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## *The Contributions of Patrick Colquhoun to Social Theory and Social Philosophy\**

PATRICK COLQUHOUN was born in Dumbarton on February 14th, 1745, and was descended by both parents (who bore the same name) from the ancient Scottish family of Colquhoun 'which has intermarried with several of the first nobility in Scotland'.<sup>1</sup> His father was a class-mate of Smollett at the Dumbarton grammar school,<sup>2</sup> and served as local judge and registrar of county records in Dumbartonshire until his death at the early age of forty-four. Biographical details of Colquhoun's early life are remarkably scanty. Little is known of his childhood and adolescence, except that he 'seems to have been an orphan, and not very well off, before he was sixteen years old'.<sup>3</sup> His only formal education was at the local grammar school, where he must certainly have learnt Latin.

At the age of sixteen Colquhoun emigrated to America. During the five years he spent in Virginia he 'occupied some sort of commercial position', and 'finished his own education' with the aid of a 'tolerable library'.<sup>4</sup> It has been suggested that Colquhoun developed a taste for law, political economy, and social science, from his legal acquaintances in the New World, for he was fond of listening to, and joining in, legal conversation with lawyers at Richmond.<sup>5</sup> In 1766, his health impaired, he returned to Scotland.<sup>6</sup>

\* I am indebted to Sir J. F. Rees who read the manuscript and made valuable suggestions.

1. Iatros, 5.

2. The school was then in charge of John Love 'an eminent classical scholar'. Sir Walter Scott ranked Tobias Smollett with Fielding as a novelist (cf. Irving: *Some Account of the Family of Smollett of Bonhill*. Edinburgh. 1859).

3. Bourne. 184.

4. Iatros, 6.

5. loc. cit.

6. In 1775 Colquhoun married a daughter of James Colquhoun, Chief Magistrate of Dumbarton. There were seven children of the marriage, four of whom survived. One of the three daughters married Dr. Yeats ('Iatros'), Colquhoun's biographer. In Colquhoun's letters to Boase and Lettsom, there are hints that after his wife's death in 1810, his domestic life was darkened by illness and bereavement, one of his daughters being ill for nearly a year.

The first phase of Colquhoun's work (1766-1789) comprises the period he spent in Glasgow after his return from America at the age of twenty-one, to establish himself as a successful merchant with a 'large business connection'.<sup>7</sup> He was the founder of the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce and Manufactures, and his activities were those of a 'patriotic merchant' for, besides enriching himself, he spared no pains to stimulate British commercial enterprise.<sup>8</sup> In 1788, he visited Ostend, then a depôt for East India goods, for the purpose of ascertaining the extent to which British manufacturers could compete with continental products, and in the following year journeyed to Flanders and Brabant to publicise the merits of British Muslims. The years 1783-'9 were devoted to working out administrative and legislative measures for relieving the distresses of manufacturers, and promoting the expansion of British industry and overseas trade, and for his efforts on behalf of Northern manufacturers, Colquhoun was rewarded with the title of 'father of Glasgow'.<sup>9</sup> It is characteristic of Colquhoun's indefatigable zeal that when Pitt requested him to prepare an account of the state of the cotton trade, he travelled to Manchester to obtain first-hand information for a minute report.<sup>10</sup> The numerous tracts on commercial subjects which Colquhoun published at his own expense during this period, have disappeared without a trace.<sup>11</sup>

In the year of the French Revolution Colquhoun abandoned the pursuit of commerce 'for some reason unexplained—probably because as a patriotic merchant, he had already made money enough to enable him in future to devote himself, without hindrance, to employments wholly philanthropic and altogether to his taste'.<sup>12</sup> He settled in London until his death in 1820, and it is by his work during this period that he is known to posterity.

In the early nineteenth century, the expression 'Political Economy' covered the entire range of social studies. Colquhoun was not uninterested in 'economics' in the narrow sense, and joined Boase in the Bullion Controversy against what he considered to be fallacious arguments of Huskisson and the 'bullion gentlemen'. 'I have no patience with such theorists', he confessed, when he was urging the issue of bank notes in lieu of gold coin.

7. Irving. 1879. I. 321.

8. Bourne. II. 184. Colquhoun was one of the twelve principal contributors to a local fund for raising a Glasgow regiment for service in the American War of Independence.

9. Cleland. I. 177. Colquhoun was Baillie of the Barony of Gorbals (1778), Lord Provost of Glasgow (1783), and Treasurer (1785).

10. 'A Representation of the Facts Relative to the Rise and Progress of the Cotton Manufactures of Great Britain, with Observations on the Means of Extending and Improving this Valuable Branch of Trade' (1789), listed in Iatros.

11. There are no copies of these early tracts in the British Museum. For list cf. the bibliography in Iatros. Also Espinasse; Irving 1879, I. Ch. XIII.

12. Bourne. II. 187.

He realised that distrust of paper money in times of war and public calamity was a factor to be reckoned with, and suggested that the Bank of England be authorised to give specie for pound notes in order to make the measure palatable in its first stages. No panic need thereafter be anticipated if government took the psychological precaution of removing distrust by guaranteeing to make good deficiencies arising from non-payment of bank notes, and by making these notes legal tender to the fullest extent.<sup>13</sup> 'That the measure will be highly beneficial to the whole nation is to me as clear as any proposition in Euclid, while the impolicy of a new and expensive coinage is equally self-evident'.<sup>14</sup>

Colquhoun's participation in the Bullion Controversy was but a brief interlude in a career devoted to the study of social problems. He felt that the study of these 'less splendid' subjects was of great importance in a period of unprecedented social change.<sup>15</sup> Colquhoun was a sociologist and social philosopher, rather than an 'economist' in the modern sense, for he was interested in the major topics of sociological enquiry, e.g. social morphology, social pathology, and social control.

#### The 'Reception' of Colquhoun

Colquhoun's writings during his London period gained him almost universal commendation from his contemporaries. They earned him the honorary LL.D. of Glasgow University, and brought him in contact with Pitt, Burke, Adam Smith, William Robertson, and other celebrities. His contemporary biographer had no doubt that Colquhoun would live beyond the grave, that 'the lasting beneficial effects of the well-concerted and wisely executed plans of the benevolent political economist for the happiness of his fellow creatures, will be gratefully hailed by millions yet unborn'. And Lettsom, having read Colquhoun's *Treatise on Indigence* twice, 'with renewed gratification and instruction', wrote to the author that it was the best work he had read in the field of political economy on the means of political and moral reform, and ought to be annually read by every statesman, and magistrate, and indeed by all who were interested in the welfare of the community.

13. The effectiveness of such psychological precautions were amply demonstrated during the crisis of the German mark (cf. Bresciani-Turroni: *The Economics of Inflation*. London 1937).

14. cf. the correspondence with Boase, author of *Remarks on the New Doctrine Concerning the Supposed Depreciation of Our Currency* (1801) and *Remarks on the Impolicy of Repealing the Bank Restriction Bill* (1802) for which Colquhoun was full of praise.

15. Colquhoun to Boase, January 22nd, 1803 (British Museum Add. Mss. 29281). We catch glimpses of the unrest of the times in Colquhoun's letters: he mentions, for instance, that the riots of 1795 interrupted his work (cf. his letter to Lettsom, July 24th, 1795. Pettigrew. II. 352. Letter CCIV).

' You have raised to your memory a monument more desirable than marble or bronze, and ennobled your character among the distinguished benefactors of mankind '.<sup>16</sup>

But these eulogies were not echoed in more recent times. If the once celebrated *Treatise on Indigence* is occasionally cited today, it is merely to indicate a viewpoint which seems grossly out of harmony with modern social thought.<sup>17</sup> The 'reception' of Colquhoun by modern scholars took a grotesque turn when he was included in Max Beer's *History of British Socialism* (1929). For although Colquhoun's statistical tables, demonstrating that one-third of the national income went to the 'unproductive classes', were avidly seized by John Gray, who made them the basis of an onslaught against the existing distribution of wealth,<sup>18</sup> Colquhoun's own conception of social structure proceeded from fundamentally different premises.

Surveying the vicissitudes of the 'reception' of Colquhoun during the past century and a half, the extraordinary fact emerges that no comprehensive exposition of Colquhoun's substantive contributions to social theory and social philosophy has ever been made. His work has been panegyricized and misunderstood in turn, but never studied. One reason for this neglect was that Colquhoun was eclipsed by his brilliant contemporaries, particularly by Adam Smith and Bentham. Colquhoun had no academic pretensions. He was a practical administrator, a London Magistrate, who 'eagerly seized every opportunity to investigate the nature and extent of the various moral evils which afflicted society, to enable him with greater certainty to suggest practicable and efficient remedies'.<sup>19</sup> His contributions to social theory were only incidental to his preoccupation with burning social issues. When the *Treatise on the Police of the Metropolis* was first published anonymously in 1796, Colquhoun's primary objective was to give an account of the growing lawlessness which he noted in his official capacity as magistrate. In it he made an urgent appeal to the government and public to establish an adequate police system, and urged that the security of society could be preserved only by the operation of a system of restraints (i.e., preventive laws and punishments). It was only in the sixth edition that Colquhoun inserted a new chapter 'On the System of Punishments Theoretically Considered'—as an afterthought, as it were.

16. Pettigrew. II. Letter CCIX, February 12th, 1807.

17. Laski's *Rise of European Liberalism* (London 1936, p. 209), overlooks Colquhoun's peculiar definition of 'poverty' as the condition of one who is obliged to work for a living (cp. Marshall: *Citizenship and Social Class*, Cambridge. 1950, p. 32).

18. John Gray: *A Lecture on Human Happiness* (London 1825).

19. Iatros. 17.

In the social sciences, a work which is rigorously circumscribed by the contemporary climate of opinion, the propagandist or unimaginative descriptive work, rarely interests posterity. Bentham's polemical tracts are known only to the curious scholar (who hears now-a-days of his tract addressed to the French National Assembly, entitled *Emancipate Your Colonies!*), while his theoretical works have become classics. Had Colquhoun written a detached work on social theory or social philosophy, it would possibly have escaped the oblivion of the string of treatises which were primarily concerned with immediate social problems. These works, like the parallel publications of an earlier London magistrate, Henry Fielding, have not withstood the test of time.<sup>20</sup> They are too practical, too empirical, and like the innumerable social surveys of our own time, soon become obsolete. Fielding left his novels by which he is remembered today, but Colquhoun was too immersed in current events to leave anything other than his essentially topical publications.

### Social Morphology

Like many of his contemporaries, Colquhoun became interested in population problems after a study of Malthus' first *Essay on the Principle of Population* (1798). The events which followed the publication of this celebrated work lent support to the author's arguments.<sup>21</sup> Besides the bad harvest of 1799, increasing unemployment, and working class unrest which was heightened by a shortage of grain and the high price of provisions, Colquhoun presented statistics which clearly demonstrated that the population of England was increasing rapidly—from 6,523,000 in 1700, to 10,817,000 in 1801, and 12,353,000 in 1811. He went on to explain, however, that what was important was not absolute numbers, but the ratio of population and accessible food:<sup>22</sup>

'The principles of population appear as yet to be imperfectly understood. The general impression that the riches of a state depends on the number of its people, can only apply to that state of society, where individuals of every class able to work, can find full and profitable employment, enabling them to maintain themselves and their families. Where such

20. e.g., Fielding: *An Enquiry into the Causes of the Late Increase of Robbers* (1751); *A Serious Address to the People of Great Britain, in which certain consequences of the present Rebellion are fully demonstrated* (1745) etc.

