following the release of half a million soldiers from the Napoleonic Wars and acute agricultural distress, Malthus modified his position further in the fifth edition of his *Essay* (1817), speaking more favorably of emigration, even as a temporary expedient:

If, for instance, from a combination of external and internal causes, a very great stimulus should be given to the population of a country for ten or twelve years together, and it

⁸ Ibid., 87.

⁹ Malthus on Irish emigration: Hugh J. M. Johnston, *British Emigration Policy 1815-1830: 'shovelling out Paupers'* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 135-136; Patricia James, *Population Malthus, His Life and Times* (London ; Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979), 391-2; Eric Richards, “Malthus and the uses of British Emigration” in Kent Fedorowich and Andrew S. Thompson, eds., *Empire, Migration and Identity in the British World*, Studies in Imperialism (Manchester, England) (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), 44-5; Alison Bashford, *The New Worlds of Thomas Robert Malthus : Rereading the Principle of Population*, ed. Joyce E. Chaplin (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2016), 215-223. On the spread of English civilization more broadly through emigration: Kathrin Levitan, “‘Sprung from ourselves’: British interpretations of mid-nineteenth century racial demographics” in Fedorowich and Thompson, eds., 60-81; James Tully, “Lineages of Contemporary Imperialism,” in Stanley Currie Johnson, *A History of Emigration from the United Kingdom to North America, 1763-1912*, (New York, E.P. Dutton and co., 1913), 295-326, 341-343; Anthony Pagden, *Lords of All the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain and France c.1500-c.1800*, (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1995), 1-28; David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire*, Ideas in Context (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 27, 53-56. For emigration as natural theology, see Alison Bashford and Joyce E. Chaplin, “Malthus and the New World” in Robert J. Mayhew, ed., *New Perspectives on Malthus* (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 112-115; Boyd Hilton, *The Age of Atonement: The Influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought, 1795-1865* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 90-91; Anthony Michael C. Waterman, *Revolution, Economics, and Religion : Christian Political Economy, 1798-1833* (Cambridge England ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

should then comparatively cease, it is clear that labour will continue flowing into the market, with almost undiminished rapidity, while the means of employing and paying it have been essentially contracted. It is precisely under these circumstances that emigration is most useful as a temporary relief; and it is in these circumstances that Great Britain finds herself placed at present.¹⁰

Malthus acknowledged that should no emigration take place, the population would still conform to the status quo, meaning it would try to work with the resources at hand; nonetheless, he cautioned that the distress would be severe: “The only real relief in such a case is emigration; and the subject at the present moment is well worthy of the attention of the government, both as a matter of humanity and policy.”¹¹

This chapter and the next will consider the influence of Malthus in extra-parliamentary debates on emigration, 1798-1834. Malthus’s impact on nineteenth century critiques of pauperism and overpopulation is undisputed; but he should also be given his rightful place as the foremost intellectual concerned with assisted emigration, even though on the surface Malthus’s theory of population—that the population had a tendency to increase more rapidly than the food supply leading to starvation, overcrowding and epidemics—may appear tangential to the issue of “shovelling out paupers.”¹² Malthus proposed that the “population invariably increases, where the means of subsistence increases.”¹³ This notion of geometric increase rested on the observation of Benjamin Franklin and others about the high population growth in North American colonies.¹⁴ Malthus did not trouble himself with data in the first edition of his *Essay*, but in the second, he

¹⁰ Malthus, *Essay on Population*, ed. Winch and James, 88.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² The term “shovelling out paupers” was first used in 1843 by Member of Parliament Charles Buller, who claimed that Britain’s emigration policy was one of “shovelling out paupers to where they may die without shocking their betters with the sight or sound of their last agony.”

¹³ Malthus, *Essay on Population*, ed. Winch and James, 29.

¹⁴ Malthus stated, “In the United States of America, where the means of subsistence have been more ample, the manners of the people more pure, and consequently the checks to early marriages fewer, than in any of the modern states of Europe, the population has been found to double itself in twenty-five years.” Malthus, *Essay on Population*, ed. Geoffrey Gilbert, 16.

made an effort to verify his dictum and also to acknowledge his intellectual debts.¹⁵

To be sure, statistical expertise was scant in the eighteenth century, and population estimates were gathered from tax returns—the number of inhabitants in a house and the size of the family unit—but it was unclear what constituted a house, and what constituted a family unit.¹⁶ Shortly after the publication of the first *Essay*, Britain’s population (England, Scotland and Wales) was reported in a census as 10,943,000 in 1801 (and 12,597,000 in 1811, 14,392,000 in 1821 and 16,529,000 in 1831¹⁷). The census supplied Malthus with aggregate data that served as a starting point for further collection, to establish the historical trend in population growth. Subsequently, Malthus wrote to friends, colleagues, and ex-students, requesting information from all over the world; his chain of correspondents empirically supported his claims about population pressure and growth.¹⁸ By stating in the 1803 edition of the *Essay* that, “in the case of a redundant population in the more cultivated parts of the world, the natural and obvious remedy that presents itself is emigration to those parts that are uncultivated,” but adding that emigration is a “very weak palliative,” Malthus initiated a polemical debate on population, emigration and the food supply that was carried out in the earliest editions of the *Edinburgh Review* and *Quarterly Review*, and to which he was a contributor.

¹⁵ Alison Bashford and Joyce E. Chaplin argue that Malthus did not give proper attribution to Franklin in the first essay, and if he had read Franklin’s essay, he “would not have defined his principle of population the way he did, or at least not as easily.” In short, “Franklin equated the power of a breeding couple with the speed of the vegetable imaginary; Malthus did not.” Bashford and Chaplin in Robert Mayhew, ed., *New Perspectives on Malthus*, 115-116.

¹⁶ G. Talbot Griffith, *Population Problems of the Age of Malthus* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1926), 2.

¹⁷ K.E. Knorr, *British Colonial Theories 1570-1850* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1944), 226.

¹⁸ His main correspondents included: Lord Brougham, Thomas Chalmers, William Godwin, Francis Horner, Robert Wilmot-Horton, James Mackintosh, Jane Marcet, John Murray, Henry Parnell, Pierre Prévost, Jean-Baptiste Say, Nassau Senior, J.C.L. Simonde de Sismondi, William Whetwell, and Samuel Whitbread. See John Pullen and Trevor Hughes Parry, *T.R. Malthus: The Unpublished Papers in the Collection of Kanto Gakuen University, Volume I* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1997), 138; John Pullen, “The Other Correspondence of T. R. Malthus: A Preliminary List and Selected Commentary,” *History of Political Economy*, 48, no. 1 (March 2016): 65–110.

Malthus was viewed by many as a friend of smallpox, the plague, cholera, the slave trade, and other miseries and vices, and likely the *Essay on Population* was more talked about than read. Critics viewed him as cruel, heartless, and an advocate for starvation as a means to control population. By engaging in open warfare on the issue, Malthus's critics sharpened awareness of discussions on population in popular discourse. A fresh perspective on Malthus and emigration—one that considers his ambivalent relationship with review journals and the radical press, as well as others within his network (such as liberal intellectuals, ministers, and members of the Select Committee on Emigration)—supports a more nuanced understanding of the impact of Malthus in early nineteenth century Britain, allowing Malthus's stated positions to be understood in a different light. Malthus's positions changed over thirty years: he was against government interference in 1798, but recommended government assistance in encouraging emigration in 1827; he argued in favor of the complete abolition of the Poor Laws but backed off his insistence on abolition if implementation was impractical; and he broke with his free trade principles on the abolition of the Corn Laws.¹⁹

Whether a short-term or long-term palliative for population pressure, discussions about emigration were inextricably linked to discussions about a redundant population. By agreeing to give evidence to the Select Committee on Emigration in 1827 chaired by Robert Wilmot-Horton (1784-1841), Derbyshire landowner and Tory undersecretary of state for war and the colonies, Malthus arguably added legitimacy and a degree of notoriety to the proceedings—before, during

¹⁹ On Malthus's vacillating views on the Poor Laws: Patricia James, *Population Malthus, His Life and Times* (London; Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979), 449-451; Donald Winch, *Riches and Poverty: An Intellectual History of Political Economy in Britain, 1750-1834*, Ideas in Context (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 318-322. On Malthus's protectionist stance on the Corn Laws: James, *Population Malthus* 264-269; Winch, *Riches and Poverty*, 332-336; Samuel Hollander argued that Malthus flipped and withdrew his support for the Corn Laws in 1824. "Malthus's Abandonment of Agricultural Protectionism," and "More on Malthus and Agricultural Protection" in Samuel Hollander, *The Literature of Political Economy*, Collected Essays II (London; New York: Routledge, 1998), 269-288.

and after—which Wilmot-Horton was lacking.²⁰ There is no doubt that the dire state of the country colored Malthus’s thinking about the usefulness of emigration as temporary relief, and that the Select Committee on Emigration became a vehicle for Malthus’s own views. Yet his recommendation in 1827 that the government should assist with emigration contrasts with sentiments expressed almost thirty years earlier in which he described the interference of government in influencing distribution as “reprobate.”²¹ The committee’s final report was treated extensively by the periodical and working class press, especially because Malthus’s name was pinned to it. As a result, emigration—in particular, the movement of people specifically to British colonies—attracted significant attention during and after the hearings and raised awareness of future possibilities for peopling the colonies, particularly among leading political economists of the day. Simply put, it is the argument of this chapter that emigration was fiercely debated by intellectuals, and in periodicals, newspapers, and government circles, and Malthus knowingly (and unknowingly) acted as an intellectual conduit, facilitating extra-parliamentary dialogue on the formation of government policy. And when it came to make national policy on political-economic topics, Thomas Robert Malthus (his name and doctrines) wielded a mighty axe.

II. Malthus’s Legacy

Scholars giving credit to Malthus’s intellectual contribution to shaping opinion on poverty

²⁰ Brynn argues that Wilmot Horton attempted to bridge the gap between politics and political economy but ultimately failed due to his lack of political finesse and his overly ambitious agenda. Edward Brynn, "Politics and Economic Theory: Robert Wilmot Horton, 1820-1841," *The Historian*, 34, no. 2 (1972): 260-77.

²¹ For Malthus’s endorsement of emigration, see Robert John Wilmot-Horton, “Select Committee on Emigration from United Kingdom Third Report, Minutes of Evidence, Appendix,” *19th Century House of Commons Sessional Papers* V.223 Volume: 5 (January 1, 1827), 327; Bashford and Chaplin, *The New Worlds*, 218. For Malthus’s objection to government interference (1798), see James Bonar, *Malthus and His Work* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1924), iii-iv.

include J.R. Poynter, Donald Winch, Mitchell Dean, Gertrude Himmelfarb, Boyd Hilton, Robert Mayhew, A. C. Waterman, and Peter Mandler.²² As Gertrude Himmelfarb correctly asserted, while Malthus's influence extends far and wide, we may never know the full extent of the impact of Malthusianism. Those who professed their acceptance of Malthusian doctrine in high places included politicians, economists, historians, philosophers, and journalists: William Pitt, Henry Brougham, and Sir James Mackintosh; David Ricardo, James Mill, John Stuart Mill, John Ramsay McCulloch; William Paley and Jeremy Bentham; and numerous journals over the years, although their express enthusiasm waxed and waned.²³ Boyd Hilton and Peter Mandler have argued that Malthus was widely read by members of the ruling elite who held influential positions on parliamentary committees tasked with investigating poverty.²⁴ Even those openly hostile to Malthusianism engaged in discourse on the weighty topic of poverty with urgency and a magnitude rarely seen before. In short, Malthus's dismal vision, as expressed in his *Essay*, "gripped the imagination of contemporaries, of all ranks, classes, callings, and persuasions as few other books had ever done."²⁵ Poynter stated, "If we are to judge influence by fame, then Malthus's contribution to shaping opinion on pauperism was incomparable."²⁶ James Huzel

²² J.R. Poynter, *Society and Pauperism: English Ideas on Poor Relief, 1795-1834* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969); Mitchell Dean, *The Constitution of Poverty: Toward a Genealogy of Liberal Governance* (London: Routledge, 1991); Gertrude Himmelfarb, *The Idea of Poverty: England in the Early Industrial Age* (London: Faber and Faber, 1985); Peter Mandler, "The Making of the New Poor Law Redivivus," *Past and Present*, no. 117 (November 1987): pp. 131-57; Boyd Hilton, *The Age of Atonement: The Influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought, 1795-1865* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988); In *Riches and Poverty*, Winch examines the intellectual impact of Malthus's ideas. His analysis includes the theoretical differences between Malthus and Ricardo, Malthus and Smith, and the fiery relationship between Malthus and the Romantics, including Robert Southey, William Hazlitt, and Samuel Taylor Coleridge; Robert John Mayhew, *Malthus: The Life and Legacies of an Untimely Prophet* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2014); Anthony Michael C. Waterman, *Revolution, Economics, and Religion: Christian Political Economy, 1798-1833* (Cambridge England; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Peter Mandler, "Tories and Paupers: Christian Political Economy and the Making of the New Poor Law," *The Historical Journal*, 33, no. 1 (1990): 81-103; Peter Mandler, "The Making of the New Poor Law Redivivus: Reply," *Past & Present*, no. 127 (1990): 194-201.

²³ Himmelfarb, *Idea of Poverty*, 126.

²⁴ Mandler, "The Making of the New Poor Law Redivivus," (1987); Mandler, "The Making of the New Poor Law Redivivus: Reply," 194-201, 198-199; Hilton, *The Age of Atonement*.

²⁵ Himmelfarb, *The Idea of Poverty*, 127.

²⁶ Poynter, 109.

argued, “Although the debate continues about his specific influence, few would deny that from his first publication in 1798 to his death in 1834, he shaped the entire discourse on the poor and became the beacon against which all proposals for solving the growing problem of poverty in early industrial society had to be measured.”²⁷

Karl Polanyi has made a very different argument about Malthus’s notoriety. In his critique of economic liberalism, he posited that it was the biologization of poverty that stuck a cord with Malthus’s contemporaries.²⁸ On the other hand, A.C. Waterman and Boyd Hilton have focused on the theologization of poverty, which appealed to evangelicals. Waterman described an alliance of political economy and Christian theology which Malthus attempted to construct in the first *Essay*, in response to philosopher William Godwin. It included not only an economic theory of scarcity but also a theology of the nature and origin of evil. According to Waterman, Malthus was the founder and the *Essay* was the founding text, of what he labeled Christian Political Economy.²⁹ Boyd Hilton picked up on this theme, demonstrating how Malthus’s argument about human nature was integrated into popular evangelical thought by intellectuals such as economist and social reformer Rev. Thomas Chalmers (1780-1847) and archbishop of Canterbury John Bird Sumner (1780-1862).³⁰ In short, there are many different overlapping interpretations of Malthus and the popularization of his ideas—from religious to environmental, social, political, economic, scientific, medical, and literary.³¹ This chapter is primarily concerned

²⁷ James P. Huzel, *The Popularization of Malthus in Early Nineteenth-Century England: Martineau, Cobbett and the Pauper Press*, Modern Economic and Social History Series (Aldershot, Hants, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006), 1.

²⁸ Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time*, ed. Joseph E. Stiglitz and Fred Block (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2001), 116-135.

²⁹ Waterman, *Revolution, Economics, and Religion*. See also Brian Young, “Malthus Among the Theologians,” in Brian Dolan, ed., *Malthus, Medicine, & Morality*, pp. 93-113.

³⁰ Hilton, *Age of Atonement*, 73-80.

³¹ For purely economic interpretations: Samuel Hollander, *The Economics of Thomas Robert Malthus*, ed. Samuel Hollander, Studies in Classical Political Economy (Toronto; Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1997). For literary interpretations: Huzel, *The Popularization of Malthus*; Ella Dzelzainis, “Malthus, women and fiction,” in

with the political Malthus and his own personal influence. It also identifies and differentiates Malthus's published principles from that of the spread of his ideas (Malthusianism). This distinction is significant given that Malthus's disciples as well as his critics often misunderstood or reinterpreted the meaning of his population principle to serve their own political ends.

Notwithstanding Malthus's impact on political debates on poverty, there has been scant examination of his contribution to the debates on emigration. Patricia James' statement in *Population Malthus* that Malthus "was no great enthusiast for emigration" was restated approvingly by Cormac Ó Gráda in *Malthus and the Pre-Famine Economy*. Samuel Hollander has argued to the contrary, stating that he saw the opposite viewpoint in Malthus's correspondence.³² The most far-reaching discussion to date—R.N. Ghosh's "Malthus on Emigration and Colonization: Letters to Wilmot-Horton"—contained eight transcribed letters (in whole and part) from Malthus to Robert Wilmot-Horton, sent between February 21, 1823 and May 5th 1831.³³ Ghosh's analysis focused on the difference of opinion, (albeit trifling) between Malthus and Wilmot-Horton on his proposed scheme of emigration. Later correspondence between the two men demonstrated Malthus's skepticism towards the new scheme of colonization proposed by the National Colonization Society (known as the Wakefield Plan). Most recently, Bashford and Chaplin have examined Malthus's principle of population outside of the European context in New World societies. The book posited a convincing analysis on

Robert J. (Robert John) Mayhew, ed., *New Perspectives on Malthus* (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp.155-181. For scientific: Niall O'Flaherty, "Malthus and the 'end of poverty'" in Mayhew, *New Perspectives*, 74-104. For medical: Brian Dolan, ed., *Malthus, Medicine, & Morality*. For environmental, see Robert Mayhew, "Malthus and the Making of Environmental Economics," in Mayhew, *Malthus: The Life and Legacies of an Untimely Prophet*, 103-127; Fredrik Albritton Jonsson, "Island, Nation, Planet: Malthus in the Enlightenment," in Mayhew, *New Perspectives*, 128-152.

³² James, 396; Cormac Ó Gráda "Malthus and the Pre-Famine Economy," in Antoin E. Murphy, *Economists and the Irish economy from the eighteenth century to the present day* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1984), 75-95; Hollander, *The Economics of Thomas Robert Malthus*, ed., 109.

³³ R. N. Ghosh, "Malthus on Emigration and Colonization: Letters to Wilmot-Horton," *Economica*, 30, no. 117 (1963): 45–62.

colonization and emigration which supports the argument of this chapter, that “Malthus was directly involved in inquiries about emigration and the new colonies.”³⁴ However, its main focus is Malthus’s intellectual interaction and commentary on New World settler colonization. Therefore, this dissertation’s contribution to the existing literature is in its examination of the significance of Malthus’s interaction with, and influence over, the debates on emigration which played out in the public arena.

III. A Common Universe of Ideas: Malthus and Malthusianism

On July 10, 1805, Malthus took the position as the first professorial post in political economy in England, at the East India College in Haileybury, Hertfordshire, a college devoted to educating young men destined for careers in the service of the East India Company.³⁵ For the rest of his life, Malthus lived, worked, and wrote at Haileybury, and enjoyed a house and an annual salary of five hundred pounds. Malthus was initially recommended for the position at Haileybury because of the reputation he had established with his two published works.³⁶ His first *Essay*, published anonymously, received an impressive welcome. Favorable reviews appeared in the *Monthly Magazine* and the *New Annual Register*; the *Analytical Review* devoted six pages to its critique.³⁷ Moreover, the newly created *Edinburgh Review* adopted Malthus’s population principle from its inception, even though it did not formally review the *Essay*.³⁸ After the

³⁴ Bashford and Chaplin, *The New Worlds of Thomas Robert Malthus*, 203.

³⁵ Although Malthus’s job title includes “Politics, Commerce and Finance” this is accepted to mean “Political Economy” by scholars such as Tribe, James, Bonar and Epsom.

³⁶ Keith Tribe, “Professors Malthus and Jones: Political Economy at the East India College 1806–1858,” *The European Journal of the History of Economic Thought*, 2, no. 2 (1995): 327–54, 327.

³⁷ “Political Economy,” *Monthly Magazine and Critical Register of Books*, v.6, (1798), 496-7; “Domestic Literature,” *The New Annual Register, or General Repository of History, Politics, Arts, Sciences, and Literature, for the Year...v.41* (1798), 221. “Philosophy,” *Analytical Review, or History of Literature, Domestic and Foreign, on an Enlarged Plan*, v. 28 (August, 1798), 119-125.

³⁸ Patricia James posited an explanation about why the *Edinburgh Review* ignored the *Essay* (James, 112-115) but it is not entirely convincing given that the *Edinburgh Review* was not known for shying away from reviewing

publication of a second (supposedly anonymous) essay by Malthus, *An Investigation of the Cause of the Present High Price of Provisions* (1800), a *Monthly Magazine* reader wrote that this “most ingenious pamphlet” had come “from the hand of the celebrated author of the “Essay on the Principle of Population, a circumstance alone sufficient to invite public attention.”³⁹

In 1803, Malthus released a much-enlarged second edition of the *Essay*, with a revised title, which this time bore the name T.R. Malthus.⁴⁰ With four further editions published in 1806, 1807, 1817 and 1826, it is clear that there was never a single Malthus or Malthusian point of view.⁴¹ Malthus was always revising his views, reworking his findings and on occasions admitting he was wrong, and the six versions of *Essay on Population* went through many radical revisions. Essayist and “Spare Chancellor” Walter Bagehot (1826-1877) described Malthus’s vacillating views: “In its first form the ‘Essay on Population’ was conclusive as to argument, only it was based on untrue facts; in its second form it was based on true facts, but it was inconclusive as to argument.”⁴² Political economist Robert Torrens (1780-1864) remarked, “Mr. Malthus scarcely ever embraced a principle which he did not subsequently abandon.”⁴³ Certainly, between the first and second *Essay*, Malthus elaborated on his ideas, however inconclusive they appeared. He became more convinced that delaying marriage was a more

literature that it might not wholeheartedly agree with. It could simply be a matter that the journal’s editors, in the early days, were too busy to review everything that came across their desks. Also, they were not able to predict the success of Malthus’s *Essay*.

³⁹ “To the Editor of the Monthly Magazine,” *Monthly Magazine and Critical Register of Books*, v.10 (1800), 499. Citation for *An Investigation of the Cause of the Present High Price of Provisions*.

⁴⁰ Full title is *An Essay on the Principle of Population: or, a view of its past and present effects on Human Happiness; with an inquiry into our prospects respecting the future removal or mitigation of the evils which it occasions*.

⁴¹ Donald Winch, *Malthus* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1987); Winch, *Riches and Poverty*, 223-248.

⁴² Walter Bagehot, *Economic Studies*, ed. Richard Holt Hutton, (London, New York: Longmans, Green, and co., 1888), 151.

⁴³ Robert Torrens, *An Essay on the External Corn Trade : Containing an Inquiry into the General Principles of That Important Branch of Traffic ; an Examination of the Exceptions to Which These Principles Are Liable ; and a Comparative Statement of the Effects Which Restrictions on Importation and Free Intercourse, Are Calculated to Produce upon Subsistence, Agriculture, Commerce, and Revenue* (London: Printed for J. Hatchard, 1815), ix.

effective check on the population, and as subsequent essays were published he leaned more towards the notion of preventative checks in Britain, citing abundant examples of unlimited population growth provoking “positive checks” in distant places.

While his ideas may have fluctuated, the impact and relevance of his controversial set of political-economic positions did not. There are literally hundreds of references to Malthus in contemporary writing between the first *Essay* in 1798 and the Select Committee on Emigration in 1827.⁴⁴ Political economic journals, including the *Quarterly Review* and the *Edinburgh Review*, rarely published an edition or two without invoking Malthus, and a steady stream of pamphlets and essays dismantled the *Essay on Population*, point-by-point.⁴⁵ The radical press printed “Letters to the Editor,” reviling the Parson and his outrageous doctrines, and the House of Commons and the House of Lords invoked his name and doctrines in virtually every debate on the Poor Laws, the Corn Laws, the state of Ireland, and assisted emigration.⁴⁶ In addition, Parliament referenced Malthus’s name, principles, and/or expertise as a practitioner of political economy in less predictable ways, for example during debates on subjects as varied as the Slave

⁴⁴ In a search of ProQuest periodicals, Malthus’s name was invoked in 1,538 separate articles between January 1, 1798 and December 31, 1827, 198 of which also mentioned emigration. Compare with Ricardo mentioned in 1,346 articles. *Quarterly Review*: Malthus was discussed in 27 essays out of 853 unique essays (“essays” excludes the section entitled “New Publications”) between Jan 1, 1809 and Dec 31, 1827. Compare with Ricardo, 9 unique essays.

For the *Edinburgh Review*, between 1802 and 1827, 44 unique essays out of 1382 discuss Malthus, 21 discuss Ricardo.

⁴⁵ Of the 72 *Quarterly Review*’s published between 1809 and 1827, 33 invoked Malthus’s name and 14 invoked Ricardo.* Of the 93 *Edinburgh Review*’s printed between 1802 and 1827, 49 invoked Malthus’s name, 27 mentioned Ricardo. *includes section entitled “New Publications” but excludes mentions in “Index” and “Contents” pages. It could be argued that the figures above reflect the fact that David Ricardo died in 1823; however, Ricardo’s name, reputation, and political-economic theories did not. On this basis, an ideal comparison is Adam Smith. However, adding Adam Smith’s name to the search for comparison proved to be very time-consuming, turning up false leads and unusable data because of the common use of the last name Smith (by which he was most often referred). I did a cost-benefit analysis (based on the gain to the dissertation’s argument versus the need to complete it in a timely manner) and made an executive decision to leave Adam Smith out of this particular search.

⁴⁶ Bearing in mind that Malthus never held elected office, his name was still invoked 89 times in the House of Commons and the House of Lords (parliamentary debates, reports of committees, accounts and papers) between 1798 and 1836, two years after his death. By contrast, John Ramsay McCulloch’s name was invoked 5 times during the same time period. A similar search of David Ricardo between 1798 and 1825 (two years after his death) turned up 181 results, but this is not unexpected given that he was a Member of Parliament from 1819 to 1823.

Trade Abolition Bill (1807), rewarding Dr. Jenner for discovering the smallpox vaccine (1807), the Militia Transfer Bill (1807), a motion for a Committee on the State of the Bank of England (1815), Friendly and Parochial Benefits Societies (1819), the altered state of the currency (1822), the resumption of cash payments (1823), the Select Committee on Artisans and Machinery (1824), and a motion for a Committee on the Silk Trade (1826).⁴⁷ As early as 1800, prime minister William Pitt *the younger* (1759-1806) purportedly dropped his Poor Bill (a comprehensive reform which proposed supplementing wages out of the poor rates) after reading Malthus's objections to the Poor Laws as expressed in the *Essay*.⁴⁸ Radical Whig politician Samuel Whitbread (1758-1815) also fell under Malthus's spell. Speaking in Parliament in 1807, Whitbread said: "One philosopher in particular has arisen amongst us, who has gone deeply into the causes of our present situation. I mean Mr. Malthus. His work upon Population has, I believe, been very generally read; and it has completed that change of opinion with regard to the poor laws, which had before been in some measure begun."⁴⁹ Whitbread's bill to amend the Poor Laws (later published in a pamphlet) cited Malthus's principle of population as reason for giving the wealthy more power in administering the poor rates, however he disagreed with Malthus's

⁴⁷ "Slave Trade Abolition Bill," Commons Sitting of Thursday, February 5, 1807, *Hansard*, 1st Series, Volume 8; "Vaccine Inoculation: Reward to Dr. Jenner," Commons Sitting of Wednesday, July 29, 1807, *Hansard*, 1st Series, Volume 9; "Militia Transfer Bill," Lords Sitting of Monday, August 10, 1807, *Hansard*, 1st Series, Volume 9; "Friendly and Parochial Benefits Societies," Commons Sitting of Thursday, March 28, 1819, *Hansard*, 1st Series, Volume 39; "Motion For A Committee On The State Of The Bank Of England," Commons Sitting of Tuesday, March 2, 1815, *Hansard*, 1st Series, Volume 29; "Altered State of the Currency," Commons Sitting of Wednesday, July 10, 1822, *Hansard*, 2nd Series, Volume 7; "Resumption of Cash Payments," Commons Sitting of Thursday, June 12, 1823, *Hansard*, 2nd Series, Volume 9; Joseph Hume, "Select Committee on State of Law in United Kingdom Respecting Artisans Leaving Kingdom, and Exportation of Tools and Machinery, and Combination of Workmen to Raise Wages: Report, Minutes of Evidence," *House of Commons Sessional Papers* Volume V, Page : 51 (January 1, 1824); "Silk Trade," Commons Sitting of Friday, February 24, 1826, *Hansard*, 2nd Series, Volume 14.

⁴⁸ James, 65; Huzel, *The Popularization of Malthus*, 23; See also "The Life, Writings and Character of Mr. Malthus," *ER*, LXIV (January, 1837), 483.

⁴⁹ "Commons Sitting of Thursday, February 19, 1807" *Hansard*, 1st Series, Volume 8 (February 19, 1807).

proposal to abolish the Poor Laws and on the lack of provision of property for the poor.⁵⁰

Malthus entered the political foray by issuing a rebuttal in which he expressly objected to Whitbread's proposal to provide cottages for the poor.⁵¹ In a subsequent private letter to Malthus, Whitbread apologized for the attributing "hardness of heart" to Malthus, and reconciled their differences by pointing to their similarities of view; they both agreed on the principle of discriminating between the idle and industrious poor.⁵²

Notwithstanding the House of Commons ultimate rejection of Whitbread's Poor Laws amendment, Malthus's contribution to political-economic thought had begun to shape social attitudes and policies. Debates on legislation such as the Poor Laws amendment had not only given a voice to adherents of Malthus's principles but also to an equal number of those who were outright hostile.⁵³ Much of the intense opposition to Malthus's theories across a broad spectrum of society centered on the 1798 *Essay*, which utilized the language of determinism—that individuals were bound by fate to a life of misery. Malthus softened his rhetoric in the 1803 edition of the *Essay* by placing more emphasis on prudential restraint, which was preferable to death caused by poverty. Nevertheless, the "folly and wickedness" of the *Essay* provoked his adversaries—Enlightenment thinkers, Tory paternalists, Romantics, and radicals associated with

⁵⁰ Samuel Whitbread, "Substance of a Speech on the Poor Laws: Delivered in the House of Commons, on Thursday, February 19, 1807," (London, 1807). A copy of Whitbread's pamphlet is in Malthus's library, held at Jesus College, Cambridge. There are no margin notes in the pamphlet.

⁵¹ T.R. Malthus, *A letter to Samuel Whitbread, Esq. M.P. on his proposed bill for the amendment of the poor laws*. 2nd ed. (London, 1807). When Whitbread moved to pass a bill for establishing national system of free education of the poor, Liverpool MP William Roscoe interjected, noting that Whitbread's suggestion had appeared in the letter from Mr. Malthus: "As the learned writer stated, "as the first object was to elevate the general character of the poor, this or any measure which tended to it was entitled to support." Roscoe added that, "no sound objection could be made to this measure." "Commons Sitting of Friday, April 24, 1807," *Hansard*, 1st Series, Volume 9 (April 24, 1807).

⁵² Samuel Whitbread to T.R. Malthus, April 5, 1807 in John Pullen and Trevor Hughes Parry, *T.R. Malthus: The Unpublished Papers in the Collection of Kanto Gakuen University, Volume I* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1997), 81.

⁵³ Poynter, 207-222.

the working class press—“into a tone of contemptuous indignation.”⁵⁴

A word about the difference between Malthusianism and Malthus (the man and his principles) is prudent here. The word “Malthusian” literally meant “a follower of Malthus,” and Malthus’s principles on population, as laid out in his *Essay*, were his intellectual contribution to the discourse on poverty. Malthus’s principles were invoked with regularity by his disciples and critics, who over-simplified the complex relationship between resources and population to justify a whole host of fanatical commentary on poverty.⁵⁵ The remedy Malthus had proposed to overpopulation was restraint and the abolition of the Poor Laws, not shoveling out paupers through emigration schemes. Yet during the volatile conditions of the Napoleonic Wars, and at its conclusion—when the demand for labor shrank in most sectors of the economy, wages dropped, and unemployment skyrocketed—it appeared as though real events were confirming Malthus’s gloomy prediction. While Malthus himself was equivocal on emigration, his influence on others—particularly those who urged emigration as a way of getting rid the excess population—was immense.⁵⁶ The naysayers used Malthus’s theories to dismiss emigration on the

⁵⁴ Robert Southey, *The Annual Review*, cited in Winch, *Riches and Poverty*, 294. William Godwin was not surprisingly one of Malthus’s earliest critics. Godwin’s public response to Malthus’s *Essay—Thoughts Occasioned by the Perusal of Dr. Parr’s Spital Sermon*—included some concessions on the foundations of Malthus’s principles, even though he disagreed with the conclusions. Godwin admitted that, “Of this book and the spirit in which it is written I can never speak but with unfeigned respect,” but pages later wrote “I do not think there is any truth in these conclusions.” William Godwin, *Thoughts Occasioned by the Perusal of Dr. Parr’s Spital Sermon Preached at Christ Church, April 15, 1800: Being a Reply to the Attacks of Dr. Parr, Mr. Mackintosh, the Author of an Essay on Population, and Others*, Making of the Modern Economy (London: Printed by Taylor and Wilks, 1801), 10, 66. For a more detailed treatment of Godwin’s response, see Kenneth Smith, *The Malthusian Controversy* (London, Routledge & Paul, 1951), 38-43; James, 98-99; Winch, *Riches and Poverty*, 274-277.

⁵⁵ Y. Charbit, “The Fate of Malthus’s Work: History and Ideology,” in International Conference on Historical Demography (1980: Paris et al., eds., *Malthus Past and Present* (London; New York: Academic Press, 1983), 17-30; Girish Mishra, *Malthus and His Ghost* (New Delhi: Manak Publications, 2001); Eric B. Ross, *The Malthus Factor: Population, Poverty, and Politics in Capitalist Development* (London; New York: New York: Zed Books; Distributed in the USA exclusively by St. Martin’s Press, 1998); Derek S. Hoff and Thomas Robertson, “Malthus Today,” in Mayhew, ed., *New Perspectives on Malthus*, 267-293. From the 1870s onwards, “Malthusian” referred to supporters of birth control: Mayhew, *Malthus: The Life and Legacies of an Untimely Prophet*, 150-151.

⁵⁶ Eric Richards, “Malthus and the Uses of British Emigration,” in Kent Fedorowich and Andrew S. Thompson eds., *Empire, Migration and Identity in the British World*, Studies in Imperialism, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), 43; Bashford and Chaplin, *The New Worlds*, 213-214.

grounds that it created a vacuum that would be quickly repopulated. Those in favor of emigration clung to Malthus's gloomy prediction of catastrophe if remedies were not taken to address the burgeoning population. The question—whether emigration should be actively assisted—was an old question, one that had been circulating ever since the first colonies were established in the New World. Its discussion, therefore, as part of a study on population, is unremarkable, especially given that Malthus's expressed position on emigration was neither lengthy nor groundbreaking. As Bashford and Chaplin have noted, given that “settler colonialism and political economy powerfully fused in these population-driven emigration schemes, it is unsurprising that Malthus's principle was invoked readily and regularly.”⁵⁷

The earliest commentary on Malthus's expressed position on emigration appeared in 1804 in the *Monthly Review*, which acknowledged not a coherent solution to addressing widespread poverty but his set of observations elucidating the possibilities for dealing with an excess population.⁵⁸ More substantial engagement with Malthus's new chapter “Of Emigration” came from one of Malthus's lesser-known critics, physician Charles Hall (1745-1825) in his work *The Effect of Civilization on the People in European States* (1805). The book itself is unremarkable, but some copies contained an appendix which is worthy of examination. Hall commenced his observations by noting that, “Mr. Malthus agrees with me in many of my positions, and most of my premises,” a rather curious statement for an unknown author (whereas

⁵⁷ Bashford and Chaplin, *The New Worlds*, 202. Just to be clear, it is worth noting that there were many varieties of Malthusianism, not just the pro-emigration imperial lobby. One included a progressive eugenics project - see Alison Bashford, *Global Population: History, Geopolitics, and Life On Earth* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), 28-37. Another was associated with reform the Poor Laws - see Anne VinkoKur, “Malthusian Ideology and the Crises of the Welfare State,” in Turner, ed., pp. 170-186; T. H. Hollingsworth, “The Influence of Malthus on British Thought,” in Jacques A. Dupâquier, (Antoinette) Fauve-Chamoux, E. Grebenik, and Centre national de la recherche scientifique (France), eds. *Malthus Past and Present*, (London; New York: Academic Press, 1983), 213-221; Poynter, 165-185.

⁵⁸ “Art. VI. Mr. Malthus's Essay on the Principle of Population” *Monthly Review, Or, Literary Journal, 1752-1825* 43, (01, 1804): 56-70, 56.

Malthus had already published two editions of his *Essay*, contributed to the *Edinburgh Review*, made several appearances in Cobbett's *Weekly Political Register*, and had his *Essay* described as a "celebrated work" in a major English newspaper by 1805).⁵⁹ Whatever consensus of opinion Hall felt existed between him and Malthus, he was quick to note their differences: Malthus "does not consider civilization as chargeable with any thing on this account, because, as he says, the same want and misery must necessarily happen in every system." In short, Malthus viewed his principle of population as universal; Hall disagreed. Hall's solution was simple: "for England, colonization; for the world, restraints on marriage by law."⁶⁰ Hall's link between colonization (the planting of English people in overseas settlements), and the principles of population (as described by Malthus) was expressly stated: rather than identifying colonies as providing an outlet for superabundant capital and opportunities for "the overflowing, or rotten part of the state's population" as *Edinburgh Reviewer* Henry Brougham, first Baron Brougham and Vaux (1778-1868) had done in his *Inquiry* (1803), Hall identified colonies as a salvation for a population in want of proper and sufficient food.⁶¹

A second lengthy critique of Malthus's *Essay* came from Dr. Thomas Jarrold (1770-1853). Responding to the 1803 edition of the *Essay*, Jarrold expressed concern over the efficacy of emigration, not for the emigrants, but for those left behind. Rather than viewing it as a "very

⁵⁹ Charles Hall, *The Effects of Civilization on the People in European States*, Reprints of Economic Classics (New York, A. M. Kelley, 1965). The Appendix was entitled, "Observations on the Principal Conclusion in Mr. Malthus's *Essay on Population*," 8. Entries on Malthus in William Cobbett's *Weekly Register*: "Summary of Politics," *Cobbett's Weekly Political Register* (London, England), Saturday, February 16, 1805, Issue 7; "Summary of Politics," *Cobbett's Weekly Political Register* (London, England), Saturday, August 25, 1804, Issue 8; "Effect Of Bank Notes On The Price Of Provisions," *Cobbett's Weekly Political Register* (London, England), Saturday, September 22, 1804, Issue 12; "The Chase," *The York Herald* (York, England), Saturday, October 20, 1804, Issue 749.

⁶⁰ Hall, 9.

⁶¹ Henry Brougham, Baron, *An Inquiry into the Colonial Policy of the European Powers*, Making of the Modern Economy (Edinburgh: Printed for E. Balfour [et al.], Printed by D. Willison), 1803), vol. 1, 159-160. Their differences are akin to Robert Wilmot-Horton and Edward Wakefield's distinction between emigration and colonization.

weak palliative” that would alleviate overpopulation in the short term, Jarrold considered it disabling: “The spirit of emigration did not produce harmony. But was it not beneficial in some other way? I apprehend not. Scarcity still threatened the land.” Citing the example of Germany, he argued that the abandoned land would be “extremely scanty and insufficient, unless procured by the toil of the husbandmen or the vigilance of the hunter.”⁶² In other words, a reduced population (due to emigration) would diminish the labor employed on the land to produce food. A year later, in 1807, Jarrold wrote *A Letter to Samuel Whitbread*, in which he implored Whitbread not to be swayed by Malthus’s doctrines: “While many applaud, with you, Mr. Malthus’s originality of thought, his distinguished ability, and his persevering industry, and grant all that can be asked for him, as a scholar and a gentleman, they revolt from his principles— as false, injurious, and wicked; and such as ought not, in any form, to be made the basis of legislation.” Contradicting his previous position on emigration, Jarrold then suggested that if Britain were “too full of people” it would be to its “lasting benefit,” as it would facilitate colonization, even if achieved through conquest.⁶³

Whitbread, Hall, and Jarrold represent a sliver of the expert-intellectuals who engaged in early, public critiques of Malthus.⁶⁴ These early critiques, about topics of public concern, merely

⁶² T. Jarrold, *Dissertations on Man, Philosophical, Physiological, and Political; in Answer to Mr. Malthus’s “Essay on the Principle of Population.”*, vi p., 1 l., [9]-367, [1] p. (London: Cadell & Davis [etc.], 1806), 112.

⁶³ Thomas Jarrold, *A Letter to Samuel Whitbread, Esq. M.P. on the Subject of the Poor’s Laws*, (London: (Stockport: Sold by Cadell and Davies, Northull & Dawson), 1807), 10, 11.

