PAST AND PRESENT

Published @ 2017 Trieste Publishing Pty Ltd

ISBN 9780649669233

Past and Present by Thomas Carlyle

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LONDON : CHAPMAN AND HALL, LD.

1896

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PAST AND PRESENT.

BOOK FIRST.

PROEM.

CHAPTER L

MIDAS.

THE condition of England, on which many pamphlets are now in the course of publication, and many thoughts unpublished are going on in every reflective head, is justly regarded as one of the most ominous, and withal one of the strangest, ever seen in this world. England is full of wealth, of multifarious produce, supply for human want in every kind; yet England is dying of inanition. With unabated bounty the land of England blooms and grows ; waving with yellow harvests ; thick-studded with workshops, industrial implements, with fifteen millions of workers, understood to be the strongest, the cunningest and the willingest our Earth ever had; these men are here; the work they have done, the fruit they have realised is here, abundant, exuberant on every hand of us : and behold, some baleful fiat as of Enchantment has gone forth, saying, " Touch it not, ye workers, ye master-workers, ye master-idlers; none of you can touch it, no man of you shall be the better for it ; this is enchanted fruit !" On the poor workers such fiat falls first, in its rudest shape; but on the rich master-workers too it falls; neither can the rich master-idlers, nor any richest or highest

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man escape, but all are like to be brought low with it, and made 'poor' enough, in the money sense or a far fataler one.

Of these successful skilful workers some two millions, it is now counted, sit in Workhouses, Poor-law Prisons; or have 'out-door relief' flung over the wall to them,-the workhouse Bastille being filled to bursting, and the strong Poor-law broken asunder by a stronger.1 They sit there, these many months now; their hope of deliverance as yet small. In workhouses, pleasantly so-named, because work cannot be done in them. Twelve-hundred-thousand workers in England alone; their cunning right-hand lamed, lying idle in their sorrowful bosom ; their hopes, outlooks, share of this fair world, shut-in by narrow walls. They sit there, pent up, as in a kind of horrid enchantment; glad to be imprisoned and enchanted, that they may not perish starved. The picturesque Tourist, in a sunny autumn day, through this bounteous realm of England, descries the Union Workhouse on his path. Passing by the Workhouse ' of St. Ives in Huntingdonshire, on a bright day last autumn,' says the picturesque Tourist, 'I saw sitting on wooden benches, ' in front of their Bastille and within their ring-wall and its ' railings, some half-hundred or more of these men. Tall ro-' bust figures, young mostly or of middle age ; of honest coun-' tenance, many of them thoughtful and even intelligent-looking ' men. They sat there, near by one another ; but in a kind ' of torpor, especially in a silence, which was very striking. In ' silence : for, alas, what word was to be said ? An Earth all ' lying round, crying. Come and till me, come and reap me;---'yet we here sit enchanted | In the eyes and brows of these ' men hung the gloomiest expression, not of anger, but of grief ' and shame and manifold inarticulate distress and weariness ; ' they returned my glance with a glance that seemed to say, "Do not look at us. We sit enchanted here, we know not ' why. The Sun shines and the Earth calls ; and, by the go-' verning Powers and Impotences of this England, we are for-' bidden to obey. It is impossible, they tell us !" There was ' something that reminded me of Dante's Hell in the look of ' all this; and I rode swiftly away.'

So many hundred thousands sit in workhouses : and other hundred thousands have not yet got even workhouses ; and in

¹ The Return of Paupers for England and Wales, at Ladyday 1849, is, 'in-door 221,687, Out-door 1,207,402, Total 1,429,089.' Official Report.

MIDAS,

thrifty Scotland itself, in Glasgow or Edinburgh City, in their dark lanes, hidden from all but the eye of God, and of rare Benevolence the minister of God, there are scenes of woe and destitution and desolation, such as, one may hope, the Sun never saw before in the most barbarous regions where men dwelt. Competent witnesses, the brave and humane Dr. Alison, who speaks what he knows, whose noble Healing Art in his charitable hands becomes once more a truly sacred one, report these things for us : these things are not of this year, or of last year, have no reference to our present state of commercial stagnation, but only to the common state. Not in sharp feverfits, but in chronic gangrene of this kind is Scotland suffering. A Poor-law, any and every Poor-law, it may be observed, is but a temporary measure; an anodyne, not a remedy: Rich and Poor, when once the naked facts of their condition have come into collision, cannot long subsist together on a mere Poor-law. True enough ;---and yet, human beings cannot be left to die! Scotland too, till something better come, must have a Poor-law, if Scotland is not to be a byword among the nations. O, what a waste is there; of noble and thrice-noble national virtues ; peasant Stoicisms, Heroisms ; valiant manful habits, soul of a Nation's worth,-which all the metal of Potosi cannot purchase back; to which the metal of Potosi, and all you can buy with it, is dross and dust !

Why dwell on this aspect of the matter? It is too indisputable, not doubtful now to any one. Descend where you will into the lower class, in Town or Country, by what avenue you will, by Factory Inquiries, Agricultural Inquiries, by Revenue Returns, by Mining-Labourer Committees, by opening your own cycs and looking, the same sorrowful result discloses itself: you have to admit that the working body of this rich English Nation has sunk or is fast sinking into a state, to which, all sides of it considered, there was literally never any parallel. At Stockport Assizes, --- and this too has no reference to the present state of trade, being of date prior to that, -a Mother and a Father are arraigned and found guilty of poisoning three of their children, to defraud a 'burial-society' of some 31. 8s. due on the death of each child; they are arraigned, found guilty; and the official authorities, it is whispered, hint that perhaps the case is not solitary, that perhaps you had better not probe farther into that department of things. This is in

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