21. Malthus was in fact induced to publish a second edition of the work 'as applied to present conditions' in the form of a tract entitled *An Investigation of the Cause of the Present High Price of Provisions, by the Author of the Essay on the Principle of Population*. (2nd ed. London: J. Johnson. 1800).

22. Colquhoun pointed out that the alarms which Malthus' work excited in the minds of men of acknowledged learning were due to a mistaken impression that Malthus favoured a depopulating system, and quotes the following passage from the *Essay* to correct this impression: 'That an increase of population when it follows its natural order is not only a positive good in itself, and absolutely necessary in the further increase of the annual produce of the land and labour of the country—he shall be the last to deny'.

employment does not exist, the redundant population becomes a great calamity; since the surplus places a heavy burthen on the capital of the country, and on the labour and industry of those that are employed, diminishing the resources, and sapping the foundation of the state'.<sup>23</sup>

'Generally speaking, whatever is the rate of increase in the *means of subsistence* so will be the legitimate increase of the population. The one is limited by the other. All the children born beyond what would be necessary to keep up the population to this level can find relief only in emigration. Otherwise, great disasters will ensue, while the support of the surplus population must fall upon the most opulent classes of society for the purpose of maintaining in idleness a portion of the community for whose labour there is no demand, and where without such support they must starve, or become noxious to the public by acts of criminal delinquency'.<sup>24</sup>

Colquhoun concluded that the primary objective of state policy should be to 'preserve the *equilibrium in the parent state between the demand and supply of labour*, so as to keep every person able to work in full employment both at home and abroad'.<sup>25</sup> If all able-bodied persons were industrious and virtuous, and could find employment, an extended population was a blessing. But this was far from being the case: industrial unemployment was assuming major dimensions in the period following the Napoleonic Wars, and discharged soldiers and seamen were joining the ranks of the unemployed (according to the Parliamentary Pauper Return of 1803, 500,000 able-bodied persons in 'the middle stages of life' were unemployed, and forced to depend on parish relief). Meanwhile the annual increase of population was 200,000, or one million in every five years.<sup>26</sup>

Colquhoun exposed the popular fallacy that machinery creates unemployment. 'Our Machinery, next to Agriculture, is the stamina and glory of the nation'; its endless ramifications opened new channels of employment and augmented wealth. He agreed with Malthus that the pressure of an increasing population on accessible food which had become a serious problem in the seven-teen-nineties was not due to 'artificial', but to 'natural' factors.<sup>27</sup> In his

23. *Considerations on the Means of Affording Profitable Employment* . . . (p.36).

24. *British Empire* 4.

25. *Considerations on the Means of Affording Profitable Employment* . . . (p. 22.)

26. Ibid. p. 12. cp. Adam Smith: *Wealth of Nations*, p. 70: 'In Great Britain, and most other European countries they (the inhabitants) are not supposed to double in less than five hundred years'.

27. Malthus: *An Investigation of the Cause* . . . (1800), concluded that it was unavailing to blame monopolists for forestalling. 'To suppose that a year of scarcity can pass without distressing severely a large part of the inhabitants of a country, is to suppose a contradiction in the nature of things'.

early tracts Colquhoun's only solution was to urge the poorer classes to exercise the utmost economy in their preparation and consumption of food, for 'a degree of improvidence, and want of economy beyond what it is possible to believe, almost universally pervades this useful class of the community'.<sup>28</sup>

In a series of tracts published in the 1790's, Colquhoun proposed the establishment of soup-kitchens for the poor—a plan which had the blessing of Malthus, Lettsom, and others. After the success of the first 'Meat and Soup Charity', Colquhoun, at the request of the Lords of the Privy Council, drew up suggestions for establishing similar institutions elsewhere.<sup>29</sup> Unperturbed by popular agitation for food, Colquhoun calmly explained to the 'lower orders' that there was no cause for alarm, 'much less for a spirit of discontent manifested in popular meetings', for things were not so bad in England as in France and other countries of Europe, where bread was not to be had for any amount of money.<sup>30</sup>

The progressive increase of urban population was another problem to which Colquhoun directed his attention. He discovered that the rural population was diminishing while population was concentrating in urban areas, and considered that the density of urban population was higher in Great Britain than

28. *An Account of A Meat and Soup Charity* . . . (1797) pp. 7, 10.

29. Gray: *A History of English Philanthropy* (London 1905, pp. 281-2). A Committee at Lloyd's Coffee House resolved to establish the first Meat and Soup Charity in 1797. Two soups were prepared from Colquhoun's recipes: Leg of Beef Soup and Pease Soup. Twenty cooks were employed and the establishment fed over 10,000 persons a week. A small charge was levied because the poor were apt to undervalue anything they received *gratis*. (cf. *An Account of a Meat and Soup Charity*. Also *An Account of the Economy of an Institution Established in Spitalfields, London, for the Purpose of Supplying the Poor with Good Meat Soup at one Penny a Quart*. (1799). Colquhoun argued that bacon at 9d to 10d per lb. and meat tended to whet the appetite without satisfying it 'and the consequence is that recourse must be had to the ale-house for one or more pots of porter to *fill up*, which, after all, does not answer the purpose'. Soup would leave no craving for porter and would effect a saving of over £10 per year which could be more usefully spent on clothes, children's education, etc. (*Useful Suggestions* . . . 1795). There was a certain hypocrisy in some of Colquhoun's schemes of relief for the poor and he confessed in a private letter that 'Such is the perverseness of habit, custom, and prejudice, that I *durst* not and could not recommend any mode of living which I have recommended, unless I stated it as an advantage which the rich enjoyed' (Letter CCIV to Lettsom, in Pettigrew II). The reference is to a statement in his tract *Useful Suggestions* that 'there is not a single article of diet recommended to the labouring people which the children of the higher ranks do not generally use and prefer'.

30. *Useful Suggestions* . . . 17.

in any other country, the town population being less than the rural population by only 1,095,199. In short, nearly half the population lived in towns. Colquhoun explained that these metropolitan agglomerations were distributed in zones, the labouring people being confined to slum zones in certain parishes, business men living in the mercantile zone, families of rank and fortune in the wealthy parishes, while the middle classes were diffused over every part of the metropolis. London, for instance, contained one million inhabitants whom Colquhoun divided into four classes, distributed as follows :

1. ' Families of rank and fortune who reside almost wholly in the Western parishes.
2. ' Merchants, bankers, and others engaged in commercial pursuits who live chiefly in what is called the City, or that district of the Metropolis which is under the jurisdiction of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen.
3. ' The middle ranks of the people, who are engaged in various pursuits for support, and who are diffused over every part of the Metropolis.
4. ' The lower ranks, composed of labourers and journeymen manufacturers, who reside chiefly in that large and populous district in the Eastern part of the town which is usually called the Tower Hamlets, including St. Giles's, Clerkenwell, and St. Luke's, Middlesex, on the North, and Southwark on the South'.<sup>31</sup>

Colquhoun found that poverty and delinquency were greatest in the Eastern parishes.<sup>32</sup> The burden of parish rates, according to the existing system, was borne by working class people residing in these overcrowded areas. Colquhoun suggested an equal distribution of parish rates on the ground that the nation was a large family, and that the opulent classes who had 'surplus labour' in store were bound to support and assist their indigent brethren.<sup>33</sup>

Colquhoun's analysis of social stratification gave rise to a scheme of the 'gradation of society' which was extremely complicated in its details. Convinced of the importance of the study of social structure and the distribution of national income amongst the various social classes, he compiled the following abstract of social stratification which he considered 'will convey to the mind a more accurate conception of the state of society, in the United Kingdom, than could be obtained by lengthened and laborious details'.<sup>34</sup> The criteria

of precedence in the social hierarchy appear to be income and 'social distance' or prestige :

	<i>Heads of Families</i>	<i>Total Persons comprising Families</i>
1. Highest Orders. The Royal Family, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, the Great Officers of State, and all above the degree of a Baronet, with their families .. .. .	576	2,880
2. Baronets, Knights, Country Gentlemen, and others having large incomes, with their families .. .. .	46,861	234,305
3. Dignified Clergy, Persons holding considerable employments in the State, elevated situations in the law, eminent practitioners in Physic, considerable Merchants, manufacturers upon a large scale, and bankers of the first order, with their families .. .. .	12,200	61,000
4. Persons holding inferior situations in Church and State, respectable clergymen of different persuasions, practitioners in Law and Physic, Teachers of youth of the superior order, respectable freeholders, shipowners, merchants and manufacturers of the second class, warehousemen and respectable shopkeepers, artists, respectable builders, mechanics, and persons living on moderate incomes, with their families ..	233,650	1,168,250
5. Lesser freeholders, shopkeepers of the second order, innkeepers, publicans and persons engaged in miscellaneous occupations, or living on a moderate income, with their families ..	564,799	2,798,475
6. Working mechanics, Artisans, Handicraftsmen; Agricultural labourers, and others, who subsist by labour in various employments, with their families .. .. .	2,126,095	8,792,800
7. or lowest class. Paupers and their families. Vagrants, gipsies, rogues, vagabonds, and idle and disorderly persons, supported by criminal delinquency .. .. .	387,100	1,828,170
	3,501,781	17,096,803
Army and Navy ..	130,500	931,000
	<u>3,632,281</u>	<u>18,027,803*</u>

Having thus graded society, Colquhoun suggests that 'it becomes a matter of interesting inquiry, by what proportion of the community at large these different classes are maintained'.<sup>35</sup> This, the most noticed section of the

\*The population of England and Wales in 1811-1821 was 10,164,000 (T. H. Marshall: The population of England and Wales from the Industrial Revolution to the World War. *Economic History Review*, V/2. 1935). The first Irish Census of 1821 gave the population of Ireland as 6,801,827 (K. H. Connell: The Population of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century, *ibid.* XVI/2, 1946). Colquhoun gave the following statistics for England, Scotland and Wales in 1811 (*British Empire*; p. 43): England, 9,538,827; Scotland, 1,805,688; Wales, 611,788: Total 11,956,303, which makes the Irish population nearly 6 million.

35. *British Empire*, 102.

31. *An Account of a Meat and Soup Charity* . . .  
 32. *Treatise on the River Police*. 261-2.  
 33. *Ibid.*, 37-38.  
 34. *British Empire* (1815) 108. cf. Appendix for the detailed 'General View of Society'.