⁶⁴ See also Anon., *Remarks on a late publication entitled “An essay on the principle of population”* (London, 1803); William Keir, *A Summons of Wakening; or, The Evil Tendency and Danger of Speculative Philosophy, Exemplified in Mr. Leslie’s Inquiry into the Nature of Heat, and Mr. Malthus’s Essay on Population, and in That Speculative System of Common Law. Which Is at Present Administered in These Kingdoms. To Which Is Subjoined, a Prospectus of an Inquiry into the Origin of Government and Law.*, ed. P. D. Leslie (Hawick, 1807); Robert Acklom Ingram, *Disquisitions on Population : In Which the Principles of the Essay on Population by the Rev. T.R. Malthus, Are Examined and Refuted* (London: Printed for J. Hatchard, 1808); Anon., *A Clear, Fair, and Candid Investigation of the Population, Commerce, and Agriculture of This Kingdom with a Full Refutation of All Mr. Malthus’s Principles, Proving, from Infallible Documents, That Our Population Is Rapidly Decreasing, from the High Price of Grain, and the Long and Unfortunate War, and If Not Remedied, England May Fall : Also Shewing the Great Impolicy of the Late Corn Bill, and That the High Price of Grain Has Been the Cause of the Late Blights.*, (London: J. Mawman, and J. Richardson, Printed by B. Scott, 1810).

highlighted linkages between superabundant population and assisted emigration in Malthus's writings. In the years between the publication of the second *Essay* and the end of the Napoleonic Wars, his theories continued to attract widespread public attention. He was ably assisted by a burgeoning middle-class press and growing readership, which provided an intellectual platform for writers and readers who inhabited a common universe of ideas. Simply put, between 1798 and 1815, his *Essay* penetrated the mental world of the middle class, shoring up his position as the foremost intellectual on all matters concerning population. There are good reasons for this: the publication (in quick succession) of four editions of his *Essay*; Malthus's public disagreement with the *Edinburgh Review* over the Corn Laws; wartime economic stress, bad harvests and social tension that legitimized discussions about overpopulation, emigration and the food supply; and the reaction to all of the above by Britain's newspapers and periodicals. Popularizers of Malthusian doctrines praised his ability to define population pressure and to seek improvement for the poor; critics dismantled his arguments by demonstrating that Malthus's arithmetic was just plain wrong; and his outright enemies attacked him with a ferocity rarely seen in popular discourse. For his part, Malthus was not only the subject of the headlines on population but also, he was writing them, as an anonymous contributor to the quarterly journals the *Edinburgh Review* and the *Quarterly Review*.

Between 1808 and 1817, Malthus contributed a total of four articles to the *Edinburgh* as well as being the subject of many others.⁶⁵ However, from 1815, his relationship with the journal

⁶⁵ Francis Horner brought Malthus into the fold as one of the *Edinburgh Review*'s contributors, and it seems as though the journal's editorial board warmly regarded him, at least at the beginning. Horner had long expressed interest in Malthus's work; writing in 1798 to his friend John Archibald Murray (1778-1859), later Lord Advocate, Horner noted, "A pamphlet has been lately advertised in the Reviews, 'On Population, in opposition to the doctrines of Godwin and Condorcet.' I wish you would look into it, and bring it down, if it contains any thing new." Francis Horner to J.A. Murray, Edinburgh, 14th July, 1798, cited in Francis Horner, *The Horner Papers: Selections from the Letters and Miscellaneous Writings of Francis Horner, M.P. 1795-1817*, ed. Kenneth Bourne and William Banks Taylor (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1994), 95. From its inception the *Edinburgh Review* supported Malthus's principle of population. Indeed, in its very first edition the journal critiqued William Godwin's reply to

took a turn for the worse when Malthus issued the second of two pamphlets on the Corn Laws, outlining a protectionist view of the importation of foreign corn.⁶⁶ According to correspondence between *Edinburgh Review* editors Francis Jeffrey (1773-1850) and Francis Horner (1778-1817) there was disagreement on the issue, and its position relative to the espoused policy of the journal.⁶⁷ It came as no surprise that in February 1815 the *Edinburgh* gave Malthus's two pamphlets on the Corn Laws a good thrashing.⁶⁸ While the correspondence between the various parties—and subsequent fallout with the *Edinburgh Review*—is mildly entertaining, it is

the attacks of Dr. Samuel Parr (1747-1825), Sir. James Mackintosh, and Malthus, amongst others. The reviewer ridiculed Godwin, observing that, "The great expedients which this philosopher has in store to counteract the bad effects of excessive population, (so ably pointed out by Mr. Malthus), are abortion and child murder." "ART. III. Thoughts Occasioned by the Perusal of Dr. Parr's Spital Sermon;" *ER*, no. 1 (October 1802): 24–26. For a full account see James, 112-115; T.R. Malthus to Francis Horner, February 5, 1810, in John Pullen and Trevor Hughes Parry, *T.R. Malthus: The Unpublished Papers in the Collection of Kanto Gakuen University, Volume I*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1997), 103; Leonard Horner, ed., *Memoirs and Correspondence of Francis Horner, M.P.* (Boston, 1853), I, 446, 464-65. After reading Malthus's review of Thomas Newenham's *Population of Ireland*, Jeffrey wrote Malthus an effusive letter: "I feel a great degree of pride in saying that the manly and temperate tone of your patriotism – the plain and enlightened benevolence of your views...are more consonant to my own sentiments and impressions than anything I have yet met in the writings of my own contributors." "Newenham and others on the State of Ireland," *ER*, 12:24 (1808: July) p.337; Jeffrey's letter to Malthus, April 21, 1809 in Francis Jeffrey and Henry Thomas Cockburn, *Life of Lord Jeffrey, with a Selection from His Correspondence.*, 2 v. in 1 (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & co., 1857), vol.2, 104.

⁶⁶ Malthus's position on foreign corn and government intervention in the food supply came to a head in 1814-1815 when challenges were made to supporters of agricultural protection who opposed the revision of the Corn Laws. Given their role in critiquing the great economic controversies of the day, the *Quarterly* and *Edinburgh* weighed in, exercising their role as authoritative sources and (in the case of the *Edinburgh*) as a champion of free trade. In 1814, Malthus published *Observations on the Effects of the Corn Laws*, in which he tried to present a balanced view of government intervention in the food supply (T.R. Malthus, *Observations on the Effects of the Corn Laws and of a Rise or Fall in the Price of Corn on the Agriculture and General Wealth of the Country* (London: Printed for J. Johnson, C. Wood, 1814). At the time, the disciples of Dugald Stewart (who held similar physiocratic views) were accepting of Malthus's differing opinions, as they were expressed in an academic way and had no dramatic policy implications. Yet Francis Jeffrey expresses his internal conflict, torn between his "regret and admiration" for Malthus: admiration in Malthus's "clearness, soundness and inimitable candour" of his observations, and regret that Malthus did not allow Jeffrey to publish his *Observations in the Edinburgh Review*. T.R. Malthus, *The Grounds of an Opinion on the Policy of Restricting the Importation of Foreign Corn: Intended as an Appendix to "Observations on the Corn Laws,"* ed. John Murray et al. (London: Printed for J. Murray; J. Johnson and Co., 1815).

⁶⁷ Lord Cockburn, *Life of Lord Jeffrey* (Philadelphia, 1852) II, 120. Leonard Horner, ed., *Memoirs and Correspondence of Francis Horner, M.P.* (Boston, 1853), I, 434, 226-227, 222. For a detailed account, see James, Chapter VIII "Literary Misfortunes," 245-273.

⁶⁸ "ART. XIII. Observations on the Effects of the Corn Laws, and of a Rise or Fall in the Price of Corn on the Agriculture and General Wealth of the Country," *ER*, 24, no. 48 (February 1815): 491–505.

noteworthy that Malthus did get his way.⁶⁹ In 1815, the government passed new legislation to prohibit the importation of foreign wheat when domestic prices fell short of 80s per quarter, which is precisely what Malthus had proposed in his second pamphlet.⁷⁰

To claim that Malthus's published positions had an impact on government debates on the Corn Laws is not implausible. In the Commons debate on February 17, 1815, Sir George Philips (1766-1847), Whig MP and English textile industrialist, quoted the following passage directly from Malthus's first pamphlet on the Corn Laws: "it must be allowed that a country, which possesses any peculiar facilities for successful exertion in the manufacturing industry, can never make a full and complete use of its advantages, unless the price of its labour and other commodities be reduced to that level compared with other countries, which results from the most perfect freedom of the corn trade."⁷¹ Philips further cited Malthus's first pamphlet on the Corn Laws to apparently bolster his argument that a respected political economist was against restrictions. In response, Hon. Thomas Brand (1774-1851)—Whig MP for Hertfordshire and foremost Whig supporter of the protection of agricultural interests—challenged Philips, reminding the House that Malthus had in fact produced *two* pamphlets on the Corn Laws. The first was little more than a summary of the arguments on both sides; the second recommended protectionist policy. To emphasize his point, Brand quoted Malthus's second pamphlet on the Corn Laws for memory, as if to elevate Malthus to that of an oft-cited literati: "I now do not

⁶⁹ Malthus's fall from grace with the *Edinburgh Review* is beyond the scope of this chapter. For a full account of the debacle see James, 264-269; Winch, *Riches and Poverty*, 332-338; Michael Turner, "Corn Crises in Britain in the Age of Malthus," in Michael Edward Turner, ed., *Malthus and His Time* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1986), 112-128; Wray Vamplew, "Malthus and the Corn Laws," in *Ibid.*, 129-139; Winch, *Malthus*, 66-69; William Petersen, *Malthus: Founder of Modern Demography* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers, 1999), 169-173. James Bonar, *Malthus and His Work* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1924), 124-130.

⁷⁰ Malthus, *The Grounds of an Opinion*, 41. See also Boyd Hilton, *Corn, Cash, Commerce: The Economic Policies of the Tory Government, 1815-1830* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 3-31; Wray Vamplew, "Malthus and the Corn Laws," in Turner, ed., 129-139.

⁷¹ "State of the Corn Laws," Commons Sitting of Friday, February 17, 1815, *Hansard*, 1st Series, Volume 29.

hesitate to declare unequivocally that some restriction upon the importation of foreign grain has become necessary.”⁷² In a subsequent debate on the Corn Laws less than a week later, Samuel Whitbread (who favored the proposed legislation) referenced Malthus, citing the elasticity of his population principle to refute concerns about the superabundant production of corn.⁷³ Finally, in a third debate on Monday, February 27th, Joseph Marryatt (1757-1824)—MP for Sandwich and affiliated with no political party—spoke out against the Corn Laws legislation. He bolstered his argument about the rate of taxation on English corn growers by citing Malthus’s figures on the subject.⁷⁴ In short, Malthus’s name and reputation outside of Parliament that added weight to the debates being held within. Partisan loyalty, support for Malthusian principles, and flagrant misrepresentations were neither here nor there when it came to citing the Parson’s celebrated work.

Malthus’s positions on classical economics oscillated both before and after 1815, and it can be argued that the *Edinburgh Review* also shifted, leaning more toward Ricardian principles.⁷⁵ This was particularly true after political economist J.R. (John Ramsay) McCulloch (1789-1864) began to contribute extensively to the *Edinburgh Review* and essentially became the guardian of its professed economic position from 1817 onwards. That Malthus diverged on Ricardian doctrine upset McCulloch, and he freely expressed his negative opinion in and out of the *Edinburgh Review*. In a letter to Ricardo, McCulloch even held that Malthus “deserves to be very roughly handled.”⁷⁶ Malthus was driven from the *Edinburgh Review*, although he made one

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ “State of the Corn Laws,” Commons Sitting of Wednesday, February 22, 1815, *Hansard*, 1st Series, Volume 29.

⁷⁴ “State of the Corn Laws,” Commons Sitting of Monday, February 27, 1815, *Hansard*, 1st Series, Volume 29.

⁷⁵ T.R. Malthus, *Occasional Papers of T.R. Malthus on Ireland, Population, and Political Economy*, ed. Bernard Semmel, Burt Franklin Essays in History & Social Science (New York: B. Franklin, 1963), 8.

⁷⁶ J.R. McCulloch to David Ricardo, 19th March 1820 in Piero Sraffa, ed., *The Works and Correspondence of David Ricardo* (Cambridge University Press, 1952), Vol. VIII, 358. Despite McCulloch’s ambivalence toward Malthus, the relationship between Malthus and Ricardo remained cordial and they held a deep mutual respect for each other’s

last contribution in 1821, an article in which he defended his principle of population.⁷⁷ Henceforth, Malthus put his journalistic efforts into the Tory *Quarterly Review*, which did not necessarily align with his Whig economic principles but permitted him to express his values to the landowner's cause. As early as 1808, poet and novelist Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832) and Scottish publisher John Murray II (1778-1843) were keen to secure Malthus as a contributor to the journal, yet it was poet and historian Robert Southey (1774-1843) who became the *Quarterly's* economic reviewer.⁷⁸ Southey viewed political economists with special disdain, and held an intense dislike for the abstractness of their doctrines, which he articulated in his reviews of pamphlets on population and pauperism.⁷⁹ Malthus did not write for the *Quarterly* until 1823, which was well after he had broken his allegiance with the *Edinburgh Review*. In the intervening years it is possible that the *Quarterly's* position on Malthusian principles softened due to the publication of two articles. In the first, "Malthus on Population," John Bird Sumner (1782-1862)—who later became archbishop of Canterbury—appeared sympathetic to Malthus's principle, noting that "Every succeeding edition has improved." He stated: "At all events, respecting a book which has taken such firm hold of the public attention, and which in the

work, even though they differed in their point of view. Both were founding members of the Political Economy Club, established in 1821. This is explored further in chapter four.

⁷⁷ "ART. VI. An Inquiry Concerning the Power of Increase in the Numbers of Mankind," *ER*, 35, no. 70 (July 1821): 362–77. On this occasion, the anonymous nature of the penmanship of the article was disposed with and along with that went the niceties of reviewing. The identity of the author was fairly obvious, and Ricardo commented to stockbroker Hutches Trower (1777-1833), "I have not heard who the writer is but have no doubt that it was written by Malthus himself." He confronted Malthus directly with his suspicions: "I have read a very good critique of Godwin in the *Edinburgh Review*; and I am quite sure that I know the writer. It is very well done and most satisfactorily exposes Godwin's ignorance as well as his disingenuousness." David Ricardo, *Letters of David Ricardo to Thomas Robert Malthus, 1810-1823*, ed. James Bonar, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1887), 198, 206. Ricardo pushed Malthus in a second letter (October 11, 1821), in which he hinted at the likelihood of Malthus being the author.

⁷⁸ See H.J.C. Grierson, ed., *The Letters of Sir Walter Scott* (London: Constable, 1932), II, 108.

⁷⁹ "ART. IV. Propositions for ameliorating the Condition of the Poor, and for improving the moral Habits, and increasing the comforts of the laboring People, by Regulations calculated to reduce the Parochial Rates of the Kingdom, and generally to promote the Happiness and Security of the Community at large, by the Diminution of immoral and Penal Offices, and the future Prevention of Crimes, &c. &c. By P. Colquhoun, L.L.D. 8vo. Hatchard," *QR*, December 1812, Vol. VIII, No. XVI, 319. See also Southey's review "The Poor," *QR*, April 1816, Vol. XV, No. XXIX, Article VIII.

judgment of its partisans, is likely to effect a greater change in the current of public opinion than any which has appeared since the ‘Wealth of Nations,’ we owe a duty to the author and to our readers, which we shall endeavor impartially to perform.”⁸⁰ In the second article, “Godwin and Malthus on Population,” reviewer George Taylor (?-1851)—who later became the short-lived secretary to the Commission of Inquiry into the Poor Laws—attempted to build a bridge between Malthus’s and Southey’s positions.⁸¹ Thus, Malthus was finally cleared to take the stand in the *Quarterly*.⁸²

Malthus’s contributions to the ‘quarterlies’ permitted him, in essence, to critique his peers publicly while under the a degree of anonymity provided by two intellectual “institutions,” the *Edinburgh Review* and later the *Quarterly Review*.⁸³ Moreover, in writing these reviews Malthus was able to publicly challenge the state, and engage in discussions about its successes and failures, with an informed, critical reading public. In addition to his “anonymous” journal articles, Malthus’s named published works (five editions of the *Essay* and seven pamphlets on

⁸⁰ “Malthus on Population,” *QR*, July 1817, Vol. XVII, No. XXXIV, Article IV, 374-375.

⁸¹ “Godwin and Malthus on Population,” *QR*, October 1821, Vol. XXVI, No. LI, Article VII, 168. Francis Place wrote a review of this article in the *Quarterly*, which included the following: “The Editor is in hopes, that this journal will contain some father discussion of this question, and that some opinions, considerably different from those of the present contributor, will be given in order to enable the public to form an impartial judgment.” *The New Monthly Magazine*, vol. XXII. (1821), 195-205, 205.

⁸² In 1823 and 1824 Malthus wrote two significant essays for the *Quarterly*. The first was a review of Tooke’s *Thoughts and Details on the High and Low Prices of the Last Thirty Years*, in which he warned of the dangers that the country faced in transforming itself too rapidly into an industrial and commercial society, *QR*, 29:57 (1823: Apr), 214-240. The second was a review of McCulloch’s “Essay on Political Economy,” which was written as a supplement to the *Encyclopedia Britannica*. Malthus took it upon himself to dismantle McCulloch’s Ricardian views, and to reassert the importance of food and raw materials to the wealth of a nation, *QR*, Vol. LIV, No. LX, Article I (1824). See also “The Quarterly Review, No. LX. Art. 1. On the Essay on Political Economy, in the Supplement to the Encyclopedia Britannica,” *WR*, Vol. III, No. V, January 1825, 213-223, 215, 217. In 1825, John Stuart Mill reviewed Malthus’s review of McCulloch, for the *Westminster Review*. Mill pretended not to know the author’s identity but poked fun at the similarities with the style of Malthus. Mill did not hold back in his critique of Malthus’s writings, and his ability to “render intricate that which is simple, obscure that which is clear, and difficult, that which is easy.” Mill also said, “The difficulty of serving God and Mammon is proverbial, but it is a mere trifle in comparison with that of reconciling Mr. Malthus and Adam Smith: the former difficulty, whatever it may once have been, the experience of modern times has proved to be by no means insuperable.”

⁸³ See footnote 85, and also previous chapter. The authorship of many significant articles was well known in literary and political circles.

political-economic topics by 1817⁸⁴) established his reputation as the foremost living political economist.⁸⁵ Up to and including 1817, over two hundred political pamphlets referenced Malthus's principles and works, with a sharp increase in numbers from 1815 onwards.⁸⁶ His words and works were further promulgated by popularizers of political economy—novelist Maria Edgeworth (1768-1849) and writer Jane Marcet (1769-1858).⁸⁷

While Malthusian principles were disseminated across the middle-class readership via the 'quarterlies,' his published works, political pamphlets, and popularizers of political economy, is there evidence of broader reach to other groups within British society? After all, the middle class did not have a natural monopoly on politics, political economy, and political opinion.⁸⁸ Evidence suggests that the reach was measurable, and it occurred in three ways: first, through popular newspaper coverage of the Commons debates invoking Malthus's name and principles⁸⁹; second,

⁸⁴ Malthus's published works up to 1817: Books - *Essay on the Principle of Population*: 1798, 1803, 1806, 1807, 1817. Pamphlets - *An Investigation into the High Price of Provisions* (1800), *A Letter to Samuel Whitbread* (1807), *A Letter to the Rt. Hon Lord Grenville* (1813), *Observations on the Effects of the Corn Laws* (1814), *An Inquiry into the Nature and Progress of Rent* (1815), *The Grounds of an opinion on the Policy of Restricting the Importation of Foreign Corn* (1815), and *Statements Respecting the East India College* (1817).

⁸⁵ Gary F. Langer, *The Coming of Age of Political Economy, 1815-1825*, Contributions in Economics and Economic History, Number 72 (New York and London; Greenwood Press, 1987), 2-3, 36.

⁸⁶ See Appendix VI (i). The uptake in references after 1815 could be due to an increased awareness of Malthus, an increase in his visibility due to the Corn Laws debates, an update in discussions on population and poverty due to the end of the Napoleonic Wars, an increasing reading public, or some combination of the above. By way of comparison, there were only 85 political pamphlets during the same time period that referenced David Ricardo, even though all of his major work were published during this time period.

⁸⁷ Maria Edgeworth, who was friends with Ricardo and Malthus, wrote children's novels which introduced economic themes such as the division of labor and rational consumer behavior to children (and their parents). See Willie Henderson, *Economics as Literature*, Routledge Studies in the History of Economics (London; New York: Routledge, 1995), 21-41; Jane Marcet was also acquainted with Malthus and Ricardo through her husband, Dr. Alexander Marcet. Her first work, *Conversations on Political Economy* (1816), explored the ideas of Smith, Malthus and Ricardo. See Henderson, 43-62; Langer, 68-72. Harriet Martineau (1802-1876) was also popularizer of political economy and a huge admirer of Malthus. His *Essay* was central to her work, twenty-five tales in the series entitled *Illustrations of Political Economy* (1832). While her contribution to the spread of Malthusianism is noteworthy, it falls outside the periodization of this chapter. See Huzel, 56-98; Henderson, 63-90.

⁸⁸ Dror Wahrman, *Imagining the Middle Class: The Political Representation of Class in Britain, c. 1780-1840* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 190-214.

⁸⁹ In the eighteenth century it was illegal to publish parliamentary debates. However, by the late eighteenth century though, as Don Herzog attests, "if they were willing to show up early enough to get a coveted space, to be discreet about their note-taking, to put up with jostling and noise in the awkwardly placed gallery, to crane their necks and strain their ears to have a chance of following the debates, reporters could publish their accounts." Don Herzog, *Poisoning the Minds of the Lower Orders* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1998), 72. See also Appendix

through discussions of Malthus's principles and published works in the popular, working class, and trade press⁹⁰; and third, through broader discussions in the public sphere of classical political economy and its practitioners. The argument for a working class public sphere has been advanced by scholars such as Oskar Negt and Alexander Kluge in response to Jürgen Habermas's original formulation which described the public sphere as a social space between the private sphere and the state, "in which the middle class organized itself as a public over the course of the eighteenth-century, through a critical rational debate conducted in arenas like coffee-houses and the newspaper press."⁹¹ Habermas "leaves aside the plebeian public sphere as a variant that in a sense was suppressed in the historical process," in addition to leaving out the nineteenth century altogether.⁹²

Of course, we will never know how many people (and from which social groups) actually read Malthus, the literature that cited Malthus, or heard about one or the other, or both, through

VI (ii). A full text search of the British Library Newspapers, which includes segments of the working-class press, using the term "Malthus" between 1798 and 1817 bought up 189 results. Spikes occurred in the years 1807, 1815 and 1817, which correlates with an increase in the number of reports covering the Commons debates directly or indirectly referencing Malthus on the Poor Laws (with Samuel Whitbread and Malthus), the Corn Laws, and the Select Committee to consider the Poor Laws (1817). These trends demonstrate the relatively immediate response to the news of the day by the newspapers, rather than the delayed response of political pamphlets, which took a longer lead time to write, publish, disseminate, and read.

⁹⁰ Ibid. Of the 189 results in Appendix VI (ii), advertisements for Malthus's work account for half of this number. While these advertisements may have resulted in increased public awareness of Malthus's work, they do not directly represent a form of dialogue about or interaction with Malthus and his principles. For an analysis of the attitude toward political economy by writers in the radical press see Noel W. Thompson, *The People's Science: The Popular Political Economy of Exploitation and Crisis, 1816-34* (Cambridge, Cambridgeshire; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 8-34. For an analysis of the reaction specifically to Malthus in the working-class press see Huzel, 163-23.

⁹¹ Kevin Gilmartin, *Print Politics: The Press and Radical Opposition in Early Nineteenth-century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 3; Oskar Negt, *Public Sphere and Experience: Toward an Analysis of the Bourgeois and Proletarian Public Sphere*, ed. Miriam Hansen and Alexander Kluge, *Theory and History of Literature* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993).

⁹² Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, Translated by Thomas Burger (Cambridge, The MIT Press, 1991), xviii. For the nineteenth century specifically, see Geoff Eley, "Nations, Publics, and Political Cultures: Placing Habermas in the Nineteenth Century," in Craig Calhoun et al., eds. *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, *Studies in Contemporary German Social Thought* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1992), 289-339.

the mouths of others.⁹³ Contemporary observations, for example, suggest that, “Remarkable efforts were made to get at the news. Men clubbed together to buy single copies. Old newspapers circulated through entire streets. Coffee houses and public houses took in newspapers for their customers to read. The ‘pothouse oracle’ read aloud extracts from newspapers and commented on what he read.”⁹⁴ Such observations support *Quarterly* reviewer Robert Southey’s comment to his brother that, “one reader serves for a tap-room full of open-mouthed listeners.”⁹⁵ In short, the transmission of Malthus’s ideas in whatever form they occurred encouraged the wider public to grapple with their own interpretations of Malthusian principles. To be clear, this is not to conflate the general public response to Malthus with the specific question of emigration. Rather, this is to argue that the early appraisals of his political economic principles shone a spotlight on Malthus, allowing connections to be made. Whether he was considered to be an outright enemy of the poor or praised for his pragmatic solutions to reduce the sufferings of the poor, Malthus’s name was bound up tightly with the discourse on poverty, population and emigration across a broad spectrum of society.

IV. “All Publicity is Good, Except an Obituary Notice”⁹⁶

At war’s end, Malthus—his words, his reputation, and his contribution to political

⁹³ While there were undoubtedly high rates of illiteracy in the early nineteenth century, newspapers were “not beyond the reach of agricultural labourers” or other laborers for that matter: Arthur Aspinall, *Politics and the Press, c. 1780-1850*, (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1974), 8. The topic of a working-class reading public is beyond the scope of this dissertation. Scholarship on this topic includes: Herzog, 51-88; David Vincent, *Bread, Knowledge, and Freedom: A Study of Nineteenth-Century Working Class Autobiography* (London: Europa, 1981), 133-165; Richard D. Altick, *The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public, 1800-1900*, 2nd ed. (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1998); Patricia Hollis, *The Pauper Press: A Study in Working-class Radicalism of the 1830s*, Oxford Historical Monographs (London: Oxford U.P., 1970); Jon Klancher, *The Making of English Reading Audiences, 1790-1832* (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987); Huzel, 166-167; Aspinall, 25-32; Noel W. Thompson, 8-34; Gilmartin, 65-113.

⁹⁴ “G. Merle, Weekly Newspapers,” *WR*, 10 (April 1829), 478.

⁹⁵ Robert Southey to Capt. Southey, 12th May, 1812, cited in Herzog, 59.

⁹⁶ Brendan Behan to Rae Jeffs, 24th June 1958, in Brendan Behan, *The Letters of Brendan Behan*, ed. E. K. Mikhail (Montreal, Que.: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1992), 155.

economy—gained further traction due to growing agricultural distress, and unemployment caused by demobilization. In 1817, under mounting pressure, the government established a Malthusian-inspired committee to consider the Poor Laws; and plans for ameliorating the conditions of the poor were submitted for consideration by the Select Committee.⁹⁷ Forty members of the Select Committee, chaired by Tory MP William Sturges Bourne (1769-1845), pontificated over the moral and economic arguments for and against the Poor Laws.⁹⁸ Of particular note are the submissions of political economist Robert Torrens and then-law student William Goodenough Hayter (1792-1878) on government-assisted emigration. Torrens pamphlet outlined two possible remedies for overpopulation: “prudential or moral restraint for preventing the birth of superfluous numbers; and a well-regulated system of colonization for removing such numbers, should they be born.”⁹⁹ While Torrens endorsed compulsory emigration, Hayter took a more conservative approach.

Hayter opened his analysis with a quote from Talleyrand’s *Essai* (1797) which advocated for the establishment of new colonies to alleviate overpopulation. At the core of his work, Hayter supported Malthus’s principle of population and its relationship to emigration but went further than Torrens to include an estimate of the costs of a scheme of government-assisted emigration. Moreover, Hayter anticipated possible objections to emigration—including the likelihood that emigrants would return, and the costs to the parish— but stopped short of compulsory emigration because he believed that willing volunteers would negate such “arbitrary power.”¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ *Report from the Select Committee on the Poor Laws with the Minutes of Evidence Taken before the Committee* (London: Printed by and for C. Clement, 1817).

⁹⁸ See Poynter, 272-289.

⁹⁹ “A Paper on the Means of Reducing the Poors Rates and of Affording Effectual and Permanent Relief to the Labouring Classes. Presented to the Chairman of the Committee of the Poor Laws. By Major Torrens. London 1817” *The Pamphleteer*, Vol. X, no. 20, (London: A.J. Valpy, 1817), 509-528, 518.

¹⁰⁰ Talleyrand advocated for the establishment of new colonies to alleviate overpopulation and social unrest created by the French Revolution. Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord, prince de Bénévent, *Extrait d’un essai sur les avantages à retirer des colonies nouvelles dans les circonstances présentes lu par le cit. Talleyrand à la séance de*

The release of the Report from the Select Committee on the Poor Laws (1817) and its supplementary papers on emigration coincided with the release of the fifth edition of Malthus's *Essay*, in which Malthus modified his previously-stated position on emigration, from it being "perfectly inadequate," to being "well worthy of the attention of the government, both as a matter of humanity and policy."¹⁰¹ To be clear, Malthus was not proposing a continued scheme of emigration on a national scale, rather a short-term palliative to meet the immediate needs of the country in a state of emergency. Nevertheless, the simultaneous release of his latest *Essay* and the report from the Select Committee on the Poor Laws prompted renewed exchange on emigration within and without political-economic circles. One of Malthus's harsher critics, a little-known Scottish historian James Grahame (1790-1842), had railed against Malthus the previous year.¹⁰² In his *Inquiry into the Principle of Population*, Grahame did not quibble about the problems of feeding an enlarging population, or contest that a redundant population was inevitable. Rather, Grahame argued that Malthus and his disciples "regard the vices and follies of human nature, and their various products, famine, disease and war, as benevolent remedies by which nature has enabled human beings to correct the disorders that would arise from that redundancy of population which the unrestrained operation of her laws would create." For Grahame, emigration was the "natural vent and remedy" for surplus population "until the whole habitable world earth be fully peopled and cultivated." Until that time it was folly to speak of the

l'Institut National du 15 messidor an 5 (France: s.n., 1797). William Goodenough Hayter, Sir, *Proposals for the Redemption of the Poor's Rates, by Means of Emigration* (London: Printed for C. Hunter, T. Davison, 1817), 14.

¹⁰¹ Malthus, *Essay on Population*, ed. Winch and James, 88.

¹⁰² James Grahame is indeed little-known. The ODNB does not have an entry on James Grahame, nor does Wikipedia, and his better-known uncle with the same name (poet James Grahame 1765-1811) appears in most online and library searches. The most comprehensive (but short) biography is Josiah Quincy, *Memoir of Hames Grahame, LL.D.: author of The history of the United States of North America* (Boston, 1845). For a critique of Grahame's writings on North America and his position on slavery, see Eileen Ka-May Cheng, "A Strange Indistinctness: James Grahame and Antebellum New England Historical Writers on Slavery and the American Past" *Massachusetts Historical Review* 18 (2016): 153-89.

population multiplying beyond the means of support.¹⁰³

By engaging so directly with Malthus, Grahame almost certainly got under Malthus's skin; his "misrepresentations" were rebutted by Malthus in an Appendix to the 1817 edition of the *Essay*.¹⁰⁴ Malthus biographer Patricia James argued that "Malthus's chief reason for paying attention to Grahame in 1817 was to deny that he approved of 'the check suggested by Condorcet', which he had never adverted to 'without the most marked disapprobation.'"¹⁰⁵ Simply put, Malthus was defending himself against the charge that he had ever advocated the use of contraceptives to restrict population growth. But James omits to mention that Malthus also used the Appendix to critique Grahame's proposed remedy for surplus population—emigration.¹⁰⁶ Did Malthus insert a lengthy paragraph on emigration in the 1817 edition of the *Essay* as a counterweight to Grahame's lengthy treatment of emigration published the previous year? Or was it simply to modify his previous stated position on emigration given the changing post-war socio-political times? Or both?

Grahame was certainly not alone in pursuing (and critiquing) connections between Malthus's principles of population and the politico-economic and moral imperatives of emigration.¹⁰⁷ Patrick Colquhoun (1745-1820)—Scottish merchant, London magistrate, and social reformer—utilized the print media to advocate change in a number of arenas including

¹⁰³ James Grahame, *An Inquiry into the Principle of Population: Including an Exposition of the Causes and the Advantages of a Tendency to Exuberance of Numbers in Society, a Defence of Poor-Laws, and a Critical and Historical View of the Doctrines and Projects of the Most Celebrated Legislators and Writers, Relative to Population, the Poor, and Charitable Establishments* (Edinburgh: Printed by James Ballantyne ... for Archibald Constable ... and Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, London, 1816), 100-101, 104.

¹⁰⁴ Malthus, *Essay on Population*, ed. Winch and James, 88; James, 375.

¹⁰⁵ James, 375.

¹⁰⁶ Malthus, *Essay on Population*, ed. Winch and James, 370.

¹⁰⁷ See Thomas Peregrine Courtenay, *Copy of a Letter to the Rt. Hon. William Sturges Bourne, Chairman of the Select Committee of the House of Commons Appointed for the Consideration of the Poor Laws*, ed. William Sturges Bourne (London: Wright and Murphy, 1817); John H. Moggridge, *Remarks on the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Poor-Laws ... in Which the Proposed Alteration of the Laws of Settlement, and Pauperism, Its Causes, Consequences, and Remedies, Are Distinctly Considered. By a Monmouthshire magistrate* (Bristol: Printed and sold by Brown & Manchee, 1818).

pauperism. A prolific pamphleteer since the 1790s, Colquhoun's earliest literary engagement with Malthus's principles, in *A Treatise on Indigence* (1806), represented a comprehensive discourse concerning the paternal responsibilities of the state and the elites.¹⁰⁸ In 1814, Colquhoun directed his attention toward other remedies for pauperism and overpopulation: the uncultivated colonies. In drawing a direct connection between population, the populating of empires and emigration, he lauded Malthus as "an able, astute, and logical reasoner, who has perhaps never been surpassed." Taking Malthus's population principles as a given therefore, he argued that, "No nation ever possessed such resources for the beneficial employment of a redundant population as Great Britain at the present moment."¹⁰⁹ In 1818, in response to post-war unemployment, Colquhoun pushed his argument further, outlining a scheme of colonization to South Africa to alleviate distress. While he did not mention Malthus by name, Colquhoun's discussion of a redundant population contained all the hallmarks of Malthusian thinking.¹¹⁰

Just as others—such as Godwin and Whitbread—had done years before, Grahame and Colquhoun had connected Malthus not only with the public critique on poverty but also to emigration. Furthermore, the country's distress was real, not imagined: extra-parliamentary

¹⁰⁸ Patrick Colquhoun, *A Treatise on Indigence Exhibiting a General View of the National Resources for Productive Labour with Propositions for Ameliorating the Condition of the Poor and Improving the Moral Habits and Increasing the Comforts of the Labouring People* (London, 1806). In many respects, Colquhoun's argument bridged both sides of the intellectual debate, thereby harmonizing the seemingly disparate and contradictory ideologies of paternalism, state intervention, improvement, free circulation of labor, morality and traditional values. E.P. Thompson claimed in "The Moral Economy of the English Crowd" that the authoritarian attitude of the elites may be indicative of a wartime outlook, or out of fear of revolution - in times of crisis the elite felt it should control England, because it had control of the food supply. Arguably it was more complex, since many elites were humanitarian and deeply conservative at the same time. Conservatives Christians, for example, endorsed a sense of charity while at the same time trying to preserve the natural hierarchy of traditional society. Paternalism was not only for the survival of the poor, but also the survival of authority. In other words, the two characteristics were not mutually exclusive. E.P. Thompson, *Customs in Common: Studies in Traditional Popular Culture* (New York: The New Press, 1993), 189.

¹⁰⁹ Patrick Colquhoun, *A Treatise on the Wealth, Power, and Resources of the British Empire ... : The Rise and Progress of the Funding System Explained ...*, (London: J. Mawman, 1815), 2, 16.

¹¹⁰ Patrick Colquhoun, *Considerations on the Means of Affording Profitable Employment to the Redundant Population of Great Britain and Ireland through the Medium of an Improved and Correct System of Colonization in the British Territories in Southern Africa* (London: s.n., G. Smeeton), 1818) 5, 7, 11-14.

dialogue was taking place not only between the intellectual contributors to and the readership of the ‘quarterlies,’ but also up and down the socio-economic ladder and across the political spectrum. Discussions ranged from outright endorsement of government-assisted schemes to alleviate the nation’s distress, to the other extreme—condemnation and utter revulsion. The independent *Morning Post*, for example, suggested to its readers the remedy of cultivation of land in Britain before “any encouragement should be given by the State to emigration of Britons to North America.”¹¹¹ The *Cambridge Chronicle* noted its great concern that “The rage for emigration” from Britain to America “has not yet subsided.”¹¹² In a letter to the editors of the popular *Liverpool Mercury*—a publication that championed local and national social issues—“Anglo” enquired “whether diminishing the aggregate population, either immediately by emigration, or progressively by the restrictions of Mr. Malthus, would not place a proportionate addition of the existing burdens on those who remain.” Both options, “Anglo” claimed, were “utterly revolting” proposals.¹¹³ Expressions such as these were representative of a larger nationwide sentiment on emigration; for example, between January 1, 1817 and December 31, 1819, the daily and weekly British newspapers touched upon the subject of emigration over seven hundred times.¹¹⁴ This figure does not include the hundreds of newspapers and periodicals that constitute the radical and working class press. To be clear, this space of debate created by the newspapers and the working-class press cited a direct connection between Malthus and the solution of emigration in only a few instances, which suggests that Malthus’s contribution to the conversation on emigration was by no means the only voice. There were multiple overlapping

¹¹¹ “London, Thursday, January 9th,” *The Morning Post*, (London, England), Thursday January 9, 1817; Issue 14343.

¹¹² “Editorial,” *Cambridge Chronicle and Journal, etc.* (Cambridge, England), Friday, May 23, 1817; pg. 3; Issue 2848.

¹¹³ “To the editors of the *Liverpool Mercury*,” *Liverpool Mercury*, November 27, 1818, Issue 338.

¹¹⁴ Search of the British Library Newspapers Online using the term “emigration” between January 1 1817 and December 31 1819 brought up 761 results. This figure refers to unique newspaper articles and editorials (not the number of times the word itself was used, which runs into the thousands) and excludes advertisements.

forces in the debate on emigration, including attempts by some to limit emigration in specific parts of the British Isles and to encourage it in others.¹¹⁵ However, between 1817 and 1819 the mainstream British press did connect *Malthusian concepts* of population growth directly to emigration in approximately twenty-eight percent of its published discussions on emigration. Given that this was eight years prior to the widespread coverage of the Select Committee on Emigration and its deliberations that included an examination of Malthus's population principles vis-à-vis emigration, this statistic is noteworthy.¹¹⁶

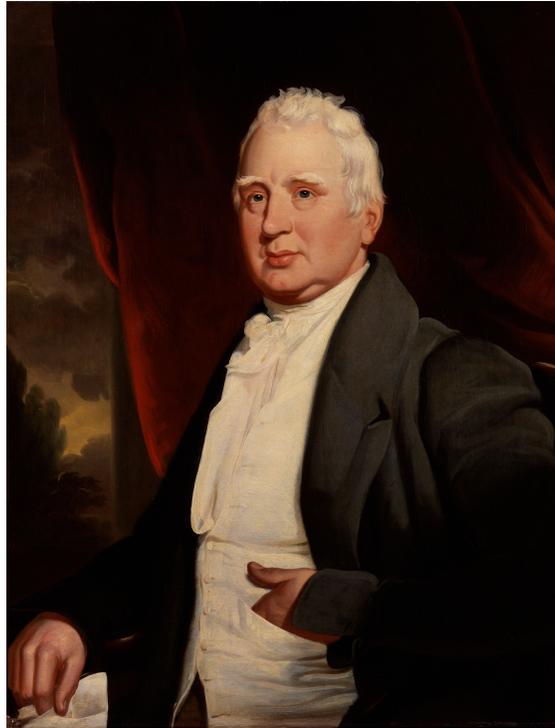
Of all the nineteenth century critics of Malthus, whose potent words may have contributed to these connections, pamphleteer and radical journalist William Cobbett (1763-1835) likely trumped them all. Cobbett emigrated to the United States in 1817 to avoid arrest for sedition but continued to edit and write for his daily newspaper. The mainstream press took great pains to reprint several lengthy articles on emigration from Cobbett's *Political Register*, a radical publication primarily aimed at the middle and upper classes but that also reached the non-literate and semi-literate.¹¹⁷ His popularity cannot be underestimated. While it is impossible to determine the exact readership of his work and the extent of his influence, figures suggest that he outsold

¹¹⁵ On internal colonization see Gambles, 169-174.

¹¹⁶ The above search found six distinct articles directly linking Malthus (the person) with emigration schemes, whereas 213 of the 761 results directly connected population (surplus/pauper) with emigration. See Appendix V.

