

Article

Richard Haines and his Workhouse

— A Plan for Employment of the Poor in 17th century England —

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Abstract

Richard Haines is one of the pamphleteers in seventeenth century England. He has left seven pamphlets in total, concerning the problem of the poor at that time, and his propositions to resolve it. The purpose of this article is to reveal his views on the employment of the poor, tracing his works in chronological order. He proposed to employ the poor and even convicted criminals in workhouses, and to set them to work in the linen manufacture and the woollen manufacture. He dared to declare that he had invented a new spinning machine, and so on. He also insisted that his plan would increase the wealth of England. Through studying his works, the contemporary views on the poor and, especially, the idea of profitable employment of the poor could be made clear.

Keyword: Richard Haines, workhouse, the poor, 17th century England.

I

England was undergoing severe economic depression since the middle of the sixteenth century, and the problem of the poor was getting more and more serious in the country as in the other European countries. However, the cause of poverty of those days lay not only in the depression, but also in rapid population increase and its resultant decrease of real wages.¹⁾ The problem of the poor, therefore, continued to be severe

1) As concerns the problem of the poor in early modern England, see E. M. Leonard, *The Early History of English Poor Relief*, (1900), Frank Cass, repr. 1965; M. James, *Social Problems and Policy during the Puritan Revolution, 1640-1660*, London, 1930; W. K. Jordan, *The Charity of London 1480-1660*, (1960), Archon Books, repr. 1974; A.

even after the middle of the seventeenth century, when the England's economy began to recover.

In such circumstances a lot of pamphlets were published mainly in the second half of the seventeenth century, which argued how to resolve the problem. Although various authors proposed their own measures in the pamphlets, the arguments tended to be centred more and more on "workhouse" in the last quarter of the century. Many authors proposed various plans of workhouse, where the poor were to be employed.

Such pamphlets on the problem of the poor in the seventeenth century formed a theoretical base of later workhouses which existed on until the twentieth century. Among those pamphlets, this article takes several pamphlets written by Richard Haines, and focuses its arguments on his proposals of workhouse and employment of the poor. Although Samuel Hartlib, Mathew Hale, and Josiah Child have often been made reference to as early thinkers of workhouse, Richard Haines has seldom been mentioned so far. It is, therefore, significant to reveal his attitude to the problem of the poor and the details of his ideas on workhouse in this paper.

He published following seven pamphlets.

1. *The Prevention of Poverty*, 1674.
2. *Proposals for Building in every County A Working-Alms-House or Hospital.....*, 1677.
3. *Provision for the Poor: or, Reasons for the Erecting of a Working-*

L. Beier, *Masterless Men*, Methuen, 1985; J. Pound, *Poverty and Vagrancy in Tudor England*, Longman, 1986; P. Slack, *Poverty and Policy in Tudor and Stuart England*, Longman, 1988. And as concerns the problem of the poor in early modern Europe, see J-P. Gutton, *La société et les pauvres en Europe, XVI^e -XVIII^e siècles*, PUF., 1974; C. Lis and H. Soly, *Poverty and Capitalism in Pre-Industrial Europe*, Harvester Press, 1982; B. Geremek, *La potence ou la pitié*, Gallimard, 1987; Robert Jütte, *Poverty and Deviance in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge UP., 1994.

- Hospital in every County., 1678.*
4. *A Model of Government for the Good of the Poor, and the Wealth of the Nation., 1678.*
 5. *A Breviat of some Proposals, 1679.*
 6. *England's Weal & Prosperity proposed; or, Reasons for Erecting Publick Work = Houses in every County,, 1681.*
 7. *A Method of Government for such Publick Working Alms-Houses*
.....

Although the seventh has no date, it was obviously written in the last period of his writing activities. And among those seven pamphlets, the number 1, 2, and 4 are his main articles, which describes his ideas in detail. The others are, more or less, concise versions of the three. And therefore, the pamphlets 1, 2, and 4 are mainly analyzed here to reveal his thoughts and proposals.

II

The correct title of the number 1 pamphlet above mentioned is, "*The Prevention of Poverty: or, A Discourse of the Causes of the Decay of Trade, Fall of Lands, and Want of Money throughout the Nation; with certain Expedients for remedying the same, and bringing this Kingdom to an eminent degree of Riches and Prosperity: By Saving many Hundred Thousand Pounds yearly, Raising a full Trade, and constant Employment for all sorts of People, and increasing His Majesties Revenue, by a Method no way burthensome, but advantagious to the Subject*". As the title clearly indicates, this pamphlet proposed how to increase the national wealth.