*Treatise on the British Empire*, is based on a careful study of authoritative records. It has been suggested that Colquhoun's data is inadequate,<sup>36</sup> but it cannot be denied that he made the most of available official statistics. He was well aware that his figures were only approximations and that his was a pioneering inquiry in political arithmetic<sup>37</sup> (i.e. 'the practice of reasoning by figures on matters relating to government'). Indeed, his treatise proved to be 'the book of revelation after which the nation thirsted'.<sup>38</sup>

Colquhoun's dichotomy of society into productive and unproductive classes is fundamental to his exposition. The distinction derives from Adam Smith, who in turn adopted it from the Physiocrats:<sup>39</sup>

'There is one sort of labour which adds to the value of the subject upon which it is bestowed: there is another which has no such effect. The former, as it produces a value, may be called productive; the latter, unproductive labour. Thus the labour of a manufacturer adds, generally, to the value of the materials which he works upon, that of his own maintenance, and of his master's profit. The labour of a menial servant on the contrary, adds to the value of nothing. Though the manufacturer has his wages advanced to him by his master, he, in reality, costs him no expence, the value of those wages being generally restored, together with a profit, in the improved value of the subject upon which his labour is bestowed. But the maintenance of a menial servant never is restored. A man grows rich by employing a multitude of manufacturers: he grows poor, by maintaining a multitude of menial servants. The labour of the latter however, has its value, and deserves its reward as well as that of the former'.<sup>40</sup>

Cannan, in his edition of the *Wealth of Nations*, while admitting that Adam Smith's conception of national wealth as an annual produce was of immense value in the history of economic theory, contends that the Smithian

36. cf. Giffen: *The Growth of Capital*, p. 101 et seq.

37. 'The attempt is bold, and the task is arduous. It is a ground that has not been heretofore at least systematically trod; while in the nature of things accuracy to a point in so extensive and complicated a range (i.e. the total value of property) is impracticable' (*British Empire*, 50).

38. Max Beer, I. 196. 'In these days... the science of political economy and statistical knowledge occupies the attention of the more enlightened classes of society in a much greater degree than at any former period' (*British Empire*, 117).

39. cf. the *Tableau Economique* of Mirabeau in Gray: *The Development of Economic Doctrine* (London 1931) facing p. 106. It may be fairly said that an inchoate 'labour theory of value' was suggested in the writings of the Physiocrats.

40. *Wealth of Nations* (Cannan's ed. in Modern Library, p. 314). In an editorial footnote Cannan contentiously argues that a man may grow poor by employing people to make 'particular subjects or vendible commodities' for his own use, while an innkeeper may grow rich by employing menial servants. It is not Smith who has gone wrong, but Cannan who mistakes the Smithian usage of the term 'menial'. According to the Oxford English Dictionary, Adam Smith used the expression 'menial servant' in the above passage in the sense of a *domestic* servant and not in the wider sense of *any* service of employment. Hence Adam Smith was evidently referring to 'manufacturers' (obviously employed in connection with industry) as 'productive', while 'menial' (domestic) servants were 'unproductive'. The innkeeper's employees are not 'menials' in the Smithian sense.

conceptions of capital and unproductive labour, though of historical interest, were fundamentally unsound, and were never so universally accepted as is commonly supposed'. However unsound the distinction between productive and unproductive labour may be, the bifurcation was employed by Colquhoun, and through him by the early socialists John Gray and J. F. Bray. Robert Owen used Colquhoun's *British Empire*, and impressed the sons of George III with a set of eight cubes he had constructed as visual aids to illustrate Colquhoun's table exhibiting a General View of Society (cf. Appendix)—'the working classes being represented at the base by a cube of 3 5/16 inches a side, whilst the apex was formed by a cube, representing the Royal Family, the Lords spiritual and temporal, whose side measured only three-sixteenths of an inch'.<sup>41</sup>

In Colquhoun's writings the Smithian 'annual produce' was renamed 'new property', and was contrasted to fixed capital. Following Adam Smith, Colquhoun argued that industry and parsimony, by increasing the quantum of this 'new property', created employment for 'productive' hands. But whereas Adam Smith regarded the docile labourer as an inert instrument in the accomplishment of his master's economic ends<sup>42</sup> (although in pursuing his selfish interest the master unwittingly furthered that of the slave), the mental climate of the early nineteenth century led Colquhoun to modify the Smithian conception of 'productive labour'.

The French Revolution intervened between Colquhoun's latter works and the *Wealth of Nations*. The early nineteenth century was the age of Steam and Democracy.<sup>43</sup> The contrast with the previous century, of which the *Wealth of Nations* was a product, is of profound interest and significance since Colquhoun's theory of society, in its essentials, was but an adaptation of Smithian conceptions to a changed social environment.<sup>44</sup> The industrial revolution transformed the relation of capital and labour: the worker was now the accessory of capital.<sup>45</sup> Steam power was accompanied by the mechanization of industry. And the working class unrest which marked the decades following the French Revolution proved to be the birth-pains of Democracy. The liberals of 1760 saw nothing of the class struggles about which the socialists of 1860 theorized. Colquhoun, living in the intermediate period, repeatedly forewarned his contemporaries of these struggles. But since Steam and Democracy belong to an age of hope,<sup>46</sup> he considered that 'a new era may be

41. Frank Podmore: *Robert Owen* (London: 1906) pp. 255-6.

42. The working classes, if pitied, were never idealized by Adam Smith who made it clear that in civilized countries the division of labour made them 'as stupid and ignorant as it is possible for a human creature to become' (*Wealth of Nations*, p. 734).

43. Whitehead: *Adventures of Ideas* (Cambridge: 1933) p. 7.

44. But Colquhoun never acknowledged the source of his fundamental concepts.

45. Stark: *The History of Economics* (London: 1944) 32.

46. Whitehead loc. cit.

said to be commencing in the world, arising out of the disorganized wreck produced by the unexampled mischiefs of the French Revolution'.<sup>47</sup>

Labour had begun to rear its head; its voice could no longer be disregarded. Adam Smith's 'sympathy' for labour was born of a recognition of its powerlessness, for 'many workmen could not subsist a week, few could subsist a month, and scarce any a year without employment'. Against the superior strength of the 'capitalist', labour was a truculent but impotent mass. The tumultuous meetings of workers invariably came to nought:

'The workmen, accordingly, very seldom derive any advantage from the violence of these tumultuous combinations, which, partly from the interposition of the civil magistrate, partly from the superior steadiness of the masters, partly from the necessity which the greater part of the workmen are under of submitting for the sake of the present subsistence, generally end in nothing, but the punishment or ruin of the ring-leaders'.<sup>48</sup>

If Adam Smith's personal sympathies were not always with the master, 'the strain of partisanship' with labour which some expositors detect in his work,<sup>49</sup> was one of pity for an impotent and ignorant mass, rather than one of respect or fear of a powerful and intelligent class. He betrayed his 'sympathies' when, writing of the farmer, he explained that 'not only his labouring servants, but his labouring cattle, are productive labourers'.<sup>50</sup> 'In the long run the workman may be as necessary to his master as his master is to him, but the necessity is not so immediate'.<sup>51</sup> For Colquhoun the necessity was certainly immediate. Labourers could no longer be regarded as depersonalized 'hands' at the beck and call of their 'master'.

The new climate of opinion is epitomised in Colquhoun's statement that 'it is by labour alone that all classes of the community subsist'.<sup>52</sup> Whereas Adam Smith pitied the 'disagreeably rigorous and unsocial morals' of the labouring classes, 'that melancholy and gloomy humour which is almost always the nurse of popular superstition and enthusiasm', and suggested that science, philosophy, painting, poetry, music and dancing might dissipate that melancholy,<sup>53</sup> Colquhoun was alarmed that 'the peace of society shall on every specious pretence be disturbed by the licentious clamours or turbulent effusions arising from the ill-regulated passions of vulgar life'.<sup>54</sup> The working classes had to be cajoled into docility and temperate habits, for the moral austerity which Adam Smith attributed to them was giving way to rebelliousness, levity and

47. *British Empire*.

48. *Wealth of Nations*, 66-7.

49. e.g. E. Ginzburg: *The House of Adam Smith* (New York: 1934).

50. *Wealth of Nations*, 344.

51. *ibid.*, 65.

52. *Treatise on Indigence* 277.

53. *Wealth of Nations*, p. 748 cp. Sydney Smith: 'What a pity it is that we have no amusements in England but vice and religion!'

54. *Treatise on the Police* 1796, p. 7.

profligacy. It is significant that Colquhoun urged the upper classes to set a moral example to the poor.<sup>55</sup> He feared that the moral and religious restraints which controlled the passions of the lower order would be eradicated by irreligion, revolutionary sentiment, drunkenness and levity.

Clearly the dichotomy into productive and unproductive classes, which is fundamental to Colquhoun's theory of society, is arbitrary and indefinite. In a technologically primitive society it is easier to draw the line than in an industrial society in which the 'roundaboutness' of production has increased *pari passu* with the division of labour. In primitive economies, the agriculturist and hunter are obviously 'productive' since between them they satisfy the material needs of their society. On the other hand, the magician and witch-doctor, the aged and infirm, are 'unproductive' in the sense that they create no 'new property' or capital. It is true that the magician may be called upon to produce rain in order to avert famine, but his function is not that of a primary producer, and he subsists on the material produce of the able-bodied hunter and agriculturist. Colquhoun's attempt to bifurcate industrial society into a productive class whose labour increased the national income, and a 'diminishing class' which produced no 'new property', necessitated some rough-and-ready definition of the activities which were 'productive'. Accordingly, he enumerated the chief sources of national income—manufactures, agriculture and mines, fisheries, trade, commerce, banks, and navigation.<sup>56</sup> His estimate of the 'new property' created annually by the productive classes was as follows:<sup>57</sup>

Agriculture	..	..	..	..	£ 216,817,624
Mines	..	..	..	..	„ 9,000,000
Manufactures	..	..	..	..	„ 114,230,000
Inland trade	..	..	..	..	„ 31,500,000
Foreign Commerce and Shipping	..	..	..	..	„ 46,373,748
Coasting trade	..	..	..	..	„ 2,000,000
Fisheries	..	..	..	..	„ 2,100,000
Banks	..	..	..	..	„ 3,500,000
Foreign Income	..	..	..	..	„ 5,000,000
					£ 430,521,372

55. And they did. For 'the French Revolution had another effect on the upper classes, for it seemed to many a warning against irreligion and the frivolous life. The red skies of Paris sobered the English Sunday and filled the English churches. The Annual Register for 1798 remarks, "It is a wonder to the lower orders, throughout all parts of England, to see the avenues to the churches filled with carriages!"'. (J. L. and B. Hammond: *The Town Labourer*, 1760—1832. London 1925 ed. Also Kiernan: *Evangelicalism and the French Revolution. Past and Present* I, 1952).

56. *British Empire*, Adam Smith considered only agriculture, manufactures, and foreign trade.

57. *British Empire*, 89. Giffen considered that Colquhoun had greatly over-estimated the value of agricultural produce. This is perhaps due to the persistence of the Smithian notion that agricultural capital resides within the country, and agriculture 'adds a much greater value to the annual produce of the land and labour of the country, to the real wealth of its inhabitants'. (*Wealth of Nations*, p. 345).

This 'new property' was distributed between the 'productive' and 'unproductive' classes in the following manner:

CLASSIFICATION OF PRODUCTIVE AND UNPRODUCTIVE LABOURERS (U.K. and IRELAND)

Productive labourers, by whose exertions a new property is created every year.

	Families	Persons	Income
Agriculture, mines, etc.	1,302,151	6,129,142	107,246,795
Foreign Commerce, shipping trade, manufacturers, fisheries, etc.	1,506,774	7,071,989	183,908,352
Fine Arts	5,000	25,000	1,400,000
	<u>2,813,925</u>	<u>13,226,131</u>	<u>292,555,147</u>

Unproductive labourers, whose exertions do not create any new property.