¹¹⁷ For listings of the voluminous working-class press see Patricia Hollis, *The Pauper Press: A Study in Working-Class Radicalism of the 1830s*, Oxford Historical Monographs (London, Oxford U. P., 1970), 318-28. Examples of Cobbett's reprinted writings on emigration, or observations of his writings on emigration published in the mainstream press between 1817 and 1819 include: "Writings From America—On Emigration.—Description Of The Country And People," *Liverpool Mercury* (Liverpool, England), Friday, August 1, 1817, Issue 319; "Emigration to America" *Caledonian Mercury* (Edinburgh, Scotland), Monday, July 21, 1817, Issue 14924; "Cobbett Revived," *The Bury and Norwich Post: Or, Suffolk, Norfolk, Essex, Cambridge, and Ely Advertiser* (Bury Saint Edmunds, England), Wednesday, July 23, 1817, Issue 1830; "British Emigrants," *Wright's Leeds Intelligencer* (Leeds, England), Monday, December 01, 1817, pg. 3; "Anecdotes of Cobbett," *The Morning Post* (London, England), Monday, September 07, 1818, Issue 14862; "Cobbett's Letter To Birkbeck," *Caledonian Mercury* (Edinburgh, Scotland), Monday, February 15, 1819, Issue 15203.

all other newspapers of the time.¹¹⁸



3.1. *William Cobbett (1763–1835)*
possibly by George Cooke c. 1831
© National Portrait Gallery, London.¹¹⁹

Cobbett railed on individuals and institutions and became the scourge of successive governments. In newspapers, periodicals, letters, and pamphlets, he was unsparing in exposing corruption, nepotism, and maladministration, as well as decrying the miserable conditions of the poor. Not surprisingly, he viewed Malthus and his disciples with utter contempt. In an open letter to Malthus in 1819, at the peak of his popularity, Cobbett wrote:

I have, during my life, detested many men; but never any one so much as you. Your book on POPULATION contains matter more offensive to my feelings even than that of the Dungeon-Bill. It could have sprung from no mind not capable of dictating acts of greater cruelty than any recorded in the history of the massacre of St. Bartholomew....No

¹¹⁸ Huzel, 109.

¹¹⁹ NPG 1549

assemblage of words can give an appropriate designation of you; and, therefore, as being the single word which best suits the character of such a man, I call you Parson, which amongst other meanings, includes that of a Boroughmonger Tool.¹²⁰

Cobbett had begun his assault on Malthus in 1807 by publishing the first of three anti-Malthusian letters in the *Political Register*. Written by essayist William Hazlitt (1778-1830) in response to Member of Parliament Samuel Whitbread's proposed bill for the amendment of the Poor Laws, the letters were an abusive and unrepentant assault on Malthus and his *Essay*.¹²¹ Henceforth, Cobbett remained a stalwart critic of Malthus and his principles, denying not only the possibility of population outstripping the food supply but also rejecting the notion that the Poor Laws encouraged population growth.

Given Cobbett's extraordinary reach and readership, and his relentless attacks on the Malthusian order of things, Huzel is therefore correct in asserting that, "Cobbett, perhaps more than any other individual, recognized that Malthus had shaped the entire debate on poverty in early nineteenth-century England."¹²² In some sense, Cobbett helped Malthus become one of the best-abused men of his time and whether he liked it or not, Malthus's name and principles featured in virtually every discussion on surplus population. This is not to say that Malthus was made a household name because of his enemies' relentless hostility; rather that Malthus is relevant in the public conversation on emigration because his stated positions were heard.

¹²⁰ William Cobbett, "To Parson Malthus, on the Rights of the Poor and on the cruelty recommended by him to be exercised towards the Poor," William Cobbett, ed., *Cobbett's Weekly Political Register*, Saturday, May 8, 1819, (London: Wm. Jackson, 1819), 1019-1048, 1020.

¹²¹ William Hazlitt, *A Reply to the Essay on Population in a Series of Letters, to Which Are Added, Extracts from the Essay, with Notes by the Rev. T.R. Malthus* (London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, Arliss and Huntsman), 1807).

¹²² Huzel, 146. Cobbett opposed all solutions to the problem of surplus population, including government-assisted emigration schemes, yet because he himself was an emigrant (exiled overseas between 1817-1819) he was quick to promote interest in the subject of emigration. See James K. Chandler, *England in 1819: The Politics of Literary Culture and the Case of Romantic Historicism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 459-463.

V. “Shoveling out Paupers”

On Monday, July 12, 1819, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Nicholas Vansittart (1766-1851) proposed a grant of £50,000 for the purpose of enabling the government to assist unemployed workmen with emigration to the colonies.¹²³ The goal of the “experiment” was to see how far it might be possible to employ the surplus population in the colonies (while being both advantageous to those removed and also benefitting the country) and the Zuurfeld region in the Cape of Good Hope was selected due to its “mildness of climate” and “fertility of the soil.”¹²⁴ The vote was very timely. Just five weeks later, on August 16th, eighteen people were killed and nearly 700 injured at St. Peter’s Field in Manchester, protesting in the name of liberty and freedom from poverty. The Peterloo Massacre, an event E.P. Thompson describes as “without question, a formative experience in British social and political history,” cemented 1819 as one of the most tumultuous years in the nineteenth century.¹²⁵ The following year, popular discontent continued when a group of Cato St. conspirators plotted to assassinate the entire British cabinet

¹²³ In 1819, under the chairmanship of William Sturges Bourne, the Select Committee on the Poor Laws heard compelling evidence on the opportunities that awaited laborers willing to emigrate to the Cape of Good Hope. Merchant Henry Nourses, examined by the Committee on 28th June, 1819, read aloud a letter written by his partner, Mr. Christian on colonization to the Cape of Good Hope: “I wonder, with such a propensity as there appears to be in England to emigrate, the government have not turned their attention to this place, and afford facilities to the lower orders coming out here.” (William Sturges Bourne, “Select Committee to Consider Poor Laws: Report, Minutes of Evidence,” *House of Commons Sessional Papers* Volume II Page: 249 (January 1, 1819), 26.) It is worth pointing out that assisted emigration to the colonies had already been considered in its own right by the Colonial Office, and several sponsored colonization experiments took place in 1815, and 1818-1819. In 1819, just as the government was considering emigration schemes for relieving pauper distress at home (as part of discussions on the Poor Rates), the Colonial Office abandoned its efforts at assisted colonization. This decision is mainly attributed to the changing of passenger legislation in 1817 and increased timber shipping from Canada to Britain, both of which reduced the cost of passage to Canada.¹²³ As a result, large number of emigrants who were supposed to be headed for Canada immediately proceeded across the border to the United States in search of opportunities not available in the colonies. The Colonial Office’s objective—to strengthen the colonies with British settlers—had failed and was not formally reconsidered until 1825. Instead, the government directed its efforts towards assisted emigration schemes, aimed at “shoveling out paupers.”

¹²⁴ “Emigration to the Cape of Good Hope,” Commons Sitting of Monday, July 12, 1819, *Hansard*, 1st Series, Volume 40 (July 12, 1819).

¹²⁵ E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, A Vintage Giant (New York: Vintage books, 1966), 687.

and the prime minister, Lord Liverpool.¹²⁶

The press and Parliament generally welcomed the assistance to emigrants, which lasted through 1820. While it served as a short-term policy response to the threats to social order, the distress of the poor and social inequality remained. On June 7, 1821 the House of Commons once again debated the amendment of the Poor Laws put forward by judge James Scarlett (1769-1844), conservative MP for Peterborough. In the ensuing discussion Henry Brougham, Whig MP and founder of the *Edinburgh Review*, brought Malthus's principle on population into the debate while drawing a direct connection to the lifting of restrictions on emigration. In furthering the discussion to questions of emigration and colonization, he referred to a pamphlet by a Mr. Herbert Saunders, which contained "much valuable practical information" on experimental emigration schemes made in Ireland and Holland.¹²⁷ Members against the proposed bill to amend the Poor Laws included Dr. Stephen Lushington (1782-1873), judge and Whig MP for Ilchester. His response—discussing emigration as a solution to pauperism, as well as the role of press and the court of public opinion—is instructive. Lushington explained that the effect of the present Poor Laws was to oblige the industrious and prudent to support the improvident and thoughtless. Every country long inhabited had been obliged to have recourse to emigration. Why should England be an exception? The bill prohibiting artificers from emigrating, therefore, was utterly

¹²⁶ Malcolm Chase, *1820: Disorder and Stability in the United Kingdom* (Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 2013), 76-84.

¹²⁷ "Imperial Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland," *The Morning Chronicle* (London, England), Friday, June 8, 1821, Issue 16267; Wm. Herbert (William Herbert) Saunders, "An Address to the Imperial Parliament upon the Practical Means of Gradually Abolishing the Poor-Laws and Educating the Poor Systematically: Illustrated by an Account of the Colonies of Fredericks-Oord, in Holland, and of the Common Mountain in the South of Ireland: With General Observations" (London: W. Sams, 1821). News of the debate in the Commons was published across the country, including: "House of Commons," *The Salisbury and Winchester Journal* (Salisbury, England), Monday, June 11, 1821, Issue 4377, 3; "House of Commons," *The Bury and Norwich Post: Or Suffolk, Essex, Cambridge, Ely, and Norfolk Telegraph* (Bury Saint Edmunds, England), Wednesday, June 13, 1821, Issue 2033; "House of Commons," *The Bath Chronicle* (Bath, England), Thursday, June 14, 1821, pg. 4, Issue 3093; "Parliamentary Intelligence" *Cambridge Chronicle and Journal, etc.* (Cambridge, England), Friday, June 15, 1821, pg. 4, Issue 3060; "House of Commons," *The Leeds Mercury*, (Leeds, England), Saturday, June 16, 1821, Issue 2923.

unjust in its principle. The bill to amend the Poor Laws was withdrawn by its author, James Scarlett, on Monday, July 2, 1821, to which Lushington retorted that he was “glad.” Instead, he said “the public press, the great instrument of discussion in this country, would in the mean time examine its details, and when the House should come to consider it next session, they would be themselves better prepared, and the public would be found better informed respecting it.”¹²⁸ Lushington’s appeal to the agents that help to shape public opinion was taken up by another, someone who ended up being one of emigration’s biggest advocates. This is the subject of the next chapter.

VI. Conclusion

In *The Idea of Poverty*, Gertrude Himmelfarb stated:

What is curious about the history of this period is that the enemies of Malthusianism unwittingly contributed to its success. It was Coleridge and Southey, Cobbett and Carlyle, Chartists and radicals, who, in attacking Malthusianism, identified it with political economy per se. If one is to look for Machiavellian motives, one might find them here: in the fact that the critics of capitalism chose to present capitalism in its bleakest form, chose to interpret it in terms of a “dismal science” rather than a “moral philosophy.” If political economy was de-moralized and de-socialized, it was they who helped do it by depriving political economy, and thus capitalism itself, of the moral and social roots Smith had given it—and by the same token, depriving the poor of the moral and social status Smith had given them.¹²⁹

As Himmelfarb has pointed out, by attacking Malthus and his principles, his critics were attacking political economy itself. Instead of viewing political economy as a vehicle to advance the material welfare of the greatest majority and increase the prosperity of the nation, it was rejected by its critics as an ideological abomination, incapable of ameliorating the suffering of

¹²⁸ “Commons Sitting of Monday, July 2, 1821,” *Hansard*, 2nd Series, Volume 5 (July 2, 1821).

¹²⁹ Himmelfarb, 131.

the poor.¹³⁰ This chapter has argued in support of Himmelfarb’s assertion—that “the enemies of Malthusianism unwittingly contributed to its success”—but for altogether different reasons. Whereas Himmelfarb has claimed that connecting Malthusianism with political economy—the source of all evil—deprived it of its Smithian moral and social roots, this chapter has claimed that Malthusianism itself was viewed by many as a source of all evil. Simply put, extra-parliamentary politics operated through a controversial set of political-economic positions espoused by Thomas Robert Malthus, who acted as an intellectual conduit for discussions about a surplus population and government-assisted emigration. For many of those that did not believe in Malthus’s principle of population, by default, there was no need for emigration schemes.¹³¹ However, the state of the country, with its burgeoning population, suggested otherwise, and as will be demonstrated in the next chapter, Malthus remained a central figure in public discourse on solutions for the nation’s distress.

¹³⁰ The term “dismal science” was coined by Thomas Carlyle in “An Occasional discourse on the Negro Question,” *Fraser’s Magazine for Town and Country*, vol. 40, December 1849, 673.

¹³¹ Some Tory commentators argued instead that the “resettlement of the poor within the British Isles, or 'home colonization', presented a morally and economically superior option for a propertied polity.” Gambles, 169-174. This point will be explored further in chapter four.

CHAPTER FOUR: Three Reports and a Reluctant Witness

I. Introduction

In 1831, Robert Wilmot-Horton (1784-1841), Derbyshire landowner and Tory undersecretary of state for war and the colonies, wrote the following tribute on the front page of a manuscript containing letters exchanged between him and Thomas Robert Malthus:

I publish these letters without note or comment beyond the following observations - For benevolence of intention, and for intuitive sagacity of mind, improved by the most studious cultivation, few men have stood more prominent than the late Reverend T.R. Malthus. His *fame* will be of a future day, and it will not be the less bright for the neglect and misrepresentation of his contemporaries.¹

This glowing approbation followed several years of correspondence during which Wilmot-Horton discussed assisted emigration with Malthus. Wilmot-Horton—who held an amateur interest in economic theory when he was first elected to Parliament—needed an authoritative voice (or two) to legitimize his ambitious plans for the systematic resettlement of paupers. Increasingly under the influence of the economic theories of the time, Wilmot-Horton became convinced that Parliament would never approve his colonization schemes “unless the principles upon which that measure was founded had received the sanction of scientific men, who, from their writings, were admitted as authorities on such subjects.”² His plan— *Outline of a Plan of Emigration to Upper Canada* (1823)— included the mortgaging of the poor rates by parishes in order to secure loans from the government to finance the emigration and settlement of paupers to

¹ Robert Wilmot-Horton, DRO/D3155/WH2843/1. It appears as though Wilmot-Horton intended to publish these letters, perhaps as a “Fifth Series” of his *Causes and Remedies of Pauperism*. In 1830, Wilmot-Horton published “An Inquiry into the Causes and Remedies of Pauperism” in four parts: 1st series: correspondence with Charles Edward Poulett Thompson (1799-1841), Baron Sydenham, governor-general of Canada. 2nd series: correspondence with Charles Marie Tanneguy, Comte Duchatel (1803-1867). Published *La charité dans ses rapports avec l'état moral et le bien-être des classes inférieures de la société*, Paris, 1829. 3rd series: Letters to Sir Francis Burdett on pauperism in Ireland; and 4th series: Letter and Queries to N.W. Senior. The *Quarterly* reviewed Wilmot-Horton’s *Causes and Remedies of Pauperism* in May 1830.

² Wilmot-Horton, *An Inquiry into the Causes and Remedies of Pauperism. Fourth Series*, 3.

Upper Canada as peasant-proprietors. By way of garnering support, Wilmot-Horton sent copies to at least thirty-five individuals to obtain their written opinions in the hope that he could secure their endorsement. Included were David Ricardo and Malthus—Britain’s most eminent living political economists.³



4.1. *Sir Robert John Wilmot-Horton, third baronet (1784–1841)*
by Richard James Lane, 1827 (after Joseph Slater)
© The British Museum

That Wilmot-Horton was looking to secure full approval for his scheme from at least one economist should not come as a surprise. After the release of Adam Smith’s *Wealth of Nations* (1776), Malthus’s *Essay* (1798), and the launch of the *Edinburgh* and *Quarterly* reviews, there

³ Robert Wilmot-Horton, “An Outline of a Plan of Emigration to Upper Canada” in the Report of the Parliamentary Select Committee on the Employment of the Poor in Ireland, 1823, pp.173-8. <https://parlipapers-proquest.com.proxy.uchicago.edu/parlipapers/docview/t70.d75.1823-008318?accountid=14657>. Wilmot Horton’s scheme was printed out (but not published) in 1823. Letter from David Ricardo to Robert Wilmot-Horton, 19th January 1823, DRO C6076. See also Lionel Robbins, “A Letter from David Ricardo,” *Economica*, New Series, 23, no. 90 (1956): 172-74.

was an increasing appreciation of and respect for the connection between economic theory and politics. Moreover, after 1815 there was, according to Jacob Viner, an “unusually sharp and well-defined pattern, where the [political] economist had beyond doubt real influence.”⁴ Many political economists focused their attention on political and social issues because they aligned with the intellectual ideals that they expressed in their published works. Such ideals led them to challenge practices and legislation that governed political-economic issues including trade, banking policy, taxation, working conditions, monopolies, the food supply, the relief of poverty and emigration.

This chapter examines the correspondence between and interaction with Wilmot-Horton, Malthus, and members of the Political Economy Club during and after the Select Committee on Emigration (1827). It is the argument of this chapter that from the 1820s onwards, extra-parliamentary politics as it pertained to emigration operated through two overlapping entities: the spoken forum of the Political Economy Club and the written forum of a nineteenth century republic of letters. The republic of letters described here is broadly conceived of as operating in three overlapping parts: first, in written correspondence between intellectuals who consider themselves in some way separate from society; second, in anonymous review articles (written by these same intellectuals); and third, in the parallel conversation going on in the popular press. The correspondence is substantial and provides insight into not only the mechanism by which the Club and the republic of letters intersected with extra-parliamentary politics but also the significance of discussions that took place on emigration and colonization as a palliative for surplus population.

Five years passed between Wilmot-Horton’s initial letter to Malthus (which contained a

⁴ Jacob Viner in R.D. Collinson Black, *Economic Thought and the Irish Question* (Cambridge, 1960), v.

copy of his *Outline*) and Malthus's expert testimony at the Select Committee on Emigration. In the intervening years, there is no known correspondence between the two men until January 18, 1827, four months before Malthus testified. In *The New Worlds of Thomas Robert Malthus*, Bashford and Chaplin have stated that Malthus and Wilmot-Horton met and talked at the Political Economy Club in London, "a common meeting-ground of theorists and practical men" founded in 1821, and that Wilmot-Horton then sent Malthus and Ricardo a copy of his *Outlines*.⁵ Furthermore, they claim that Wilmot-Horton corresponded with members of the Club, seeking "the opinions and advice" of James Mill, Robert Torrens, Nassau Senior, J.R. McCulloch, David Ricardo, and Malthus, and that "they discussed his schemes with each other."⁶

The difficulty with Bashford and Chaplin's statements is that while they are strictly true, they are misleading. Wilmot-Horton's election to the Political Economy Club occurred in 1829, and there is no evidence from the minutes of the meetings 1821-1829 that he attended any of the monthly meetings held at the Freemason's Tavern, Great Queen Street, London, prior to 1829, even as a guest.⁷ It is highly unlikely therefore that Wilmot-Horton discussed his emigration plan in person with Malthus or any other political economists at that venue, until after the Select Committee on Emigration reported its findings in 1826-7. It is also misleading to imply that the topic of emigration was discussed formally by other economists at the Political Economy Club prior to Robert Wilmot-Horton joining the Club in 1829, since the minutes of the meeting

⁵ "Substance of Opening Remarks by Sir. J. MacDonell on 5th July, 1905," in Political Economy Club of London, *Political Economy Club founded in London, 1821*, Centenary Volume (London, Macmillan & Co., Ltd, 1921), 348.

⁶ Bashford and Chaplin, 210. For letters sent prior to 1829 to members of the Political Economy Club see Robert Wilmot-Horton to Thomas Chalmers, DRO/WH 2763; Thomas Tooke, DRO/D3155/C6310; J.R. McCulloch, DRO/D3155/C6414; Robert Torrens, DRO/WH2889. For a letter between members of the Political Economy Club regarding Wilmot-Horton's emigration schemes see Thomas Robert Malthus to Nassau Senior, May 24, 1829, D3155/WH2843. Note the date is 1829, after Wilmot-Horton joined the Club.

⁷ Political Economy Club of London, *Political Economy Club founded in London, 1821*, Centenary Volume, (London, Macmillan & Co., Ltd, 1921).

indicate otherwise.⁸

What *is* known is that Wilmot-Horton sought the “opinions and advice” of several members of the Political Economy Club and corresponded directly with them prior to his joining the Club. However, letters *between* economists discussing Wilmot-Horton’s schemes with one another are dated from 1829 onwards, *after* he joined the Club. Of course, one will never know if and when the topic was discussed privately between individual political economists. The above chronology reveals a different picture than historians have previously stated. Rather than portraying Malthus and Wilmot-Horton as long-standing friends and partners-in-crime at the Select Committee on Emigration, Malthus had little contact with Wilmot-Horton prior to giving his testimony. Yet, Malthus became the central figure that galvanized the topic of emigration not only in the public realm but also in private.⁹ It was only *after* Malthus became the star witness, and leading political economists discussed his testimony, that the topic was adopted for serious debate at the Political Economy Club and in the republic of letters.¹⁰

II. A Plan of Emigration

Wilmot-Horton began to think about the relationship between emigration and poor relief as early as 1819. His work in the Colonial Office further reinforced these connections as he was the recipient of a regular stream of letters from people begging to emigrate or asking on behalf of others, at that time when parish expenditure on the poor had reached nearly 84% of the total sum spent by local authorities.¹¹ Could assisted emigration offset the costs of parish support and make

⁸ Political Economy Club of London, Centenary Volume, 1-45.

⁹ William Hazlitt, *Lectures on English Poets & The Spirit of the Age* (London, New York: J.M. Dent & sons, ltd.; E.P. Dutton & co., 1910), 280.

¹⁰ Political Economy Club of London, Centenary Volume, 30-45.

¹¹ Letter from Robert Wilmot-Horton to T.R. Malthus, September 3, 1830, DRO/D3155/WH2843/80. A good example of this is a letter from William Empson to Robert-Wilmot Horton, February 17, 1823. DRO/D3155M1/C6085. Letter from Robert Southey to “Wynn” (Keswick, 19 April 1823) which describes what

it fiscally worthwhile? Like many politicians of the time, Wilmot-Horton's underlying interest in political economy focused much of his attention on the pressing concerns of the day, including unemployment, overpopulation and pauperism, and he, like many others, tried to find solutions for Britain's distress. Wilmot-Horton became convinced by "the utter inefficiency of the colonies, as to self-support and defense, unless it were possible to give them an addition of population more rapid than their natural rate of increase."¹² His concern for the lack of population in the colonies aligned with his concern about the surplus population in the mother country and he endeavored to make "the redundant labour and curses of the mother country, the active labour and blessings of the colonies."¹³ Taking up the cause in his *Outline* (1823), assisted emigration became Wilmot-Horton's personal panacea for the solution to both problems:

Such a system would direct the tide of emigration towards parts of the British Empire, which must be considered as integral, though separated by geographical position. The defense of these colonial possessions would be more easily supplied within themselves, and their increasing prosperity would not only relieve the mother-country from pecuniary demands that are now indispensable, but that prosperity in its reaction would augment the wealth and the resources of the mother-country itself.¹⁴

Southey's brother Tom had told him: "...that three pounds per head were paid by the parishes for passage of the emigrants, that sum including their food upon the voyage which is calculated at four weeks." He goes on to say "My brother has sailed, thy good fortune for the human cargo on board there goes a Navy surgeon in the same vessel, who is appointed to a ship on the Lakes. But it is evident that when they reach Canada they will find themselves in a worse state than a set of Redemptioners in Yankee-Land." DRO/D3155M1/C6103. In a second letter to Wynn, dated 28 April 1823, Southey comments that, "I learn that this system of transportation is carried on by the parish authorities... It is very evident from these proceedings that the poor will gladly come into any reasonable & compassionate scheme for their removal to Canada, that the parishes will not if they can, transport them in this piteous manner, at so much cheaper a rate which bad as it is, has been going on for several years."

DRO/D3155M1/C6103. For parish expenditure see Hugh J.M. Johnston, *British Emigration Policy 1815-1830: 'shovelling out Paupers'* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 4.

¹² Sir Robert Wilmot Horton, *An Inquiry into the Causes and Remedies of Pauperism. First Series Containing Correspondence with C. Poulett Thomson, Esq., M.P. upon the Conditions under Which Colonization Would be Justifiable as a National Measure*, Array, Making of the Modern Economy (London: E. Lloyd, 1831), 34.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ Robert Wilmot-Horton, *Outline of a Plan of Emigration to Upper Canada, June 1823*, in Thomas Spring Rice 1st Bn. Monteagle, "Select Committee on Condition of Labouring Poor in Ireland and on Application of Funds for Their Employment. Report, Minutes of Evidence, Appendix," *House of Commons Sessional Papers*, Vol. VI, 331 (January 1, 1823), 171-175.

Wilmot-Horton's scheme for assisted emigration rested on wage-fund theory. Wages depended on the need for labor and relied upon a stock of circulating capital. If the working population grew faster than capital, the level of wages fell because there was an excess of labor. If there was an adjustment in the supply of labor by some of the working population being "removed," then wages would rise, and pauperism would be reduced.¹⁵ Wilmot-Horton recommended that the government make loans to parishes on the security of a mortgage on the poor rates. For those places without the Poor Laws (Scotland and Ireland), loans could be provided by private subscription. He planned to recover the cost of the removal by the savings made in poor rates which in effect meant that emigration could be used to mitigate parochial costs.¹⁶

When Wilmot-Horton sent a copy of his *Outline* to David Ricardo and Malthus in 1823, he was a little-known politician, and admitted that in writing to Ricardo, he was writing "to a political opponent, who had only the advantage of a very slight acquaintance" with him.¹⁷ That he labelled Ricardo as a "political" opponent is interesting. Inasmuch as Whig MP David Ricardo (1772-1823) represented the opposition to Wilmot-Horton's Tory party, they shared a similar ideology on political-economic issues.¹⁸ Wilmot-Horton can be closely identified with the "liberal Tory" agenda of the 1820s—broadly speaking, liberal ideas on monetary policy, foreign affairs, trade and religious toleration that were more generally associated with the Whigs.¹⁹ In due course Wilmot-Horton received replies from both Ricardo and Malthus.

¹⁵ Winch, *Classical Political Economy and Colonies*, 52.

¹⁶ Wilmot-Horton, *Outline of a Plan of Emigration to Upper Canada*, 173.

¹⁷ Wilmot-Horton, *An Inquiry into the Causes and Remedies of Pauperism, Introductory Series*, 19. It is possible that Wilmot-Horton knew Ricardo through the Select Committee on the Conditions of the Labouring Poor in Ireland in 1823. Ricardo served on the Committee, and Wilmot Horton provided testimony to the Committee.

¹⁸ Langer, 29-36; Terry Peach, *Ricardo, David (1772-1823), Political Economist*, ODNB.

¹⁹ Anna Gambles, *Protection and Politics: Conservative Economic Discourse, 1815-1852* (Rochester, NY: Royal Historical Society ; Boydell Press, 1999), 6-7, 25-55; Barry J. Gordon, *Political Economy in Parliament, 1819-1823* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1977), 1-15; Boyd Hilton, *Corn, Cash, Commerce: The Economic Policies of the Tory Government, 1815-1830* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 303-314; Boyd Hilton, *The Age of Atonement: The Influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought, 1795-1865* (Oxford: Oxford University Press,

Ricardo's reply to Wilmot-Horton was his last, as the economist's life was cut short just six months later.²⁰ Malthus sent a lengthy reply, yet context is useful here. Malthus wrote a mere sixteen letters to four individuals that year: two to Wilmot-Horton, five to political economist Macvey Napier (1776-1847), eight to his publisher John Murray II (1778-1843), and one to William Blake (Fellow of the Royal Society and economist, not mystic poet).²¹ In addition, Malthus received five letters from David Ricardo, but how many of those letters Malthus responded to is unknown.²² However, Malthus's response to Wilmot-Horton became one of many letters exchanged between the two gentlemen.²³

While polite and encouraging, Malthus's response to the scheme of emigration was not quite the endorsement that Wilmot-Horton was undoubtedly looking for.²⁴ Malthus's opening remarks —“I have always thought it very unjust on the part of Governments, to prohibit, or impede emigration”— were consistent with the classical economic belief in the free movement of labor, views Malthus had previously expressed in his published works, and ones that he

1987), vii-viii; Boyd Hilton, *A Mad, Bad & Dangerous People? England 1783-1846* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006), 309-328; Peter Jupp, *The Governing of Britain, 1688-1848: The Executive, Parliament and the People*, (London; New York: Routledge, 2006), 196-197.

²⁰ Letter from David Ricardo to Robert Wilmot-Horton, 19 January, 1823, DRO/D3155/C/6076. It was reprinted by Wilmot Horton in “The Causes and Remedies of Pauperism, Introductory Series, 19-20.

²¹ John Pullen, “The Other Correspondence of T. R. Malthus: A Preliminary List and Selected Commentary,” *History of Political Economy*, 48, no. 1 (March 2016): 65–110, Appendix 1.

²² Bonar states, “The representatives of Ricardo have been good enough to make search for the corresponding letters of Malthus, but without success.” David Ricardo and James Bonar, *Letters of David Ricardo to Thomas Robert Malthus, 1810-1823*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1887), viii. When compared with the outgoing correspondence of other significant public figures of the time, Malthus's sixteen letters are dwarfed by Arthur Wellesley, the First Duke of Wellington, Wellington Collection at the University of Southampton, 1 Jan 1823 – Dec 31, 1823, approx. 560 incoming letters. It is known that Wellington replied to every letter he received. Wellington's figure pales in comparison with Henry Brougham. It is impossible to count Brougham's correspondence, the bulk of which is kept at University College of London, but it is estimated at well over 100,000 items.

²³ An earlier letter from Malthus to Wilmot-Horton is dated February 7, 1823, Letter from T.R. Malthus to Robert Wilmot-Horton, February 7, 1823. DRO/WH2841. J.R. Pullen is the only other scholar to mention its existence, in John Pullen, “The Other Correspondence of T. R. Malthus: A Preliminary List and Selected Commentary,” *History of Political Economy* 48, no. 1 (March 2016): 65–110, Appendix 1. Yet Ghosh claims that Malthus's letter of February 23 is his “first reaction” to Horton's scheme of emigration, which is not strictly true. R. N. Ghosh, “Malthus on Emigration and Colonization: Letters to Wilmot-Horton,” *Economica*, 30, no. 117 (1963): 45–62, 49.

²⁴ Letter from T.R. Malthus to Robert Wilmot-Horton, February 21, 1823, DRO/D3155/WH2841/3-7.

expressed in person in Parliament later that same year. In September, 1823 Malthus was called to give evidence to the Select Committee examining the “State of Law in the United Kingdom Respecting Artisans Leaving Kingdom, and Exportation of Tools and Machinery, and Combination of Workmen to Raise Wages.”²⁵ Why he was asked to appear before the Committee is unclear, and as a witness his answers to some of the rhetorical questions were vague. Certainly, he was not an expert on artisans, preventing combinations, or the export of machinery for that matter. However, he was familiar with arguments for and against emigration, and his response was quite clear: laws preventing emigration of artisans were ineffective and should be repealed.²⁶

In the second paragraph of his letter to Wilmot-Horton, Malthus acknowledged the challenging times that the nation was experiencing, and conceded that all options should be considered. But two objections lingered. First, that those most likely to emigrate are the least likely to make successful emigrants, due to their indolent habits; assistance for such populations would therefore be prolonged resulting in additional expense for the parishes. Second, that the “vacuum theory” of emigration would come into play—the population gap created by the

²⁵ Malthus, *Essay on Population*, Geoffrey Gilbert, ed., 42; Malthus, *Essay on Population*, eds. Winch and James, 87. Joseph Hume, “Select Committee on State of Law in United Kingdom Respecting Artisans Leaving Kingdom, and Exportation of Tools and Machinery, and Combination of Workmen to Raise Wages: Report, Minutes of Evidence,” *19th Century House of Commons Sessional Papers*, Vol. 5, 51 (January 1, 1824), <https://parlipapers.proquest.com/parlipapers/docview/t70.d75.1824-008876>.

²⁶ William D. Grampp, “The Economists and the Combination Laws,” *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 93, no. 4 (1979): 501–22, 507. In discussions on the Combination Laws and restraints on the emigration of workers, *The Scotsman* and *The Morning Chronicle* reminded its readers of Malthus’s position on emigration, that “few will be disposed to snap asunder the ties which bind them to the homes of their fathers, but will “Rather tamely bear the ills they suffer, Than fly to others which they know not of.”” Despite the knowledge that emigration would be like a separation at death of friends and family, a redundant population, depressed wages, and agricultural distress was enough of an inducement for many, particularly artisans, to emigrate. “Restraints on the Emigration of Workmen and the Exportation of Machinery,” *The Scotsman*, September 27, 1823; “Restraints on the Emigration Of Workmen And The Exportation Of Machinery,” *The Morning Chronicle*, (London, England), Wednesday, August 20, 1823. *The Scotsman*’s quote from Malthus itself appears to be a rather “tame” version of the quote from *Hamlet* when compared with the 1803 edition of the *Essay*: “Make them rather bear the ills they suffer, Than fly to others which they know not of.” Malthus, *Essay on Population*, eds. Winch and James, 86.

emigrants would soon refill, a position Malthus had also expressed previously in his writings.²⁷ By cautioning that “continued emigration would make room for a much larger proportion of marriages, and might in a certain time alarmingly accumulate the expenses of settling fresh families,” Malthus undermined the very basis of Wilmot-Horton’s plan, the idea of continued, state-supported emigration. His advice to Wilmot-Horton: no harm would be done if emigration was left to take its own course.

III. The Select Committee on Emigration

In 1823, Frederick Robinson (1782-1859), President of the Board of Trade, first proposed the establishment of a Select Committee to fully investigate the subject of emigration, but the idea failed to gain traction.²⁸ Two years later, Whig MP Henry Bright (1784-1869) expressed his opposition to further grants for emigration schemes until a government committee had been appointed.²⁹ Shortly thereafter, in November 1825, it was “deemed expedient by Parliament and the Government, that an Emigration Committee should be appointed in the ensuing Session,” with Robert Wilmot-Horton appointed as chair; on March 14, 1826 it was made official.³⁰ The idea of assisted emigration was certainly popular. Select committees on the Poor Laws (1817 and 1819) had touched upon emigration as a remedy for distress, and the *Edinburgh* and *Quarterly* had discussed the topic in their reviews of these specific select committee reports.³¹ A

²⁷ Malthus, *Essay on Population*, eds. Winch and James, 85.

²⁸ P.J. Jupp, “Robinson, Frederick John, first viscount Goderich and first earl of Ripon, (1782-1859), prime minister,” ODNB.

²⁹ “Commons Sitting of Friday, April 15, 1825,” *Hansard*, 2nd Series, Volume 12 (April 15, 1825).

³⁰ The House ordered, “That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the expediency of encouraging Emigration from the United Kingdom.” “Commons Sitting of March 14, 1826,” *Hansard*, 2nd Series, Volume: 81 (March 14, 1826).

³¹ “On the Poor Laws,” *QR*, vol. 18, No. 36 (Jan.1818), Art. 1, pp. 259-308, 261; “Summary Review of the Report and Evidence related to the Poor Laws. By S.W. Nicol,” *ER*, 33:65 (1820: Jan). We know that Robert Wilmot-Horton read the *Edinburgh* and *Quarterly* reviews, as he cited the journals in his speeches in the Commons in 1827: “Commons Sitting of Tuesday, June 24, 1828,” *Hansard*, 2nd Series, Volume 19 (June 24, 1828). In addition,

government-assisted scheme in 1819 to the Cape of Good Hope had received 80,000 applicants for some 4,000 places, figures that indicate the demand for assisted emigration far exceeded the supply.³² In some sense these cursory efforts to consider emigration became stepping stones to a more systematic government examination of the value of such schemes, particularly for Ireland, and select committees appointed to consider deteriorating conditions in Ireland (1823 and 1825) incorporated compelling evidence by Wilmot-Horton in support of assisted emigration.³³ For many, the fear of a redundant population and of pauperism—or the condition of being a pauper and in receipt of parish assistance—could not all be heaped up in Ireland, and like water, it would find its own level. Already the industrial towns of northern England and central Scotland were showing evidence of this, as increasing waves of Irish migrants flocked across the Irish Sea. The *Edinburgh Review* reported that Glasgow alone had a population of twenty-five thousand Irish.³⁴

In 1823 and 1825, assisted emigration schemes from Ireland, prompted by the alarming

Wilmot-Horton wrote four articles for the *Quarterly Review*: “Feinagle and Grey’s *Artificial Memory*,” *QR*, vol 9, no 17 (Mar 1813), pp.125- 39; “West India Colonies,” *QR*, vol 30, no 60 (Jan 1824), pp.559-87 (with Charles Ellis); “The Corn Laws,” *QR*, vol 35, no 69 (Jan 1827), pp.269-83; “Taxation and Expenditure,” *QR*, vol 35, no 69 (Jan 1827), pp.283-307. However, there is no evidence to confirm that he specifically read the *Edinburgh* and *Quarterly* articles on the Poor Laws.

³² 3,659 people embarked on 26 ships between March and October 1820. See Eric Richards, *Britannia’s Children*, 112; Arnold White cites figures that are higher – 90,000 applicants. Arnold White, “Experiments in Colonization,” *The Contemporary Review*, 656-7, November 1890.

³³ For Ireland, see Thomas Spring Rice, 1st Bn. Monteagle, “Select Committee on Condition of Labouring Poor in Ireland and on Application of Funds for Their Employment. Report, Minutes of Evidence, Appendix,” *19th Century House of Commons Sessional Papers*, Vol. VI, 331 (January 1, 1823), 10. Robert Wilmot-Horton’s “Outline of a Plan of Emigration to Upper Canada” was included on pp. 171-180 of the report. Henry John Temple, 3rd Vct. Palmerston, “Select Committee to Inquire into Disturbances in Ireland, Minutes of Evidence, Indexes,” *19th Century House of Commons Sessional Papers*, Vol. VII, 20 (January 1, 1825), 189, 363. The appendix on emigration was authored by Robert Wilmot-Horton, pp. 459-463.

³⁴ “Reports and Evidence on the State of Ireland, ordered to be printed by the House of Lords and the House of Commons. Session 1825,” *ER*, 43:85 (1825: Nov.), pp. 494; Donald M. MacRaild, *The Irish Diaspora in Britain, 1750-1939*, Social History in Perspective (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 41-48; Graham Davis, *The Irish in Britain*, 10-50; Mervyn Busted, *The Irish in Manchester*, 7-40. It is worth noting that not all viewed the Irish with hostility. Some argued that the economic benefits of cheap labor might outweigh the social costs, and that Irish laborers, particularly seasonal workers, took jobs that the English did not want. MacRaild, 44-45; Graham Davis, *The Irish in Britain*, 83-123.

state of the country, resulted in approximately 50,000 applicants applying for just 2,000 places.³⁵ The arrangements were carried out by Canadian businessman Peter Robinson (1785-1838) and he was on the verge of organizing a third scheme of emigration from Ireland when Parliament refused to vote him the necessary funds.³⁶ All further proposals were deferred until a select committee had been established, tasked specifically with investigating the facts and presenting expert testimony on emigration.³⁷

The Select Committee on Emigration sat for two years, between 1826 and 1827, and produced three reports. Almost half of the witness testimony came from the colonies.³⁸ The Committee comprised thirty-five members, which included twenty-three Englishmen, seven Irishmen, and five Scots. Whig members included Thomas Spring Rice (1790-1866) and later Colonial Secretary; E. G. Stanley (1799-1869) successor to the Earl of Derby, and later prime minister; Home secretary Robert Peel (1788-1850) represented the Tory Cabinet. Opponents of the government included Sir Henry Parnell (1776-1842) and the Rt. Hon. Maurice Fitzgerald (1774-1849), both of whom were Irish landlords. In addition to geographical and political differences, members also included outspoken critics of government-assisted emigration schemes, among them radical Joseph Hume (1777-1855).³⁹ Hume was not alone in his

³⁵ Gerard Moran, *Sending out Ireland's Poor: Assisted Emigration to North America from Nineteenth-Century Ireland* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004), 22.

³⁶ Johnston, 69-90; Trevor Parkhill, "'With a little help from my friends': assisted emigration schemes 1700-1845," in Patrick J. Duffy – et al., eds., *To and from Ireland: Planned Migration Schemes c. 1600-2000* (Dublin: Geography Publications, 2004), 57-78; Moran, 21-28; Helen I. Cowan, *British Emigration to British North America; the First Hundred Years* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961), 70-80.

³⁷ For more on the structure and function of Select Committees, see Peter Jupp, *British Politics on the Eve of Reform: The Duke of Wellington's Administration, 1828-30* (Houndmills: New York: Macmillan; St. Martin's Press, 1998), 210-216.

³⁸ According to Johnston: "Of the fifty-eight meetings of the Committee, nineteen were devoted exclusively to colonial witnesses, nineteen to witnesses from Great Britain and Ireland, and twenty were devoted exclusively neither to one class of witness nor to the other." 97. For Robert Wilmot-Horton's account of the establishment of the Committee and its members, see Robert Wilmot-Horton *The Causes and Remedies of Pauperism in the United Kingdom Considered* (London: E. Lloyd, 1830), 9-10. See also Johnston, 92.

³⁹ Wilmot-Horton, *An Inquiry into the Causes and Remedies of Pauperism. Fourth Series*, 10-12; Johnson, 92-95.

objections, and Whigs and Tories were far from united along party lines in their views on emigration. For example, senior members of Wilmot-Horton's Tory party including Chancellor of the Exchequer Frederick Robinson, Home Secretary Robert Peel, and Chief Secretary for Ireland Henry Goulburn, expressed concern about Horton's complicated proposal but still remained sympathetic to the idea of government-assisted emigration.⁴⁰ On the other hand, Tory radical Michael Sadler (1780-1835) declared that the "wholesale deportations, now contemplated, are ...unnatural, impolitic, and cruel."⁴¹ The opposition Whigs were equally divided. Sir James Graham (1792-1861)—Whig MP for Carlisle— rejected the measure as being "contrary to the spirit of our laws," whereas Sir Alexander Baring (1774-1848)—banker, and Whig MP for Callington— wholeheartedly supported the proposed schemes.⁴²

In May 1826, the Committee released its report (the "First Report") which fused population and political economy in conversation with settler colonization. First, it noted the widespread misery, unemployment, and hardship in England and Scotland, and particularly in Ireland due to a redundant population. Conversely, British overseas possessions in British North America, the Cape of Good Hope, and Van Diemen's Land were fertile, uncultivated and unappropriated. Second, it observed that the unemployed at home consumed more than they

⁴⁰ Johnston, 151-154; J.E. Cookson, *Lord Liverpool's Administration: The Crucial Years, 1815-1822*, (London: Scottish Academic Press; distributed by Chatto and Windus, 1975), 97-100.