	Families	Persons	Income
Royalty, Nobility, and Gentry	47,437	416,835	58,923,590
State and Revenue, Army, Navy, Half-pay Pensioners	152,000	1,056,000	34,036,280
Clergy, Law, Physic	56,000	281,500	17,580,000
Universities, Schools, Miscell.	45,319	567,937	17,555,355
Paupers, etc.	387,100	1,548,400	9,871,000
	<u>687,856</u>	<u>3,870,672</u>	<u>137,966,225</u>

It appears from the above table that by 'labour' Colquhoun meant not merely manual labour, but all persons engaged in agriculture, industry and trade. This would include shop-keepers, engineers, and transport workers—even the entrepreneur, but certainly not the rentier. His statement that 'it is by the labour of the people, employed in various branches of industry, that all ranks of the community in every condition of life annually subsist',<sup>58</sup> clearly defines labour in a sense wider than manual labour. Colquhoun himself did originally harp on the apparently unqualified proposition that 'it is by labour alone that all classes of the community subsist'.<sup>59</sup> This proposition led John Gray and other radicals to the inference that manual labour 'created' all wealth, yet received in wages only £81,500,000 out of Colquhoun's estimated national

58. *British Empire*.

59. *Treatise on Indigence*, 277. At a time when agriculture was considered the 'industry' *par excellence*, Sir William Petty (1623-87) wrote: 'Labour is the Father and active principle of Wealth as Lands are the Mother' (*Economic Writings*, Ed. Hull, 1899, 68) Adam Smith following the physiocrats persisted with this view of the primacy of agricultural labour. Colquhoun was forced to take manufacture and trade into account: the industrial revolution had supervened.

income of £430,520,000.<sup>60</sup> Hence arose the slogan that labour received only one-fifth of its produce, the rest being appropriated by the 'unproductive' classes.<sup>61</sup>

But Colquhoun subsequently refined the unqualified proposition that labour of the hands supported society at large. Even in the *Treatise on Indigence* he contended that 'the true essence of government' was 'to guide, by imperceptible means, the working classes, into channels calculated to enable them to render their labour productive'.<sup>62</sup> Implicit in this statement is his later formulation that manual labour *per se* is relatively unproductive, although the 'first elements of national wealth and riches' exist in the labouring ranks.<sup>63</sup> The entrepreneur and the inventor thus entered into his calculations: 'new property' is created from *land, labour, and capital*.<sup>64</sup> Fixed and durable capital was not the property of the independent worker, and contrary to the line of economists from Petty to Adam Smith, land and labour were not the primary factors of production. As Ricardo pointed out, the Smithian principles were considerably modified by the employment of machinery and other fixed capital.<sup>65</sup>

'Capitals, thus employed, become a powerful engine in the possession of genius, talent, and industry, by which not only those who labour, but those who promote, direct and invigorate its active powers mutually derive advantage; and we trace through this medium those causes which contribute to the wealth of nations. It is the labour of the people that produces this wealth . . .

'Such is the structure of civil society, that the classes, whose minds are enlarged and their intellects and faculties improved by a superior education, are indispensably necessary as the master-springs in the great machine; not only for the purpose of giving energy to the efforts of the productive labourers by means of capital furnished by every member of the

60. Gray: *A Lecture on Human Happiness*.

61. The fateful distinction between productive and unproductive labour was propounded by Adam Smith in his *Wealth of Nations*, 1776, Book II, Chapter 3. Marx, in his *Poverty of Philosophy* (1847) claimed that the English socialists J. F. Bray (*Labour's Wrongs and Labour's Remedy*, 1839), John Gray, and others were indebted to Ricardo's *Principles of Political Economy* (1817) for their proposition that labour was the source of all wealth. Gray, however, derived his statistics from Colquhoun who, writing before Ricardo, declared in no uncertain terms that 'it is by labour alone that all classes of the community subsist' (*Treatise on Indigence*, 1806, p. 277). But Colquhoun was no socialist, and contended that factors other than manual labour, e.g. the skill of the inventor and engineer, had to be reckoned with. He therefore defined 'productive labour' appropriately. It would appear then that Ricardo's influence on the English socialists has been exaggerated, especially by Engels in his Preface to *The Poverty of Philosophy*. But both Marx and Engels are curiously silent about the obvious influence of the unsocialistic Colquhoun on socialists like Bray, Gray and others.

62. *Treatise on Indigence*, 277.

63. *Ibid.*, 233.

64. *British Empire*, Preface vii.

65. cf. Stark: *The History of Economics*, 33.

community possessing real or personal property, from which they derive an income, but from the skill and superior knowledge of those who give employment to the labouring classes in agriculture, manufactures, trade, commerce, and navigation, and other objects of productive industry'.<sup>66</sup>

Even the classes which came under the category of 'unproductive' labourers were necessary to society, although they diminished national wealth:

' Thus it would appear, that more than one-fifth part of the whole community are unproductive labourers, and that these labourers receive from the aggregate labour of the productive classes about one-third part of the new property created annually. But it does not follow, as has already been observed, that a very great proportion of these unproductive labourers are not highly useful in their different stations in society. On the contrary, with a few exceptions, in addition to the benefits derived from personal exertions, they eminently tend to promote, invigorate, and render more productive the labour of the creating classes.

' Most of these diminishing classes . . . and particularly those whose great talents and cultivated minds enable them to fill important stations, are indispensably necessary in civil society, as without their assistance the social compact could not exist'.<sup>67</sup>

The nobility, as legislators and justices had a peculiar claim to the gratitude of the community; the clergy looked to the spiritual, and physicians to the bodily comforts of society. Even artists and musicians provided intellectual enjoyment or amusement. Recreation is necessary in civilized society, but Colquhoun was not in favour of art for art's sake. For him art should be subservient to morality, and to this end even the common ballad singer in the streets might be rendered useful instruments 'in giving a better turn to the minds of the lowest classes of the people—they too must be amused, and why not, if they can be amused innocently—if through this medium they can be taught loyalty to the Sovereign, love to their country, and obedience to the Laws'.<sup>68</sup> He considered that indiscriminate indulgence in art, entertainment, and amusement would be productive of levity, in contrast to Adam Smith who wanted to transform the austere moral outlook of the lower orders by inducing them to indulge in art, science and philosophy. Thus, while Adam Smith contended that the working classes enjoyed too few amusements and entertainments, Colquhoun considered that they could have too many.

In the last decade of the eighteenth century Colquhoun realised that it was imperative that Adam Smith's optimistic doctrine of harmonious social interests be modified in view of the patent conflicts of class interest which manifested themselves in tumultuous meetings and riots. Colqu-

66. *British Empire*, 6, 110.

67. *Ibid.*, 109, 104.

68. *Treatise on the Police of the Metropolis* 1800 ed. This section, was probably invoked by a critical tract which suggested that the proposals in the first edition, under the cloak and colour of moral good, were designed to abridge the few enjoyments open to the poor man, particularly the ale-house (cf. 'Observations on a late Publication . . .').

houn's theory of society was a compromise between the optimistic doctrine of social harmony, and the individualistic, competitive doctrine of strife. In consequence, he became a typical adherent of the liberal faith of the early nineteenth century, which assumed that struggle and strife issued in the progressive realization of social harmony.<sup>69</sup> In Colquhoun's scheme of society there was no essential opposition between labour and capital, between governors and the governed. He regarded society as an organism whose successful functioning depended on the complementary roles played by the different social classes. Hence 'nothing is conceded by the one class to the other without a corresponding benefit'.<sup>70</sup> The only people who were really useless, the enemies of society, were criminals, vagabonds, prostitutes, and those who were culpably indigent or destitute.<sup>71</sup>

Colquhoun's theory of society is curiously reminiscent of that of his forgotten predecessor, Henry Fielding, whose writings in connection with the poor were familiar to him.<sup>72</sup>

'It seems, I think, apparent, that among a civilised People that Polity is the best established, in which all the Members, except such only as labour under any utter Incapacity, are obliged to contribute a Share to the Strength and Wealth of the Public.

'And this seems to have been the great Aim of the first founders of the English Constitution; by the Laws of which no Man whatsoever is exempted from performing such Duties to the Public as befit his Rank'.<sup>73</sup>

Fielding contended that the duties of the highest ranks were not light nor easy; the country squires, as a later jurist remarked were the 'judicial beasts of burden', the Justices of the Peace. Even if they are indolent they are not burdensome to the public since they 'support themselves on what the

69. Whitehead, *op. cit.*, 41.

70. *British Empire*, 108. On the mutual dependence of rich and poor, cf. also R. Fellowes: *The Rights of Property Vindicated Against the Claims of Universal Suffrage* (London, 1818), p. 73.

71. *Treatise on Indigence; British Empire*, 112. The following are the causes of culpable indigence: vicious and immoral habits, idleness, laziness, indolence, sloth, carelessness, thoughtlessness, improvidence, prodigality, unnecessary waste, want of frugal habits, want of economy and management, apathy and sottishness, indifference as to what may happen, dissipation, habitual drunkenness, abandoning a helpless family while having the means of making adequate provision, trusting to parish maintenance, wasting earnings in ale-houses, servants losing character and place for bad behaviour, fraudulent and pilfering practices, female prostitution ('the misfortune of good looks') producing depravity of character, disease, and loss of employment, contracting debts without ability to pay, fraudulent bankruptcy and consequent loss of credit, systematic idleness, leading the life of gipsies and others wandering as such and assuming their manners, systematic criminality in all its ramifications producing a total loss of character.

72. cf. the list of writers on the poor, *Treatise on Indigence*, 6.

73. Fielding: *A Proposal for Making an Effectual Provision for the Poor, for Amending their Morals, and for rendering them useful Members of the Society* (Dublin, 1751, 6-7).

Law calls their own ; a Property acquired by the labour of their ancestors, and often the Rewards, or Fruits at least of Public Services'.<sup>74</sup> At the other extreme, the poor have nothing but their own labour to bestow on society. 'On this Labour the Public hath a Right to insist, since this is the only Service which the poor can do that Society, which in some Way or other hath a Right to the Service of all its Members ; and as this is the only Means by which they can avoid laying that Burthen on the Public, which in case of absolute Incapacity alone is obliged to support'.

Writing fifty years after Fielding, Colquhoun did not go to the extent of saying that it was the duty of some men to labour, while others enjoyed the fruit of inherited wealth, however originally acquired. Labour was demanding a greater share in the national income, and were questioning the right of a leisure class to enjoy the produce of the labour of others. Hence Colquhoun took the obvious stand of a social theorist who was content to regard the existing structure of society as datum, and proceeded to make a functional analysis of the relationships between social classes. He neither justified nor condemned the existing structure of society. But in the writings of many a social theorist when society is in the throes of political or social crisis, we can frequently detect behind the veil of sociological analysis, more or less articulate programmes of action. Toynbee suggests that 'the action which they are intended to evoke is the "pegging", at a certain social level, of an actual society which has broken down and has entered upon a decline that must end in a fall unless the downward movement can be artificially arrested'.<sup>75</sup> One reason why Colquhoun does not mention Adam Smith, while borrowing freely from the *Wealth of Nations* may have been that it contained 'dangerous thoughts'. The Smithian 'atheism' would have removed the religious and moral foundations of social order, and was roundly condemned by philosophers who rejected them as dangerous.<sup>76</sup> Colquhoun preferred the fatalistic note of the

74. Fielding: *A Proposal for Making an Effectual Provision for the Poor, for Amending their Morals, and for rendering them useful Members of the Society* (Dublin, 1751, 6-7). The slogan 'property is theft' came almost two centuries later.

75. A. J. Toynbee: *A Study of History* (Oxford, 1935 ed.) III, 89.

76. Dr. Horne, Bishop of Norwich, in an anonymous tract, censured Adam Smith for his 'atheism': 'You would persuade us, by the example of *David Hume, Esq.* that atheism is the only cordial for low spirits, and the proper antidote against the fear of death' (*A Letter to A. Smith, LL.D. On the Life, Death and Philosophy of his Friend, David Hume. By one of the People called Christians.* Oxford, 4th ed., 1784, p. 22) De Tocqueville rightly contends: 'During the whole course of the eighteenth century unbelief had its celebrated representatives in England. Clever writers, profound thinkers, took the cause in hand ; they were never able to make unbelief triumph as in France, because all those, who had anything to fear from revolution, hastened to come to the rescue of established beliefs. Even those among them, who were most in touch with contemporary French society did not regard as false the doctrines of our philosophers, rejected them as dangerous' (Tocqueville: *L'Ancien Regime*, Tr. Patterson. Oxford, 1947, p. 163).

Malthusian argument that social and economic crises were the product of 'natural' causes. He proceeded, therefore, to analyse the inexorable conditions of social life.

Thus, an essential postulate of Colquhoun's theory of society was that poverty is a necessary factor in any society: 'every state is supported by the poverty of the community composing the body politic. Without a large proportion of poverty there could be no riches in any country ; since riches are the offspring of labour, while labour can result only from a state of poverty'.<sup>77</sup> It is well to emphasise Colquhoun's peculiar definition of poverty—'it is the state of every one who must labour for subsistence'.<sup>78</sup> Such an individual has no 'surplus labour' in store, no capital from which he could derive an 'unearned income'. The danger was that the poor man might involuntarily be reduced to destitution, due to trade depression or economic crisis. 'The great art, therefore, in managing the affairs of the Poor, is to establish systems whereby the poor man, verging upon indigence, may be propped up and kept in his station'.<sup>79</sup> In fact, the great object of state policy should be 'to prop up poverty by judicious arrangements at those times when it is in danger of descending into indigence'.<sup>80</sup> In other words, full employment is a great desideratum of economic policy:

'An active and industrious population is the stay and support of every well governed community. In the degree which this industry prevails will be found the greatest portion of virtue and happiness ; the strongest disposition to support the laws ; the most ardent loyalty to the Sovereign ; and the greatest attachment to the existing government—On the contrary, where the quantum of labour in the higher as well as the inferior branches of industry exceeds the demand, disloyalty, insubordination, idleness, misery, profligacy, and crimes, are the never-failing result'.<sup>81</sup>

It is, further, 'an axiom (not to be disputed) that the wages of the labourer should be somewhat more than is sufficient to maintain himself and a medium family, otherwise this useful class could not last beyond a single generation. They must either cease to procreate children, or the mass of labourers who do not remain in a state of celibacy must unavoidably descent into indigence, and become a burden upon the community'.<sup>82</sup> If the rate of population growth is greater than the rate of increase in the means of subsistence, great disasters ensue—involuntary unemployment drives many to destitution, and they must be supported by the opulent classes, unless there is considerable emigration.<sup>83</sup>

77. *Treatise on Indigence*, 7.

78. loc. cit.

79. *The State of Indigence*, 19.

80. *Treatise on Indigence*, 7 ; *The State of Indigence*, 18.

81. *British Empire*, X.

82. Ibid. 4.

83. *Considerations on the Means of Affording Profitable Employment . . .*

Since labour must produce 'surplus capital', habits of industry and parsimony were of signal importance. Indeed, if the 'propensity to consume' was so high that men abandon all ideas of thrift and parsimony and succumb to an orgy of hedonistic gratification of their every desire, the system which we designate 'capitalism' would be at an end:

'It is . . . parsimony, and not industry which is the immediate cause of the increase of capital. Industry, indeed, provides the means which parsimony accumulates; since whatever industry might acquire, if parsimony did not store it up, the capital would never be greater, and the property of the nation would remain stationary, and could never be augmented. In fact, capitals are increased by saving, and diminished by prodigality and misconduct'.<sup>84</sup>

Modern savings campaigns and 'productivity drives' are curiously reminiscent of Colquhoun's exhortations to 'productive labourers'. We demand productive efficiency chiefly from miners and other 'productive' workers rather than from the 'unproductive' white collar office employee. The distinction between productive and unproductive labour has lost none of its importance. Our age has only discovered more subtle devices for 'directing' labour; the totalitarian societies have resorted to the age-old expedient of forced labour, while the democracies are content with intelligence tests.

The important lesson of Colquhoun's theory of society was that a society can be top-heavy with a leisure class or idle intelligentsia. There have been numerous societies in which an elite subsisted on slave labour, but it is inconceivable that a majority be supported by a labouring minority. Thus in India, although the high caste Brahmins are in the majority, they are not averse to tilling the soil; they are 'productive'.

#### Social Pathology and Social Control

During Colquhoun's tenure of office as Metropolitan Police Magistrate, he had ample opportunities for studying the social disorganization incidental to a period of unprecedented social change. He observed that 'the general turpitude of the idle and dissolute is increasing everyday'.<sup>85</sup> He witnessed the riots and tumultuous meetings which were common during a period of scarce food supplies. He was aware of the activities of the Corresponding Society and other revolutionary movements of the day, and is said to have had a hand in the preparation of secret reports with which the government justified in Parliament the measures for checking these activities.<sup>86</sup> Colquhoun explained that a period of industrial prosperity was productive of crime. The progressive

84. *British Empire*, 118. cp. the almost identical sentence in the *Wealth of Nations* (p. 321): 'Capitals are increased by parsimony, and diminished by prodigality and misconduct'.

85. *Treatise on Indigence*, 35.

86. Beer, I. 144.

increase of trade and the influx of wealth produced scenes of delinquency and turpitude in the environs of the River Thames unparalleled in any district of comparable size in the known world.<sup>87</sup>

Tocqueville observes that throughout Europe 'the mind of man entirely lost its bearings' as a result of the French Revolution. Colquhoun was well acquainted with the pathological symptoms of social disorganization—crime and violence, irreligion, and alcoholism. Writing in 1814 he said

'It is a melancholy truth, obvious to all who have devoted their attention to a manners and habits of the labouring classes, that they have retrograded in morals in the course of the last thirty years; and that a considerable change has taken place in the state of society (particularly in vulgar life, since the commencement of the French revolutionary war), which has been in a certain degree disorganized in every country in Europe'.<sup>88</sup>

He made similar observations fifteen years previously:

'The present state of society and manners—the wonderful change apparent in the habits of the lower orders of the community—the recent, and perhaps too effectual attempts to undermine that sense of religion and moral rectitude, which restrained the mass of the people from minor acts of delinquency: All these considerations call for such internal regulations as may operate in the most immediate manner, in controlling the ill-directed and tumultuous activity of human passions; to counteract the influence of wealth under its various attractions of pleasure and pain; and to prevent it from disseminating its poison, while it confers its blessings'.<sup>89</sup>

Colquhoun's details of working class destitution and his accounts of the practices of various criminals are valuable commentaries on certain aspects of London life in the early nineteenth century. He states that, in the distribution of poor relief, those who visited the abodes of the most indigent, 'witnessed scenes of distress which exceed all credibility'.

'The Author of this Tract having in the month of May, 1797, visited five different families in the Hamlet of Mile End New Town, (who had been represented to him to be sober and honest, and reduced from want of work, and from having numerous families, to great poverty and distress), he found only four miserable corded bedsteads among the whole, for thirty three men, women and children!—In one apartment where the family was numerous, and where the poor woman had lately been brought to bed of an infant which lay on the floor, there was not even the vestige of anything to lie upon, excepting a small portion of straw in the corner of the apartment where they all slept, with only the few rags to cover them which they wore through the day'.<sup>90</sup>

In his description of delinquent activities Colquhoun was even better informed. He classifies, for instance, eighteen classes of Cheats and Swindlers: They include sharpers who obtain licenses as Pawnbrokers, hawkers and pedlars; 'A class of Cheats of the society of Jews, who are to be found in every

87. *Treatise on the Commerce and Police of the River Thames*, XXV.

88. *British Empire*, 115-6.

89. *Treatise on the Commerce and Police of the River . . .* 37-8.

90. *An Account of a Meat and Soup Charity*.

street, lane and alley in and near the Metropolis, under the pretence of purchasing old clothes, and metal of different sorts'; Cheats who personate gentlemen's footmen; 'Cheats who take genteel lodgings, dress elegantly, and assume false names', and so on. Indeed, 'the avarice and ingenuity of man is constantly finding out new sources of fraud'.<sup>91</sup> Colquhoun also exposed the systematic traffic in stolen property, his information being communicated by a 'considerable dealer in rags and old iron and other metals'. There were over 3,000 wholesale and retail dealers in stolen property, the retailers purchasing directly from pilferers, particularly the aquatic labourers known as lumpers who were in the habit of pilfering the cargoes of West Indian ships: men and boys known as mud-larks used to prowl about and watch the ships when the tide permitted, and small parcels of sugar, coffee, etc. were thrown to them, and they in turn conveyed these packages to receivers and obtained a share of the booty. Colquhoun therefore urged that the law relating to stolen property was inadequate, as the receivers often incurred no penalty.<sup>92</sup>

Colquhoun contended that the 'science of police' consisted in the prevention of moral and criminal offences:

'By the term police, we are to understand all those regulations which relate to the comfort, convenience, and safety of the community, in which is comprised the improvement of the condition of the labouring people; the more effectual prevention of moral and criminal offences; lessening the demand for punishment, by turning the hearts and arresting the hands of evil doers, by forewarning the unwary, and preserving in innocence the untainted'.<sup>93</sup>

The 'science of police' thus comprised the subjects which modern sociologists designate 'social control'. For Colquhoun there were two closely related aspects of social control: the institutional (i.e., administrative and judicial), and the religious, moral and educational. He rightly urged that however severe laws and punishments may be, they were by themselves ineffective in preventing crime: 'These evil propensities and noxious qualities in the human mind in a state of depravity are not to be removed by walls, within which evil doers must be admitted'.<sup>94</sup> The hand of power, in the form

91. *Treatise on the Police*, 1800 ed., Ch.v. There were 21 classes of cheats mentioned in the 1796 edition.

92. *River Police*, 59. At common law receiving stolen goods with knowledge that they had been stolen was a misdemeanour. It was necessary that larceny of the goods had been committed, but the receiver was not indictable as an accessory after the fact unless the receiving assisted the thief's escape from justice. Various subsequent statutes (whose provisions are now comprised in the Larceny Act 1916, ss. 33) widened the scope of the offence by extending it to cases where the original act of dishonesty was stealing or obtaining goods 'in any way whatsoever under circumstances which amounted to felony or misdemeanour'. (Kenny's *Criminal Law*, ed. Turner. Cambridge, 1952, 290).