⁴¹ Kim Lawes, *Paternalism and Politics: The Revival of Paternalism in Early Nineteenth-Century Britain*, Studies in Modern History (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 114-127. A. Weaver, *Sadler, Michael Thomas (1780-1835), Social Reformer and Political Economist*, ODNB. Michael Thomas Sadler, *Ireland; Its Evils and Their Remedies: Being a Refutation of the Errors of the Emigration Committee and Others Touching That Country: To Which Is Prefixed, a Synopsis of an Original Treatise, About to Be Published, On the Law of Population; Developing the Real Principle On Which It Is Universally Regulated* (London: J. Murray, 1828), 74. See also Robert Wilmot-Horton's extensive response to Michael Sadler: Robert Wilmot Horton, and Michael Thomas Sadler, *The Causes and Remedies of Pauperism in the United Kingdom Considered: Part I, Being a Defence of the Principles and Conduct of the Emigration Committee, against the Charges of Mr. Sadler* (London: London: J. Murray, W. Clowes, 1829).

⁴² "Commons Sitting of Thursday, December 7, 1826," *Hansard*, 2nd Series, Volume 16; "Commons Sitting of Friday, February 15, 1827," *Hansard*, 2nd Series, Volume 16. Toward the end of the 1820s, Baring turned increasingly conservative over the issue of parliamentary reform. John Orbell, *Baring, Alexander, First Baron Ashburton (1773-1848), Merchant and Banker*, ODNB.

produced, and this could be reversed if they were transplanted to the colonies. As a result, the colonies would add, by extension, to the nation's wealth. It concluded that the movement of peoples, therefore, through emigration, was worthy of serious consideration. Regarding the practicalities: "No system of Emigration could be recommended to the attention of Parliament which was not essentially voluntary on the part of the Emigrants, and which did not relate to that part of the community which may be considered to be in a state of *permanent pauperism*." In England, resettlement could be paid from the poor rates, and later recovered. Elsewhere, charity contributions could offset the costs.⁴³

In early 1827, the Select Committee was reappointed and an interim report (the "Second Report") released.⁴⁴ This report drew attention to the distress of handloom weavers in northern England and parts of Scotland who had been thrown out of employment not only because of the introduction of the power loom but also because of a check on trade. While temporary aid had afforded "to preserve those districts from the immediate horrors of famine and from the possible evils of riot and disturbance," the Committee acknowledged that there was little chance that a revival of trade would bring back employment to distressed handloom weavers. The Committee "strongly recommended the grant of 50,000 pounds from the national funds in furtherance of an immediate Emigration from the manufacturing districts" to enable 1200 families to be resettled in Canada.⁴⁵ This recommendation was quickly rejected by the government on the basis that relief for these workers was no longer required.

⁴³ "Select Committee on Emigration from United Kingdom Report, Minutes of Evidence, Appendix, Index," *House of Commons Sessional Papers* Volume IV, 1, (January 1, 1826), 3-4.

⁴⁴ A complete list of members of the 1827 committee can be found in Robert Wilmot-Horton, Sir, *The Causes and Remedies of Pauperism in the United Kingdom Considered*. Edited by Robert Wilmot-Horton, Sir, (London: E. Lloyd, 1830), 10-13. There is some discrepancy over the composition of the 1826 and 1827 committees. See Johnston, 92.

⁴⁵ Robert John Wilmot-Horton, "Select Committee on Emigration from United Kingdom Second Report, Mins of Evidence," *House of Commons Sessional Papers*, Vol. V, 2 (January 1, 1827), 4.

On January 18th 1827, between the “First” and “Second” Committee reports, Malthus wrote to Wilmot-Horton. Responding presumably to a request from Wilmot-Horton to meet with him, Malthus politely explained that his busy schedule at Haileybury College would likely preclude it. Of greater interest is the second half of the letter. Malthus questioned the need for the meeting at all, given his recently published commentary on emigration (in the 1826 edition of the *Essay*) and, by his own admission, being “not well informed” on the practicalities of effecting government-assisted emigration. It is unclear whether the two men actually met. However, it is clear that Wilmot-Horton—in the middle of his work for the Select Committee on Emigration, his other parliamentary duties, and his position as undersecretary of state for war and the colonies—was willing to make the time to travel to Haileybury in Hertfordshire to meet with Malthus. Based on the letter’s contents, Wilmot-Horton wished to discuss the practicalities of his emigration scheme, presumably in order to try once more to secure Malthus’s endorsement. More likely, Wilmot-Horton either wanted to ask Malthus outright to be the chief witness for the Select Committee on Emigration or wanted to float the idea, given that the letter is dated four months prior to the date that Malthus gave testimony to the Committee, in May 1827. Simply put, Malthus’s reputation preceded him, and Wilmot-Horton knew it. Malthus acknowledged the extent and limitations of his knowledge on emigration, but as further letters suggest, Wilmot-Horton did not give up: he was determined that Malthus would come around, throwing his name and reputation behind the scheme of assisted-emigration.⁴⁶

As weeks passed by the correspondence persisted, along with Malthus’s doubts. In a letter dated March 8, 1827, Malthus expressed concern about a continuous scheme of emigration

⁴⁶ Brynn has argued that Wilmot-Horton attempted to bridge the gap between politics and political economy, but ultimately failed due to his lack of political finesse and his overly ambitious agenda. Edward Brynn, "Politics and Economic Theory: Robert Wilmot Horton, 1820-1841," *The Historian*, 34, no. 2 (1972): 260-77.

with reoccurring expense as proposed by Wilmot-Horton. In addition, Malthus questioned the efficacy of removing paupers from England and Scotland when any vacuum would quickly be filled by the Irish. Instead, Malthus focused his attention on emigration from Ireland, which he felt was the solution to the problem. In closing, he hinted that the destruction of pauper cottages after the occupants had emigrated would reduce the likelihood of the “vacuum” theory becoming a reality. Soon after this letter was written, there must have been a big “ask” from Robert Wilmot-Horton or perhaps from Irish politician Henry Parnell who, like Malthus, was a member of the Political Economy Club from 1821.⁴⁷ One month later, Malthus’s irritated response to the request suggests that he neither believed that he could contribute anything of use to the Select Committee nor appreciated being inconvenienced by having to attend in person. Underlining for emphasis is in the original.⁴⁸

East India College
April 8, 1827

Dear Sir,

I received this morning the order of your Committee to attend on the first of May. As I have no facts, or results of of [sic] personal inquiries to communicate, and my opinions on the subject of Emigration are already before the public, I was in hopes, as I told Sir Henry Parnell, that I should not be called upon. If however you think it is advisable that I should be summoned it would be a great convenience to me in regard to my College duties that it should be deferred till the thursday or friday following.

If I am making an improper request from ignorance, you will I know have the goodness to excuse me, and I will obey the order of the Committee as it at present stands.

I am, dear Sir,
Truly Yours,
T Rob^t Malthus ⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Sir Henry Brooke Parnell, first Baron Congleton, was not a founding member like Malthus but proposed as a candidate for admission to the Political Economy Club on June 25, 1821 by David Ricardo. Political Economy Club of London., “Minutes of Proceedings, Roll of Members and Questions Discussed.,” no. 6 v. (1821), pp. 6. Sir Henry Parnell was the great uncle of Irish nationalist leader Charles Stewart Parnell (1846-1891).

⁴⁸ This is omitted by Ghosh and James.

⁴⁹ T.R. Malthus to Robert Wilmot-Horton, April 8, 1827, DRO WH 2841/3.

Less than three weeks later, Malthus wrote again to Wilmot-Horton. It is possible to read Malthus's comments as sincere, as expressing genuine doubt over his intellectual contribution to the Committee's work, but willing to help if he could while working around his institutional obligations at Haileybury. More likely, it is possible to read Malthus's comments as Patricia James has done – that of consternation. Downplaying his perceived contribution as not being the “the right kind,” Malthus continued to play hard-to-get, making sure that his attendance before the Committee was on his timetable alone. As it happened, Malthus was called to give evidence in front of the Select Committee on Emigration on Saturday, May 5th 1827. One cannot help but wonder whether the rather unusual weekend schedule was a concession granted to the most celebrated economists on population, in order to guarantee his attendance.

For his part, between 1823 and 1827 (his first and second letter to Malthus), Wilmot-Horton continued to promote his ambitious emigration scheme in three ways. First, he corresponded assiduously with men in high places, including politicians George Canning, Lord Grenville, Lord Goderich, William Huskisson, Lord Palmerston and Sir Robert Peel on matters relating to emigration and the formation of the Select Committee.⁵⁰ Second, he used his continued presence in the House of Commons to raise the topic of emigration at every opportunity⁵¹; and third, he attempted to influence public opinion as a Member of Parliament by publishing a pamphlet on emigration, *A Letter to Francis Burdett* (1826).⁵² The 72-page letter

⁵⁰ The Derbyshire Record Office contains the Wilmot-Horton papers. His correspondence is found in hundreds of bound volumes of letters: D3155/WH 2741-2903 (1st series), D3155/WH 2904-2938 (2nd series), D3155/WH 2939-3083 (3rd series). Correspondence between the years 1823 and 1827 specifically on emigration includes: Thomas Newenham, D3155/C6415; Robert Gourlay, D3155/C6492; Revd. Sydney Smith, D4576/10/1-7; Robert Peel, WH2858; Lord Granville, D3155/C6435.

⁵¹ Examples of Wilmot-Horton raising the topic of emigration in the House include: 15 March, 1825; 25 April, 1825; 17 March, 1826; 26 May, 1826; December 5, 1826; December 7, 1826.

⁵² R.J.W. Horton and F. Burdett, *A Letter [to Sir F. Burdett; in Reply to His Speech in Opposing a Parliamentary Grant of pounds30,000 for the Purpose of Emigration].*, 1826.

was published in response to radical Tory politician Francis Burdett's (1770-1844) speech opposing a parliamentary grant of £30,000 for the purpose of emigration. To bolster his argument about the efficacy of his emigration scheme, Wilmot-Horton reproduced his 1823 letter from Ricardo in which the esteemed economist commented, "I can have very little doubt but that the plan would be favourable to parishes."⁵³ In addition, Wilmot-Horton said he felt "justified" in citing thirty pages of testimony of political economist J.R. McCulloch from the Select Committee appointed to inquire into the state of Ireland (1825).⁵⁴ Finally, while admitting that he did not have the authority at the time to cite other experts who had commented on his *Outlines*, Wilmot-Horton took the liberty of quoting one paragraph from Malthus's *Principles of Political Economy*, presumably in order to bolster his claims even further.⁵⁵

Did Wilmot-Horton overestimate the influence of political economists on Parliament and public opinion? Possibly. While his tenure as an elected official coincided with the majority of parliamentary discussion on assisted emigration, he did not have the *complete* endorsement of many of the leading economists during that time, even though, as Bashford and Chaplin have noted, Wilmot-Horton used the "authority of Malthus's name at every opportunity."⁵⁶ Malthus himself may have not appreciated his popularity, but Robert Wilmot-Horton did. He was aware of Malthus's ability to shape public opinion, of the influence his doctrines had in the press, and how frequently his doctrines were cited, especially on the timely issue of assisted emigration—a topic under examination by a government-appointed select committee. This latter point is significant. Peter Jupp has posited that select committee reports were influential in three ways.

⁵³ Ibid., 12-13.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 26-56.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 53. Horton cited Malthus's *Principles of Political Economy* to explain the complexity of retaining or abandoning colonies. See Pullen, T.R. Malthus, *Principles of Political Economy*, ed. John Pullen (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 432.

⁵⁶ Bashford and Chaplin, *The New Worlds*, 222.

First, in their contribution to legislation, second on the terms of debate, and third in their influence on the wider public. Parliament published on average 1,500-2,500 copies of every select committee report within a year of the investigation being conducted, so that not only members of the two houses but also members of the ordinary public could access the report in a timely manner. From there spawned reprints and summaries of the reports by national and local papers, as well as references to and reviews of the reports in the periodical literature.⁵⁷ In the case of the Select Committee on Emigration's "Third Report," Jupp's assertions are supported by compelling evidence. The press began its reporting on October 1, 1827, then printed sections of the "Third Report" and reported on it every day until at least October 17.⁵⁸ Associating Malthus's name with the Select Committee on Emigration was a genius move given the popularization of the Parson and the prominence given to parliamentary affairs by the London and provincial press.⁵⁹ One final strategic move on Wilmot-Horton's part—to ensure that his ambitious emigration scheme remained at the forefront of conversation—was to associate himself with members of an elite political economy club, which is where we now turn.

⁵⁷ Peter Jupp, *British Politics on the Eve of Reform: The Duke of Wellington's Administration, 1828-30* (Houndmills: New York: Macmillan; St. Martin's Press, 1998), 216.

⁵⁸ The final report of the Select Committee on Emigration (the "Third Report") was ordered to be printed on June 29, 1827. See for example: "Important Parliamentary Paper," *The Morning Post* (London, England), Monday, October 01, 1827; "Parliamentary Papers," *The Morning Post* (London, England), Tuesday, October 02, 1827; "Multiple News Items," *The Standard* (London, England), Wednesday, October 03, 1827; "London: Thursday, October 4, 1827," *The Morning Chronicle* (London, England), Thursday, October 4, 1827; "Report Of The Committee On Emigration," *The Morning Chronicle* (London, England), Thursday, October 4, 1827; "London: Friday, October 5, 1827," *The Morning Chronicle* (London, England), Friday, October 5, 1827; "The visible increase of the labouring population beyond the means of employing them, (at least under the existing system) to a very annoying extent in England, and a most afflictive on in Ireland, is once more calling general attention to the expediency of emigration," *The Leicester Chronicle: or, Commercial and Agricultural Advertiser* (Leicester, England), Saturday, October 06, 1827, pg. 3; "News," *The Leeds Intelligencer and Yorkshire General Advertiser* (Leeds, England), Thursday, October 11, 1827, pg. 2.

⁵⁹ Jupp, *British Politics on the Eve of Reform*, 377.

IV. Wilmot-Horton and the Club at Freemason's Tavern

The first period [1821-1846] may be variously described as the age of principles or dogma; the members had principles—though not the same principles; they were anxious to diffuse “just principles,” to rectify any mistakes,” to refute “erroneous doctrines,” and to “limit the influence of hurtful publications.” They were missionaries and proselytisers. I might also describe it as the age of *laissez faire*, “or the age of individualism”; the age when it was believed that every person is the best judge of his own happiness; when State intervention was regarded as presumably stupid and mischievous. I might also speak of it as the age when there was the over-shadowing influence of three doctrines affecting almost all questions; those of Ricardo as to value and labour, and as rents, and that of Malthus as to population.⁶⁰

Remarks by Sir. John MacDonell on 5th July 1905 on the Political Economy Club.

The Political Economy Club, “a common meeting-ground of theorists and practical men,” was founded in London in 1821. Political economist Thomas Tooke (1774-1858)—who drafted the petition to Parliament in 1820 from the Merchants of London in favor of free trade—is credited with being the “moving spirit” behind the formation of the Club, although it is likely that the “idea of a Club sprung from the eagerness of David Ricardo to enjoy the society of the economists of his time.”⁶¹ The history of this famous club, which met at the Freemason's Tavern, Great Queen Street in London, is scant, and beyond listing its noteworthy members, scholars have paid virtually no attention to the club's activities. Little remains on the variety of talks or details of discussions as no official record were kept of the views expressed in the course of discussions, and letters and diaries have been used to reconstruct the details.

The rules of the Political Economy Club, which were initially drafted by James Mill, spell out basic organizational regulations: “The number of the Members of the Club is limited to Thirty;” “The Club shall meet on the first Thursday in December, and the first Thursday in every

⁶⁰ “Substance of Opening Remarks by Sir. J. MacDonell on 5th July, 1905,” in Political Economy Club of London, Centenary Volume, 340-341.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 348, viii-ix.

month from February to July, inclusive;” “During the discussion of a Question by the Club, all observations shall be addressed to the Chairman or Deputy-Chairman..;” and “The last rule shall be superseded only during the period of tea, the commencement and termination of which shall be declared by the Chairman.” The original format of the meetings was such that three members, in alphabetical rotation, were “required to propose each some doubt or question on some topic of Political Economy which may be considered by the members during the interval and form the subject of conversation at the next meeting.”⁶² The questions were to be examined “at subsequent Meetings in any order which may seem good to the Society.”⁶³ What constituted “good to the Society” is vague, if Malthus’s track record is anything to go by—he posed a question on general gluts in December 1821 and it was finally discussed in January 1823.⁶⁴

In addition to member “rules” the following “expectations” appeared in the Club’s founding documents:

The Members of this Society will regard their own mutual instruction, and the diffusion amongst others of just principles of Political Economy as a real and important obligation.

As the Press is the grand instrument for the diffusion of knowledge or of error, all the Members of this Society will regard it as incumbent upon them to watch carefully the proceedings of the Press, and to ascertain if any doctrines hostile to sound views on Political Economy have been propagated; to contribute whatever may be in their power to refute such erroneous doctrines, and counteract their influence; and to avail themselves of every favourable opportunity for the publication of seasonable truths within the province of this Science.

⁶² Ibid., xviii.

⁶³ Political Economy Club of London, *Minutes of Proceedings, roll of members and questions discussed*, Vol. I (London, 1860), 17-24.

⁶⁴ Malthus posed his question “Can there be a general glut of commodities” in December 1821. Even though there were only supposed to be three questions proposed, he sneaked in a fourth question “On what does the demand for Labour depend?” He was absent from the January 1822 meeting, but present in February, yet his question was postponed. In March 1822 Malthus’s question was tabled for the April meeting, and in April he himself begged to postpone the discussion. In May, Malthus was absent. In June 1822, there was no mention of his question in the meeting minutes. In December 1822 the Club reconvened for the season and it was proposed that Malthus’s question should be answered in January 1823. By all accounts, this finally happened.

It shall be considered the duty of the Society, individually and collectively, to aid the circulation of all Publications which they deem useful to the Science, by making the merits of them known as widely as possible, and to limit the influence of hurtful publications by the same means.⁶⁵

The latter two expectations are particularly instructive. The Club almost functioned as an assembly of elders, with its principles already assumed, but the binding glue being the careful diffusion of the principles. That said, Club members were far from in agreement on principles constituting the true faith, as John Lewis Mallet (1775-1861), one of the Club's first members, reported in his diary entries from the period. According to Mallet, the type of discussions "which now take up so much of the time of the House of Commons and the French Chambers" such as, "economical and partly political questions," resulted in "differences of opinion among men nearly on a par, in point of talent and information," and "no satisfactory conclusions ever take place. I do not apprehend, if we were in the habit of voting aye or no on the questions proposed, that there would have been half a dozen occasions, since the establishment of the Club, 6 years ago, in which anything like unanimity would have prevailed."⁶⁶ He further stated:

It is singular enough considering the dogmatism of most writers on Political Economy, who are certainly not wanting in positive conclusions, that most subjects belonging to that science are so involved in doubt and difficulty, that the moment you quit the great road and general principles, you find yourself in crooked lanes, *a cul de sac*. At our Club, we early found it necessary to cease coming to any conclusions, as to the subjects under discussion; and even with regard to the definition of terms, some of which were settled after a good deal of difficulty and discussion, there was anything but unanimity among the more learned of us.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Political Economy Club of London, "Minutes of Proceedings," 23-24.

⁶⁶ J.L. Mallet, "From J. L. Mallet's Diaries, June 25, 1830" in Political Economy Club of London, Centenary Volume, 217-218.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 218.

Correspondence between David Ricardo and John Ramsay McCulloch further support Mallet's observations that "several knotty points were discussed."⁶⁸ Alexander Bain's 1882 biography of James Mill described how the "survivors among the early members of the Club well remember Mill's crushing criticisms of Malthus's speeches."⁶⁹ This should not come as a surprise, given that fifteen members of the Political Economy Club contributed articles to the *Edinburgh Review* up to 1850, six members contributed to the *Westminster Review*, and four members to the *Quarterly Review*.⁷⁰ Members often reviewed members' works, and at times the forthright commentary was far from flattering. In a sense, 'quarterlies' acted as a substitute for the face-to-face immediacy of the Political Economy Club; the reviewers were provided a degree of protection by the "institution" of the journal itself, which was not possible in an open forum. Nevertheless, the Club's expectation—that it was a member's duty to "aid the circulation of all Publications which they deem useful to the Science, by making the merits of them known as widely as possible"—was clearly a rule to be broken.

Even though Wilmot-Horton was not in the Club so to speak, correspondence on matters of emigration flew back and forth between him and members of the Club. For example, Whig politician and Club member Thomas Spring Rice wrote to Wilmot-Horton on April 26, 1826 in support of his assisted emigration scheme. In the letter, Spring Rice described circumstances in which he was left an estate to oversee and had to manage the estate with tenants and sub-tenants living in wretchedness. Explaining that he was only able to accommodate six families, he feared that the dispossession of the other tenants would "lead to mischief, whereas their removal

⁶⁸ David Ricardo and Jacob H. Hollander, *Letters of David Ricardo to John Ramsay McCulloch, 1816-1823* (New York: Pub. for the American economic association by Macmillan & company, 1895), 127.

⁶⁹ Alexander Bain, *James Mill: A Biography* (New York: Henry Holt & C., 1882), 199.

⁷⁰ For a further breakdown of the figures, see Frank W. Fetter, "Economic Controversy in the British Reviews, 1802-1850," *Economica*, 32, no. 128 (1965): 424-37, 430.

[through emigration] would contribute to their happiness & to the tranquility of the neighbourhood.” Spring Rice concluded that, “Now, this is only me of immeasurable cases recurring daily, & it is one for which your scheme & your scheme only can adequately provide – all this I could prove in a Court of Justice or before any of your unbelieving colleagues.” In addition to Spring Rice, Wilmot-Horton corresponded with political economist Robert Torrens (1780-1964), on the theory and practice of emigration.⁷¹ Torrens confessed his enthusiasm for an extensive system of emigration, which “affords the most immediate and effectual means for lowering the Poor rate in England, and for relieving distress in Ireland.”⁷² Another correspondent, John Ramsay McCulloch (who was “treated as an honorary member from 1824” but did not formally join the Political Economy Club until 1829⁷³), wrote to Wilmot-Horton on the matter of emigration in March 1826, saying he was honored that Wilmot-Horton had referred to his evidence on emigration in the House of Commons, and that he “approved most wholly” of the plan of emigration from Ireland.⁷⁴ McCulloch wrote at length again, less than a month later, reiterating his view on the subject of emigration from Ireland, stating that “no one can more heartily approve than I do.” He acknowledged that he differed from Wilmot-Horton on the subject of the colonies, saying that he had slated his view on the subject in the 84th edition of the *Edinburgh Review*.⁷⁵

In May 1827, shortly after Malthus gave testimony at the Select Committee on Emigration, Robert Wilmot-Horton wasted no time in sending off the Committee’s minutes of evidence to his correspondents at the Political Economy Club. That he chose to do this literally

⁷¹ Winch, *Classical Political Economy and Colonies* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965), 68; R. N. Ghosh, “The Colonization Controversy.”

⁷² Letter from Robert Torrens to Robert Wilmot-Horton, March 23, 1826, DRO D3155/WH/2889

⁷³ Political Economy Club of London, Centenary Volume, xviii.

⁷⁴ Letter from J.R. McCulloch to Robert Wilmot-Horton, March 18, 1826, DRO D3155M1/C6350. See also C6414.

⁷⁵ Letter from J.R. McCulloch to Robert Wilmot-Horton, April 18, 1826, DRO D3155M1/C6358.

days after Malthus's testimony is in itself curious. Did Wilmot-Horton have doubts about Malthus's evidence, or was he insecure about its impact? Or did he fear that other prominent individuals would disagree with Malthus? Or did he simply need more individuals to buy into his scheme? One such individual was the founder of the Political Economy Club, Thomas Tooke, who after perusing the minutes of Malthus's evidence admitted that he agreed with Malthus, "in nearly all the answers which he has given."⁷⁶ A second was Robert Torrens, who responded to Wilmot-Horton on May 22, 1827:

I have read with very great attention the question put to Mr. Malthus, and the answers which he has given to them. The whole is admirable, whether regarded as an exposition of general principles or considered as an application of such principles to the actual circumstances of England, of Scotland, and more particularly of Ireland, I cannot but congratulate you upon the additional confirmation which this evidence supplies of the soundness of the doctrine upon which your plan of Emigration has been formed.

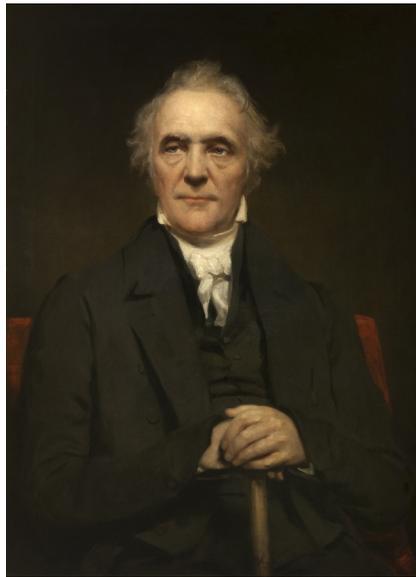
Although Torrens disagreed with Wilmot-Horton on specifics, he stated "I entirely agree with you in the great practical principle that the wealth, prosperity, and happiness of the country must be increased by the removal of paupers consuming more than they produce." He further added his stamp of approval: "It is morally and physically certain that unless an extensive plan of Emigration be carried into effect, the labouring classes in England must become what in Ireland they are."⁷⁷

A third correspondent was Thomas Chalmers (1780-1847)— Glasgow priest and prodigy of Malthus. Writing in direct response to Malthus's evidence at the Select Committee, Chalmers assured Wilmot-Horton that he agreed with Malthus's assertions that the "effect of emigration from Ireland to Scotland and England is degrading the conditions of labourers in the two latter

⁷⁶ Letter from Thomas Tooke to Robert Wilmot-Horton, May 20, 1827, DRO WH 2991 1557.

⁷⁷ Letter from Robert Torrens to Robert Wilmot-Horton, May 22, 1827, DRO WH 2991 1558.

countries.” Chalmers peddled a familiar Malthusian line: “Emigration as subsidiary to certain domestic reformations, such as that of Pauperism in England and of land letting in Ireland, is altogether worthy of the attention of the Legislature.” Ultimately, Chalmers supported the idea that “Government should provide both for the Irish discarded from the land, and for the English able-bodied labourers discarded from parochial relief, & should provide them with the option and power of Emigration.”⁷⁸



4.2. *Rev. Thomas Chalmers, 1780-1847*
by Sir John Watson Gordon, c. 1838, © National Galleries of Scotland.⁷⁹

Correspondence between Thomas Chalmers and Wilmot-Horton continued through the summer of 1827, and the Glasgow priest used the excuse of responding to Wilmot-Horton to showcase his own “short exposition” on emigration. Starting out with a skeptical view, Chalmers observed: “the scheme to relieve the country of its excess by transporting our surplus families to distant lands, appears on its first announcement to be one of singular impotency and

⁷⁸ Letter from Thomas Chalmers to Robert Wilmot-Horton, May 19, 1827, DRO WH 2991 1556.

⁷⁹ <https://www.nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artists/2075/0/rev-thomas-chalmers-1780-1847-preacher-and-social-reformer>

ineptitude.”⁸⁰ This was not because the schemes to relieve population pressure were expensive or impractical, rather that the “prolific power which belongs to our species” would “more than compensate any relieving process which Statesmen can devise.” Chalmers then described the difference between the Irish and the Scots, that one rushed into marriage, the other delayed and therefore did not add to population. In other words, there would be no need for such schemes when mankind—as demonstrated by the Scots—could take care of population control itself. Chalmers then discussed the sticky issue of expense. He asked, “Could the British Government submit to the sacrifice of a million annually in the prosecution of such a measure?” Chalmers concluded that he viewed emigration as an important auxiliary, “when conjoined with other schemes of internal or domestic economy & rightly adjusted not to the impracticable object of clearing away the excess of people by yearly abstractions, but to the higher and more hopeful object of preventing that excess.”

V. A Change of Political Fortunes

At the end of September 1827 printed copies of the final report of the Select Committee on Emigration (the “Third Report”) became widely available to the public. The report endorsed the main conclusions of the “First Report” while taking into consideration new evidence. Assessing each of the three kingdoms separately, it recommended a simpler and less-costly version of Wilmot-Horton’s scheme as described in his *Outlines*. First, it proposed that the priority was placed on emigration from Ireland rather than England.⁸¹ Second, that the passage

⁸⁰ Thomas Chalmers, *On Emigration*, DRO WH 2991 1562. In the letter dated June 9, 1827 to Wilmot-Horton, Chalmers noted that Wilmot-Horton would soon be receiving a copy of the “short exposition” in “another handwriting than my own” which suggests that he had several copies of the original produced, perhaps with a view to elicit the opinions of others. For Chalmers, see also Boyd Hilton, *The Age of Atonement: The Influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought, 1795-1865* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 55-63.

⁸¹ *Third Report from the Select Committee on Emigration from the United Kingdom*, 6-10.

across the Atlantic would be funded by parishes or landlords, or by emigrants themselves. Third, on arrival in Canada, emigrants certified by a newly-created Emigration Board to be paupers could decide whether to work as laborers and find their own fortune, or whether to settle on granted land, thereby receiving government assistance and being responsible for repayment of a loan.⁸² Third, the anticipated cost of resettling emigrants was 60 pounds for a family of five. The Committee proposed that 19,000 families would be given assistance over a three-year period at a cost of 1,140,000 pounds.⁸³

Yet there were amendments to Wilmot-Horton's original proposed plan (1823) in the report's findings, namely a National System of Emigration under which emigration loans (for settlement, not transportation) were repaid by emigrants themselves, not the parishes. A few weeks after the report's circulation among the wider public, Malthus crafted a carefully written letter, expressing his doubts about the changes that the Select Committee had adopted.⁸⁴ Malthus's first objection concerned the vacuum created by extended emigration, which may actually encourage population growth; if emigration was later halted a redundant population would ensue. This contrasted with his Select Committee testimony in which he indicated that the vacuum might not fill up if the pauper cottages were pulled down and not replaced. Malthus's second objection (which was expressed concurrently throughout his remaining answers) concerned the repayment of loans plus interest by emigrants. On this issue, Malthus proffered arguments regarding the future of the empire itself: what happened when Canada was no longer a British colony, through either a hostile takeover or independence? What would happen to the debt owed by the emigrants? On a vaguely conciliatory note, Malthus acknowledged that

⁸² *Ibid.*, 33-34.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 18-21.

⁸⁴ T.R. Malthus to Robert Wilmot-Horton, November 8, 1827, DRO WH 2841/5. This letter is curiously omitted by Bashford and Chaplin in *The New World of Thomas Robert Malthus*.

emigration was still useful as a temporary expedient, as long as reforms to landed estates (as expressed in his expert testimony) or the Poor Laws (a view he had held since the publication of the first *Essay*⁸⁵) were put in place.

Not long after this exchange with Malthus, circumstances beyond anyone's control changed Wilmot-Horton's political fortunes for the worse. Lord Liverpool (1770-1828) had a stroke, removing him as prime minister. He was succeeded by George Canning (1770-1827), who appeared unsympathetic to the emigration cause. Canning died in August 1827, and Frederick Robinson, who had first proposed the establishment of a select committee on emigration, succeeded Canning as prime minister, only to resign after 144 days, leaving behind a splintered Tory party. The subsequent ministry of Arthur Wellesley, the first Duke of Wellington (1769-1852) and Home Secretary Robert Peel, postponed a decision to send an agent on behalf of the Colonial Office to Canada to investigate possible sites for large settlements of immigrants.⁸⁶ Even though he was formally out of office, Wilmot-Horton remained active in Parliament until 1830, trying to secure parliamentary time for further discussions on his emigration proposals. In addition, he continued his correspondence with political economists and tried to effect public opinion through the publication of political pamphlets.

In the summer of 1828, Malthus responded to a forty-five-page pamphlet from Wilmot-Horton. Malthus acknowledged that he did not receive the document till after Wilmot-Horton's motion in the House of Commons had taken place, when Wilmot-Horton had proposed that "this House will, early in the next session of parliament, take into consideration the expediency of adopting such measures, whether of Emigration upon an extended scale, or otherwise, as may appear to be most calculated to relieve the pauperism of Ireland, and to prevent the injurious

⁸⁵ In the first *Essay*, Malthus called for the complete abolition of the Poor Laws. Over time his view softened, and he went as far as saying that they need not be abolished.

⁸⁶ Robert Wilmot-Horton to T.R. Malthus (1828), DRO WH2842.

effects arising there from upon the condition of the laboring classes of this country.”⁸⁷ Malthus

wrote:

I don't know however that any observation which I could have made would have been of any use to you. You know my general agreement with your views and the importance which I attach to the subject. The main point on which we differ is that I incline to the opinion that we are called upon to make a great temporary effort, in order to relieve a great present difficulty and to enable us to effect a beneficial and lasting change in the condition of the labouring classes of society both in Ireland and England, which might render future similar efforts unnecessary, while you incline to a permanent national system of emigration which a government can hardly be expected to adopt, unless it could be made clear not only from previous calculations, but from repeated experience that it would be attended with little or no expense, and further that there was little or no probability that the colonies to which we sent our people and capital would be the prey of other nations. I hope, notwithstanding the withdrawing of your motion, that the subject will come on next session under more favourable auspices in regard to the disposition of the House. I have made a few slight pencil remarks as I looked over the papers and return them to you, as you desired.⁸⁸

The following year, in June 1829, Wilmot-Horton was back in the House of Commons, debating the distress of the laboring classes due to Britain's redundant population. Wilmot-Horton proposed, "That the improvement in the condition of the labouring classes could only take place either by the increase of the funds for the employment of labour, by the diminution of the supply of labour, or by the compound operation of both causes." In support of his position, he read an extract of a letter from Thomas Tooke, which he said was also confirmed by the opinion of Malthus. To Wilmot-Horton it seemed that the "proposition was in itself so plain as not to require either argument or authority." But, "among the latter, he might add the name of Mr. M'Culloch; Mr. Ricardo and colonel Torrens had both written and spoken to the same effect; and

⁸⁷ Likely the debate of June 24, 1828.

⁸⁸ T.R. Malthus to Robert Wilmot Horton, 1828, DRO WH 2843/21. This letter is curiously omitted by Ghosh, James, and Bashford and Chaplin.

if it were necessary to multiply names, it would not be difficult to do so.”⁸⁹ While name-dropping certainly helps one’s cause, Wilmot-Horton also made reference to evidence from the Select Committee on Emigration (1826), which resulted in the debate shifting direction from the condition of the laboring classes to assisted emigration, putting the matter once again on the floor of the House of Commons. How the government of the day responded is the subject of the next chapter.⁹⁰

VI. A Republic of Letters

Wilmot-Horton’s attempts to bring up the subject of emigration for parliamentary debate in the spring of 1829 coincided with his formal admittance to the Political Economy Club. Could his admittance account for the notable increase from 1829 onwards in Wilmot-Horton’s correspondence with “theorists and practical men”?⁹¹ Did this increase in Wilmot-Horton’s correspondence align with the topics being discussed at the Club and/or with activities in Parliament? Or was it simply that when faced with seeing Wilmot-Horton in person on a monthly basis, Club members could not duck out, shy away, or pretend that his letters never arrived. These points will be considered below.

First, to the topics discussed at the Club. Prior to Wilmot-Horton joining the Club, the majority of questions posed were of an analytical or technical nature, on matters such as

⁸⁹ “Commons Sitting of Thursday, June 4, 1829.,” *Hansard*, 2nd Series, Volume 21 (June 4, 1829).

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ Between 1829 and 1831, when Wilmot-Horton left England for Ceylon, there is notable increase in correspondence between Wilmot-Horton and members of the Political Economy Club, even though the recommendations of the Select Committee on Emigration were not implemented and Wilmot-Horton was up against Edward Gibbon Wakefield’s scheme of emigration, to which economists switched allegiances. Edward Gibbon Wakefield (1796-1862), the “builder of the British Commonwealth,” became an important rival and successor to Wilmot-Horton. Despite their different approaches, both Wilmot-Horton and Wakefield’s rationale were identical and simple—the passage of British emigrants to overseas colonies paid for out of public funds, with the dual purpose of relieving the economy of surplus population and strengthening the empire.

monetary policy, wages, currency, taxation and profit.⁹² Between 1829 and 1838 there is a notable increase in the number of questions (compared with the previous nine years) on pragmatic rather than theoretical political-economic concerns.⁹³ For example, at the April 1829 meeting, McCulloch asked whether the Poor Laws had occasioned an “increase or diminution of the population,” and Robert Torrens asked about the benefits derived by Great Britain by the possession of its colonies; both questions were connected with population-driven emigration schemes to the colonies.⁹⁴ In January 1831, Torrens posed the question: “What are the causes of the present distress and discontent among Agricultural Labourers; and would a compulsory Rate of Wages, a reduction of Tithes and Taxes, or what other measure tend to remove the evils?”⁹⁵ He opined that “emigration and a systematic removal of surplus population in those districts where the means of employment fell far short of the numbers to be employed, and the education of the People, were the only remedies applicable to the present exigency.”⁹⁶ In December 1832 and January 1833, political economist Nassau Senior (1790-1864) posed a question on the collection and distribution of the Poor Laws.⁹⁷ In December 1833, Thomas Spring Rice asked “What would be the effect of establishing the Poor Laws in Ireland?” In his diary, John Mallet commented that Spring Rice spoke “for half an hour excellently well and much to this purpose.”⁹⁸

Second, did the increase in correspondence between Wilmot-Horton and “theorists and

⁹² For technical questions, see for example, May 5, 1823: “Is the value of wages the only thing which determined profit?” or Jan 13, 1823: “How far are rents and profits affected by tithes?” or April 2, 1827: Does a paper money, payable on demand, in the precious metals, increase the nominal price of commodities in a country where it exists? Political Economy Club of London, *Questions and Minutes*, 18-30.

⁹³ One exception to this is April 1825, when Henry Parnell posed the following two-part question: “What measures might be adopted for retarding the Increase of Population in Ireland? What measures are most fit for improving the condition of the people of Ireland? The timing may have coincided with the release of the Select Committee Report on the State of Ireland.

⁹⁴ Political Economy Club of London, *Minutes of Proceedings*, 139

⁹⁵ Political Economy Club of London, *Questions and Minutes*, 35.

⁹⁶ Mallet, “From J. L. Mallet’s Diaries, June 25, 1830” in Political Economy Club of London, 220-222.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 242-245.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 250-53.

practical men” align with activities in Parliament? Or was it simply that when faced with meeting Wilmot-Horton in person on a monthly basis, individuals (particularly Malthus) felt obligated to respond to his letters. There is much to support the former, and nothing to support the latter. Correspondence between Malthus and Wilmot-Horton continued in earnest after Wilmot-Horton joined the Political Economy Club, in a familiar pattern. Malthus received a letter from Wilmot-Horton, usually containing a report or proposal for feedback. Malthus responded, often prefacing his comments with an excuse about his own tardiness but then launching into a detailed analysis of Wilmot-Horton’s enclosures. In a letter from Malthus to Wilmot-Horton in February 1830, Malthus commented that he had read Wilmot-Horton’s *Second Series* “with much interest” but proceeded to point out their principle differences. Malthus objected to Wilmot-Horton’s claim that “nothing can be less true and less philosophical than to suppose that the removal [of] a redundant population would have a tendency to stimulate the increase of the remainder.” Rather, Malthus argued the opposite, that “with very few exceptions population rapidly recovers itself after any great loss which it has sustained.”⁹⁹ Nevertheless, Malthus stated, “This would not however weigh with me against a plan of emigration in certain circumstances of a country.”¹⁰⁰ Malthus admitted that although he was a “decided friend to emigration” in the case of the dire situation in Ireland, and would willingly pay his share of tax to facilitate emigration, he understood “why a proposition for borrowing a large sum of money for this purpose would be likely to be so unpopular.” He opined that while the redundant population in Ireland impoverished the laboring classes, a large proportion of the redundant population were in fact able-bodied men, who contributed nothing, and were being supported by

⁹⁹ T.R. Malthus to Robert Wilmot-Horton, February 15, 1830, in John Pullen and Trevor Hughes Parry, *T.R. Malthus: The Unpublished Papers in the Collection of Kanto Gakuen University, Volume I* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1997), 103.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 104.

the state.

In the spring of 1830, Wilmot-Horton sent Malthus a copy of his amended emigration bill that he intended to present to the House of Commons. He wrote: “From much communication with practical men, I at last became convinced that the only legislation which could reconcile the public to any plan of borrowing money on the security of the Poor’s rate to assist paupers to emigrate, would be that of enforcing a repayment of the monies so borrowed by installments, before it would be physically possible that a population compounded of adults & children could be reproduced.”¹⁰¹ It is unclear to whom Wilmot-Horton was referring to when he said “practical men,” but Malthus quickly responded: “I quite approve of your bill, especially of the change you have made, in providing that the principal & interest of the loans to be made by parishes for the purposes of Emigration shall be paid by installments in the course of twelve years. It will prevent the chance of an accumulation of debt, the prospect of which might form a ruinous objection to the commencement of the system. If you can shew, as I think you do, that even during the payment of these loans there will be an actual saving to the parishes, all reasonable objection on the score of expense, which certainly seems to form the main difficulty with Parliament, is removed. On this subject, the testimony of Mr. Hodges respecting the Emigration from the parish of Benenden is of the highest importance.”¹⁰² It appears that Wilmot-Horton took Malthus’s advice.