93. *British Empire*, 115.

94. *River Police*, 266.

of a judicial and constabulary system, should be supplemented by moral restraints:

'Crimes of every description have their origin in the vicious and immoral habits of the people;—in the want of attention to the education of the inferior orders of society;—and in the deficiency of the system which has been established for guarding the morals (of the labouring classes)'.<sup>95</sup>

'Like unskilful artists, we seem to have begun at the wrong end; since it is clear that the distinction which has been made in the punishments between public and private crimes, is subversive of the very foundation it would establish.

'Private offences being the source of public crimes, the best method of guarding society against the latter is, to make proper provisions for checking the former—A man of pure morals always makes the best subject of every state; and few have suffered punishment as public delinquents, who have not long remained unpunished as private offenders. The only means, therefore, of securing the peace of society and of preventing more atrocious crimes, is, to enforce by lesser punishments, the observance of religious and moral duties: Without this, Laws are but weak foundations either of the State, or the persons or property of the subject.

'To suffer the lower orders of the people to be ill-educated—to be totally inattentive to those wise regulations of State Policy which might serve to guard and improve their morals; and then to punish them for crimes which have originated in bad habits, has the appearance of cruelty not less severe than any which is exercised under the most despotic government'.<sup>96</sup>

In analysing the institutional aspects of social control, Colquhoun came to the conclusion that the fundamental principle of good legislation was to prevent rather than to punish crimes:<sup>97</sup>

'It seems that by punishing what are called Public Crimes with particular severity, we only provide against present and temporary mischiefs, which might have been prevented by obviating their Causes—And this may be assigned in part as the cause of Civil Wars and Revolutions—The laws are armed against the powers of Rebellion, but are not calculated to oppose its Principle'.<sup>98</sup>

Penitentiary houses should be organised as corrective centres for the early victims of crime:

'Let an appeal be made to the feelings of humanity in behalf of these early victims to vice and criminality, and let their unhappy situation plead for the establishment of local and national penitentiary houses which the legislature has authorised; that in the progress of their future punishment, while the link of connection with their associates in mischief is destroyed, they may be arrested in the career of villainy, and after a course of labour, sobriety, and religious instruction, joined to good and judicious discipline, accurately carried into execution, they may be restored to society, with minds freed from depravity, and with those habits of industry and that disposition to lead a new life which will enable

95. *Treatise on the Police*, (1796), 37.

96. *Ibid.*, 1800, Ch. 2.

97. *Ibid.*

98. *Ibid.* 37.

them to a certificate of good behaviour calculated to rescue them from the dreadful state of being outcasts of society, and to afford them, at least, some chance of supporting themselves by an honest employment when they are set at large upon the world'.<sup>99</sup>

Here Colquhoun enunciated the rationale of corrective detention, and stressed the need for what were to be known as Borstal institutions for the 'early victims to vice and criminality'.<sup>100</sup> Habitual criminals alone should be condemned to perpetual labour and not let loose on society.<sup>101</sup> But convicts who were to be discharged should be taught a trade to prevent them from reverting to a career of crime, which was usually the case: 'At large upon the world, without food or raiment, and with the constant calls of nature upon them for both, without a home or any asylum to shelter them from the inclemency of the weather, *what is to become of them?*'<sup>102</sup>

There were three objects in punishing delinquents: (a) Amendment or reformation, (b) Example to others, or prevention, (c) Retribution. Colquhoun considered that prevention of crime was the fundamental principle of good criminal legislation. Echoing Bentham, he argues: 'If a mathematical expression may be made use of, relative to the good and evil of human life, it is the art of conducting men to the *maximum* of happiness, and the *minimum* of misery'.<sup>103</sup> Punishments should therefore be graded according to the heinousness of the crime or, to use a Gilbertian phrase, the punishment must fit the crime. By punishing small offences with too great severity, we inure the mind to baseness. 'In offences which are considered by the Legislature as merely personal, and not in the class of public wrongs, the disproportion of punishment is extremely shocking'.<sup>104</sup> Thus violent personal assault was punished with

99. *Treatise on the Police*, 1796 ed., 311-2.

100. Corrective detention was favoured earlier by Henry Fielding (op. cit., pp. 21 et seq.) whose detailed proposals for reforming prisoners had its crudities. On arrival at the House of Correction the convict 'shall be immediately confined within the Fasting room, there to remain with no other Maintenance than Bread and Water during the space of twenty four hours'. He also emphasised the necessity of compulsory religious observance, and the learning of a trade. These suggestions were supported later by John Howard: *The State of the Prisons* (1777) who was followed by reformers like Sir Thomas Foxwell Buxton: *An Inquiry Whether Crime and Misery are produced or prevented, by our present System of Prison Discipline* (1818). Colquhoun was acquainted with the literature on the subject of prison reform, and refers Dr. Lettsom to Eddy's work on Prisons (Pettigrew II. Letter CCVIII). The so-called Borstal system was first tried in 1902, and under the Prevention of Crime Act 1908, young offenders were sent to these institutions if convicted. The success of the system justified Colquhoun's optimism. Between 1936 and 1943 an average of 59% Borstalians were not reconvicted, 21% reconvicted only once (Kenny's *Criminal Law*, ed. Turner, Cambridge, 1952, p. 512).

101. *Treatise on the Police*, 1796.

102. *Ibid.*, p. 91.

103. *Ibid.*, 1800 ed., p. 72.

104. *Ibid.*,

a fine and imprisonment, while secretly stealing over twelve pence entailed the death sentence. Yet, although few countries in Europe had more sanguinary criminal laws than England, the quantum of crime was less on the Continent.<sup>105</sup> Colquhoun suggested that if crimes are to be graded according to their seriousness, two criteria should be kept in mind in apportioning punishment: the immorality of the act itself, and its evil tendency or consequences.

The maintenance of social order necessitated an adequate constabulary system. Colquhoun deplored the absurd prejudice against the office of a constable. This was in part due to the false humanity of individuals who considered that prosecution of a felon was equivalent to taking away the life of a fellow creature. He therefore proposed the appointment of a Public Prosecutor, thus anticipating Bentham.<sup>106</sup> He went on to explain that men of credit and discretion, possessed of good moral character marked by zeal, probity and efficiency, should be glad to be constables, 'the principal engines by which the laws are to be put into execution'. The duties of a constable set forth by Colquhoun are extensive: they were required to lodge informations in cases of breaches of the Sabbath, profane swearing and cursing, drunkenness, lewdness and debauchery, disorderly houses for music and dancing, bawdy houses and brothels, obscene books, pamphlets, ballads and pictures, gaming, etc.<sup>107</sup>

Convinced that severity of criminal sanctions did not reduce crime, Colquhoun contended that security from criminals 'is to be attributed to a more correct and energetic system of Police, joined to an early and general attention to the education and morals of the lower orders of people; aided by a system of industry and sobriety, which becomes universally habitual in early life, and grows up with years'.<sup>108</sup> Thus, besides the institutional aspects of social control, Colquhoun was deeply concerned with the diffusion of morality, religion and education as instruments of social control, for 'the only means of securing the peace of society is by enforcing the observance of religious and moral principles'.

It will be recalled that in Colquhoun's theory of society a class which laboured with their hands was necessary and inevitable. But that conception of the iron determinism of social laws frequently masks a philosophy of conservatism (cp. ante p. 29), and Colquhoun was in many respects a defender of the status quo. He was not interested in redistributing the ratios of income between the productive and the unproductive classes. For him social structure

105. *Treatise on the Police*, 1796 ed., p. 86.

106. Colquhoun made the proposal in 1796, Bentham in 1802. The Office of Director of Public Prosecutions was created in 1879 by the Public Prosecutions Act. The D.P.P. is appointed by the Home Secretary, but acts under the supervision of the Attorney-General.

107. *Treatise on the functions and duties of a Constable*.

108. *Treatise on the Police*, 1796 ed., 86-7.

was the inexorable datum. The social system was self-adjusting and no individual could complain of his status or role. The assumption that the existing social structure should be maintained at all costs underlies all his writings on moral education. Hence his determination to purge the minds of the working classes of levity and gaiety. The ale-house made them reckless and turbulent; it was virtually a seminary for rearing up rogues and vagabonds.<sup>109</sup>

Colquhoun's psychological argument was that the intensification of stimulation which loose and convivial morals excited, would lead to universal moral corruption, and ultimately to widespread social disorganization: 'certain it is, that if the prevailing and increasing immorality and profligacy is not checked, the licentiousness of the times will produce universal anarchy and confusion, and will at length sap the foundations of the state'.<sup>110</sup> It was indeed a deplorable fact that there was no obloquy for women to be seen in the tap-rooms of public houses.<sup>111</sup> There was the growing evil of 'lewd and immoral women' whose numbers exceeded 100,000, while a 'prodigious number' of the lower classes cohabited without marriage and separated when a difference ensued.<sup>112</sup>

The sanctity of existing social institutions, notably, the King, the nobility, the family, and the Church, had to be impressed on men's minds. 'The best security against indigence, vagrancy, and criminal offences, will be found in promoting and exciting religion and moral habits among the inferior classes of the community'.<sup>113</sup> The working classes should receive some sort of education, but Colquhoun gave a warning that it must be judiciously administered. The danger of indiscriminate education was that children of the inferior classes might be 'educated in such a manner to elevate their minds above the rank they are destined to fill in society'.

'Let it not be conceived for a moment, that it is the object of the author to recommend a system of education for the poor that shall pass the bounds of their condition in society. Nothing is aimed at beyond what is necessary to constitute a channel to *religious* and *moral* instruction. To exceed that point would be utopian, impolitic and dangerous, since it would confound the ranks of society, upon which the general happiness of the lower orders no less than those in more elevated situations depends'.<sup>114</sup>

The system of education proposed by Colquhoun was an ingenious one indeed. The great duty of all children was to attend to the Divine precept '*Fear God, and honour the King, and all in authority under him*'.<sup>115</sup> Their

109. *Treatise on the Police*, 1796, p. 42.

110. *Ibid.*, p. 44.

111. *Ibid.*, 41.

112. *Treatise on Indigence*, 40.

113. *Ibid.*, 80.

114. *Ibid.*, 148.

115. *A New and Appropriate System of Education*, 48.

ambitions should be regulated and they should not be too aspiring. 'It is the duty of the master and mistress to encourage the diffident, the timid, and the backward; to check the forward and presumptuous'.<sup>116</sup> The females for instance, should be so educated as to fit them for domestic situations, and to make them good servants, and they should be shown 'that a love of idleness, finery, and dress, an impatience under restraint in servitude, an indisposition to do their duty as good servants, an instability of temper which will not permit them to listen to just and proper reproof or admonition from masters or mistresses when the duty they are bound to perform is neglected, sends many young women, who thoughtlessly gave up good places, into the streets, and entail upon them misery and wretchedness as long as they live'.<sup>117</sup> In general, the objects of these working class schools were as follows:

'A right bias to their minds, and a sufficient education to enable them to preserve, and to estimate properly, the religious and moral instruction they receive, is all that is, or ought ever to be, in contemplation. To go beyond this point would be to confound the ranks of society upon which the general happiness of the lower orders, no less than those that are more elevated, depends; since by indiscriminate education those destined for laborious occupations would become discontented and unhappy in an inferior situation of life, which, however, when fortified by virtue, and stimulated by industry, is not less happy than what is experienced by those who move in a higher sphere, of whose cares they are ignorant, and with many of whose anxieties and distresses they are never assailed'.<sup>118</sup>

### Social Philosophy

As a social philosopher Colquhoun joined issue with those who advocated untrammelled individualism to the extent even of refusing to sanction the establishment of an adequate system of police, on the ground that individual liberty would be imperilled.<sup>119</sup> The current prejudice against the vocation of law officer was attributable to the dominant influence of the crude laissez-faire school. Colquhoun deplored their contempt for the defenders of law and order, their hostility to measures designed to prevent crime.

'If it is an honourable profession to repel by force the foreign enemies of the state, why should it not be equally so to resist and to conquer these domestic invaders of property, and destroyers of lives, who are constantly in a state of criminal warfare'.<sup>120</sup>

An efficient police force could guard the community against criminals and buttress the moral foundations of social order.

'It is to a correct and well-planned Police, and to the removal of those obstructions which operate as a bar to its progress to maturity, that this country is ultimately to be indebted for the security of the rights of innocence; for the preservation of life, and liberty; and

116. *A New and Appropriate System of Education*, 17.

117. *Ibid.*, 50.

118. *Ibid.*, 12-13.

119. *Treatise on the Police*.

120. *Ibid.*, 212.

the support of that excellent Constitution, which, standing on the basis of virtue and morality, is only to be rendered permanent and secure, by preserving its foundation, and by guarding it against the rapid inroads, which relaxed principles, arising from the sudden influx of wealth, have made upon the best interests of society'.<sup>121</sup>

Colquhoun's proposal for a Board of Police Revenue provoked widespread opposition. His *Treatise on the Police* first published in 1796 under the pseudonym 'A Magistrate', was roundly condemned in a tract by 'a Citizen of London, but no Magistrate':

'There are some men likewise so accustomed to the fight of offenders, and to the investigation of fraudulent practices, that they can think of little else, and their minds become jaundiced against the whole community.'

'He has ventured to propose a new engine of Power and Authority, so enormous and extensive as to threaten a species of despotism and inquisition hitherto without a parallel in this country'.<sup>122</sup>

Colquhoun's reply was that the concept of liberty was a relative one. Those same liberties which are considered privileges at one period become burdens in another:

'Privileges (so considered) at one period in society, frequently become burdens in another. The result is, that the duties incumbent on those upon whom the privileges were conferred, are neglected. The calls of society however, require that they should be executed, and those whose interest is concerned in the execution, perhaps make the attempt in some shape or other. This is resisted as an infringement of ancient rights. Although these rights are burdensome to those whose province it is to move the machine; and although they are unwilling, from the unprofitable nature of the duty, to do it themselves, yet they are equally hostile to every attempt on the part of others to fill up the chasm. The result is, that many good things for the public and the country, are either postponed or totally omitted. Where the power rests, the measure will not be pursued; while the same power and influence operate in preventing the attempt being made by others. Mere matters of punctilio often stand in the way of great and beneficial arrangements, and minds thus deluded, grasp and eagerly cherish the shadow, while the substance passes away'.<sup>123</sup>

Liberty is perfectly consistent with restraint; in fact, restricted liberty is preferable to the law of the jungle.

'Nor ought it to be argued, that such restraints as may hereafter be proposed, will affect the liberty of the subject, since it is perfectly consistent with the spirit of our ancient laws to restrain persons from doing evil who are likely to commit offences, and since they can only attach to a very few, comparatively speaking, whose criminal conduct has been the principle, if not the sole cause, of abridging the liberty, and of subjecting to risk and to danger the life and property of the great mass of the people.

'Restraints of a much severer nature attach to all trades upon which revenue is collected, and surely it can be no infringement of liberty, to extend a milder system to those nuisances in society who not only destroy liberty but invade property.

121. *River Police*, 309.

122. *Observations on a late publication* (1800).

123. *River Police*, 308-9.

'The present state of society and manners calls aloud for the adoption of this principle of regulation, as the only practicable means of preserving the morals of a vast body of the lower orders of the people, and of preventing those numerous and increasing crimes and misdemeanours which press so hard upon society'.<sup>124</sup>

Again:

'It cannot be too often or too powerfully inculcated, that Arrangements which have for their object the Security of Innocence and the Prevention of Crimes, ought by no means ever to be considered as an Infringement of the Liberty of the Subject; since the effect of the System is in reality to extend, and by no means to abridge, those Privileges which are secured to every member of the body politic, who has not forfeited his natural rights by offences against the Laws of his Country.

'In restraining and preventing the Commission of Crimes, the natural Rights of the innocent become more extended and protected; the security of the unoffending individual is strengthened, and the general state and condition of society is improved'.<sup>125</sup>

In arguing as he did, Colquhoun was far in advance of his time. For although people may have realised the vital necessity of social regulation in times of crisis, few were prepared to state explicitly that regulation was compatible with liberty. For in the Liberal Age, the Welfare State would have been looked upon as a contradiction in terms. Colquhoun repeatedly pointed out that there were many spheres of social life which should be regulated by the state. Even education and the improvement of morals should not be outside the purview of the legislature. A national system of education, for example, was too gigantic a task to be left to private benevolence.

By conceding that there was a principle of self-love which prompted each individual to exert himself in improving his condition in society, and at the same time insisting that ecological factors such as concentration of population in the metropolis created problems of social disorganization and crime which made social regulation inevitable, Colquhoun was ultimately driven to the paradoxical doctrine of compulsory individualism. On the one hand, 'It is an axiom in politics, that the legislature should do nothing to disturb the exertions of individuals, aided by capitals, in every fair pursuit to improve their condition, since such improvements tend to be to the general good'.<sup>127</sup> On the other hand, this principle of self-love had to be awakened in the breasts of the labouring classes who did not know their real interests and had to be 'guided into the way of helping themselves' by religious and moral education.<sup>128</sup> And

124. *Treatise on the Police*, 1796, pp. 21-22.

125. *River Police*, XXXIX.

126. *A New and Appropriate System of Education*... p. 71.

127. *Treatise on Indigence*, 278; cf. also Fellowes, op. cit., p. 111.

128. Ibid. 279, cp. Adam Smith: 'But though the interest of the labourers is strictly connected with that of the Society, he is incapable of comprehending that interest, or of understanding its connection with his own. His condition leaves him no time to receive the necessary information, and his education and habits are commonly such as to render him unfit to judge even though he was fully informed' (*Wealth of Nations*, p. 249).

in their case, the principle of self-love should not be allowed free rein, for the lower orders should not be too ambitious and presume to step outside their social class. Thus Colquhoun contrived to reconcile the optimistic Enlightenment doctrine of social harmony, with the nineteenth century notion of social strife and ruthless competition, by advocating rational control of human activities.

RALPH PIERIS

### Works by Patrick Colquhoun

*Observations and facts relative to licensed ale-houses, in the City of London and its environs, humbly submitted to the consideration of Magistrates in every part of Great Britain.* By a Magistrate, (1794).

(There were three later editions of the above).

*Useful suggestions favourable to the comfort of the labouring people and of decent housekeepers, explaining how a small income may be made to go far in a family, so as to produce a considerable saving in the article of bread, a circumstance of great importance to be known at the present juncture,* (1795).

*A Treatise on the Police of the Metropolis, explaining the various crimes and misdemeanours which at present are felt as a pressure on the community, and suggesting remedies for their prevention.* By a Magistrate. (London: H. Fry, 1796; 2nd ed. C. Dilly, 1796).

There were seven large editions of this work, the sixth being:

*A Treatise on the Police of the Metropolis, explaining the various crimes and misdemeanours by which public and private property and security are, at present, injured and endangered; and suggesting remedies for their prevention.* The sixth edition corrected and considerably enlarged. By P. Colquhoun, LL.D. (London: J. Mawman, successor to Mr. Dilly, 1800).

*An account of a meat and soup charity, established in the Metropolis, in the year 1797, with observations relative to the situation of the poor, and on the means of bettering the condition of the labouring people with regard to food; and of increasing their comforts in other respects, by a more frugal mode of living, particularly in the City of London and its environs.* By a Magistrate, (London: H. Fry, 1797).

*A general view of the national police system as recommended by the Select Committee of Finance to the House of Commons; and the functions of the proposed Central Board of Police Revenue; with observations on the probable effects of the general designs in the prevention of crimes,* (1799).

*The state of indigence, and the situation of the casual poor in the Metropolis, explained; with reasons assigned why the prevailing system, with respect to this unfortunate class of the community, contributes, in a considerable degree, to the increase and multiplication of crimes: with suggestions, shewing the necessity and*

*utility of an establishment of pauper police, immediately applicable to the casual poor, under the management of responsible Commissioners, with their functions explained.* (London: H. Baldwin, 1799).

*A friendly recommendation to labouring people and to persons having families of young children, shewing the advantages, in point of health, nutriment, and economy, in rearing a family, which may be derived from an improved mode of dressing animal and vegetable food in their own houses,* (1799).

*Suggestions offered to the consideration of the public . . . for the purpose of reducing the consumption of bread corn; relieving at the same time the labouring people, by the substitution of other cheap, wholesome, and nourishing food; and especially by means of soup establishments,* (1800).

(There were two editions of this work).

*A Treatise on the commerce and police of the River Thames: containing an historical view of the trade of the Port of London; and suggesting means for preventing the depredations thereon, by a legislative system of river police. With an account of the functions of the various magistrates and corporations exercising their jurisdiction on the River; and a general view of the penal and remedial statutes connected with the subject.* (London: J. Mawman, 1800).

*A Treatise on the functions and duties of a constable; containing details and observations interesting to the public, as they relate to the corruption of morals, and for the protection of the peaceful subject against penal and criminal offences.* (London: J. Mawman and J. Hatchard, 1803).

*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, particularly the rising generation; by regulations of political economy, calculated to prevent poverty from descending into indigence, to produce sobriety and industry, 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 moral and penal offences, and the future prevention of crimes.* (London: J. Hatchard, 1806).

*A new and appropriate system of education for the labouring people; elucidated and explained, according to the plan which has been established for the religious and moral instruction of male and female children, admitted into the free school, No. 19, Orchard Street, in the City of Westminster; containing an exposition of the nature and importance of the design, as it respects the general interest of the community: with details, explanatory of the particular economy of the institution, and the methods prescribed for the purpose of securing and preserving a greater degree of moral rectitude, as a means of preventing criminal offences by habits of temperance, industry, subordination, and loyalty, among that useful class of the community, comprising the labouring people of England. To which are added, concluding*

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observations, on the importance of extending the system generally, under the aid and sanction of the legislature. (London: J. Hatchard, 1806).

A Treatise on the wealth, power, and resources, of the British Empire, in every quarter of the world, including the East Indies: the rise and progress of the funding system explained; with observations on the national resources for the beneficial employment of a redundant population, and for rewarding the military and naval officers, soldiers, and seamen for their services to their country during the late war, illustrated by copious statistical tables, constructed on a new plan, and exhibiting a collected view of the different subjects discussed in this work. (London: J. Mawman, 1814. 2nd ed., 1815).

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 South Africa. (London: G. Smeeton, 1818).