On June 9th Malthus wrote again to Wilmot-Horton, a few days before Wilmot-Horton intended to present a bill to the House of Commons on emigration. On this particular occasion, Malthus acknowledged receipt of Wilmot-Horton’s *Fourth Series*, saying that he generally

¹⁰¹ Letter from Robert Wilmot-Horton to T.R. Malthus, spring 1830, DRO WH2842.

¹⁰² Letter from T.R. Malthus to Robert Wilmot-Horton, (1830), DRO WH2842.

concurred “with Mr. Senior in his answers, though not entirely in all the cases.” He outlined his disagreements with Nassau Senior as follows:

Where I principally differ, both from you and Mr. Senior, is in regard to the filling up of the void occasioned by emigration. It is true, as Mr. Senior says, that there is a tendency to improvement in the condition of the lower classes of society, but in individual cases and for moderate periods of time the progress is most uncertain; and even when increased means of subsistence are not followed by a proportionate increase of population, it does not at all follow, that if emigration were desirable at the former period it might not also be desirable at the latter. It is probably true that the condition of the poor in Ireland was worse a hundred years ago than it is now; but this improvement does not imply that an emigration from Ireland is not very desirable at present. And it is not a just conclusion from Mr. Senior's remark, allowing it to be true, that no occasion for another emigration would recur in this country for forty years. Now this is the point to which the condition referred to by Mr. Paulett. Thomson particularly applies. You have no doubt answered him most completely, if effectual measures could be taken to prevent the void from being filled up. But you do not, I think, seem to be sufficiently aware of the extreme difficulty of accomplishing this object. Could you indeed accomplish it, in an entirely unobjectionable manner, you would in my opinion be the greatest benefactor to the human race that has yet appeared.¹⁰³

Malthus added a caveat to his letter. Aware that Wilmot-Horton had previously published some personal correspondence with Sir Francis Burdett and Nassau Senior, and perhaps trying to avoid becoming the subject of Wilmot-Horton's *Fifth Series*, Malthus wrote:

I have this moment received your letter I fear the one I am writing will hardly answer your purpose. It is meant rather as a private than a public discussion, though I do not see how I can say that I do not quite agree with Mr. Senior in all his answers, without explaining my reasons. I will proceed, at any rate, at present, to a few other less lengthy remarks, & then you will consider what use, public or private, may be made of my letter or parts of it.¹⁰⁴

On June 15th 1830, Wilmot-Horton presented a petition in the House of Commons from the parishioners of Frome, “praying for means of emigration for certain Paupers who were willing to leave the country.” With the permission of the House, Wilmot-Horton then asked if he could

¹⁰³ Response to letter from Malthus to Robert Wilmot-Horton, June 9, 1830, DRO WH2843/42

¹⁰⁴ Ibid. Note: this paragraph is curiously missing from R.N. Ghosh “Malthus on Emigration and Colonization: Letters to Wilmot-Horton,” 45-62.

read “the opinions of one or two eminent men which had been addressed to him.” He accordingly read, “an extract of a letter from Thomas Tooke, the author of a work on Prices; from Mr. Malthus, author of the "Essay on Population," and Mr. Hodges, a magistrate of Kent, expressing their approbation of [Wilmot-Horton’s] letters on the "Causes and Cure of Pauperism." Stating that he would not enter further into the subject, as he knew it was “not agreeable” to the House, Wilmot-Horton added that in his opinion, “little benefit would be conferred on the poor by the remission of taxes,” and he believed that they would not be “effectually relieved till some comprehensive scheme was adopted to remove from our land the superabundance of labour.” According to parliamentary records, “a debate on assisted emigration then ensued.” Lord John Russell (1792-1878) MP for Kinsale, begged “to return his thanks to the hon. member for Newcastle for the pains he had taken with this subject” but at the same time he was of opinion, “that it was one that could only be successfully prosecuted by the Government.” He was also of opinion “that the system of emigration, and an improved system of Poor-laws, should go hand in hand.”¹⁰⁵

Following his appearance in Parliament in June 1830, Wilmot-Horton wrote a lengthy letter to Malthus.¹⁰⁶ In doing so, Wilmot-Horton was once again engaging in extra-parliamentary discussions as an elected official, beyond the realm of the state. Malthus wrote back to Wilmot-Horton on August 17th and again on August 25th, in response to another extensive letter from Wilmot-Horton. In short, Wilmot-Horton asked whether Malthus had turned his attention to the subject of colonization. Malthus responded:

I see no decided objection to the funds for emigration being furnished by the colonies, if they are willing and able to furnish them; and I should have little apprehension of the danger to which you allude; but I confess I do not think it likely that they will be either

¹⁰⁵ “Commons Sitting of Tuesday, June 15, 1830.,” *Hansard*, 2nd Series, vol. 25 (June 15, 1830).

¹⁰⁶ Letter from Robert Wilmot-Horton to Malthus, June 1830, DRO WH2843/137-153.

able or willing to furnish adequate funds for the purpose intended; and as it is allowed by the Colonization Society that in the actual state of the Colonies, an application must be made to Government for considerable advances, it appears to me that an almost insurmountable obstacle is thrown in the way of the trial of the plan.

It is not so much a question of what ought to be done, as of what can and will be done; and as after all that can be said of the saving of expense to the nation by the emigration of paupers from England and Ireland, the advance of the necessary funds forms the main practical difficulty I, should not be unwilling to accept of assistance from the colonies, if it could be easily afforded. It was a consideration of this kind which made me unwilling to throw too much cold water on the new plan of emigration.

I am decidedly of opinion that if parishes or districts are to pay the expense of emigration, they must be allowed to determine among those who are willing and fit to go, what persons they will send.¹⁰⁷

Malthus wrote again on December 26, 1830, responding rather tardily to a letter from Wilmot-Horton dated September 3rd 1830. Malthus concluded, “I am not surprised that there should now be appearances of a mere rapid conversion towards past views respecting emigration than has hitherto taken place. The dreadful pauperism that has occurred, and the state of the counties where it began, must have pointed out to all reasonable people that only positive remedy which can be applied with any prospect of success. I hope the ministers will have courage to apply it, and with sufficient energy.” It would be another five months before Whig politician Henry George Grey, Lord Howick (1802-94) had the courage to “apply it,” with a bill “to facilitate voluntary Emigration to His Majesty’s possessions Abroad.”¹⁰⁸

VII. An Opponent of Emigration

“The present rage for all sorts of emigration, transportation and colonization schemes, is of itself a proof of the extent of the prevailing distress.” The writer recommended that

¹⁰⁷ Letter from Malthus to Robert Wilmot-Horton, August 25th, 1830, WH2843/73.

¹⁰⁸ Wendy Cameron, *Assisting Emigration to Upper Canada: The Petworth Project, 1832-1837*, ed. Wendy Cameron and Mary McDougall Maude (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2000), 33-34.

“their must be an end to this banishment trade, and that instantly.” “The project must be crushed at its birth.” “There is room enough and food enough, and more than enough room in England, for us all, provided we succeed in throwing the tax-eaters and political economists overboard.”¹⁰⁹

In May 1829, Malthus wrote to Nassau Senior to discuss one of the questions raised by Wilmot-Horton —the effect on the remaining population if the existing population were reduced from 20 to 19 million through emigration. In closing, Malthus confessed to Senior: “I am a little afraid that Mr. H’s work may tend to raise the importance of Mr. Sadler’s observations and opinions higher than they deserve, but it is difficult to determine what is to be done in these cases.”¹¹⁰ Malthus was referring to Tory politician and social reformer Michael Sadler. As a staunch critic of the Select Committee on Emigration, Sadler had railed against Malthus and others in his work *Ireland: Its Evils and their Remedies*.¹¹¹ Through his writings, Sadler caught the eye of the *Edinburgh Review*, which mocked him for destroying “all the ‘new-fangled’ doctrines with respect to population, emigration, free-trade and pauperism.”¹¹²

The main object of Sadler’s work, according to the *Edinburgh Review*, was “to shew that the theory of population, as laid down by Mr. Malthus and others, is entirely false.”¹¹³ The journal ridiculed Sadler’s invective against the Select Committee on Emigration, calling it nothing more than a “Billingsgate oratory.”¹¹⁴ Furthermore, the *Edinburgh’s* reviewer cried: “when the non-employment, squalid poverty, and wretchedness of the Irish poor are universally admitted, it is really farcical [for Sadler] to talk of the ‘cruelty’ and ‘atrociousness’ of encouraging

¹⁰⁹ "Friends, Brethren, and Fellow-Countrymen." *A Penny Paper for the People* (1831): *Nineteenth Century Collections Online*.

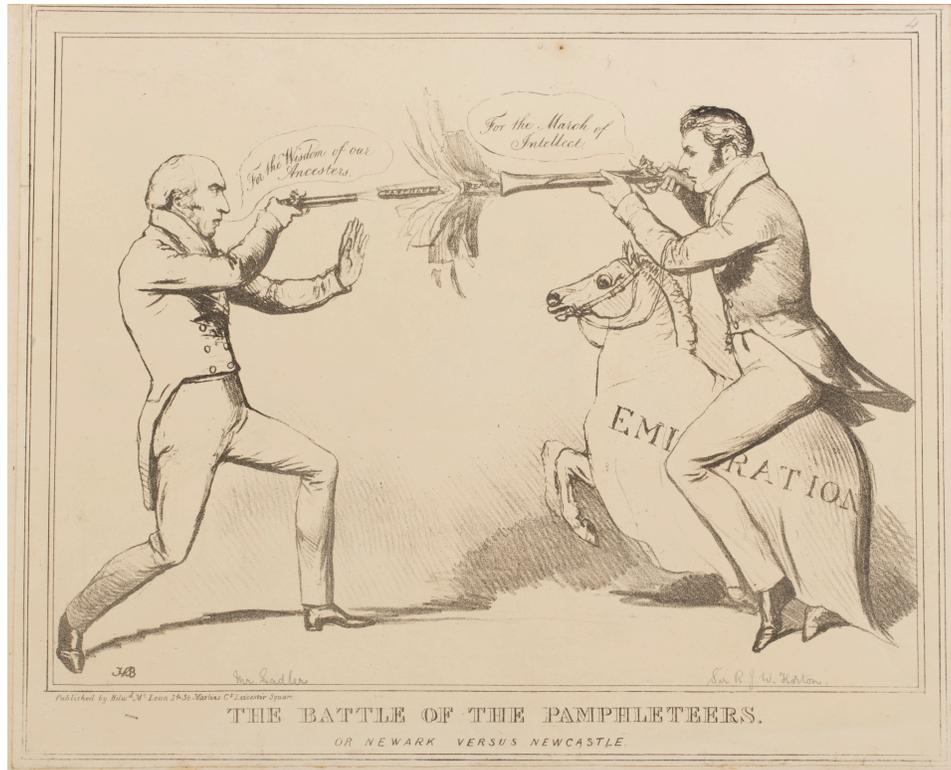
¹¹⁰ Letter from T.R. Malthus to Nassau Senior, May 24th 1829, DRO WH2842.

¹¹¹ “Ireland: Its Evils and their Remedies; being a Refutation of the Errors of the Emigration Committee, and others touching that Country. By Michael Thomas Sadler, Esq. M.P.” *ER*, 49:98 (1829: June).

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 300.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 301.

¹¹⁴ Billingsgate is a famous fish market in London. *Ibid.*, 311. The reviewer is unknown.



4.3. *The Battle of the Pamphleteers*
by John Doyle. © National Portrait Gallery.¹¹⁵

their emigration to Canada or the United States.”¹¹⁶

Within six months of the publication of Sadler’s treatise, the *Edinburgh Review* launched another attack, this time over Sadler’s speech in Whitby on the state of the country. In it, Sadler had attacked “these dangerous and designing men [who] call themselves the Society of Political Economists.”¹¹⁷ The *Edinburgh Review* responded thus, on the matter of the poor laws, population, and emigration: “An endeavour to correct the vicious principle of the poor laws, is stigmatized [by Sadler] as inhuman. To withdraw the encouragements which produce a

¹¹⁵ Conflict between Robert Wilmot-Horton and Michael Sadler satirized by John Doyle (1829). Sadler fires a pamphlet “For the Wisdom of our Ancestors” at Horton, while Horton, on his hobby-horse named Emigration, fires a pamphlet “For the March of Intellect” at Sadler.

¹¹⁶ “Ireland: Its Evils and their Remedies,” 312.

¹¹⁷ “The Speech of M.T. Sadler, Esq. M.P. on the State and Prospects of the Country, delivered in Whitby.” *ER*, 1830: Jan.), 345.

redundant population, is to counteract the dispensations of Providence. To settle paupers in comfort in Canada, is to become the ministers of banishment and death.”¹¹⁸ The acrimonious relationship between Sadler and the ‘quarterlies’ did not go away in a hurry, nor did the issue of emigration.

In April 1831, the *Quarterly Review* printed a lengthy “essay-like review” entitled *Population and Emigration*. It examined Nassau Senior’s *Two Lectures on Population*, Michael Sadler’s *The Law of Population*, Sadler’s *Reply to an Article in the Edinburgh Review*, and *Letters on Systematic Colonization and the Bill now before Parliament*, by Charles Tennant, MP. This remarkable article began by comparing Malthus and Sadler on population, to which it took issue with both, and denied altogether that “any misery must necessarily follow from the increase of the numbers of mankind, and that any ‘checks’ are required to it, human or divine.”¹¹⁹ It concluded with a glowing endorsement of emigration: “The bill for facilitating emigration to the colonies [Howick’s Bill], latterly introduced to the House of Commons, appears to us a most valuable one – perhaps the very best measure of the kind that could be adopted at the present moment.”¹²⁰ The Bill, sponsored by Tory politician Charles Gordon Lennox (1791-1860) and Whig politician Viscount Howick (1802-94), would give parishes overburdened with poor the power to effect the removal of a pauper “willing to emigrate” and the parish would undertake to pay off the cost within ten years.

Notwithstanding its glowing endorsement, *Quarterly* reviewer then noted several objections: first, the idea of mortgaging the poor rates and piling debt on the parishes; second, that Sadler’s argument was just cruel, plain and simple; third, that alternatives existed, such as

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 349.

¹¹⁹ “Population and Emigration.” *QR*, 45: 89 (April 1831), 139.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

cultivation of home waste lands; and fourth, that there were rival schemes afoot, and supporting the current government bill would sabotage their efforts at colonization. The reviewer acknowledged that the National Colonization Society's proposed scheme was applicable only to Australia and the Cape, not to the Canadas, but nevertheless requested that "neither prejudice nor party spirit will throw impediments in the way of this most benevolent measure."¹²¹ The reviewer was George Poulett Scrope (1797-1876)—geologist, political economist, liberal politician, vehement critic of the Poor Laws and Malthusian doctrines—and "advocate of emigration as a panacea for all social ills."

VIII. Conclusion

In 1825, essayist William Hazlitt (1778-1830) bemoaned Malthus's popularity, saying he has always been "a sort of 'darling in the public eye,' whom it was unsafe to meddle with."¹²² Meddling or not, Malthus's popularity bolstered the legitimacy of the Select Committee on Emigration, as highlighted in the report which describes Malthus's expert contribution: "The testimony which was uniformly given by the *practical witnesses*, who appeared before Your Committee, has been confirmed in the most absolute manner by that of Mr. Malthus; and Your Committee cannot but express their satisfaction at finding that the experience of facts is thus strengthened throughout by general reasoning and scientific principles."¹²³ To claim on the basis of the Wilmot-Horton letters, as Patricia James has done, that "Malthus was no great enthusiast for emigration," is, I believe, reading too much into the tone of and motivation behind

¹²¹ Ibid., 142.

¹²² William Hazlitt, *Lectures on English Poets & The Spirit of the Age* (London, New York: J.M. Dent & sons, Ltd.; E.P. Dutton & co., 1910), 280.

¹²³ Robert John Wilmot-Horton, "Select Committee on Emigration from United Kingdom Third Report, Minutes of Evidence, Appendix," *House of Commons Sessional Papers*, Vol. 5, 550 (January 1, 1827), pp.9. Patricia James claimed that the deference shown to Malthus's opinions "seems out of all proportion to the time spent questioning him." James, *Population Malthus*, 395.

Malthus's words, and overgeneralizing many of his comments as pejorative rather than cautionary.¹²⁴ In the four years after the Select Committee on Emigration completed its work, the frequency, length, and depth of Malthus's correspondence with Wilmot-Horton increased, which is suggestive of a deep interest in the subject and its practical applications. That is not to say that Malthus agreed with Wilmot-Horton on all the issues; rather, that the subject was important enough to warrant his attention, something that might be considered out of the ordinary for a non-enthusiast. For perspective, between January 1, 1827 and Malthus's death on December 29, 1834, Malthus wrote fifty-two letters, eighteen of which were written to Wilmot-Horton. No other correspondent came close. By comparison, in the same timeframe, Malthus wrote four letters to both political economist Nassau Senior and Rev. William Whewell, Professor of Mineralogy at Cambridge, and three to both his publisher John Murray II and social reformer Rev. Thomas Chalmers (1780-1847).¹²⁵

The stir created by the Select Committee Report on Emigration notwithstanding, the recommendations of the committee were thwarted by a combination of a lack of parliamentary consensus and the halting of unfinished business after prime minister Lord Liverpool's stroke in August 1827. Extra-parliamentary discussions continued between political economists, politicians, journalists, intellectuals, and the reading public, and although Wilmot-Horton left for Ceylon in 1831—unable to convince those within and without Parliament that emigration should be seen as a measure of economy rather than an expense—Edward Gibbon Wakefield (1796-1862), promoter of colonization and founder of the National Colonization Society, quickly filled Wilmot-Horton's shoes. In light of this and other findings in this chapter, historians should

¹²⁴ James, 396.

¹²⁵ John Pullen, "The Other Correspondence of T. R. Malthus: A Preliminary List and Selected Commentary," *History of Political Economy*, 48, no. 1 (March 2016): 65–110, 102-105.

revisit the comments made by Francis Place (1771–1854), radical and author of *Illustrations and Proofs of the Principles of Population*: “So far from the Political Economists calling “boldly and loudly” for emigration, there is not a single writer of eminence on the subject of Political Economy who has not condemned every one of the projects which have been started to promote emigration.”¹²⁶ Many historians of economic thought have denied that political economists published writings on assisted emigration until after Place’s comments. Yet as we have seen in this study, Place’s stated positions, and the historical record on early nineteenth century emigration debates, do not quite match up.¹²⁷

¹²⁶ Francis Place, *Illustrations and Proofs of the Principle of Population* (London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1930), 323.

¹²⁷ Edward Kittrell, “The Development of the Theory of Colonization in English Classical Political Economy,” *Southern Economic Journal*, Vol. 31, No.3 (Jan., 1965), 189-206, 205-206; Edward Kittrell, “Wakefield’s Scheme of Systematic Colonization and Classical Economics,” *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, Vol. 32, No.1 (Jan., 1973), 87-111; R.N. Ghosh, “Malthus on Emigration and Colonization: Letters to Wilmot-Horton,” *Economica*, New Series, Vol. 30, No.117 (Feb., 1963), 45-62; R.N. Ghosh, “R.J. Wilmot-Horton and the Classical Economists,” *Economica*, New Series, Vol.31, No.124 (Nov., 1964), 385-400; Murray Milgate, Shannon Stimson, *After Adam Smith: A Century of Transformation in Politics and Political Economy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 201; Cameron and Maude, 32.

CHAPTER FIVE: Wellington's Liberal-Tory Response

I. Introduction

On 31 August 1829, William Greene of Melksham, Wiltshire, wrote to Britain's prime minister, Arthur Wellesley, the first Duke of Wellington (1769-1852), on the need to solve the problem of agrarian poverty. Wellington was the outstanding military leader who had fought the French from 1809 to 1815, who the Duke of Richmond had praised as the "saviour of Europe," "the greatest commander of any age and country," one who should be revered "by Christendom as the tutelary saint of the World."¹²⁸ Greene suggested that if Wellington were to solve the



5.1. *Arthur Wellesley, 1st Duke of Wellington (1769–1852)*
by John Jackson, 1830-1831, © National Portrait Gallery, London.¹²⁹

¹²⁸ Christopher Hibbert, *Wellington: A Personal History* (London: Harper Collins Publishers, 1997), 197.

¹²⁹ NPG 1614. The Duke is seen probably in the uniform of Master General of the Ordnance (before the alterations of 1828).

problem of pauperism and poverty among the peasantry he would derive greater satisfaction than from his military victories, and he felt certain that the Duke could persuade the King and Parliament of the need to eradicate misery.¹³⁰ In many ways, Wellington is a quintessential representative of an early nineteenth century elected official, grappling with the complexities of party politics, public opinion and obsessions over subsistence, security and stability. After returning from the battlefields the aristocratic Wellington served in Lord Liverpool's Tory government (1818-1827), ushered in major political reforms including the Catholic Emancipation Bill (1829), and assisted then-prime minister Sir Robert Peel (1788-1850) in moving the repeal of the Corn Laws through the House of Lords (1846).¹³¹ During his brief tenure as prime minister (1828-1830), Wellington became embroiled in polemical debates over Catholic relief, the extension of the Poor Laws to Ireland, and agricultural riots in the South of England.

Wellington's popularity was not universal. In February 1820, a group of radicals meeting in a loft in Cato Street, London planned to assassinate the entire Tory cabinet. The conspirators were caught and two expressed particular hatred for "that damned villain, Wellington."¹³²

Wellington's unpopularity, across the political spectrum and across class lines resulted in

¹³⁰ Letter from W. Greene to Arthur Wellesley, 31 August 1829, Wellington Papers (hereafter WP) 1/1041/10

¹³¹ For more about Wellington's role see I. McLean, "Wellington and the Corn Laws 1845-6: a study in heresthetic," in C.M. Woolgar, ed., *Wellington Studies III* (Southampton, UK: Hartley Institute, University of Southampton, 1999), 227-256.

¹³² It is indicative of the mood of the populace at that time that the would-be assassins were spared the indignity of being drawn and quartered because of public sympathy but the hangman was viciously attacked in the streets. Hibbert, 218. Why, such a short time after the victorious battle of Waterloo, was Wellington disliked so much? The answer may be explained by his position as a cabinet member and his approval of the use of force to preserve civil order. Certainly, Wellington was forever concerned with civil order; "The mob are too contemptible to be thought about for a moment," the Duke told Lady Shelley (cited in Richard Holmes, *Wellington: The Iron Duke*. (London: Harper Collins Publishers, 2003), 261. Undoubtedly the fact that he did not hide his contempt from the public led some common people to feel that Wellington was no longer the great hero of Waterloo, but part of an oppressive government machine. See Hibbert, 218, 300-301, 303; Elizabeth Longford, *Wellington: Pillar of State* (New York and London: Harper & Row Publishers, 1972), 46-47, 230-31; Rory Muir, *Wellington: Waterloo and the Fortunes of Peace, 1814-1852* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 135-7, 162-3; Holmes, 261.

frequent threats: “Wellington, thy devoted life is now not worth 24 hours purchase;”¹³³ “You are a marked man;”¹³⁴ and “you are guilty of every evil you lobster-looking son-of-a-bitch...it is my intention to shoot you or stab you, so look out and if possible burn your house down.”¹³⁵

Wellington’s anti-reform stance eventually became untenable and he resigned in 1830. While several historians have claimed that Wellington “failed to appreciate newspapers, journals or journalists” his pragmatic approach to the nations concerns—including emigration and the Poor Laws—demonstrate his familiarity and involvement with civil society, and extra-parliamentary and parliamentary debates.¹³⁶

This final chapter puts the dissertation’s thesis to the test by providing a case study of Wellington and his engagement with extra-parliamentary politics. It will examine Wellington’s role in considerations of surplus population, food shortages and assisted emigration, and will ask how Wellington knew what he knew, and how his knowledge claims were made. It is the argument of this chapter that throughout his political career, Wellington appealed to patriotism of the British public with varying success by invoking both his military past and his exploits in far-flung British colonies. In the short term, his political allegiances were essentially conservative, yet, in the long term, the cultural, political, and economic consequences of his policies in Ireland and Britain—particularly in matters of subsistence, security, and stability—proved to align more closely with liberal ideology. Wellington’s stated positions were not only influenced by the press, periodicals, published works and public opinion, but also through direct correspondence

¹³³ Anonymous to Wellington, 9 November 1830, WP 1/1159/132.

¹³⁴ Anonymous to Wellington, 18 November 1830, WP 1/1159/150.

¹³⁵ Anonymous to Wellington, 15 December 1830, WP 1/1159/162.

¹³⁶ James Sack, “Wellington and the tory press,” in Norman Gash, *Wellington: Studies in the Military and Political Career of the First Duke of Wellington* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1990), 159-169; Longford, 149, 262-263; Muir, *Wellington: Waterloo and the Fortunes of Peace*, 110-11, 287-8, 368-9; Peter Jupp, *British Politics on the Eve of Reform: The Duke of Wellington’s Administration, 1828-30* (Houndmills: New York: Macmillan; St. Martin’s Press, 1998), 62. That said, Jupp argued that the “verdict of history” has not been favorable to Wellington and needs to be revised. Jupp, *British Politics on the Eve of Reform*, 47.

with intellectuals, journalists, and others in the extra-parliamentary realm. Moreover, political economy, “one of the most important and useful branches of science,” and an ideology more commonly associated with the opposition Whig party, was the common denominator.¹³⁷

II. Wellington, Parliament and Extra-Parliamentary Politics

“The Duke of Wellington ought never to have had anything to do with Politicks”¹³⁸ declared his friend and old ally Spanish General Miguel de Alava; this sentiment was echoed by many. Certainly, Wellington had political shortcomings; for starters, he was used to issuing military orders and having them obeyed. However, as Ruscombe Foster has argued, there was no reason why Wellington should *not* have pursued a political career after 1815, since he had entered the Irish Parliament before he was twenty-one and had been Chief Secretary for Ireland under Tory prime minister William Portland (1739-1809) from 1807-1809.¹³⁹ Furthermore, Wellington’s military and political careers overlapped; as a soldier he had acted the dual role of diplomat and army administrator in India and Spain. As a soldier and servant of the crown, Wellington always believed that the monarchy was the ultimate source of political authority. Moreover, Wellington happened to be “sincerely attached” to the Tory government; Toryism “stood for the preservation of Britain’s traditional ruling institutions” and as such, Wellington held similar beliefs.¹⁴⁰ Wellington also believed that the Church of England was the established church of the nation and wished to defend Protestant values, views which were undoubtedly influenced by his long struggles against French revolutionary ideas and Catholic France. Finally,

¹³⁷ Quote by Robert Torrens in “Mr. Owen’s Plans for Relieving the National Distress,” *ER*, no.64 (October 1819: 453-54).

¹³⁸ Longford, 57.

¹³⁹ Foster describes how the Duke’s careers overlapped by comparing his major political struggles to battles. Ruscombe Foster, “The Iron Duke: Wellington’s Political Career,” *Modern History Review*, Vol.5, (4) 1994, 15-17.

¹⁴⁰ Hibbert, 216; T.A. Jenkins, Wellington, “Toryism and the Nation,” *History Today*: Nov 2002, Vol. 52, Issue 11, 26.

he believed that the landed aristocracy were the country's natural leaders and was hostile to ideas of popular democracy and political reform. Wellington feared the destruction of the Constitution of 1688, upon which he believed that Britain's prosperity, peace and stability rested. Reformers who tampered with the Constitution would set off a reaction and anarchy would result. He devoted his later political career to upholding this stance.

Before accepting office in December 1818 (as Master-General of the Ordnance), Wellington made it clear that he wanted to remain out of party politics, desiring to be an "independent." Such a position was untenable given the post-war economic and social conditions, and the Duke's appointment was intended to be largely symbolic, providing the government with some badly needed prestige.¹⁴¹ It is clear that prime minister Lord Liverpool—Robert Banks Jenkinson, 2nd earl (1770-1828)—regarded Wellington "primarily as a great public servant, not a potential party adherent or political leader."¹⁴² On January 9 1828, almost ten years after agreeing to enter politics under Liverpool's administration, George IV (1762-1830) asked Wellington, "the least political of any nineteenth-century party leader," to form a new government.¹⁴³ The invitation came at a challenging time. Liverpool had been incapacitated by a stroke the previous year; George Canning (1770-1827) had been appointed prime minister to replace Liverpool but died in August 1827 after only five months in office. Lord Goderich—Frederick John Robinson, first Viscount Goderich and first earl of Ripon (1782-1859)—succeeded Canning but resigned after 144 days, leaving behind a splintered Tory party. When Wellington took office therefore, in January 1828, the Tory party essentially comprised of three

¹⁴¹ "The Duke of Wellington has commenced his duties at the Ordnance Office," *The Times*, Thursday, December 31, 1818.

¹⁴² Gash, ed., *Wellington: Studies*, 121.

¹⁴³ Norman Gash, "Wellington and Peel, 1832-46," in Donald Southgate, ed., *Conservative Leadership, 1832-1932* (London: Macmillan, 1974), 36. For the circumstances surrounding Wellington's appointment as prime minister, see Norman Gash, ed., *Wellington: Studies*, 122-126; Muir, *Wellington: Waterloo and the Fortunes of Peace*, 121-138, 301-321;

factions: (i) liberal “Canningites”—the followers of prime minister George Canning (ii) “ultras” or “ultra-Tories”—members who were against all liberal measures, especially Catholic emancipation; and (iii) moderates, including Wellington and home secretary Sir Robert Peel.¹⁴⁴

Wellington—likely the “best known political figure in the country” at the time—stepped up to the challenge, taking an assiduous role in parliamentary business, attending virtually every major parliamentary debate and intervening on no less than 259 occasions.¹⁴⁵ Part of his strength lay in his military attention to detail and in his ability to respond cogently to criticism. Armed with a dizzying array of useful knowledge, he was able to fire off statistics in order to undermine the factual basis of other’s claims. Prior to one parliamentary debate, diarist Harriett Arbuthnot (1793-1834), the Duke’s confidante, claimed that “nobody took more pains to be thoroughly informed upon every subject than he did.” She once found him “up to his chin in books and boxes...in order to be quite *au fait* of the subject.”¹⁴⁶

His erudition to parliamentary matters matched his diligence outside of Westminster. As a circumspect Hampshire landowner, Wellington’s personal correspondence contained detailed accounts of the average grain prices and meat for a given period.¹⁴⁷ With this working knowledge of market conditions and prices he was undoubtedly aware of the problems associated with poverty, famine, and rural unrest.¹⁴⁸ This awareness is evidenced in

¹⁴⁴ Jupp, *British Politics on the Eve of Reform*, 3. Even these categories are not that straightforward. See D.G.S. Simes, “A long and difficult association: the Ultra Tories and ‘the Great Apostate,’ in C.M. Woolgar, ed., *Wellington Studies, III* (Southampton, UK: Hartley Institute, University of Southampton, 1999).

¹⁴⁵ Jupp’s statement about Wellington’s popularity is based upon an estimate of the number of engraved images produced of a public figure at that time. Jupp, *British Politics on the Eve of Reform*, 65, 49.

¹⁴⁶ Harriet Arbuthnot, *The Journal of Mrs. Arbuthnot, 1820-1832* (London: Macmillan, 1950), 337.

¹⁴⁷ See for example, “Account of the average prices of wheat in market towns in 1825,” WP 1/869/7/; “Six printed tables relating to foreign grain,” WP 1/978/11; “Printed account by William Irving of the grain, malt and flour exported between 10 October 1827 and 10 October 1829 from Ireland to England and Scotland,” WP 1/1171/6/6; “Letter from W.V. Fitzgerald on the returns on the supply of corn throughout the country,” WP 1/960/2.

¹⁴⁸ The ‘Swing Riots’ during Wellington’s tenure as Prime Minister in 1830 exemplified Britain’s social unrest. For a detailed account see Eric Hobsbawm and George Rudé, *Captain Swing*, (London: Phoenix Press, 1969); Michael Holland, and Family and Community Historical Research Society, eds. *Swing Unmasked: The Agricultural Riots of 1830 to 1832 and Their Wider Implications* (Milton Keynes: FACHRS Publishing, 2005).

correspondence dating as far back as 1807, during his years as chief secretary for Ireland. Denis Browne (?1760-1828)— Member of Parliament for County Mayo—wrote to Wellington warning him of the possibility of food shortages in Ireland, and asked for his intervention: “The potatoe crop, the chief support of three parts of the population of Ireland, has, I hear, suffered one fourth by the frosts, that is, one fourth of the produce has been tainted by the frost...Oatmeal is the substitute for potatoes in the spring. If this be wanting, there will be a famine.”¹⁴⁹ Thomas Harding, the Mayor of Cork, likewise warned Wellington: “Should the potatoes unfortunately fail, the country may, through the continued export of corn in so serious a degree, be reduced to very considerable and alarming inconveniences.”¹⁵⁰ Crown solicitor John Pollock of Dublin wrote to Wellington to recommend the purchase of “two or three hundred thousand pounds” of corn and the importation of rice in order to prevent a famine in the event of a failure of the potato crop.¹⁵¹

These early interactions on famine relief were not lost on Wellington. Almost twenty years later, in August 1826, Wellington wrote to Robert Peel expressing his pragmatic views on the failure of the potato crop in Ireland, views likely informed by previous famine interventions:

First. We must fill the markets with oats, barley or some other food for the consumption of that part of the population who have hitherto been fed from the markets....Second. We must supply food for those who have hitherto been fed from their own gardens etc and who have not been in the habits of coming upon the markets for more than a certain period of the year. If I am not mistaken, this is the whole of the country population of the three southern provinces and I believe that the whole or a greater part of this food although distributed to the consumers for labour must be given by the publick gratuitously. Third. We must contrive a means of distributing this food.”¹⁵²

¹⁴⁹ Letter from Dennis Browne to Wellington, 18 December 1807, WP 1/77/85.

¹⁵⁰ Letter from Thomas Harding, Mansion House, Cork, to Wellington, 24 November 1807, WP 1/177/88.

¹⁵¹ Letter from John Pollock, Mountjoy Square, Dublin to Wellington, 24 November 1807, WP 1/177/86.

¹⁵² Letter to Robert Peel from Wellington, 21 August 1826, WP 1/861/20.

In 1807 and in 1826, Wellington would have been aware of and reacted to the arguments posited by Adam Smith and Malthus. Smith had argued that the government should not hinder the agricultural markets; the repeal of the Corn Laws would allow the markets to take care of themselves through supply and demand and alleviate social unrest. Conversely, Malthus had argued that the markets should be controlled and that the fear of poverty should be an incentive among the lower classes for change.¹⁵³ Wellington biographer Roy Muir claimed that “unlike Liverpool or Huskisson, [Wellington] had not studied the works of Adam Smith as a young man, and he had no great insight into the underlying forces shaping the economy. His diagnosis of the post-war economic problems was far from penetrating.”¹⁵⁴ Yet contemporary parliamentary records and diaries paint an altogether different picture of Wellington’s grasp of classical economics. Wellington’s close friend George Glieg (1796-1888) — Scottish soldier, military writer and priest—wrote, “On the labour and currency questions the Duke expresses himself thus; showing thereby that he had been no careless student of Adam Smith.”¹⁵⁵ Moreover, in April 1830, Wellington addressed the House of Lords on the subject of the Corn Laws, advocating that cheap corn would benefit all aspects of society. Seeking to reach a much-needed compromise between protectionists and free traders, Wellington advocated for a sliding scale on corn imports.¹⁵⁶ He opined, “I have considered it my duty to steer their course between two

¹⁵³ Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of The Wealth of Nations*. Edwin Cannan, ed. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1976), Chapter IX, Of Agricultural Systems; T.R. Malthus, *An Essay on the Principle of Population*. Oxford World Classics, Geoffrey Gilbert, ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 19.

¹⁵⁴ Rory Muir, *Wellington, Waterloo and the Fortunes of Peace, 1814-1852*, 127.

¹⁵⁵ G. R. (George Robert) Gleig, and Alexis Henri Brialmont. *The Life of Arthur, First Duke of Wellington* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1862), 505. As a side note, Wellington was not completely ignorant of Malthus either. He observed to Harriet Arbuthnot that Robert Peel had taken his “sentiments from Malthus” on the failure of the potato crop in Ireland and the predicted loss of population. Cited in Longford, 130.

¹⁵⁶ Memorandum from R.H. Stewart to Wellington, outlining the Duke’s comments to the House of Lords, 6 April 1830, WP 1/1106/27

extremes, and to propose a measure which shall have the effect of conciliating all parties; which shall be at the same time, favorable to the public, and which shall be permanent.”¹⁵⁷

These conciliatory remarks followed by pragmatic actions point to Wellington’s familiarity with major policy debates and public opinion. Jupp argued that Wellington “made no serious effort to use his celebrity to build an extra-parliamentary, or for that matter, intra-parliamentary, base, to strengthen his position.”¹⁵⁸ This may be true, but such a claim short-changes the complex, multi-faceted nature of extra-parliamentary politics; rather than operating *at the behest* of an individual, its forces operate via individuals and other extra-parliamentary agents, who collectively contribute to shared space of debate. Wellington operated in that space. He read and digested primary works of classical economics, and absorbed information on Britain’s political, economic, and social concerns through other media, such as the dissemination and popularization of ideas in the burgeoning press and the ‘quarterlies’ (see Table 5.1).

Table 5.1 *Number of Newspapers published in the United Kingdom, 1783 and 1830*¹⁵⁹

| Date | London | England and Wales | Scotland | Ireland | Total |
|------|--------|-------------------|----------|---------|-------|
| 1783 | c.26 | 50+ | 10 | c.20 | c.106 |
| 1830 | 55 | 158 | 37 | 64 | 314 |

To be clear, Wellington’s relationship with the press was incredibly complicated—akin to that described in a Romantic novel, ranging from monogamous to polyamorous to toxic. For

¹⁵⁷ Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington, William Hazlitt, and John Gurwood, *The Speeches of the Duke of Wellington In Parliament*, (London: J. Murray, 1854), 150.

¹⁵⁸ Jupp, *British Politics on the Eve of Reform*, 66

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 332; Peter Jupp, *The Governing of Britain, 1688-1848: The Executive, Parliament and the People* (London; New York: Routledge, 2006), 256.

example, in 1806 Wellington had looked favorably upon the press and pamphlets as a way of influencing public opinion on matters being taken up in Parliament.¹⁶⁰ Yet, by 1810 his early enthusiasm had fizzled. Writing to Tory politician John Charles Villiers, third earl of Clarendon (1757-1838) on the move to abolish sinecures and replace them with pensions, Wellington expressed displeasure that not enough was being done to counter the press: “I wish that somebody would take pains to inform the public and guide their opinion, and not allow every newspaper to run away with the public mind, upon points essential to the interests of the country.”¹⁶¹ That same year, Wellington wrote to fellow Irishman John Wilson Croker (1780-1857) —Tory MP, First Secretary of the Admiralty, and prolific contributor to the *Quarterly Review*—about the toxicity of the press:

The licentiousness of the press and the presumption of the editors of the newspapers, which is one of the consequences of their licentiousness, have gone near to stultify the people of England; and it makes one sick to hear the statements of supposed facts, and the comments upon supposed transactions here, which have the effect only of keeping the minds of the people of England in a state of constant alarm and anxiety, and of expectation which must be disappointed.¹⁶²

Three years later, in the height of the Napoleonic Wars, a sarcastic and satirical Wellington explained his loathing of the press to Lord William Bentinck (1774-1839) —diplomat and governor-general of India:

My dear Lord,

..There is no man better aware than I am of the state of every officer’s reputation who has to command [Spanish] troops with such miserable means of support as these have, particularly in these days in which such extravagant expectations are excited by that excessively wise and useful class of people, the editors of newspapers. If I had been at any time capable of doing what these gentlemen expected, I should now, I believe, have

¹⁶⁰ Muir, *Wellington, The Path to Victory*, 178-9.

¹⁶¹ Wellington to Villiers, 5 June 1810, *The Dispatches of Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington*, ed. Col. Gurwood, 8 vols. [hereafter cited as *WD*] (London: Parker, Furnivall and Parker, 1844) vol. 4, 103.

¹⁶² Wellington to John Wilson Croker, 20 December 1810, cited in Anthony Brett-James, *Life in Wellington’s Army* (London, George Allen & Unwin, 1972), 203.

been in the moon.¹⁶³

While his vitriol may support the oft-expressed position of historians that Wellington couldn't stand the newspapers, Wellington did at least try to benefit from this unhappy relationship, and his actions demonstrate that, to a certain extent, he couldn't live without the press.¹⁶⁴ This is evidenced in several ways. First, the rector of the village of Ash, for example, noted on a visit to Duke at Walmer Castle that Wellington and Peel "abused the newspapers, and professed to hold their comments in contempt; yet twice a day copies of all that were published in London arrived in duplicate at the Castle, and twice a day both the Prime minister and the Home Secretary spend much time in studying them."¹⁶⁵ Second, the government, on more than one occasion, paid subsidies to the press in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. There is no evidence that Wellington bribed the press—whether he wanted to or not—during his tenure as prime minister, but Wellington repeated the charge about the "corrupt Press in the pay of the Government" in the House of Lords, on May 2, 1827. Lord Ellenborough (1790-1871)—politician and governor general of India—denied the rumors, saying that "not a shilling had been spent to influence any portion of the Press of this country."¹⁶⁶ Wellington certainly fell out of favor with much of the Tory press over Catholic emancipation; however, it is worth noting that not all newspapers abused the Duke. James Sack acknowledged that Wellington enjoyed "the not inconsiderable support" of four Tory papers or journals: the *Courier*, the *Morning Post*, *John*

¹⁶³ Wellington to Lieut.-General Lord William Bentinck, 5th September 1813 quoted in Brett-James, 274.

¹⁶⁴ Arthur Aspinall, *Politics and the Press, c. 1780-1850* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1974), 2-3.

¹⁶⁵ G.R. Gleig, and Mary E. Gleig, *Personal Reminiscences of the First Duke of Wellington: With Sketches of Some of His Guests and Contemporaries*, (New York: Scribner, 1904), 38. Walmer Castle, located between Dover and Deal, was the traditional home of the Lords Warden of the Cinque Ports, a position held by Wellington from January 1829 until his death.

¹⁶⁶ Aspinall, 100-101.

Bull, and the *Quarterly Review*.¹⁶⁷

Third, regarding the *Quarterly Review* (and other periodicals), we know that Wellington patronized at least two journals, and most likely read them. A letter from publishers *Messrs. Hatchard and Sons* in September 1828 contained a list of items (reports, periodicals and newspapers) missing from the Duke's library, including early copies of the *Edinburgh Review* and *Quarterly Review*.¹⁶⁸ We also know that Wellington's relationship with prolific *Quarterly* reviewer John Wilson Croker was politically advantageous and mutually beneficial. For example, in 1833, a pamphlet entitled *The Reformed Ministry and the Reformed Parliament* appeared, which caused "a great stir" in political circles, with nine editions printed in just a few weeks and extracts published in many national newspapers.¹⁶⁹ Written anonymously, it aimed to show that alarms and predictions about the consequences of parliamentary reform were rendered "ridiculous."¹⁷⁰ Croker penned a hefty and rather scathing response to *The Reformed Ministry* pamphlet in the *Quarterly Review*, to which Wellington and Peel "supplied him with copious notes on certain points to aid him in his work."¹⁷¹ The Duke of Wellington's memorandum to Croker was lengthy, and much of it worked directly into Croker's *Quarterly* article.¹⁷² Finally, just as the culprits of *The Reformed Ministry* were likely appointed officials, Wellington had previously schemed to commission a political pamphlet of his own: "I think I could suggest the

¹⁶⁷ James Sack, "Wellington and the tory press," in Norman Gash, ed., *Wellington*, 162.

¹⁶⁸ Letter from Messrs. Hatchard and Sons to Arthur Wellesley, first Duke of Wellington, enclosing a list of items missing from the Duke's library, 17 September 1828, WP 1/954/8.

¹⁶⁹ Aspinall, 159.

¹⁷⁰ Louis Jennings, editor of John Wilson Croker's correspondence wrote: "Lord Brougham had certainly contributed many pages; Lord Althorp and Lord Melbourne, it was whispered, had both had a hand in it." John Wilson Croker, *The Croker Papers. The Correspondence and Diaries of the Late Right Honourable John Wilson Croker...1809 to 1830* (Edited by Louis J. (Louis John) Jennings. London: J. Murray, 1885), 214; *The Reform Ministry and the Reformed Parliament* (London: J. Ridgway and sons, 1833).

¹⁷¹ Croker, *The Croker Papers*, 213-217.

¹⁷² Letter from Wellington to John Wilson Croker, September 30, 1833, in *The Croker Papers*, 216-217. Croker's article in the *Quarterly Review*: "The Reform Ministry and Parliament," *QR*, Vol. L (October 1833-Jan 1834), no. XCIX, Art. X, pp. 218-271.

topics for such a work, and point out the sources from whence the details could be drawn.”¹⁷³ In short, it can be argued that Wellington was fully aware of, and to a degree in bed with, the operation of extra-parliamentary politics through competing discussions in newspapers, journals and pamphlets. Additionally, Wellington’s other space of extra-parliamentary debate —written correspondence —overlapped with this realm outside of formal politics, which is where we now turn.

III. The Duke’s Letters

Wellington was a letter-writer extraordinaire. British weekly magazine *Punch* vilified the Duke for consuming more writing paper than “six of the country’s largest firms put together; and that were he to start an Apsley Times for the purpose of replying he would effect an enormous saving in postage.”¹⁷⁴ Christopher Hibbert concurs with *Punch*’s sentiments, acknowledging the enormous volume of correspondence that the Duke answered daily, whether for ministers, government departments, family or friends on a variety of subject matters.¹⁷⁵ Hardly a punishable crime, Elizabeth Longford nonetheless called his letter writing an “addiction.”¹⁷⁶

Wellington’s voluminous dispatches, correspondence, and memoranda included reports on military and government matters, direct orders and requests, responses to proposals, courteous acknowledgements of receipt of correspondence, and personal letters. Of interest here is the correspondence between intellectuals and experts on a variety of political, economic, social, religious and philosophical topics. In this vein, one letter in particular—curiously ignored by

¹⁷³ Letter from Wellington to Lord Aberdeen, 22 September 1828 in Arthur Wellesley, *Dispatches, Correspondence, and Memoranda of Field Marshal Arthur, Duke of Wellington, K. G.*,. Edited by Arthur Richard Wellesley Wellington [hereafter cited as *DCM*] (London: J. Murray, 1867), vol. v., 70. See also 76.

¹⁷⁴ R.E. Foster, “Mr. Punch and the Iron Duke,” *History Today*; May 1984, Vol.34, Issue 5, 36-42, 41.

¹⁷⁵ Hibbert, 360.

¹⁷⁶ Longford, 408.

Wellington's biographers—is worthy of scrutiny as it represents the Duke's most extensive treatment of poverty and assisted emigration.¹⁷⁷ In August 1826, Wellington received a copy of a paper written by Frederick Robinson, first Viscount Goderich (1782-1859)— then-Chancellor of the Exchequer—to prime minister Lord Liverpool, outlining his plan to finance pauper emigration through an amendment to the Corn Laws.¹⁷⁸ Robinson proposed that by opening up the grain trade, the additional duties levied on foreign corn would create enough revenue (600,000 pounds) to fund assisted emigration.¹⁷⁹ Wellington's lengthy response illustrates not only his “characteristic certainty” on any given issue but also his grasp of political-economic principles vis-à-vis debates on poverty, surplus population and assisted emigration.¹⁸⁰

First, Wellington explained that his uncharacteristic delay in responding to Robinson was because he wished to “read the proceedings of the [first] committee upon emigration” before sending an answer, supporting the assertion that “nobody took more pains to be thoroughly informed upon every subject than he did.”¹⁸¹ Second, Wellington laid out the thesis of his argument:

Although I don't believe that redundancy of population is the description of the evil under which we are labouring or that emigration, even upon the scale proposed by you, would be the cure for that evil, if it existed, or the cure for the existing evil, I do believe that it is expedient to encourage emigration from each of the United Kingdoms by publick authority, and with the aid of publick money.¹⁸²

¹⁷⁷ Muir, Hibbert and Longford have ignored this letter, perhaps on account of it being written prior to Wellington's tenure as prime minister, or because it did not result in direct policy change? In fact, Johnston is the *only* historian I could find that has commented on Wellington's response to Robinson on emigration: Johnston, H.J.M. *British Emigration Policy, 1815-1830* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 152-154.

¹⁷⁸ Copy of a letter and paper from F. J. Robinson to Lord Liverpool sent to Arthur Wellesley, 26 August 1826, WP 1/872/6.

¹⁷⁹ 600,000 pounds would be used for emigration; 300,000 pounds in Ireland, 200,000 pounds in England and 100,000 pounds in Scotland. The state would provide three quarters of the cost of emigration; the remaining quarter would be raised by the individual or the parish. Johnston, 152.

¹⁸⁰ Johnston, 154.

¹⁸¹ Letter from Wellington to F. J. Robinson, 20 October 1826, WP 1/864/23, f.1.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*

As a soldier of the crown, Wellington did *not* believe that emigration of British citizens was necessary for the strength and security of the colonies; rather he felt that it should be used as a “subsidiary to the measures which must be adopted for the regulation of our pauper population.” Wellington’s argument appeared to be bolstered by data provided by the Select Committee on Emigration. Part of the conversation during the 1826 Committee concerned an investigation into the extent and character of unemployment, and whether the subsidizing of emigration might lead to a reduction in the expenditure on poor relief. Witnesses were called to testify on unemployment in urban areas, and magistrate Thomas Law Hodges (1776-1857)—liberal MP, chairman of the West Kent Quarter Sessions, and a disciple of Malthus—recommended that once paupers were helped to emigrate their cottages should be destroyed to prevent the cycle. Wellington, citing population tables, Malthus’s vacuum theory, and the direct committee evidence of Thomas Hodges, reminded Robinson that “no sooner does a family disappear...than others spring up in their place.” Indeed, Wellington went further, connecting solutions for pauperism with his concern about abuses of the Poor Laws:

The evil is not a redundancy of population, but a population of which the increase is unduly and improperly encouraged by abuses in the administration of the poor laws, a population encouraged to be idle and fed and pampered in their idleness by the same abuses, which are so general and in their operations have such influence upon the manners and happiness and independence of the people as to require the serious attention of the government and Parliament.¹⁸³

Next, Wellington considered the particular needs of the populations in the four kingdoms, and confessed that he was “quite ignorant of the system of management of the poor in Scotland.”¹⁸⁴

This should not come as a surprise: as a soldier and statesman he had traveled the globe but

¹⁸³ Ibid., f.2.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., f.8.

barely set foot north of London or west of Hampshire.¹⁸⁵ Ireland, of course, was a different matter

entirely. As a native, Wellington understood only too well the country's distress, which in his opinion could not be attributed to the humble spud alone:

I believe there does exist a redundancy of population in Ireland, occasioned by the description of food with which the lower orders are satisfied, and the ease with which that food is obtained, and facilitated by the subdivision of lands. A remedy has been afforded for this facility if the gentlemen of the country will avail themselves of it. But the mischief will not be cured by depriving the people of this facility for their increase, any more than it will by any system of emigration.¹⁸⁶

Wellington proposed alternative solutions for Irish distress, taking into consideration absentee landlords, who owned and rented out property but lived in Scotland or England. Most classical economists "reserved their harshest strictures for the Irish landlord," and Wellington was no friend either.¹⁸⁷ Explaining that Irish laborers pay "exorbitant rents to their landlords by the mortgage of their labour," he asked Robinson whether it would be "possible by law to prohibit the payment of rent of land in labour, and to enforce the payment of the wages of labour in money?" Wellington reasoned that Irish laborers would be forced to buy their subsistence in markets, which would likely procure "a better sort of subsistence to potatoes." He continued:

If such measures should produce any effect, it will be much greater than that produced by the most extensive system of emigration that it is possible to carry into execution. A well digested system of emigration however, encouraged by the publick and aided by publick money would facilitate and render more palatable these measures, and I think would be successful to the North American colonies, and might be so managed as to open the road for emigration on private account to the same colonies.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁵ Longford, 202, 205, 219-22; Muir, *Wellington, The Path to Victory*, 178-9, 296.

¹⁸⁶ Wellington to Robinson, WP 1/864/23, f.8.

¹⁸⁷ R. D. Collison Black, *Economic Thought and the Irish Question, 1817-1870* (Cambridge Eng.: University Press, 1960), 22.

¹⁸⁸ Wellington to Robinson, WP 1/864/23, f.10.

Wellington favored emigration to North America, not the Cape of Good Hope or Australia, for purely economic reasons—the Cape because there was “no demand” for more than a certain number of laborers “on account of the existence of slavery in that colony,” and Australia because there were “still so many convicts unemployed.”

In his closing remarks to Robinson, Wellington tackled the thorniest issue of all—how to pay for government-assisted emigration schemes. Robinson had boldly proposed defraying the expense by imposing a duty on foreign corn imported into Britain. Wellington confessed that he felt “great objections” to Robinson’s proposal to connect these two hot-button issues, sternly warning him “You may rely upon it that you cannot carry this plan.” Wellington concluded: “We shall have plenty of opportunities of discussing these points. But I am certain that you will see that it will not answer to discuss the corn question as one of revenue, or to embark your scheme of emigration or any scheme for amending the state of the pauper population in the same boat with one upon which there is so much feeling as there is upon corn.” In short, Wellington argued that there was so much controversy and divisiveness around the Corn Laws and assisted emigration that it would be a political (and economic) disaster to use one as an antidote for the other.¹⁸⁹

Robinson abandoned his proposed plan for emigration, however Wellington’s opportunity to pursue emigration as a policy issue came during his tenure as prime minister. He expressed to his confidante Harriet Arbuthnot that he had wanted the chief proponent of emigration, Robert Wilmot-Horton, in his Cabinet from the outset.¹⁹⁰ Wellington was acquainted

¹⁸⁹ Wellington to Robinson, WP 1/864/23, f.11-12.

¹⁹⁰ Arbuthnot, 189-190.

with Wilmot-Horton and had written to him at least a dozen times on a variety of topics.¹⁹¹ Yet, Horton refused the invitation to join Wellington's Cabinet on the basis that he was disillusioned, "not bound to any party"; rather, he was bound by his own opinions "expressed and implied since the period of the commencement of Mr. Canning's Government."¹⁹² In lieu of a Cabinet position Wilmot-Horton used his position as a sitting MP to express his opinions on emigration in the House of Commons.

On Tuesday 4th March 1828, two months into Wellington's tenure as prime minister, Wilmot-Horton raised the issue of assisted emigration from the United Kingdom and after presenting the House of Commons with a brief history of emigration, he relied on the expertise of his friend, stating, "Mr. Malthus was of opinion, that unless emigration was extensively resorted to, an alteration of the poor-laws would speedily be found necessary." The opinions held by Mr. Malthus on the subject of emigration were, he was happy to find, "adopted by many persons in this country, and in the colonies themselves."¹⁹³ Horton did not stop there. One month later in the House of Commons, Wilmot-Horton moved for leave to bring in a Bill "to enable Parishes in England, under given regulations, and for a limited period, to mortgage their Poor-rates, for the purpose of assisting Voluntary Emigration." Home Secretary Robert Peel spoke on behalf of Wellington's government. Despite leaving office, Wilmot-Horton had maintained a positive relationship with Peel; Peel, for his part, made sure that the House of Commons did not

¹⁹¹ DRO D3155H1/C6097; C6139-C6142; C6554-C6555; C6560-61; C6572. Anxious to have him in his cabinet, Wellington wrote to Wilmot-Horton in 1828, noting that, "the King was anxious to see you in his service." Furthermore, Wellington reiterated his confidence in Wilmot-Horton: "I am very much concerned that I have not had the pleasure of seeing you; as I think I could have convinced you that the difficulties which have lately occurred were not to be attributed to me. I would not have thought of proposing office for you if I entertained any intention of making any alteration in respect to the Conduct or Principles of the past."¹⁹¹ Letter from Wellington to Robert Wilmot-Horton, May 29, 1828, DRO D3155H1/C6555

¹⁹² R.W. Horton to Wellington, Tuesday 29 May 1828 in *DCM*, vol. iv, 184, 476. For more about Wilmot-Horton's disillusionment over the failure of Liverpool's Cabinet to act on his schemes, see Johnston, 154-159.

¹⁹³ Robert Wilmot-Horton to the House of Commons, Tuesday 4th March 1828, "Commons Sitting of Tuesday, March 4, 1828," *Hansard*, 2nd Series, Volume 18 (March 4, 1828).

downplay the importance of emigration, saying that if he did not agree with Wilmot-Horton in all the details of his plan, he could not forget, “that it was to his right hon. friend that the country was indebted for pointing out the benefits which would result from a well-conducted emigration.”¹⁹⁴ Wilmot-Horton persevered and on June 24th he was back in Parliament proposing that the House examine whether emigration should be upon an extended scale. Peel responded politely to Wilmot-Horton, explaining that parliamentary protocols had not been observed in getting the House to pledge such a measure. Still, Peel acknowledged that “emigration, if it were



5.2. *The House of Commons, 1833*
by Sir George Hayter, © National Portrait Gallery, London.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁴ “Commons Sitting of Thursday, April 17, 1828,” *Hansard*, 2nd Series, Volume 18 (April 17, 1828).

¹⁹⁵ NPG 54.

conducted without too great an outlay of the public funds, would be productive of great ultimate benefit, to the lower classes.”¹⁹⁶ After listening to Peel, Wilmot-Horton withdrew his motion.

As for Wellington, the matter of emigration could not escape his attention inside or outside the halls of Westminster. As he acknowledged, “there is not a subject of public interest upon which I do not receive hundreds of letters, numerous almost in proportion to the difficulty and importance attached to each.”¹⁹⁷ One such letter, from Glasgow weavers J. Lyle and A. White, appealed to Wellington’s patriotism and colonial service. The letter was an application from a society of weavers, asking for means to emigrate to Canada; the society had also sent a petition to be presented to the House of Commons. Payment for emigration would be reimbursed by instalments, and they asked Wellington to forward their request. In closing they noted that the Duke “is considered their general friend” and that they felt that they would be as equally serviceable to the British government as colonists.¹⁹⁸ Another letter, from Joseph Pinsent in London, outlined what he believed to be the real causes of the economic depression. Stating that “the colonies must become an integral part of the British empire with representation in Parliament” he added that “the encouragement of emigration to the colonies will make Britain independent of foreign goods. There will be a saving on the poor rate.”¹⁹⁹ It is not known how Wellington responded to either letter.

The Duke did respond to a letter from Thomas Newenham (1762-1831), writer on Irish political-economic affairs, former MP, and author of *Population of Ireland* (1804), which was reviewed by Malthus in the *Edinburgh Review*. Newenham also wrote and submitted a lengthy

¹⁹⁶ “Commons Sitting of Tuesday, June 24, 1828,” *Hansard*, 2nd Series, Volume 19 (April 17, 1828).

¹⁹⁷ Wellington to Sir Charles Forbes, 29 October 1828, in DCM, vol. 5, 184.

¹⁹⁸ Letter from J. Lyle and A. White to Wellington, on the application of a society of weavers for means to emigrate to Canada, 12 May 1829. WP1/1017/12.

¹⁹⁹ Letter from J. Pinsent to Wellington, discussing the causes of the economic depression, 12 February 1830, WP1/1094/17.

manuscript on the state of Ireland for the Select Committee (1825) discussing the same topic.²⁰⁰ To solve Ireland's problems, Newenham suggested to Wellington that two systems could be adopted: either one of repression or the adoption of conciliatory measures—repealing all disqualifying statutes, encouraging agriculture and fisheries, public works and Poor Laws, a tax on absentees, and ample facilities for emigration. In Newenham's opinion, neither system was suited to Ireland. Instead, education, reformation, and tract and bible societies should be encouraged and supported by the government, then Ireland would become a peaceful place.²⁰¹ Wellington responded simply: "Compliments. The Duke has received his letter which he has perused with much interest, and he is much obliged to him."²⁰² For someone who received hundreds of letters per day, one wonders whether he really was.

IV. On Ireland

Parliamentary records indicate that Wellington was absent when Wilmot-Horton made his proposals on emigration to the House of Commons in the spring of 1828. However, as a regular in the House of Lords, Wellington witnessed and participated in debates in which the subject of emigration crept into debates on other topics. For example, on May 1, 1828, while debating a motion for the appointment of a Select Committee on the state of the distressed population of Ireland, the Earl of Darnley raised concerns that if Irish emigration to Britain increased, "the inevitable consequence would be, the amalgamation of the misery of the two

²⁰⁰ Malthus questioned the data used by Newenham in *A Statistical and Historical Inquiry Into the Progress and Magnitude of the Population of Ireland*, claiming that it did not really support his conclusions. "Newenham and others on the State of Ireland," *ER*, 12:24 (1808: July), 337.

²⁰¹ For a succinct appraisal of Newenham, see H.D. Gibbon, "Thomas Newenham, 1762-1831" in J.M. Goldstrom and Leslie A. Clarkson, eds., *Irish Population, Economy, and Society: Essays in Honour of the Late K.H. Connell* (Oxford: New York: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 1981), 231-247.

²⁰² Letter from T. Newenham to Wellington, on the state of Ireland and the means of improving it, 23 September 1828, WP1/954/22.

countries.” Wellington explained to the Lords, before he proceeded any further, “that no part of his majesty’s dominions so imperiously required the particular attention of his majesty’s servants as Ireland did.” That said, Wellington, as an efficient administrator, was not terribly keen on supporting the expense associated with Select Committees. He told the Lords that “he could see no use for an inquiry into that part of this subject; because it was well known, from the evidence which the House already had before it, that the poor of Ireland did suffer very considerable distress.”²⁰³ The motion was dropped. Nevertheless, a Select Committee was established in Wellington’s final year as prime minister to report on the state of the poor in Ireland.

Although it cannot be fully ascertained, it is highly likely that Wellington was also present on June 16, 1828 for the Lords discussion about the Scottish Parochial Settlement Bill—a bill that proposed increasing the length of that a parishioner had to be settled in Scotland to get relief, from five to seven years. Proposed in response to a petition from the manufacturers of Glasgow alarmed by the number of Irish laborers emigrating to Scotland, the Bill divided the Lords. Robert Dundas, Lord Melville (1771-1851) opposed the bill on the grounds that its sole object was “to prevent the influx of the poor Irish into Scotland.” Conversely, the Earl of Haddington supported the bill, saying that he could not agree “that the emigrants from Ireland would, during their stay in Scotland, rise to the same level with the population of Scotland.”²⁰⁴

Ireland was not only restless for want of food and employment at this time. In 1828, Daniel O’Connell (1775-1847)—Irish nationalist leader and founder of the Catholic Association—stood for election in County Clare and defeated a Protestant government minister. Wellington realized that if O’Connell were prevented from taking his seat in the House of Commons, protest would be widespread. Similar victories were in hand for the Catholic

²⁰³ “Lords Sitting of Thursday, May 1, 1828,” *Hansard*, 2nd Series, Volume 19 (May 1, 1828).

²⁰⁴ “Lords Sitting of Monday, June 16, 1828,” *Hansard*, 2nd Series, Volume 19 (June 16, 1828).

Association at the next general election, making Britain's position in Ireland potentially untenable. Wellington believed that "This state of things cannot be allowed to continue."²⁰⁵

For Wellington, it was a question of politics not religion, and the following year Wellington did the unthinkable and passed the Catholic Emancipation Bill, in part to calm a restless Ireland.²⁰⁶ Was Wellington pragmatically rewarding the Irish for their loyal service in the Napoleonic Wars and for their participation in colonial conflicts in India?²⁰⁷ Or was he simply addressing ongoing concerns over subsistence, security and stability in Ireland, or both?

Wellington likened the passing of the Catholic Emancipation Bill to a military campaign, because the King "resisted him yard by yard."²⁰⁸ Certainly, to gain the King's approval proved arduous. Moreover, getting the Bill passed through Parliament was equally troublesome. One of his own party members, ultra-Tory peer George Finch-Hatton, 10th earl of Winchilsea (1791-1858) provoked Wellington into fighting a duel, accusing Wellington of "an insidious design for

²⁰⁵ A Catholic could not, as the law stood, take up his seat in the House of Commons and Wellington believed this would lead to civil war in Ireland. Holmes, 273.

²⁰⁶ Jupp, *British Politics on the Eve of Reform*, 56.

²⁰⁷ Ireland's military contribution to the "great and noble Empire"—which it had donated so much sweat and tears—was far from minor, yet it remains curious and altogether difficult to reconstruct. Ireland, the birthplace of Wellington was England's oldest colony, but one which had been 'held' (rather than governed) for over five centuries. Moreover, Ireland did not really resemble a colony like the West Indies or the Americas; rather, the relationship between the two countries resembled that of a mother and an adopted child. During the middle of the eighteenth century the curious relationship took on another dimension as initiatives were taken to increase the number of Irish military recruits in the British Army. During the Napoleonic Wars there were few regiments which did not contain a proportion, often a large one, of Irish recruits. Indeed, the Commander of the Peninsula troops Wellington, and several of his commanding officers, were Irish born. By 1830 the Irish comprised two-fifths of the soldiers in the British Army. It was not only the lower classes who contributed. The East India Company recruited up to fifty percent of its intake from Ireland. By the time of the 1851 census, Irishmen accounted for over a quarter of all regular army officers in the British Isles. Kevin Kenny, ed. *Ireland and the British Empire*, Oxford History of the British Empire Companion Series (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 511. For a more detailed treatment of the Irish regiments in the British Army see C.T. Atkinson, "The Irish Regiments of the Line in the British Army" *The Irish Sword*, Vol. 1 (1949-1950), 20-23.

²⁰⁸ Holmes, 274.

the infringement of our liberties and the introduction of Popery into every department of the State.”²⁰⁹



5.3. *The Fields of Battersea*, 1829
by Paul Pry, © The British Museum, London ²¹⁰

According to Wellington biographers, the duel had an unusual effect on public opinion in

²⁰⁹ The duel was a curious episode that took place at 6.45am in Battersea Fields. The Duke requested that his doctor, John Hume, be in attendance. According to Longford, the Duke didn't intend to kill Winchilsea, merely "lame his traducer with a bullet in his leg." As the order to fire was pronounced, Winchilsea kept his pistol by his side; Wellington noticed and instead of hitting Winchilsea's leg, he fired wide. Winchilsea issued an apology to the Duke; the Duke uttered "Good morning, Lord Winchilsea" and cantered off on his horse. Longford, 186.

²¹⁰ The Duke is mocked in boots, a monk's habit, belted and with rosary beads hanging from his waist. His head and neck form a large lobster claw, and he is seen firing at Lord Winchilsea. Lord Winchilsea fires into the air. In the center is Dr. John Hume, the Duke's physician. The Duke says, "I used to be a good shot but have been out of practice for some years." Winchilsea says, "I'll make myself up small – God if he should hit me – I might be tainted with some of his Popery – won't give him more than one chance."

that Wellington's popularity soared. Holmes argued that Catholic emancipation was Wellington's greatest political achievement, asserting that "victory over Catholic Emancipation raised the Duke to an eminence he had not occupied since Waterloo."²¹¹ Longford concurred, stating, "For a long golden moment, national thankfulness flooded all party bounds, giving Wellington a luster which some thought outshone Waterloo."²¹² Both scholars aver that the mob were the ones most impressed by the Duke's actions. Longford suggested that, "the gesture of the duel was delivered to extremists in language they understood. This showed Wellington's instinctive knowledge of his wild men."²¹³ However, there is no evidence to suggest that the duel was anything other than intransigence on the Duke's part, which upset as many as it impressed. Radical and philosopher Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832), a supporter of Catholic emancipation, wrote to Wellington, calling him an "ILL-ADVISED MAN!" "Think of the confusion into which the whole fabric of government would have been thrown had you been killed, or had the trial of you for the murder of another man been substituted in the House of Lords to the passing of the Emancipation Bill!"²¹⁴ Bentham clearly had a point.

Bentham aside, several scholars offer evidence to suggest that the Duke's popularity plummeted because Wellington ignored the deluge of anti-Catholic petitions from an infuriated British public. Tilly claimed that the number of petitions and contentious gatherings in 1829 indicated that, "the balance of mobilization within Great Britain ran strongly against Emancipation."²¹⁵ It is noteworthy that the cities which sent petitions were those who had large

²¹¹ Holmes, 277.

²¹² Other than a generalized comment about the mob cheering Wellington, Longford and Holmes offer no press commentary, pamphlets or statistical evidence indicative of positive public opinion. Longford, 193.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, 190.

²¹⁴ Jeremy Bentham to Wellington, 22 March 1829, in *DCM*, vol. v, 546.

²¹⁵ Tilly's statistics showed: Petitions for Catholic Emancipation 1,001; petitions against Catholic Emancipation 2,169. Contentious gatherings for Catholic Emancipation 99; contentious gatherings against Catholic Emancipation 141. Charles Tilly, *Popular Contention in Great Britain, 1758-1834* (Boulder and London: Paradigm Publishers, 2005), 311.

immigrant Irish populations undercutting British born manual laborers; Liverpool's anti-Catholic petition was so enormous that the House of Commons porter could barely lift it.²¹⁶ In short, anti-Irish sentiment and fears of the "Paddy" that already permeated Britain's manufacturing communities were muddled with anti-Catholic sentiment and historic fears of "Popery."

Not long afterwards, Wellington wrote to the Duke of Buckingham (1776-1839) reiterating that the duel was the right thing to do. Wellington's comments suggest that he was far from indifferent to public opinion. He admitted that while the "event itself shocked good men," he felt "certain that the public interests at the moment required that I should do what I do." He concluded by saying, "Everything is now quiet; and in Ireland we have full reason to be satisfied. We must, however, lose no time in doing everything else that is possible to promote the prosperity of that country."²¹⁷ There was much to do. In many ways, relief for Ireland in the form of Catholic emancipation had just stripped off a surface layer to reveal more distress underneath. Letters on the state of Ireland arrived on Wellington's desk, such as one from the Rev. F. T. Gregg, curate of Cloon, County Leitrim, who wrote arguing that emigration should be encouraged among some people, but not those on whom the country depended.²¹⁸ The Reverend J. R. McCrea of Dublin also wrote to Wellington on the state of Ireland, warning that "emigration, retirement and bankruptcy" were "draining Ireland's strength."²¹⁹ "Fitzalfred" wrote to Wellington, stating that "the opposing parties in Ireland are inciting each other to violence." Fitzalfred's suggestion: Ireland needs a system of poor laws and education, the opening of the customs, the repeal of the coal tax and a scheme of emigration.²²⁰

²¹⁶ Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992), 329.

²¹⁷ Wellington to the Duke of Buckingham, 21 April 1829 in *DCM*, vol. v., 585-6.

²¹⁸ Letter from the Reverend F. T. Gregg to Wellington, 18 October 1830, WP 1/1146/5.

²¹⁹ Letter from Reverend J. R. McCrea to Wellington, 25 October 1830, WP 1/1147/6.

²²⁰ Anonymous letters to Wellington suggesting schemes to pacify Ireland, 4 November 1830 and 5 November 1830, WP 1/1159/96.

The extension of the Poor Laws to Ireland was debated regularly in the House of Commons during Wellington's tenure as prime minister. There were pragmatic reasons to extend poor relief to Ireland, as in spite of Catholic emancipation the country remained volatile. In 1830, Samuel Evans of Limerick warned the Duke that the potato crop was very small and "civil commotion will be caused by a famine."²²¹ William Parker of Cork suggested that the "distress in Ireland will compel the government to make provision for the poor."²²² Reverend Thomas Scott, chaplain of Bromley College, Kent asked if the Duke was aware of the distress in Ireland, and demanded that the Duke instigate a system of relief before people die.²²³ However, William Stoker in Dublin insisted that the implementation of the Poor Laws in Ireland would not solve the problem of famine and that absentee landlords had deprived the country of "the care and influence of its natural leaders."²²⁴ The Duke of Northumberland (1785-1847) concurred. He wrote to Wellington, in his capacity as serving Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, stating that "The government cannot interfere. Improvements must be financed by those who benefit. Irish landlords must reduce their rents to save the poor, as the English have."²²⁵ There were also calls for Wellington to institute forced emigration of the Irish, "to relieve the distress of the Irish poor," since a subsistence crisis—in particular the failure of the potato crop in Ireland—was a constant concern.²²⁶ How did Wellington react to these conflicting views? In responding, for example, to the Duke of Northumberland's letter, Wellington drew on his first-hand experience of the conditions in Ireland. First, he expressed sympathy for the plight of the Irish: "I confess that the annually recurring starvation in Ireland for a period differing according to the goodness

²²¹ Letter from Samuel Evans, Limerick, Ireland to Wellington, 19 October 1830, WP 1/1146/7.

²²² Letter from William Parker, Cork, Ireland to Wellington, 5 March 1830, WP 1/1100/4.

²²³ Letter from Reverend Thomas Scott to Wellington, 27 July 1830, WP 1/1128/10.

²²⁴ Letter from William Stoker, 21 York Street, Dublin to Wellington, 17 July 1830, WP 1/1125/33.

²²⁵ Letter from Hugh Percy, third Duke of Northumberland to Wellington, 5 July 1830, WP 1/1123/46.

²²⁶ Letter from Anonymous, to Wellington, 24 August 1830, WP 1/1135/29

or badness of the season for one week to three months gives me more uneasiness than any other evil existing in the United Kingdom.”²²⁷ Second, Wellington stated that while ministers were not contemplating the introduction of a general system of Poor Laws in Ireland, “at the same time he had to state to their Lordships that the state of Ireland had engaged the particular attention of his Majesty's Government, and several measures were in contemplation.” He was concerned that provision should be made to afford “relief to the aged and infirm, and the sick, and of giving work to the able-bodied poor.”²²⁸ It was not until after Wellington left office, in 1837, that the Poor Laws were finally extended to Ireland, and it was Wellington’s support of the bill in the House of Lords that secured its passage.²²⁹

V. Toward the New Poor Laws

In the final years of Wellington’s administration, Thomas Scott of Bromley, Kent, wrote to Wellington saying that no one else but the Duke could bring the country relief.²³⁰ Scott was referring not to Ireland, but England. Groups of agricultural laborers demanded wage increases and attacked properties of landlords and farmers in the south east of England, under the auspices of their enigmatic leader known as “Captain Swing.”²³¹ Throughout the autumn and winter of 1830, the rebels wrote threatening letters to Wellington, burned buildings, ravaged farm equipment and delivered malevolent speeches in resistance to what Eric Hobsbawm and George Rudé call “rural capitalism.” According to Hobsbawm and Rudé, the preponderance of Swing events occurred in November, with riots gaining greatest momentum in the county of Hampshire,

²²⁷ Letter from Wellington to the Duke of Northumberland, 7 July 1830, WP 1/1130/21

²²⁸ Irish Poor Laws: “Lords Sitting of Thursday, March 16, 1830,” *Hansard*, 2nd Series, Volume 23 (March 16, 1830), 365-376.

²²⁹ D. Large, “The House of Lords and Ireland in the age of Peel, 1832-50,” *Irish Historical Studies*, vol. ix (Sept. 1955), pp 367-99; R. D. Collison Black, *Economic Thought and the Irish Question, 1817-1870* (Cambridge Eng.: University Press, 1960), 111.

²³⁰ Letter from Reverend T. Scott to Wellington, 27 July 1830, WP 1 1128/10.

²³¹ Tilly, 296.

where the Duke coincidentally ruled as Lord Lieutenant.²³²

Writing to Wellington in the height of the Swing Riots, Sir John Grey (1772-1856)²³³ suggested the increased cultivation of land to reduce unemployment. Making pre-Malthusian arguments that Britain's population was considered its greatest resource, he said that emigration was not the solution as it drained the most valuable section of the population at great expense to the government. Instead, Grey argued that more land should be brought under cultivation, employing the poor, and the money used for emigration could be diverted to this purpose. While Wellington may not have agreed entirely with Grey, he did concur with his final point: “the English poor law is not working; reform is required.”²³⁴

Much of the preparatory work to reform the English Poor Laws took place under Wellington’s administration.²³⁵ As early as 1826, Wellington had expressed the view that Poor Law abuses “require the serious attention of the government and parliament.”²³⁶ Writing to Tory MP John Fleming (1781-1844), who had blamed the country’s current distress on economic liberalism, the Duke responded defensively, claiming instead it was the “faulty administration of the Poor Laws.”²³⁷ The Poor Law Amendment Act proposed the following: (i) to deny outdoor relief to able-bodied males and their families (ii) to offer the discipline of the workhouse, and (iii) to segregate the sexes in workhouse. Conditions in the workhouses were supposed to be

²³² There is some discrepancy between Tilly, and Hobsbawm and Rudé’s statistics. According to Tilly, 141 Swing events took place in Hampshire in November. The next largest number was in Berkshire, with 111 events. In contrast, Hobsbawm and Rudé reported over 208 incidents in Hampshire, with a total of 1475 for the whole of the south east of England. Tilly, 320; Hobsbawm and Rudé, *Captain Swing*, 304.

²³³ I am fairly (but not 100%) certain that the Sir J. Grey that wrote to Wellington is army officer Sir John Grey, who served in India with Wellington.

²³⁴ Letter from Sir J. Grey to Wellington, suggesting the increased cultivation of land to reduce unemployment, 21 October 1830, WP1/1146/18.

²³⁵ Background on the Poor Laws: M. J. (Martin J.) Daunton, *Progress and Poverty: An Economic and Social History of Britain, 1700-1850* (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 1995), 447-474; J. R. (John Riddoch) Poynter, *Society and Pauperism: English Ideas on Poor Relief, 1795-1834* (London: Toronto: Routledge & K. Paul; U. of Toronto P., 1969).

²³⁶ Letter from Wellington to F. J. Robinson, 20 October 1826, WP 1/864/23.

²³⁷ Letter from Wellington to John Fleming, 20 Dec 1829, WP 4/1/60.

worse than the poorest independent laborer, thereby removing the incentive to relief.²³⁸ In an early debate on the Poor Laws reform during which there was a request to see all the Poor returns, Wellington said “he had not the slightest objection to afford the House or the noble Lord all the information which could possibly be required” but then added a caveat: “the last time that similar information had been applied for, a year and a half elapsed before the Returns could be procured and considerable expense was incurred for the purpose.” Wellington believed that “after the Returns had been made out they were never once looked at.” In short, just as he had done previously with the request to form a Select Committee on Ireland, the pragmatic Wellington—who hated wasteful spending—believed that the cost exceeded the benefit.²³⁹ Three months later, in the House of Lords, Wellington expressed the need to pass a substantive motion to revise the Poor Laws, “which he felt could not confer a greater benefit on the country” and should there be a proposal for any plan of amendment, he would give it his best consideration. Wellington expressed that the proposals should direct “their Lordships' attention to the practical defects, and the practical remedies for the defects, of the existing Poor-laws.”²⁴⁰

VI. Conclusion

Wellington attended the House of Lords on Thursday, November 11, 1830 for a debate on Poor Law reform. Not long thereafter he resigned after opposing parliamentary reform, a measure widely supported by the populace. Two major domestic political problems had consumed Wellington’s administration: Britain’s economic distress and the question of Ireland.

²³⁸ Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time*, 2nd ed. (Boston: Beacon Press, 2001), 87.

²³⁹ Poor Returns: “Lords Sitting of Tuesday, February 9, 1830,” *Hansard*, 2nd Series, Volume 22 (February 9, 1830), 248

²⁴⁰ Poor Laws in England: “Lords Sitting of Tuesday, May 11, 1830,” *Hansard*, 2nd Series, Volume 24 (May 11, 1830), 532-543.

For someone who considered himself a great public servant, he was accused of being out of touch with the public. Described as “intolerant” and “stiff,” he appeared “heartless and blind to the sufferings of the ordinary people,” denying the need for the appointment of parliamentary committees into the causes of and remedies for distress on the account that no one could agree on what to do.²⁴¹ For all his perceived deficiencies, Wellington’s resignation did not signal an end to his influence over matters of subsistence, security and stability, and debates held during Wellington’s tenure as prime minister brought issues such as the Poor Laws to the fore. The English Poor Laws were amended in 1834 under a Whig administration, and in 1837 the Poor Laws were finally extended to Ireland to alleviate the distress of the ‘deserving poor’ without producing dependency.²⁴²

Wellington was a Tory pragmatist, reacting to conditions in England and Ireland and to the various solutions to solve the associated problems, even if it meant crossing party lines. To be sure, Wellington “did not believe that party differences should be allowed to interrupt private friendships or social intercourse,” and as such he counted many friends amongst the Whigs, including politician Thomas Creevey (1768-1838) and diplomatist Lord George William Russell (1790-1846).²⁴³ But identification of ideology is not always easy. D.G.S. Simes quite rightly noted that even the basic nomenclature such as Tory/conservative poses a problem.²⁴⁴ Arguably

²⁴¹ Gash, “The duke of Wellington and the prime ministership,” in Gash, 127; Jupp, *British Politics on the Eve of Reform*, 52, 54; Muir, *Wellington: Waterloo and the Fortunes of Peace*, 376.

²⁴² The ‘undeserving poor’ were excluded. According to the Commissioners report of 1835, these were “a particular class of beggars, called buccoughs, who resort to deceptive means of exciting compassion; they are usually found at fairs and markets, and are the most immoral class among the poor.” Buccough is an Irish word, signifying a beggar who strolls around, affecting the appearance of impotence or scrofulous disease. See *First Report of His Majesty’s Commissioners for Inquiring into the Condition of the Poorer Classes in Ireland* (House of Commons, 1835), 510. See also Niall O’Ciosain, “Buccoughs and God’s Poor: Deserving and Undeserving Poor in Irish Popular Culture” in Tadhg Foley and Sean Ryder, eds., *Ideology and Ireland in the Nineteenth Century* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1998), 93-99.

²⁴³ Muir, *Wellington: Waterloo and the Fortunes of Peace*, 129-130.

²⁴⁴ D.G.S. Simes, in C.M. Woolgar, ed., *Wellington Studies III*, 56-87, 57.