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APPENDIX\*

AN ATTEMPT TO EXHIBIT A GENERAL VIEW OF SOCIETY

And to shew how the New Property in Great Britain and Ireland, arising from Agriculture, Mines and Minerals, Manufactures, Inland Trade, Foreign Commerce and Shipping, Coasting Trade, Fisheries, and Foreign Income, is distributed among the different Classes of the Community, with reference to the Population of Great Britain and Ireland; as ascertained from various Authentic Documents, and where no Documents exist from the best attainable information on the subject. (1812)

Number of Heads of Families	RANKS, DEGREES, AND DESCRIPTIONS	Average: Aggregate: Population of Great Britain and Ireland		Estimated Number of Females	Estimated Population	Averaged Yearly Income of the Family of each Class	Aggregate Income of each Class of the Community in Great Britain and Ireland
		Number of Persons in each Family	Number of Males				
1	ROYALTY:—The King, Queen, and Princesses of their Family	50	23	27	50	146,000	146,000
1	The Prince Regent, the Princess of Wales, and the Princess Charlotte	50	23	27	50	172,000	172,000
10	The remaining Princes and Princesses of the Blood, both lineal and collateral	200	95	105	200	18,300	183,000
516	NOBILITY:—Temporal Peers, including Peersesses in their own Right	25	12,900	6,500	12,900	10,000	5,100,000
48	Spiritual Lords or Bishops	15	720	400	720	5,010	240,480
861	GENTRY:—Baronets	15	12,915	6,400	12,915	3,510	3,022,110
11,000	Knights and Esquires	10	110,000	56,300	110,000	2,000	22,000,000
35,000	Gentlemen and Ladies living on Incomes	8	280,000	150,000	280,000	800	28,000,000
3,500	STATE AND REVENUE:—Persons in higher Civil Offices	7	24,500	12,500	24,500	980	3,430,000
28,000	Persons in lesser . . . . . Idem	5	90,000	46,000	90,000	300	5,400,000
5,000	ARMY (A):—Military Officers, including Surgeons, Quarter Masters, Pay Masters, Engineer and Artillery Officers, Recruiting Staff, Officers, and the Commissariat	5	25,000	12,000	40,000	21,000 Officers at 200l. each per ann.	4,200,000
70,000	Common Soldiers in the Regulars and Militia, including Non-Commissioned Officers and Artillery and Engineers	4	280,000	120,000	450,000	280,000 Soldiers Artillery and Engineers, at 35l. each per annum.	9,800,000
3,000	NAVY (B):—Naval Officers, Marine Officers, Surgeons, Purasers, etc.	5	15,000	12,000	25,000	8,380 Officers at 250l. each per annum	2,095,000
50,000	Seamen in the Navy and Revenue Service and Marines	4	200,000	100,000	320,000	171,540 Scamen and Marines at 42l. each per annum.	7,204,680
2,500	H I L F - P A Y, etc. (C):—Military, Naval and Medical Half-pay Officers, including Supernumerated Officers, Retired Chaplains, and Widows and Children of Officers receiving Pensions	5	12,500	6,300	14,500	6,500 Half-pay etc. Officers at 100l. each per annum 2,500 Widows and Children of Officers at 100l. per annum.	856,600
199,137	Continued	852,461	538,374	1,380,835	1,991,909, 70		

\*From the Treatise on the British Empire (2nd edition, 1815), 124-125.

APPENDIX—(Continued)

Number of Heads of Families	RANKS, DEGREES, AND DESCRIPTIONS	Averaged Number of Persons in each Family	Aggregate Number of Persons in the Families of each Class	Population of Great Britain and Ireland			Averaged Yearly Income of the Family of each Class	Aggregate Income of each Class of the Community in Great Britain and Ireland
				Estimated Number of Males	Estimated Number of Females	Estimated Population		
199,437	Continued			852,461	528,374	1,380,835	£	£
	PENSIONS (D):—Pensioners of Chelsea Hospital, in and out } Pensioners of Greenwich Hospital, Idem } Pensioners of the Chest at Chatham } Pensioners of the Royal Hospital at Kilmainham }	Averaged . . . . . 4	80,000	62,000	30,000	92,000	42,000 In and Out Pensioners (Soldiers and Sailors) averaged at 15l each per annum	91,909,870 630,000
	The above mentioned Pensioners receiving besides from Labour						Idem at 10l each per annum	420,000
1,500	CLERGY:—Eminent Clergymen . . . . .	6	9,000	4,300	4,700	9,000	720	1,080,000
17,500	Lesser Idem . . . . .	5	87,500	43,000	44,500	87,500	200	3,500,000
19,000	LAW:—Judges, Barristers, Attorneys, Clerks, etc.	5	95,000	46,000	49,000	95,000	400	7,600,000
18,000	PHYSIC:—Physicians, Surgeons, Apothecaries, etc.	5	90,000	44,000	46,000	90,000	300	5,400,000
5,000	FINE ARTS:—Artists, Sculptors, Engravers, etc.	5	25,000	12,000	13,000	25,000	280	1,400,000
70,000	AGRICULTURE, MINES, etc.							
210,000	Freeholders of the better sort . . . . .	5½	385,000	190,000	195,000	385,000	275	19,250,000
280,000	Lesser Freeholders . . . . .	5	1,050,000	500,000	550,000	1,050,000	100	21,000,000
742,151	Farmers . . . . .	5½	1,540,000	730,000	810,000	1,540,000	120	33,600,000
	Labouring people employed in Agriculture, Mines, and Minerals, including Earnings of the Females	4½	3,154,142	1,526,635	1,627,507	3,154,142	45	33,396,795
	FOREIGN COMMERCE, SHIPPING, MANUFACTURES, AND TRADE:—							
3,500	Eminent Merchants, Bankers, etc.	10	35,000	17,000	18,000	35,000	2,600	9,100,000
22,800	Lesser Merchants trading, by Sea, including Brokers, etc.	7	159,600	79,600	80,000	159,600	805	18,354,000
8,700	Persons employing professional skill and capital as Engineers, Surveyors, Master Builders of Houses, etc.	5	43,500	21,500	22,000	43,500	300	2,610,000
	FOREIGN COMMERCE, SHIPPING MANUFACTURES, AND TRADE, INCLUDING THE FISHERIES:—							
500	Persons employing Capital in building and repairing Ships, Craft, etc.	6	3,000	1,400	1,600	3,000	804	402,000
8,750	Ship Owners letting Ships for Freight only	5	43,750	21,750	22,000	43,750	600	5,250,000
80,000	Aquatic Labourers in the Merchants' Service, Fisheries, Rivers, Canals, etc.	4	320,000	195,000	205,000	400,000	180,000 Men averaged at 45l each per annum	8,100,000
44,000	Manufacturers employing Capitals in all branches, as Cotton, Wool, Flax, Hemp, Leather, Glass, Pottery, Gold, Silver, Tin, Copper, Iron, Steel, and other Metals, Silk, Paper, Books, Gunpowder, Painters' Colours, Dy'd Stuffs, etc. Beer, Porter, Distilled Liquors, Sweets, Candles, Soap, Tobacco, Snuff, Salt, etc., etc.	6	264,000	129,000	135,000	264,000	804	35,376,000
500	Principal Warehousemen, selling by Wholesale	6	5,400	2,500	2,900	5,400	804	723,600
140,000	Shopkeepers and Tradesmen retailing Goods	5	700,000	340,000	360,000	700,000	200	28,000,000
43,750	Persons employing Capitals, as Tailors, Mantua-Makers, Milliners, etc. in the Manufacture of stuffs into Wearing Apparel and Dresses, etc.	5	218,750	110,000	108,750	218,750	180	7,875,000
1,916,051	Continued			4,928,146	4,853,331	9,781,477		334,977,265

UNIVERSITY OF CEYLON REVIEW

APPENDIX—(Continued)

Number of Heads of Families	RANKS, DEGREES, AND DISCRIPTIONS	Averaged Number of Persons in each Family	Aggregate Number of Persons in the Families of each Class	Population of Great Britain and Ireland			Averaged Yearly Income of the Family of each Class	Aggregate Income of each Class of the Community in Great Britain and Ireland
				Estimated Number of Males	Estimated Number of Females	Estimated Population		
19,160,51	Continued			4,928,146	4,853,331	9,781,477	£	£
42,500	Clerks and Shopmen to Merchants, Manufacturers, Shopkeepers, etc.	5	262,500	130,000	132,500	262,500	95,000 at 70l each per annum	334,977,265 6,750,000
87,500	Inn-keepers and Publicans licensed to sell Ale, Beer, and other Liquors	5	437,500	216,500	221,000	437,500	100	8,750,000
500	Umbrella and Parasol-makers, Silk Lace Workers, Embroiderers, Domestic Spinners, Clear Starchers, Laundresses, Manglers, etc.	4	150,000	74,000	76,000	150,000	on 70,000 persons earning 50l each per annum	3,500,000
1,021,974	Artisans, Handicrafts, Mechanics, and Labourers employed in Manufactories, Buildings, and Works of every kind	4½	4,343,389	2,103,219	2,240,170	4,343,389	48	49,054,752
1,400	Hawkers, Pedlars, Duffers, and others, with and without Licences	4	5,600	2,800	2,800	5,600	45	63,000
	UNIVERSITIES AND SCHOOLS, for the Education of Youth:—							
874	Persons educating Youth in Universities and Chief Schools	4	3,496	1,700	1,796	3,496	600	524,400
35,000	Persons engaged in the Education of Youth of both Sexes, and generally employing some Capital in this pursuit	6	210,000	100,000	110,000	210,000	204	7,140,000
	MISCELLANEOUS:—							
5,000	Clergymen regularly ordained dissenting from the Established Church, including itinerant Preachers	4	20,000	10,000	10,000	20,000	100	500,000
875	Persons employed in Theatrical pursuits and attached to Theatres and Concerts, as Musicians, etc.	4	3,500	1,700	1,800	3,500	200	175,000
70	Persons keeping Houses for Lunatics	10	700	350	350	700	500	35,000
3,500	Lunatics and others under Mental derangement	—	4,000	2,000	2,000	4,000	each person 40l	160,000
	Persons confined in Prisons for Debt	5	17,500	8,500	9,000	17,500	30	105,000
	Vagrants, Gipsies, Rogues, Vagabonds, Thieves, Swindlers, Coiners of base Money, in and out of Prisons, and common Prostitutes (including Wives and Children)	—		129,720	179,021	308,741	Each person averaged at 12l per annum	3,704,892
	Persons included in the various Families above-mentioned, who have Incomes from the Funds and other Sources, including also Trustees for Orphans, Minors, and Charitable Foundations and Institutions, about	—						5,211,063
387,100	PAUPERS:—							
	Paupers, producing from their own Labour in miscellaneous Employments	4	1,548,400	768,350	780,050	1,548,400	10	3,871,000
	And receiving from Parochial rates about	—						6,000,000
3,501,781				8,476,985	8,619,813	17,096,803	£	430,521,372
				Males in Great Britain and Ireland, including Soldiers, Seamen, etc.	Females in Great Britain and Ireland	Souls in Great Britain and Ireland including the Army & Navy		Total Yearly Income of the Population of Great Britain and Ireland

THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF PATRICK COLQUHOUN