Wellington could be considered what Boyd Hilton has called a “Liberal Tory,” mouthing the doctrines of political economy in order to stabilize society. Wellington was pragmatically concerned about the plight of the poor, and the problems associated with poverty and rural unrest. Catholic emancipation held the key to much of the troubles in 1829, and it was a decidedly Whiggish move – supported by the *Edinburgh Review* (which he read) and its writers, (liberal economists) but heavily opposed by his own party. Wellington was not a protectionist in the strictest sense, but tried, as Geoffrey Finlayson has argued, to “balance the claims of protection and free trade.”²⁴⁵ He was extremely knowledgeable about market conditions and the importance of subsistence crops such as the potato, and held economic ideas that were also essentially liberal in nature— preferring to support laissez-faire policies on the repeal of the Corn Laws. I am not suggesting that ‘traditional’ conservatives were not concerned with the plight of the poor. The party did, after all, believe, as Tory MP Michael Sadler stated, “that after all the institutions of the country have sanctified the monopoly of property, the poor shall have some reserved claims to necessities of life.”²⁴⁶ Rather, I am suggesting that liberalism and conservatism in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century did not stand as polar opposites, and Wellington did not fit neatly into either category. Simply put, “liberal toryism was a perfectly logical, internally consistent system for harmonizing capitalism and social harmony.”²⁴⁷

A comparison is also instructive here. Wellington held almost identical ideological and pragmatic beliefs as conservative Irish statesman Edmund Burke (1729-1797). James Sack has argued that “the role played by the memory of Edmund Burke in the making of a conservative

²⁴⁵ Geoffrey Finlayson, “Wellington, the constitution, and the march of reform,” in Norman Gash, *Wellington: Studies*, 202.

²⁴⁶ Seely and Burnside in C.M. Woolgar, ed., *Wellington Studies IV* (Southampton, UK: Hartley Institute, University of Southampton, 2008), 208.

²⁴⁷ Peter Mandler, “Tories and Paupers: Christian Political Economy and the Making of the New Poor Law,” *The Historical Journal* 33, no. 1 (1990): 81–103, 84.

ethos in England during the early nineteenth century was highly equivocal”²⁴⁸ Certainly, it is difficult to conclusively prove the influence of Burke over Wellington or any other statesman for that matter, even with extensive scholarly research. Nevertheless, in pushing through the Catholic Emancipation Bill, for example, Wellington was in many ways codifying a controversial stance taken earlier by fellow Irish-born Protestant, Burke. In the 1790s, Burke had supported the claims of Irish Catholics to emancipation, going against the prevailing conservative view. The ‘Popery Laws,’ according to Burke, reduced the “Catholics of Ireland to a miserable populace, without property, without estimation, without education.”²⁴⁹ Part of the problem for Burke stemmed from the fact that there was no sort of tacit consent of the Irish people to the ‘Popery laws.’ As such, if the offence for which the law was created did not generate some sort of collective conscious response that affirmed the need for such a law, then in Burke’s opinion it was unconstitutional. Moreover, while Burke could see the potential for unrest over this issue from Catholics of the lower ranks, he could also see that the protesters were not all an unruly lower-class rabble. On the contrary: some of the Catholics leading the protest were old Catholic aristocracy and gentry of Ireland. Wellington’s rationale for extending the franchise to Catholics followed a similar line of thinking as Burke’s—that of the untenable nature of the law and the concern over unrest.

Similarly, Wellington’s position on food scarcity mirrored that of Burke’s. In 1795, the same year that the Board of Agriculture was formed and the Justices of the Peace were meeting at Speenhamland in Berkshire, Burke was alarmed by the poor state of the crop, even before the

²⁴⁸ J.J. Sack, “The Memory of Burke and the Memory of Pitt: English Conservatism Confronts its Past, 1806-1829,” *The Historical Journal*, 30, 3 (1987), pp. 623-640, 630.

²⁴⁹ Edmund Burke, “Letter to Sir Hercules Langrishe on the Catholics of Ireland” in E.J. Payne, *Select Works of Edmund Burke, Vol IV* (Indianapolis, IN: Liberty Fund, 1999), 198.

harvest.²⁵⁰ In the fall of that year, when the produce of the harvest began to be known, the alarm became general. Burke wrote to prime minister William Pitt in *Thoughts and Details on Scarcity*, in which he reaffirmed his beliefs that “To provide us in our necessities is not in the power of government. It would be a vain presumption in statesmen to think they can do it. The people maintain them, and not they the people.”²⁵¹ On the surface then, it appeared that Burke had little regard for the poor, and that the state should not embark on utopian schemes for the poor by tampering with the economy or providing social welfare. Yet a closer reading of *Thoughts and Details on Scarcity* reveals a different picture, one which demonstrates not only that Burke had deep concern for the plight of the poor but also that he had a remarkable grasp of agriculture, commerce and political economy. In the preface to his work, French Laurence and Walker King wrote a description of Burke that could so easily have been written about Wellington:

Agriculture, and the commerce connected with, and dependent upon it, form one of the most considerable branches of political economy; and as such, Mr. Burke diligently studied them. Indeed, when he began to qualify himself for the exalted rank which he afterwards held among statesmen, he laid a broad and deep foundation; and to an accurate research into the constitution, the laws, the civil and military availed himself of the advantage which this afforded him, to enlarge the sphere of his enquiries into the state of other countries, that he might benefit his own. The consequence of all was, he every day became more firmly convinced, that the unrestrained freedom of buying and selling is the great animating principle of production and supply.²⁵²

Wellington, like his predecessor Burke, had a clear understanding of political economy

²⁵⁰ Edmund Burke, *Thoughts and Details on Scarcity*, 1795 in *The Works of Edmund Burke Volume IV* (Reprint of Charles C. Little and James Brown, Boston, 1839. Elibron Classics, 2005), 54.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 61.

²⁵² French Laurence and Walker King, Preface to *Thoughts and Details on Scarcity* in Payne, 52.

and its policy consequences for the nation, particularly the poor. Ruscombe Foster has argued that Wellington was to some extent “Malthusian” because he was not opposed to a punitive poor law regime. Foster further claimed that Wellington was not in favor of the “total abolition of the old poor law, for he did not deny that the sick and aged were entitled to relief.”²⁵³ But neither did Malthus in later life.²⁵⁴ In the end, the Poor Law Amendment was, as Mandler has noted, “derived from a tory as much as a whig tradition,” which supports the notion of Wellington (and Burke for that matter) as a liberal Tory, using the “markets and tools of authority” in tandem, “both aiming to reform and improve the morals and living conditions of the poor.”²⁵⁵ Wellington took the emerging science of political economy and used it for Tory ends: “the preservation of social stability and hierarchy, the defense of established institutions in Church and State.”²⁵⁶

Regarding emigration, why did Wellington not embrace emigration schemes such as that proposed by Wilmot-Horton? An argument could be made that Wellington inherited a fractured administration, one which had lost its champions of government-assisted schemes. Furthermore, Wellington and Peel postponed a decision until April 1830 to send a Colonial Office agent, John Richards, to investigate possible sites for large settlements of immigrants on behalf of the government. By the time Richards returned to England with his findings and started preparing his report, Wellington had resigned from office.²⁵⁷ For his part, during his tenure as prime minister, Wellington considered other potential pathways to help Britain through its transitional period. For example, Wellington explored the possibility of reclaiming bogs in Ireland in 1829 and was willing to support a drainage bill.²⁵⁸ His support was not new. As early as 1808, while

²⁵³ Ruscombe Foster, “Wellington and Local Government,” in Norman Gash, ed., *Wellington: Studies*, 226-227.

²⁵⁴ T.R. Malthus, *A Summary View of the Principle of Population* (London: J. Murray, 1830), 73.

²⁵⁵ Mandler, “Tories and Paupers,” 84.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 86.

²⁵⁷ Wendy Cameron, *Assisting Emigration to Upper Canada: The Petworth Project, 1832-1837*, ed. Wendy Cameron and Mary McDougall Maude (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2000), 32.

²⁵⁸ R. D. Collison Black, 173, 180.

Chief Secretary for Ireland, Wellington had proposed that a Commission was established with the power to “survey the different bogs and ascertain their extent, the practicability of draining them and the expense of that operation.”²⁵⁹ At the same time, Irish political writer Thomas Newenham had also recommended the drainage of bogs in his work *A View of the Natural, Political, and Commercial Circumstances of Ireland*, published in 1809.²⁶⁰ The Commission on Draining and Cultivating the Bogs of Ireland issued its reports over a five-year period and was “optimistic” about the possibilities, but it led nowhere. It is also worth mentioning that once out of office, Wellington supported measures of emigration by voting for the South Australia Bill, which passed on 15th August 1834. This Act empowered the Crown to establish one or more colonies in Australia. A new program of emigration to Britain's colonies (Canada, Australia, and New Zealand) was established and managed by Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners (CLEC). Under the new system some emigrants could qualify for a free passage if they were of good character, under forty, capable of labor, had been vaccinated against smallpox, and were from occupations such as agricultural laborer, female domestic and farm servant. Those excluded from the CLEC schemes included workhouse inmates or those in regular receipt of parish relief. More significantly, provision for the emigration of the poor, with the cost being borne by an emigrant's home parish, was included in section 62 of the Poor Law Amendment Act (1834) — the groundwork for the Act was laid during Wellington’s tenure as prime minister.²⁶¹

Finally, regarding the intersection of public opinion and extra-parliamentary politics in Wellington’s thinking, Jupp has cogently argued that it was not the forces of public opinion that

²⁵⁹ Wellington to Liverpool, cited in R.D. Collison Black, 182.

²⁶⁰ Thomas Newenham, *A View of the Natural, Political and Commercial Circumstances of Ireland* (London: Printed for T. Cadell & W. Davies, 1809). See also Esa Ruuskanen, “Encroaching Irish bogland frontiers: science, policy and aspirations from the 1770s to the 1840s” in Jon Agar and Jacob Ward, eds. *Histories of Technology, the Environment and Modern Britain* (UCL Press, 2018), 30-31.

brought down Wellington's ministry in 1830, but divisions within the political elite.²⁶²

Wellington inherited a divided party, and although his popularity waxed and waned he clearly understood the operation of extra-parliamentary politics through competing discussions in newspapers, journals and pamphlets. His stated positions in Parliament were not only informed by the press, periodicals, published works and public opinion, but also through direct correspondence with intellectuals, journalists, and others in the extra-parliamentary realm. The sharing and production of knowledge was reciprocated—agents sharing this extra-parliamentary space with Wellington were informed by his words and actions, which in many cases led to significant policy change.

²⁶² Jupp, *British Politics on the Eve of Reform*, 331.

FINAL THOUGHTS

The story of the emigration debate—its journey to the House of Commons, its reception, and its unintended consequences—was the focus of this dissertation. It started with Malthus's pre-industrial world and the first edition of the *Essay* in 1798, which provided a new dimension to discussions of poverty. For Malthus, the remedy to overpopulation was restraint and the abolition of the Poor Laws, not shoveling out paupers through emigration schemes. Yet during the volatile conditions of the Napoleonic Wars, and at its conclusion—when the demand for labor shrank in most sectors of the economy, wages dropped, and unemployment skyrocketed—real events confirmed Malthus's gloomy prediction. Britain needed a successful pathway to transition from an agricultural society to an industrial one, and one potential solution to the purported crisis in Britain's transitional period was assisted emigration.

This dissertation has argued that while Malthus himself was equivocal on emigration, his influence on others—particularly those who urged emigration as a way of getting rid the excess population—was significant. Malthusianism offered a particular intellectual justification for this. Who benefitted politically and culturally? The naysayers used Malthus's theories to dismiss emigration on the grounds that it created a vacuum that would be quickly repopulated. Those in favor of emigration, such as Robert Wilmot-Horton and J.R. McCulloch clung to Malthus's gloomy prediction of catastrophe if remedies were not taken to address the burgeoning population. Outright critics of Malthus, such as William Cobbett and Michael Sadler, objected not only to the way that the *Essay on Population* had changed the entire discourse on the poor but also to the notion of cruelly transporting the poor to the colonies.

Ultimately, emigration was marginalized in favor of massive reliance on imports of raw materials. Limits to the British food supply were overcome through ghost acres in the colonies,

and through a transition from an organic economy to a mineral-based one.¹ Emigration that took place under the auspices of the Colonial Land and Emigration schemes did not result in the “vacuum effect,” and there was little consequence to living standards for those left behind. Simply put, Malthus’s predictions did not come true, and his political economy could be considered a vestige of a pre-industrial world.² Yet, if we imagine a chain of causes—from the population boom of the late eighteenth century, to obsessions over food shortages, ending with the Irish famine in 1846 and the outsourcing of food due to sufficient confidence in British manufacturing—there are neglected chains in the sequence, which this dissertation has addressed. This dissertation’s contribution to the historiography of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Britain therefore is threefold: first, in its explanation of the role of civil society (more specifically, extra-parliamentary politics) in the debates on emigration; second, in its fresh assessment of the correspondence between Robert Wilmot-Horton and Thomas Robert Malthus; and third, in its analysis of the popularization of Malthus.

First, this dissertation has uniquely shed light on a set of interactions involving forms of political organization, political ideas and economic activity outside Parliament, and explained how these extra-parliamentary mechanisms overlapped, competed with, and influenced conversations on emigration inside Parliament. It has suggested that the extra-parliamentary

¹ Fredrik Albritton Jonsson, *Enlightenment’s Frontier: The Scottish Highlands and the Origins of Environmentalism*. Lewis Walpole Series in Eighteenth-Century Culture and History (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 214; Prasanna Parthasarathi, *Why Europe Grew Rich and Asia Did Not: Global Economic Divergence, 1600-1850* (Cambridge etc.: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Kenneth Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy*, The Princeton Economic History of the Western World (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009); E. A. Wrigley, *The Path to Sustained Growth: England’s Transition from an Organic Economy to an Industrial Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 57-60.

² E.A. Wrigley, “Elegance and Experience: Malthus at the Bar of History,” in D. Coleman and R. Schofield (eds), *The State of Population Theory* (Oxford, 1986), 46-64; E.A. Wrigley, “Malthus Reassessed,” *Journal of Historical Geography*, 8:2 (1982), 192; Eric Richards, “Malthus and the uses of British Emigration,” in Kent Fedorowich and Andrew S. Thompson (eds), *Empire, Migration and Identity in the British World*, (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2013), 42-59.

basis of popular politics fostered ideas and supported dialogue on the potential solution of emigration, and operated beyond the realm of the state, through agents that included contributors to and consumers of quarterly review journals, newspapers, pamphlets, political and economic clubs, and other written and spoken shared spaces of debate. It has shown, through a case study of Wellington, that the force of extra-parliamentary politics counterbalanced the state by circulating knowledge on issues of concern and fostering social engagement between civil society and popular politics. Its common denominator was political economy, “one of the most important and useful branches of science,” and its practitioners, particularly Thomas Robert Malthus, acted as intellectual conduits for discussions about surplus population and assisted emigration. The ‘quarterlies,’ which were the vehicle for popularizing political economy, provided the foundation of this dissertation’s argument, and they remain an extraordinarily rich but wholly underutilized resource for scholars across many disciplines.

Second, this dissertation has contributed to our understanding of Robert Wilmot-Horton by elucidating how he used his parliamentary and extra-parliamentary connections to popularize his elaborate emigration scheme. This study has gone beyond previous studies that have examined the correspondence between Robert Wilmot-Horton and Thomas Robert Malthus (such as those by H.J.M. Johnston, R.N. Ghosh, Alison Bashford and Joyce Chaplin, and Edward Brynn) in that it has examined the chains in the sequence both *in* and *out* of Parliament, rather than privileging one over the other. In addition, this dissertation has connected the Political Economy Club to the debates on emigration, which had been a non-existent thread in the existing historiography.

Finally, this dissertation is the first to examine the popularization of Malthus before, during, and after the early nineteenth century parliamentary debates on emigration. Many

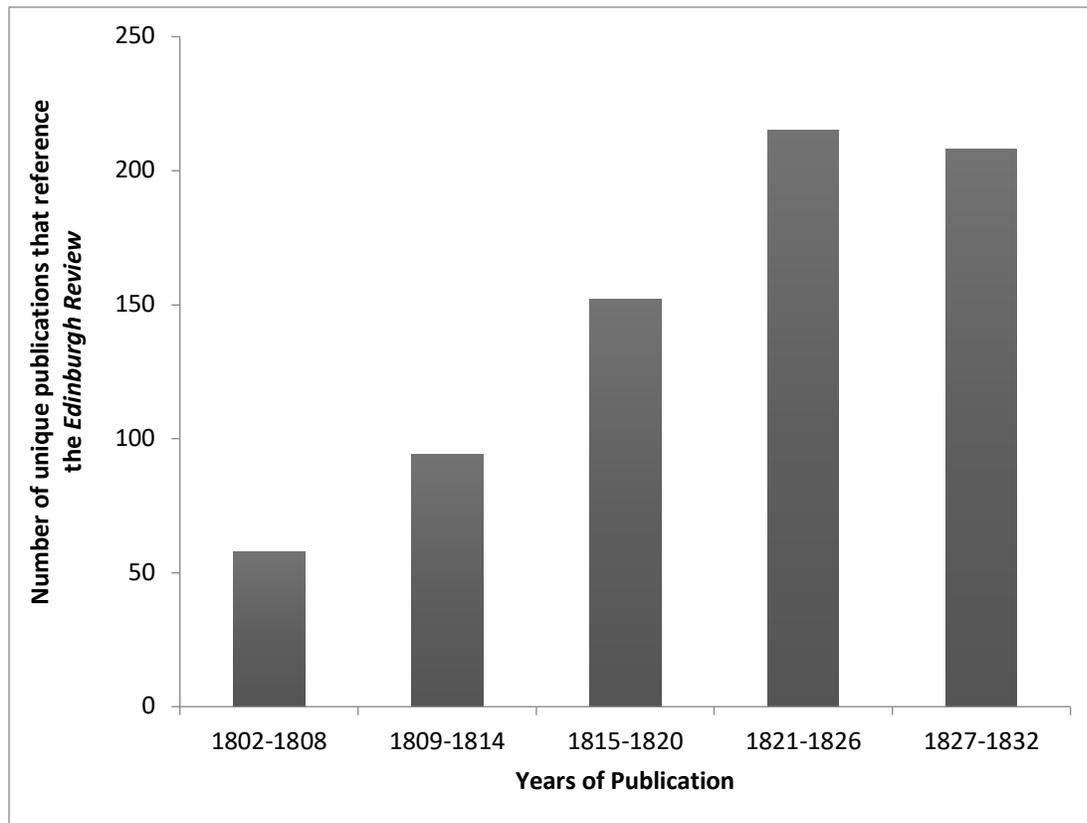
scholars have given Malthus credit for his intellectual contribution to debates on poverty, but there are only a handful of studies on the popular impact of Malthusianism. Boyd Hilton and Peter Mandler have acknowledged the impact of Malthus's works on members of the ruling elite, and J.R. Poynter has described the overall effectiveness of the *Essay* on shaping opinion on pauperism. In addition, James Huzel and Gertrude Himmelfarb have used Malthus's critics to justify why he became a household name. But none have studied the chains in the sequence that explain *how* Malthus—his name, reputation and principles —caught on, and moreover, how this intersected with the assisted emigration debates. This last point, in short, is this dissertation's major contribution to the existing literature on early nineteenth century Britain.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: Extra-Parliamentary References to the *Edinburgh Review*, 1802-1832

(i) The Goldsmiths'-Kress Collection of Economic Literature 1450-1850:

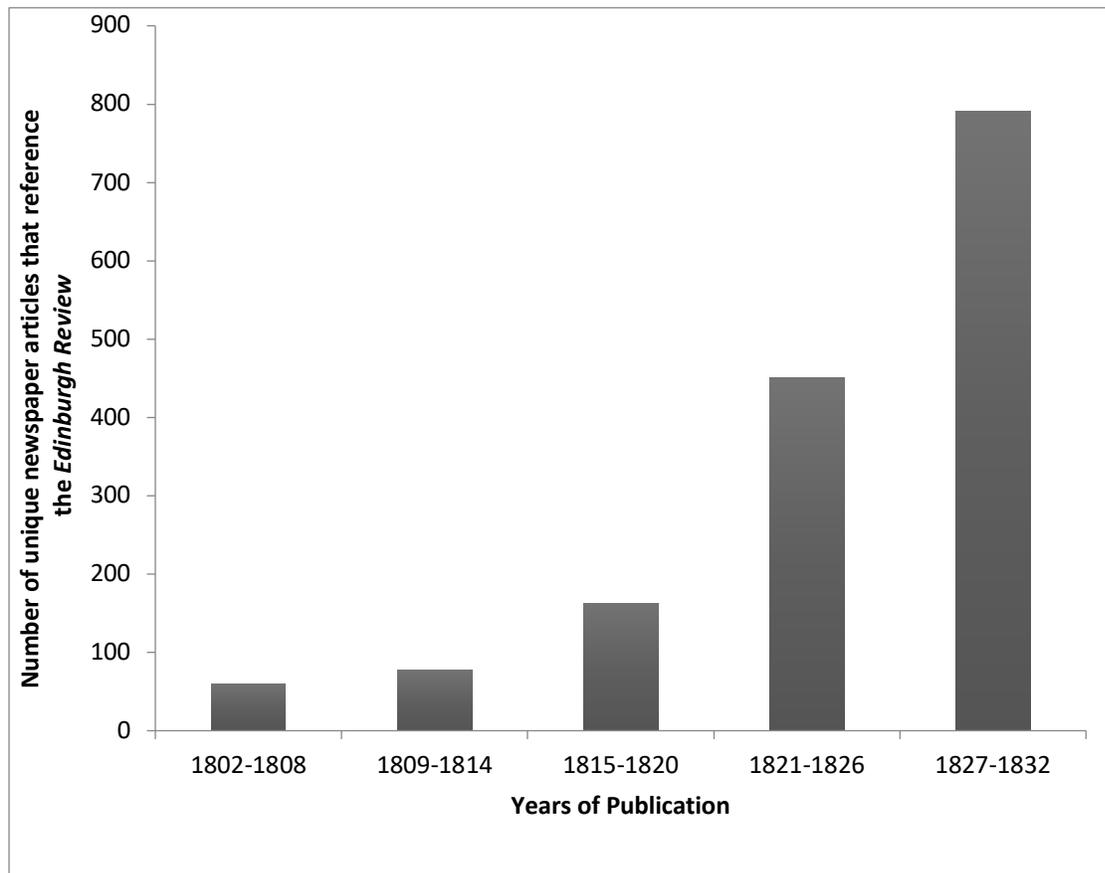
The Collection is formed from the holdings of the Kress Library at Harvard University and Goldsmiths' Library at the University of London. It is a comprehensive collection of almost 12,000,000 pages consisting of about 61,000 printed books, about half published before 1801, and half between 1800 and 1850. Texts are fully digitized and searchable by authors, titles, subject terms, and words appearing in the text. The collection includes literature on agriculture, the colonies, commerce, the Corn Laws/Navigation Acts/mercantilism, finance, treatises on sociology and political science as well as economics, topography, and the theoretical and general aspects of emigration, politics — political theory, population, slavery, social conditions, trades and manufactures, and transport. A full text search for “*Edinburgh Review*” revealed that the journal was being discussed (and cited) extensively in other economic literature such as political pamphlets, books, periodicals, and ‘letters to the editor’ pages, particularly from 1821 onwards. This is a time when many of the debates on redundant population, conditions in Ireland, and assisted emigration occurred, but it was also included the years leading up to Parliamentary Reform (1832) and Poor Laws reform (1834) (see also Appendix IV). Further research is needed to establish the precise nature of these references.



6.1. “*Edinburgh Review*,” 1802-1832 in Goldsmiths’-Kress

(ii) British Library Newspapers:

This collection contains full runs of 48 newspapers specially selected by the British Library to best represent nineteenth century Britain. It includes national and regional newspapers, as well as those from both established country or university towns and the new industrial powerhouses of the manufacturing Midlands, as well as Scotland, Ireland and Wales. Special attention was paid to include newspapers that helped lead particular political or social movements such as Reform, Chartism, and Home Rule. The penny papers aimed at the working and clerical classes are also present in the collection. A full text search for “Edinburgh Review” (which excluded advertisements) revealed that the journal was discussed (and cited) extensively in British newspapers, particularly from 1821 onwards. This is a time when many of the debates on redundant population, conditions in Ireland, and assisted emigration occurred but it was also included the years leading up to Catholic Emancipation (1829), Parliamentary Reform (1832) and Poor Laws reform (1834) (see also Appendix IV). Further research is needed to establish the precise nature of these references.

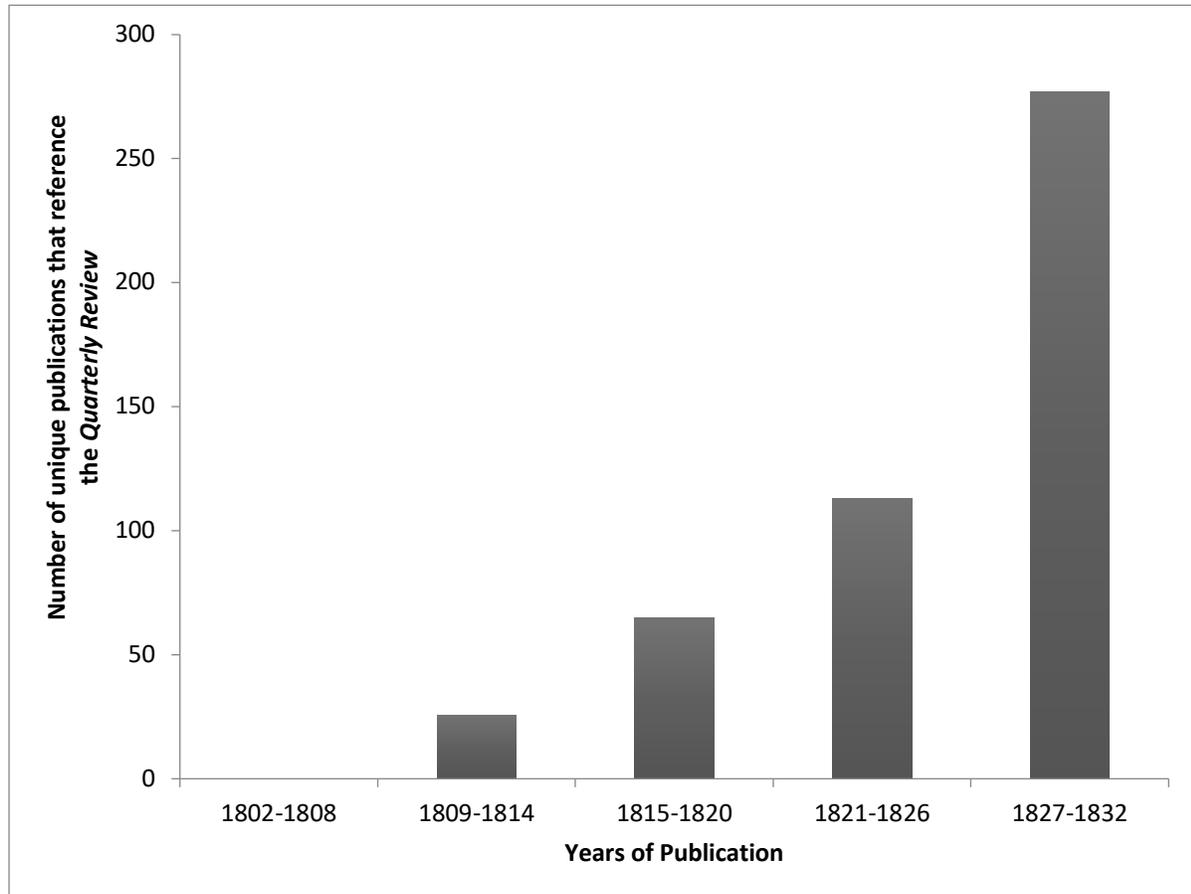


6.2. “Edinburgh Review,” 1802-1832 in British Library Newspapers

APPENDIX II: Extra-Parliamentary References to the *Quarterly Review*, 1809-1832

(i) The Goldsmiths'-Kress Collection of Economic Literature 1450-1850:

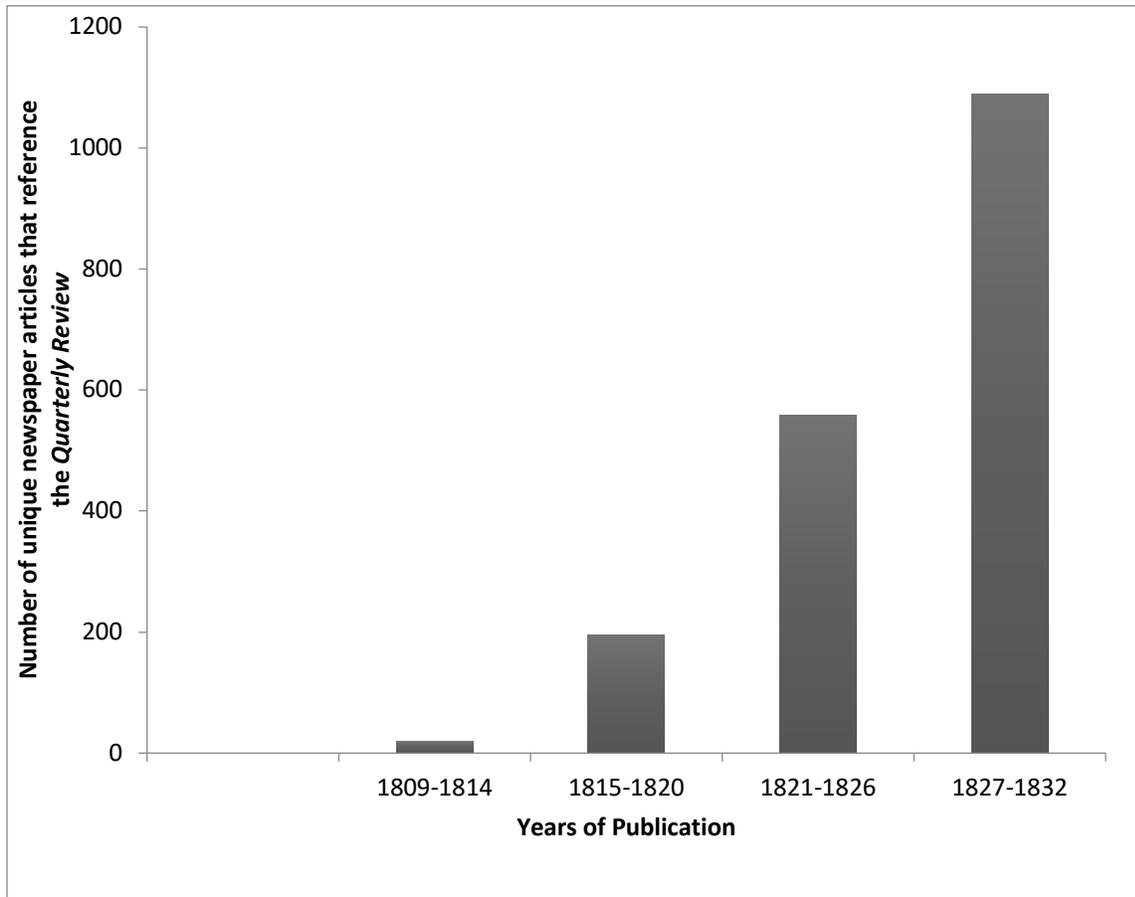
A full text search for “Quarterly Review” revealed that the journal was being discussed (and cited) extensively in other economic literature such as political pamphlets, books, periodicals, and ‘letters to the editor’ pages. This is a time when many of the debates on redundant population, conditions in Ireland, and assisted emigration occurred but it was also included the years leading up to Catholic Emancipation (1829), Parliamentary Reform (1832) and Poor Laws reform (1834) (see also Appendix IV). Further research is needed to establish the precise nature of these references.



6.3. “Quarterly Review,” 1809-1832 in Goldsmiths’-Kress

(ii) British Library Newspapers:

A full text search for “Quarterly Review” (which excluded advertisements) revealed that the journal was discussed (and cited) extensively in British newspapers, particularly from 1821 onwards. Data suggests that there are more references to the *Quarterly* than the *Edinburgh*. This could be explained by a number of factors, including the political leanings of the 48 newspapers that comprise the British Library database. In addition, this is a time when most of the debates on population, scarcity and emigration occurred, but it was also included the years leading up to Catholic Emancipation (1829), Parliamentary Reform (1832) and Poor Laws reform (1834) (see also Appendix IV). Further research is needed to establish the precise nature of these references.

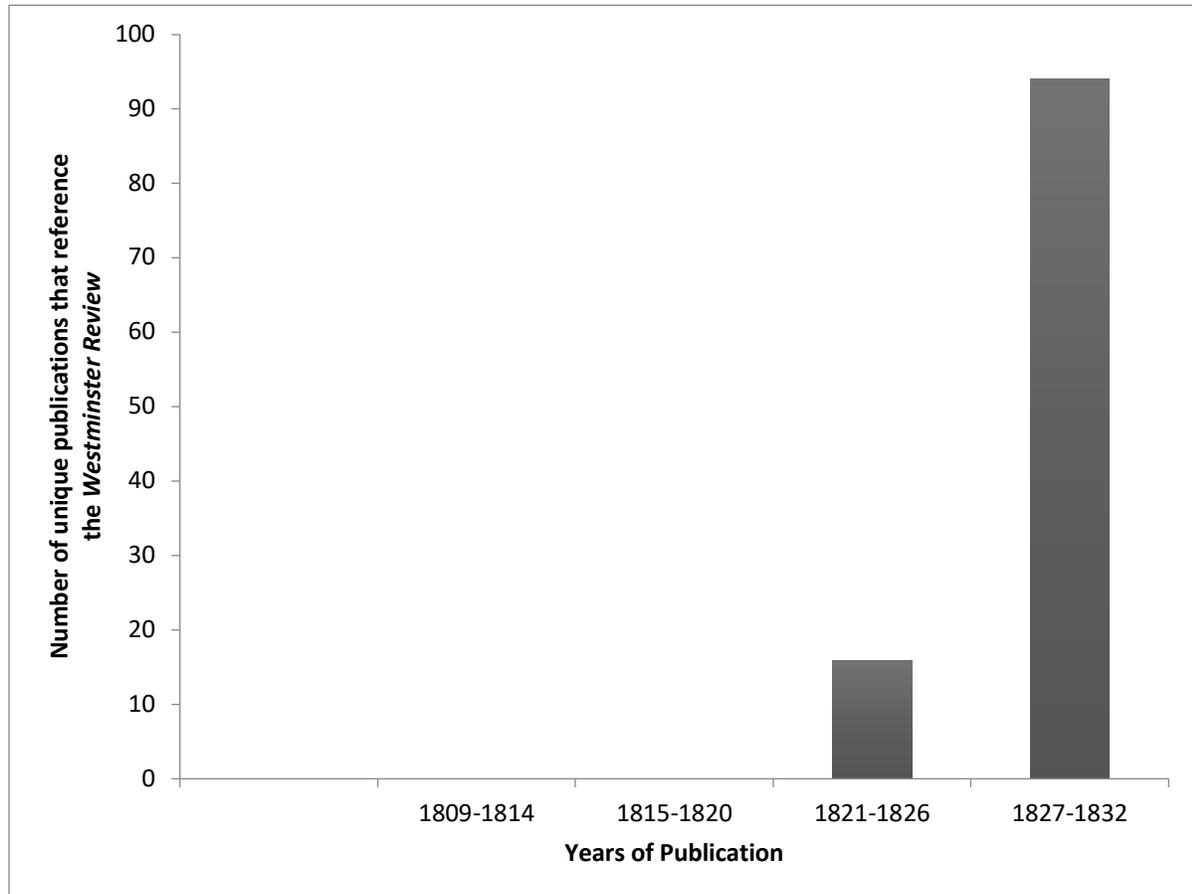


6.4. “Quarterly Review,” 1809-1832 in British Library Newspapers

APPENDIX III: Extra-Parliamentary References to the *Westminster Review*, 1824-1832

(i) The Goldsmiths'-Kress Collection of Economic Literature 1450-1850:

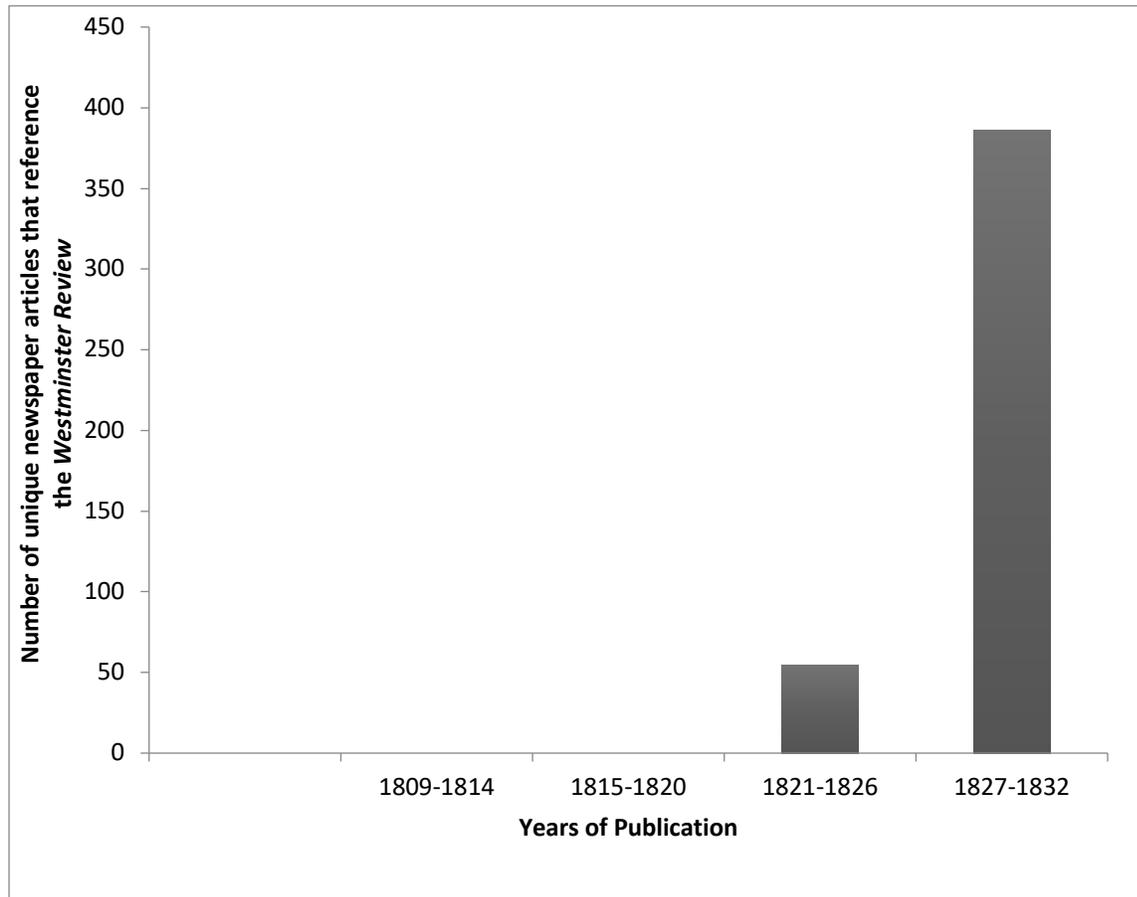
Although it is a latecomer, a full text search for “Westminster Review” revealed that the journal was being discussed (and cited) extensively in other economic literature such as political pamphlets, books, periodicals, and ‘letters to the editor’ pages. This is a time when many of the debates on redundant population, conditions in Ireland, and assisted emigration occurred, but it was also included the years leading up to Catholic Emancipation (1829), Parliamentary Reform (1832) and Poor Laws reform (1834) (see also Appendix IV). Further research is needed to establish the precise nature of these references.



6.5. “Westminster Review,” 1824-1832 in Goldsmiths'-Kress

(ii) British Library Newspapers:

A full text search for “Westminster Review” (which excluded advertisements) revealed that the journal was discussed (and cited) extensively in British newspapers, particularly from 1827 onwards. This is a time when discussion of the Select Committee on Emigration Reports occurred, but it was also included the years leading up to Catholic Emancipation (1829), Parliamentary Reform (1832) and Poor Laws reform (1834) (see also Appendix IV). Further research is needed to establish the precise nature of these references.

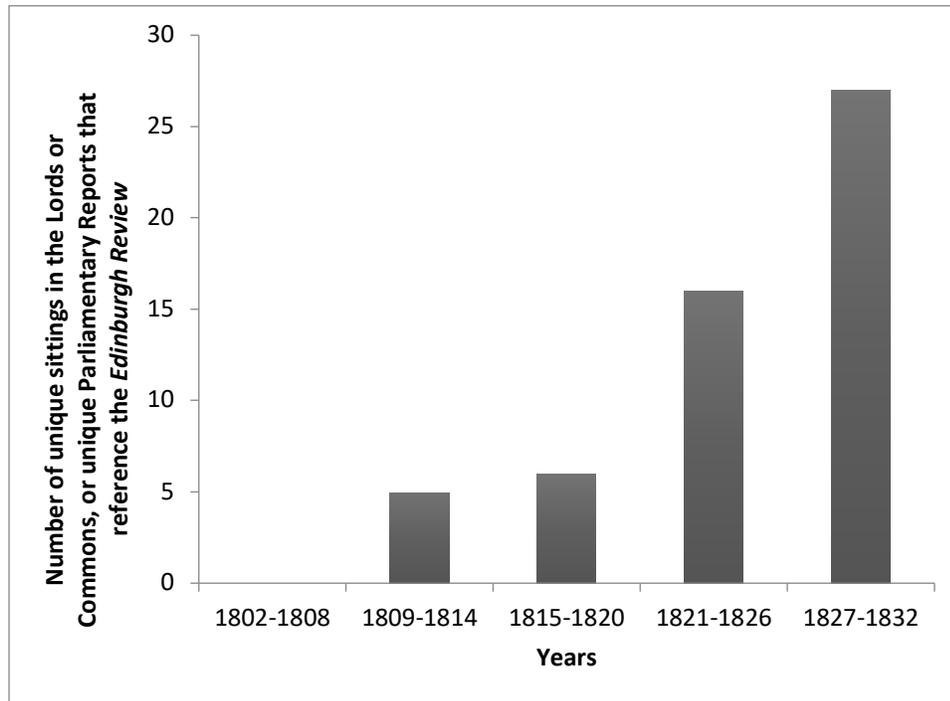


6.6. “Westminster Review,” 1824-1832 in British Library Newspapers

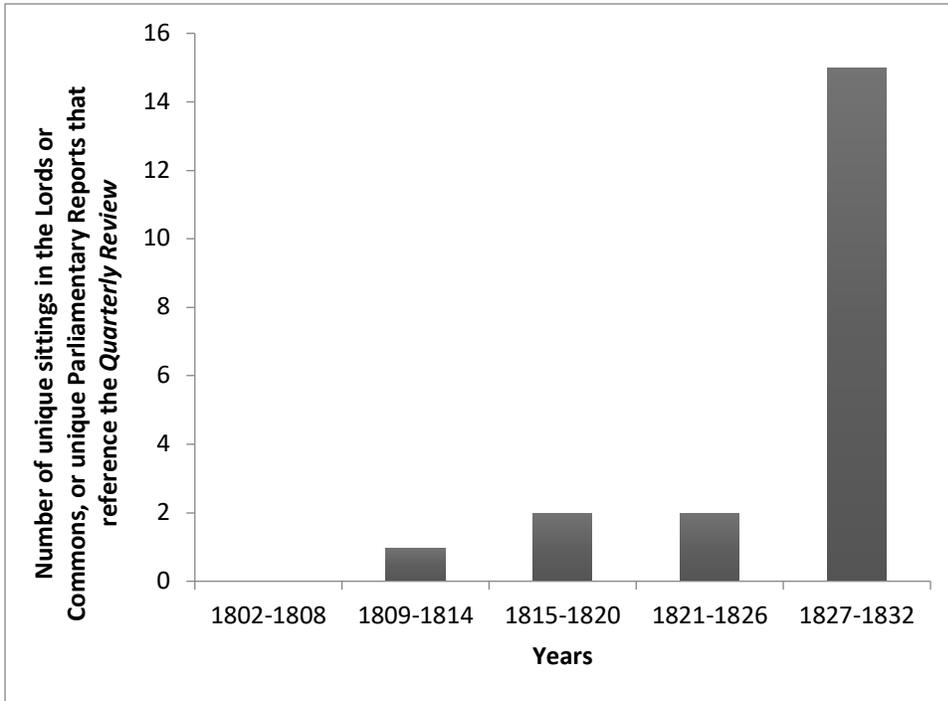
APPENDIX IV: Parliamentary References to the ‘Quarterlies,’ 1802-1832

British House of Commons Parliamentary Papers, 1802-1832

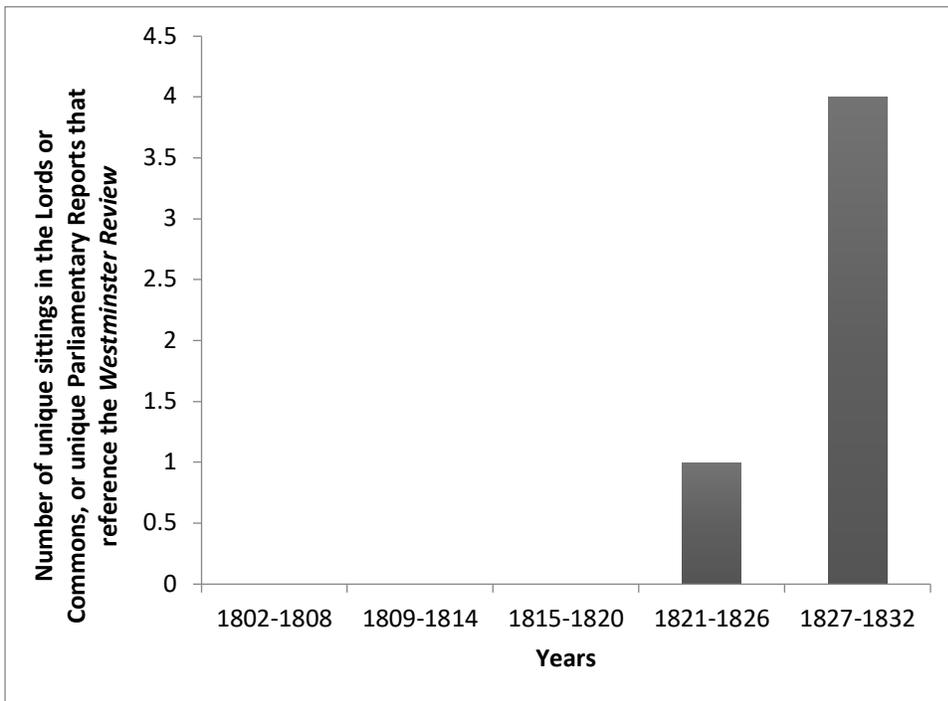
As the working documents of government, the parliamentary papers encompass all areas of social, political, economic and foreign policy, showing how issues were explored and legislation was formed. Major types of documents in the House of Commons papers include: Bills - drafts of legislation, to be reviewed through various parliamentary stages; Reports of Committees - Select or the Whole House; Reports of Commissioners (Commissions appointed by the Crown to investigate social problems, to conduct inquiries into events, and as a preparation for legislation; membership was made up of experts in the field in question, who are not usually MPs); Accounts: statistical information, originating primarily from the Treasury, the Board of Trade and the War Office/Admiralty; and Papers, including such types as correspondence from ambassadors, governors, army officers abroad; commercial, trade and navigation accounts; statistical abstracts: judicial, taxation, etc.; census data; slavery and slave trade documents; and treaties. Full text searches for all three journals reveal that they were regularly cited between 1809 and 1832 in parliamentary papers (but particularly from 1827 onwards) which suggests that the ‘quarterlies’ were not only increasing in status (and readership) but also perhaps in their influence over those in government circles. However, further research is needed to establish the relationship between those citing the articles, what they were citing, when, and why.



6.7. “Edinburgh Review,” 1802-1832 in House of Commons Parliamentary Papers



6.8. “Quarterly Review,” 1809-1832 in House of Commons Parliamentary Papers



6.9. “Westminster Review,” 1824-1832 in House of Commons Parliamentary Papers

APPENDIX V: Significant Select Committee Reports on redundant population, conditions in Ireland, and assisted emigration reviewed by the ‘Quarterlies’ 1802-1832

1815-1820

Report from the Select Committee to Consider the Poor Laws, 1817, 1818, 1819

Report from the Select Committee on the State of Disease, and Condition of Labouring Poor, in Ireland, 1819

Report from the Select Committee on Petitions Presented upon Agricultural Distress, 1820

1821-1826

Report from the Select Committee on Poor Rate Returns, 1823

Report from the Select Committee on Condition of Labouring Poor in Ireland and on Application of Funds for Their Employment, 1823

Report from the Select Committee on the State of Law in United Kingdom Respecting Artisans Leaving Kingdom, and Exportation of Tools and Machinery, and Combination of Workmen to Raise Wages, 1824

Report from the Select Committee to Inquire into Disturbances in Ireland, 1825.

Reports from the Select Committee on Emigration from the United Kingdom, 1826

1827-1832

Third Report from the Select Committee on Emigration from the United Kingdom, 1827

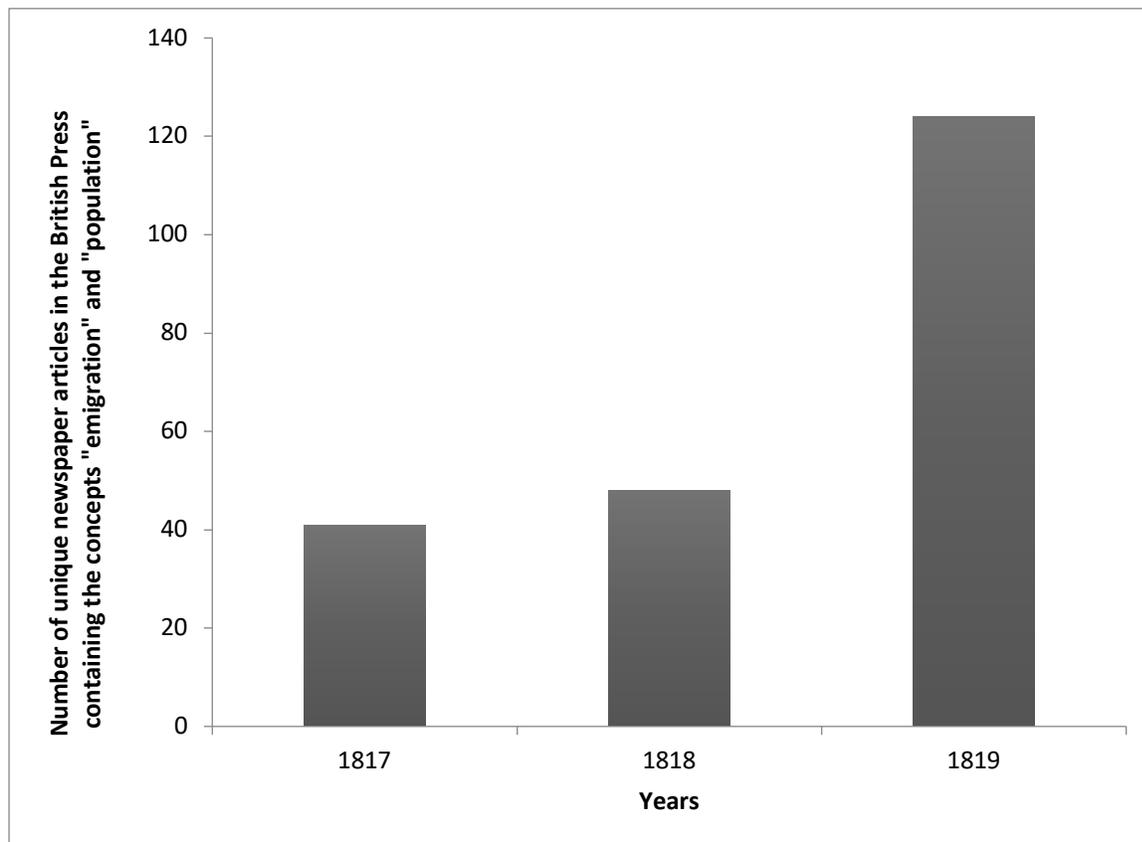
Report from the Select Committee on State of Poor in Ireland, and Means of Improving Their Condition, 1830

Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Poor Laws and Petitions Praying for Relief from Pauperism, 1831.

APPENDIX VI: Connecting Malthusian Concepts of Population with Emigration, 1817-1819

British Library Newspapers:

This collection contains full runs of 48 newspapers specially selected by the British Library to best represent nineteenth century Britain. It includes national and regional newspapers, as well as those from both established country or university towns and the new industrial powerhouses of the manufacturing Midlands, as well as Scotland, Ireland and Wales. A full text search using the term “emigration” between January 1, 1817 and December 31, 1819 brought up 761 results. This figure refers to unique newspaper articles and editorials (not the number of times the word itself was used, which runs into the thousands) and excludes advertisements. Of the 761 articles, 213 (28%) contained the concepts of “emigration” and “population”, a trend which increased over time. Given that it was eight years prior to the widespread coverage of the Select Committee on Emigration and its deliberations that included an examination of Malthus’s population principles vis-à-vis emigration, this statistic is noteworthy.

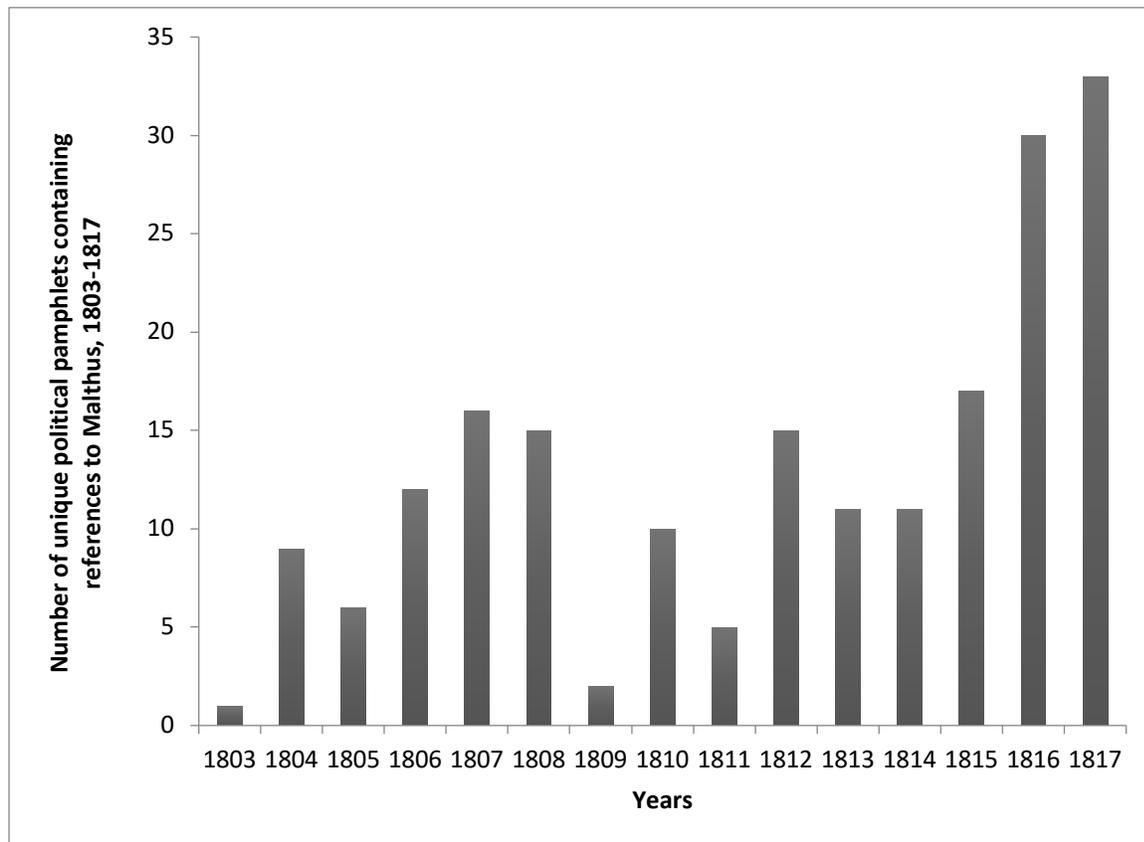


6.10. Connecting Malthusian Concepts of Population with Emigration, 1817-1819

APPENDIX VII: Extra-Parliamentary References to Malthus, 1803-1817

(i) The Goldsmiths'-Kress Collection of Economic Literature 1450-1850:

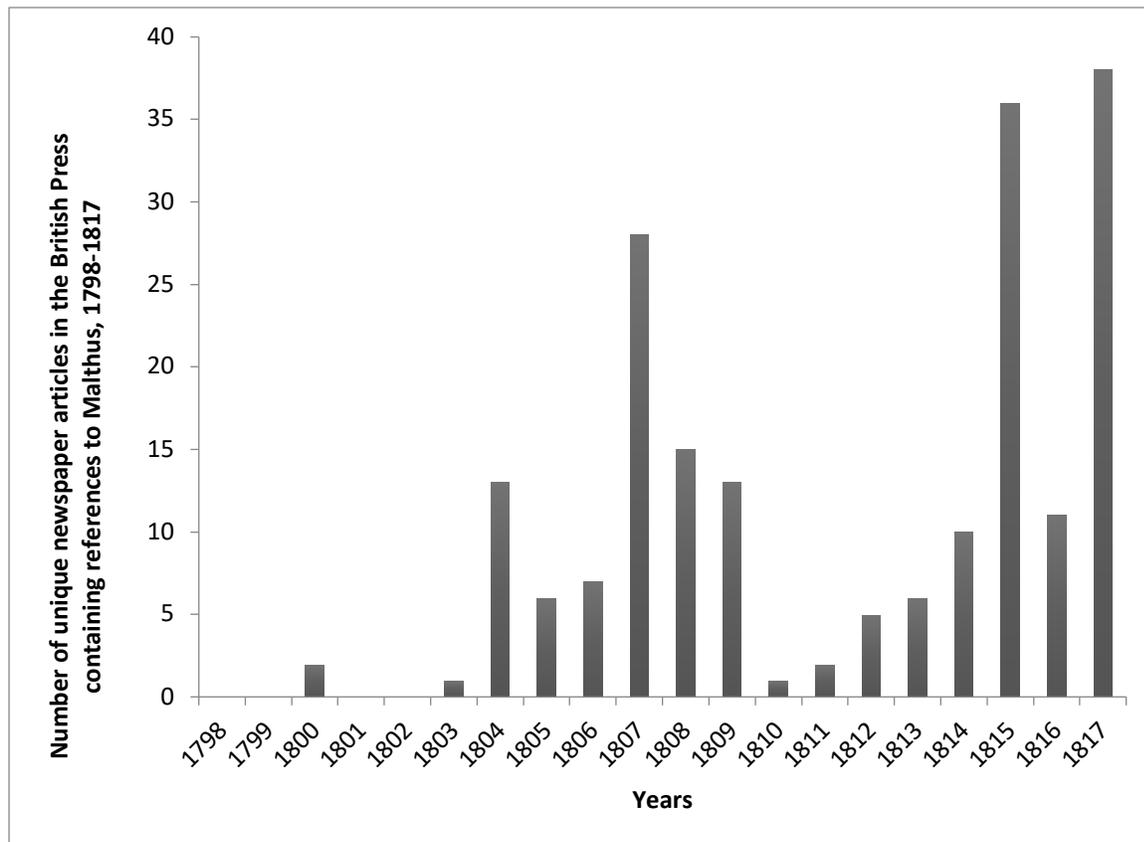
The Collection is formed from the holdings of the Kress Library at Harvard University and Goldsmiths' Library at the University of London. It is a comprehensive collection of almost 12,000,000 pages consisting of about 61,000 printed books, about half published before 1801, and half between 1800 and 1850. Texts are fully digitized and searchable by authors, titles, subject terms, and words appearing in the text. The collection includes literature on agriculture, the colonies, commerce, the Corn Laws/Navigation Acts/mercantilism, finance, treatises on sociology and political science as well as economics, topography, and the theoretical and general aspects of emigration, politics — political theory, population, slavery, social conditions, trades and manufactures, and transport. A full text search using the term “Malthus” between 1803 (publication of the second *Essay**) and 1817 brought up 202 results (I excluded pamphlets that were reprints of any of Malthus’s own works.) The uptake in references after 1815 could be due to an increased awareness of Malthus, an increase in his visibility due to the Corn Laws debates, an update in discussions on population and poverty due to the end of the Napoleonic Wars, an increasing reading public, or some combination of the above. *There were no results prior to 1803, even though the first *Essay* was published in 1798.



6.11. Extra-Parliamentary References to Malthus, 1803-1817 in Goldsmiths'-Kress

(ii) British Library Newspapers:

A full text search of the British Library Newspapers, which includes segments of the working-class press, using the term “Malthus” between 1798 and 1817 bought up 189 results. Spikes occurred in the years 1807, 1815 and 1817, which correlates with an increase in the number of reports covering the Commons debates on the Poor Laws (with Samuel Whitbread and Malthus), the Corn Laws, and the Select Committee to consider the Poor Laws (1817). These trends demonstrate the relatively immediate response to the news of the day by the newspapers, rather than the delayed response of political pamphlets, which took a longer lead time to write, publish, disseminate. Of the 189 results advertisements for Malthus’s work account for half of this number. While these advertisements may have resulted in increased public awareness of Malthus’s work, they do not directly represent a form of dialogue about or interaction with Malthus and his principles.



6.12. Extra-Parliamentary References to Malthus, 1803-1817 in British Library Newspapers

WHO'S WHO IN THE DISSERTATION

Arbuthnot, Harriett (1793-1834): Diarist and close confidante of Arthur Wellesley, first Duke of Wellington.

Bagehot, Walter (1826-74): Essayist, political commentator, economist, and editor of *The Economist*, 1860-74. Member of the Political Economy Club. Nicknamed the “Spare Chancellor.”

Baring, Alexander, first Baron Ashburton (1773-1848): Banker and Whig MP for Callington. Member of the Select Committee on Emigration (1826). Joined Tories in late 1820s over Parliamentary Reform.

Barrow, Sir John, first Baronet (1764-1848): Statesman, second secretary of the Admiralty, and promoter of exploration and emigration. Contributor to the *Quarterly Review*.

Bathurst, Henry, third Earl (1762-1834): Conservative politician and secretary of state for war and the colonies (1812-27). Important member of the Cabinet under Liverpool and Wellington.

Bentham, Jeremy (1748-1832): Philosopher, jurist, and reformer. Political radical and founder of the *Westminster Review*.

Bentinck, William Henry Cavendish, third Duke of Portland (1738-1809): Whig prime minister.

Bentinck, Lord William Henry Cavendish (1774-1839): army officer, diplomat and governor-general of India. Son of the third Duke of Portland. Corresponded with Wellington.

Bourne, William Sturges (1769-1845): Liberal Tory politician and Poor Law reformer. Chair of the Select Committee on the Poor Laws (1818-1819) and sponsor of the Sturges Bourne Acts (1819) to transform the administration of the Poor Laws.

Brougham, Henry Peter, first Baron Brougham and Vaux (1778-1868): Whig politician, lawyer, journalist, and founder of and prolific contributor to the *Edinburgh Review*. Lord Chancellor (1830-1834).

Burke, Edmund (1729/30-1797): Anglo-Irish statesman, Whig politician, orator and author. Supporter of Catholic emancipation. Praised by both conservatives and liberals, and later became regarded as the father of modern conservatism.

Byron, George Gordon Noel, sixth Baron Byron (1788-1824): Poet. Ridiculed by the *Edinburgh Review*.

- Canning**, George (1770-1827): Liberal Tory politician and parodist. Foreign Secretary (1807-09 and 1822-27) and Prime Minister (1827). Founder of and contributor to the *Quarterly Review*.
- Chadwick**, Sir Edwin (1800-1890): Social reformer and civil servant. Contributor to the *Westminster Review* and a member of the Political Economy Club. Played a significant role in the Royal Commission on Poor Law Reform (1832-4).
- Chalmers**, Thomas (1780-1847): Church of Scotland minister, social reformer, and political economist. Contributor to the *Edinburgh Review*.
- Cobbett**, William (1762-1835): Radical politician, journalist and farmer. Editor of *Cobbett's Political Register*. Professed hatred of Malthus and Malthusianism.
- Cockburn**, Henry, Lord Cockburn (1779-1854): Scottish judge and author. Close friend of *Edinburgh Review* editor Francis Jeffrey, and author of *Life of Lord Jeffrey* (1852).
- Coleridge**, Sir John Taylor (1790-1876): Judge. Editor of and contributor to the *Quarterly Review*. Nephew of poet Samuel Taylor Coleridge.
- Coleridge**, Samuel Taylor (1772-1834): Poet, critic and philosopher. Founder of the Romantic Movement in England and a member of the Lake Poets. Changing political views, from radical to conservative.
- Colquhoun**, Patrick (1745-1820): Scottish merchant, London magistrate and social reformer. Founder of the first police force in England (Thames River Police).
- Condorcet**, Jean-Antoine-Nicolas de Caritat Condorcet, Marquis of Condorcet (1743-1794): French Enlightenment thinker and mathematician. Author of *Esquisse d'un Tableau Historique des Progrès de l'esprit Humain*, published posthumously in 1795, after Condorcet's imprisonment by Robespierre and subsequent death. Malthus's first *Essay* was written in response to this work.
- Creevey**, Thomas (1768-1838): Whig and radical politician. Admirer and observer of Arthur Wellesley, first Duke of Wellington.
- Croker**, John Wilson (1780-1857): Tory politician and writer. First secretary of the Admiralty. Prolific contributor to the *Quarterly Review* and close friend of the Duke of Wellington and Robert Peel.
- Dundas**, Henry, first Viscount Melville (1742-1811): Tory politician, secretary of state for war, and Lord Advocate. Pressed Parliament to pass Passenger Act (1803).
- Dundas**, Robert Saunders, second Viscount Melville (1771-1851): Tory politician and only son of Henry Dundas. First Lord of the Admiralty during Wellington's administration.

Edgeworth, Maria (1768-1849): Anglo-Irish novelist and educationist. Work critiqued favorably by the *Edinburgh* and *Quarterly* reviews. Popularizer of political economy.

Ellenborough, Edward Law, first Earl of Ellenborough (1790-1871): Tory politician, President of the Board of Control in Wellington's ministry (1828-1830), and governor general of India (1841-1844).

Ferguson, Adam (1723-1816): Scottish philosopher and historian. Author of *An Essay on the History of Civil Society* (1767).

Fleming, John Willis (1781-1844): Tory MP for Hampshire and South Hampshire.

Franklin, Benjamin (1706-1790): Natural philosopher, writer, and revolutionary politician in America. His *Observations Concerning the Increase of Mankind* (1751) provided Malthus with the basis of his population principle.

Gifford, William (1756-1826): Satirist. Editor of and contributor to the *Quarterly Review*.

Glieg, George Robert (1796-1888): Scottish soldier, military writer, and priest. Companion to Wellington, and author of *Life of Arthur, First Duke of Wellington* (1862). Contributor to many reviews and magazines including *Blackwood's Magazine*.

Goderich, Frederick John Robinson, first Viscount Goderich and first Earl of Ripon (1782-1859): Tory politician, President of the Board of Trade, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Prime Minister for 144 days, prior to Wellington.

Godwin, William (1756-1836): Philosopher and novelist. Malthus's first *Essay* was written in response to Godwin's *Enquiry Concerning Political Justice* (1793). Godwin married author Mary Wollstonecraft (1759-1797) and together they had a daughter Mary (later Mary Shelley).

George IV, King (1762-1830): King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and King of Hanover. Prince Regent from 1811-1820.

Goulburn, Henry (1784-1856): Tory politician and close friend of Wellington. Under-secretary for war and the colonies prior to Robert Wilmot-Horton.

Graham, Sir James (1792-1861): Whig MP for Carlisle, then Conservative politician.

Grahame, James (1790-1842): Scottish historian and critic of Malthus.

Greville, Charles (1794-1865): Political and social diarist. Confidante of Wellington and Peel.

Grey, Charles, 2nd Earl (1764-1845): Whig politician, leader of the Whigs (from 1806) and prime minister (1830-34).

Gurwood, Colonel John (1790-1845): Peninsular War veteran and later editor of Wellington's *Dispatches*.

Hall, Charles (1745-1825): Physician, and critic of Malthus.

Hazlitt, William (1778-1830): Essayist and painter. Critic of Malthus.

Holland, Henry Richard Vassall Fox, 3rd Baron (1773-1840): Whig politician and champion of liberal causes.

Hodges, Thomas Law (1776-1857): Liberal MP and chairman of the West Kent Quarter Sessions. Provided testimony at the Select Committee on Emigration (1826).

Home, Henry, Lord Kames (1696-1782): Judge, writer, and agricultural improver. Author of *the Gentleman Farmer* (1776) and *The Present State of Husbandry in Scotland* (1778).

Horner, Francis (1778-1817): Whig MP. Founder of and contributor to the *Edinburgh Review*.

Horton, Sir Robert John Wilmot, third baronet (1784-1841): Tory politician and colonial governor, and staunch proponent of assisted emigration. Chair of the Select Committee on Emigration (1826-27). Contributor to the *Quarterly Review*. Member of the Political Economy Club (from 1829).

Howick, Henry George Grey, Lord (1802-94): Whig politician, and son of prime minister Charles Grey. Member of the Political Economy Club. Attempted to pass an assisted Emigration Bill with Charles Gordon Lennox in March 1831.

Hume, David (1711-1776): Scottish Enlightenment philosopher and historian. Main works include: *A Treatise on Human Nature* (1739); *Essays, Moral and Political* (1741); and *The History of England* (completed 1762).

Hume, Joseph (1777-1855): Radical and Whig MP. Surgeon and official of the East India Company. Hostile toward assisted emigration schemes. Member of the Political Economy Club.

Huskisson, William (1770-1830): Liberal-Tory politician. The first fatality of the railway age.

Jarrold, Thomas (1770-1853): physician, and critic of Malthus.

Jeffrey, Francis, Lord Jeffrey (1773-1850): Writer and judge. Founder of and contributor to the *Edinburgh Review*.

Lennox, Charles Gordon, fifth Duke of Richmond (1791-1860): Landowner and Tory politician. Sharply critical of his former commander Wellington on Catholic emancipation. Attempted to pass an assisted Emigration Bill with Lord Howick in March 1831.

Liverpool, Robert Banks Jenkinson, 2nd Earl of (1770-1828): Tory prime minister 1812-1827.

Lushington, Stephen (1782-1873): Judge, Whig MP for Ilchester.

Macaulay, Thomas Babington, Baron Macaulay (1800-1859): Historian, politician, essayist, and poet. Prolific contributor to the *Edinburgh Review*.

Mallet, John Lewis (1775-1861): Diarist and founding member of the Political Economy Club.

Malthus, (Thomas) Robert (1766-1834): Political economist, and professor of history and political economy at the East India College, Haileybury. Author of *An Essay on the Principle of Population*. Contributor to the *Edinburgh Review* and *Quarterly Review*. Founding member of the Political Economy Club

Marcet, Jane Haldimand (1769-1858): Writer on science and political economy.

Martineau, Harriet (1802-1876): Writer and journalist. Popularizer of political economy.

McCulloch, John Ramsay (1789-1864): Political economist and prolific contributor to the *Edinburgh Review*. Member of the Political Economy Club.

Mill, James (1773-1836): Political philosopher, historian, and Utilitarian. Founder of and contributor to the *Westminster Review*. Contributor to the *Edinburgh Review*. Founding member of the Political Economy Club.

Mill, John Stuart (1806-73): Philosopher, and official of the East India Company. Liberal MP for Westminster (1865-8). Early member of the National Colonization Society. Contributor to the *Westminster Review* and *Edinburgh Review*. Member of the Political Economy Club.

Montesquieu, Charles-Louis de Secondat, baron de Montesquieu (1689-1755): French political philosopher and judge. Major works include the *Persian Letters* (1721) and *The Spirit of the Laws* (1748).

Murray, John I (1737-1793): Bookseller and publisher.

Murray, John Samuel II (1778-1843): Publisher. First publisher of the *Edinburgh Review*. Founder and publisher of the *Quarterly Review*.

Murray, John III (1808-1892): Publisher. Took over publishing the *Quarterly Review* from his father. Publisher of Charles Darwin's *Origin of Species* (1859).

Napier, Macvey (1776-1847): Journal editor and contributor to the *Edinburgh Review*.

Newenham, Thomas (1762-1831): Writer on Irish political-economic affairs and former MP. Author of *Population of Ireland* (1805) which was reviewed by Malthus in the *Edinburgh*

Review. Recommended the drainage of bogs in *A View of the Natural, Political, and Commercial Circumstances of Ireland* (1809).

Northumberland, Hugh Percy, third Duke of (1785-1847): Tory politician and landowner. Lord Lieutenant of Ireland under Wellington's government (1828-1830).

O'Connell, Daniel (1775-1847): Irish nationalist leader and founder of the Catholic Association. Stood for election in County Clare in 1828 and defeated a Protestant government minister. Brought campaign for Catholic emancipation.

Owen, Robert (1771-1858): Socialist, philanthropist, and author of *A New View of Society* (1813-14). Owner of large textile mill in New Lanark, which became an experiment in socialism, followed by a similar but short-lived project in New Harmony in Indiana.

Paley, William (1743-1805): Theologian and utilitarian moralist. Author of *Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy* (1785).

Palmerston, Henry John Temple, 3rd Viscount (1784-1865): Whig politician. Secretary-at-war (1809-28), Foreign secretary (1830-34, 1835-41).

Parnell, Sir Henry (1776-1842): Irish politician, member of the Political Economy Club. Member of the Select Committee on Emigration (1827). Contributor to the *Edinburgh Review*.

Peel, Sir Robert (1788-1850): Tory politician. Chief Secretary for Ireland (1812-18), Home Secretary (1822-27, 1828-30) and prime minister (1834-35, 1841-46).

Pitt, William [known as Pitt the younger] (1759-1806): Prime minister, son of William Pitt, first Earl of Chatham [known as Pitt the elder].

Place, Francis (1771-1854): Radical and chronicler. Wrote reply to Malthus's *Essay on Population* entitled *Illustrations and Proofs of the Principle of Population* (1822). Supporter of Poor law Amendment Act (1834).

Portland, William: see Bentinck, William Henry Cavendish (1738-1809)

Ricardo, David (1772-1823): Stockbroker and political economist. MP (Independent) for Portarlington (1819-23). Founding member of the Political Economy Club.

Rickman, John (1771-1840): Statistician and civil servant. Conducted the first census of Britain in 1801. Critic of Malthus.

Robinson, Frederick John: see Goderich.

Robinson, Henry Crabb (1775-1867): diarist, contributor to the *Quarterly Review*.

- Robinson, Peter** (1785-1838): Canadian businessman, fur trader and politician. Government agent for assisted emigration schemes to Upper Canada.
- Russell, Lord George William** (1790-1846): army officer, diplomatist, and Whig politician.
- Russell, John** [formerly Lord John Russell], first Earl Russell (1792-1878): Prime minister, and author. Member of the Select Committee on Emigration.
- Sadler, Michael** (1780-1835): Social reformer, Tory politician and political economist. Outspoken critic of Malthus and assisted emigration schemes. Author of *Ireland: its Evils and Remedies* (1828) and *The Law of Population* (1830).
- Scarlett, James**, first Baron Abinger (1769-1844): Judge and conservative MP for Peterborough.
- Scott, Sir Walter** (1771-1832): Poet, novelist and historian. Founder of and contributor to the *Quarterly Review*.
- Scrope, George Julius Poulett** (1797-1876): Geologist, political economist and liberal politician. Contributor to the *Quarterly Review*.
- Selkirk, Thomas, Douglas**, fifth Earl of Selkirk (1771-1820): Colonist and proponent of colonization in North America. Author of *Observations on the Present State of the Highlands of Scotland* (1805).
- Senior, Nassau** (1790-1864): Political economist, and contributor to the *Quarterly Review* and *Edinburgh Review*. Member of the Political Economy Club. Driving force behind the Poor Laws Amendment Act (1834).
- Sinclair, Sir John** (1754-1835): Country gentleman, agricultural innovator, politician, and first president of the Board of Agriculture. Whig MP.
- Smith, Adam** (1723-1790): Moral philosopher and political economist. Two main works: *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759) and *Wealth of Nations* (1776).
- Smith, Sydney** (1771-1845): Author and wit. Founder of and contributor to the *Edinburgh Review*. Member of the Political Economy Club.
- Southey, Robert** (1774-1843): Poet laureate and reviewer. Contributor to the *Quarterly Review*.
- Spring Rice, Thomas**, first Baron Monteagle (1790-1866): Irish country gentleman and Chancellor of the Exchequer. Contributor to the *Edinburgh Review*. Member of the Select Committee on Emigration. Member of the Political Economy Club
- Stewart, Dugald** (1753-1828): Scottish philosopher and university professor. Taught political economy and moral philosophy at the University of Edinburgh. Former students include

Edinburgh reviewers Francis Jeffrey, Henry Brougham, Sydney Smith, and Macvey Napier, and Utilitarian philosopher James Mill.

Sumner, John Bird (1780-1862): Archbishop of Canterbury, contributor to the *Quarterly Review*.

Talleyrand, Charles-Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord, Prince (1754-1838): French foreign minister under the Directory, Napoleon and Louis XVIII. Author of *Essai sur les Avantages à retirer de Colonies Nouvelles dans les Circonstances présentes* (1797), which was reviewed by the *Edinburgh Review*.

Thompson, Thomas Perronet (1783-1869): Philosophic radical MP, governor of Sierra Leone and joint-owner of and contributor to the *Westminster Review* (1829-36).

Tooke, Thomas (1774-1858): Political economist. Founding member of the Political Economy Club.

Torrens, Robert (1780-1864): Whig MP, Colonel of Marines, newspaper proprietor, political economist, and proponent of Australian emigration. Contributor to the *Edinburgh Review*. Founding member of the Political Economy Club.

Vansittart, Nicholas, first baron Bexley (1766-1851): Tory politician and Chancellor of the Exchequer (1812-23).

Villiers, John Charles, third earl of Clarendon (1757-1838): Tory politician. Chosen by Canning to be envoy to Portuguese court, 1808-1810. Established relationship with Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington.

Wakefield, Edward Gibbon (1796-1862): Promoter of colonization. Authored *Letter from Sydney* (1829) and formed the National Colonization Society (1830).

Wellesley, Arthur, first Duke of Wellington (1769-1852): Anglo-Irish army officer, liberal-Tory statesman and prime minister.

Whately, Richard (1787-1869): Church of Ireland archbishop of Dublin and philosopher. Professor of political economy at Oxford (1828-31). Contributor to the *Quarterly Review* and *Edinburgh Review*. No party affiliation but favored Whig views.

Whitbread, Samuel (1764-1815): Radical and Whig politician. Committed suicide in 1815.

William IV, King (1765-1837): King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and King of Hanover. Succeeded his brother George IV in 1830.

Winchilsea, George Finch-Hatton, 10th earl of (1791-1858): Ultra-Tory peer who provoked Wellington into fighting a duel over Catholic emancipation.

Wordsworth, William (1770-1850): Romantic era poet and poet laureate (1843-1850).
Outspoken critic of Malthus.

Wilberforce, William (1759-1833): Politician, philanthropist and slavery abolitionist.

Wilmot-Horton, Sir Robert John: see Horton

Young, Arthur (1741-1820): Agricultural reformer and writer. Author of *A Tour in Ireland* (1780) and *Travels in France* (1793). Founder of and contributor to periodical *Annals in Agriculture*. Secretary of the Board of Agriculture, and preparer of county surveys, *General View of Agriculture*.

Who's Who sources: Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. www.odnb.com; Frank Fetter, *The Economist in Parliament, 1780-1868* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1980), 242-259; Rory Muir, *Wellington: Waterloo and the Fortunes of Peace, 1814-1852* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 588-594.

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India Office Papers

Peel Papers

Derbyshire Record Office

Sir Robert Wilmot-Horton Papers

Wilmot-Horton of Osmaston and Catton Papers

Jesus College, University of Cambridge

Malthus Library

Edinburgh University Library

Francis, Lord Jeffery Papers

The National Archives

Board of Trade

Colonial Office (CO): Land and Emigration Commission; Emigration Incoming Correspondence

Foreign Office

Home Office (HO): Post Office Correspondence; Disturbance Correspondence; Ireland; General

Letter Books; Domestic Outgoing Correspondence; Civic Petitions and Addresses;

Census; Parish Returns; Domestic Incoming Correspondence.

Ministry of Health (MO): Correspondence of the Poor Law Commission

Ministry of Agriculture (MAF): Miscellaneous Statistics; Corn Returns

Privy Council (PC): Miscellaneous papers; Registers 1800-1840; Minutes and associated papers

National Library of Scotland

Francis Jeffery Papers

University of Southampton

Wellington Collection

West Sussex Record Office

Goodwood Papers

II. Newspapers and Periodicals

The Annual Review and History of Literature

The Athenaeum

The Belfast NewsLetter

Chamber's Edinburgh Journal

Cobbett's Evening Post

Cobbett's Weekly Register

Columbia Telescope

The Derby Mercury

The Edinburgh Annual Register

Edinburgh Review

The Edinburgh Monthly Review

The Examiner

The Foreign Review

Fraser's Magazine

The Gentleman's Magazine: And Historical Review

The Imperial Magazine

The Kaleidoscope: Or, Literary and Scientific Mirror

Kentish Chronicle

Liverpool Mercury

The Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction

The Monthly Review or Critical Journal

The Moral Reformer

The Morning Chronicle

The Morning Post and Gazetteer

The Observer

The Pamphleteer

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Westminster Review

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III. Parliamentary Sessional Papers

Report of The Committee of The Board of Agriculture, Appointed to Extract Information from the County Reports and Other Authorities Concerning the Culture and Use of Potatoes. London, 1795.

Report from the Select Committee to Consider the Poor Laws, 1817, 1818, 1819

Report from the Select Committee on the State of Disease, and Condition of Labouring Poor, in Ireland, 1819

Report from the Select Committee on Petitions Presented upon Agricultural Distress, 1820

Report from the Select Committee on Poor Rate Returns, 1823

Report from the Select Committee on Condition of Labouring Poor in Ireland and on Application of Funds for Their Employment, 1823

Report from the Select Committee on the State of Law in United Kingdom Respecting Artisans Leaving Kingdom, and Exportation of Tools and Machinery, and Combination of Workmen to Raise Wages, 1824

Report from the Select Committee to Inquire into Disturbances in Ireland, 1825.

Report from the Select Committee on Emigration from the United Kingdom, 1826, 1827

Third Report from the Select Committee on Emigration from the United Kingdom, 1827

Report from the Select Committee on State of Poor in Ireland, and Means of Improving Their Condition, 1830

Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Poor Laws and Petitions Praying for Relief from Pauperism, 1831.

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Bellow, Robert. *Thoughts and Suggestions on The Means Apparently Necessary to be Adopted by the Legislature, Towards Improving the Condition of the Irish Peasantry*. London: 1808.

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Brougham, Henry. *Inquiry into the Colonial Policy of the European Powers*, 2 vols. Edinburgh, 1803.

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by Caroline Franklin. Bristol: Thoemmes, 2001.
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