In the first place, Haines pointed out that many people complained loudly about want of trade and money, describing the general poverty in England at that time as follows.

In brief, all conditions of men seem to have chang'd their stations, and sunk below themselves; the Gentry, by reason of the *fall of their Lands, and uncertainty of Rents*, being brought to live at the rate of a Yeoman; the Yeoman can scarce maintain himself so well as an ordinary Farmer heretofore; the Farmer is forced to live as hard as a poor Labourer anciently; and Labourers generally, if they have Families, are ready to run a begging, the Poverty of most Parishes being such, that they can hardly supply or relieve them.²⁾

After the author deplored, as quoted above, that every class now could not maintain its own level of life, he attributes the cause of the poverty, which invades into the kingdom "like an armed Enemy", to two points.³⁾ The first is the decrease of production of goods and commodities for export. The second is the marked increase of import of foreign expensive goods and commodities. Haines, therefore, insists on the financial deficit, which comes from ill balance of export and import, as the cause of the national poverty. A lot of money flows yearly to foreign countries, making England poor. The expensive imported goods and commodities, which are listed by Haines, contain iron, timber, brandy, French wine, linen cloth, and other French commodities, German beer, coffee, chocolate, salt, salt petre, and so on. Although those goods, except for linen cloth and French wine, have been imported into England within the past forty years, they amounts to at least two or three million pounds yearly. But the production of England's main industries, especially of woollen cloth and iron, has decreased, and any new industry has not yet developed. England, therefore, cannot make up the deficit of trades.

2) Richard Haines, *The Prevention of Poverty.....*, p.1.

3) *Ibid.*, p.2.

The best means, he says, to prevent the excess of import must be, firstly, to raise new manufactures, and secondly, to prohibit the import of goods unnecessary and injurious to the kingdom. The item to be produced as a new industry of England and also to be prohibited to import from foreign countries is linen cloth. For English ground produces abundant hemp and flax, it is fit to make linen cloth. And the production of linen cloth will bring much advantage to the kingdom, as follows.⁴⁾

1. It will raise the value of lands. Although English lands are worth only twenty shillings per acre for corn or pasture, they will be worth forty or fifty shillings per acre for hemp and flax per annum.
2. Great numbers of poor families will be set to work constantly by this industry. It will provide employment not only for men but also for women and children. For want of employment, "most of them now are trained up in Idleness, and live by the labours of others".
3. Any parish, which cannot give employment to the poor in making woollen cloth because of the shortage of resources, will be able to easily provide employment for them in making linen. And the poor in the parish will support themselves by it.
4. It will be able to employ even vagrants, and they might "become Instruments for the enriching" of the nation.
5. Several hundred thousand pounds, which are sent out of the nation for linen every year, will be kept at home. Moreover, planting of hemp and flax will be useful for the industry of making sails, cables, and other cordage necessary for shipping.

4) *Ibid.*, pp.5-7.

Explaining the advantages of production of linen cloth as above, Haines reveals his great interest in the problem of the poor, especially in employing them. Although the theme of this pamphlet is how to increase the national wealth, his strong desire to resolve the problem of poverty of those days has made the base of it. But the idea of employing them in workhouse has not yet appeared in this pamphlet in 1674. Such an idea is to come three years later.

Among the five advantages above mentioned, the point of the employment of vagrants (number 4) contains his consciousness of vagrants and his proposals of the policy to them. It is, therefore, useful to quote some parts of the statement.

Fourthly, some thousands of wandring persons that go from door to door, to the great dishonour & disadvantage of the Nation, might by this means become Instruments for the enriching of the same. And though there be very wholsom Laws in being for preventing this intolerable Inconvenience of Vagrants, yet Officers are generally too remiss, and to avoid trouble, or the imputation of being over-busie, and the ill effects thereon depending, seldom put the same in execution. For this to my knowledge is true, that several Officers, who willingly would do their Office, and put the Laws in Execution, have told me, that the number of them were so great, and dangerous, that they were afraid that their Houses and Barns might be set on fire, whilst themselves were asleep, or that some personal mischief should be done them. And indeed no small cause there is for these Jealousies, their confidence is so very great: (omission) For remedy whereof, it might possibly be convenient to propose a sufficient encouraging Reward to be paid every such poor person or persons, that shall seize any such Vagrants, by the Overseers of the poor of that Parish where they are taken, and that a severe

Penalty be imposed on Constables, and other Officers neglecting their duties, when any persons so apprehended are brought to them; by which means those many thousands, which are idle, may be employed to their own good, and the Nations advantage, so that in six Months time, there might not be a Beggar in the Kingdom, if such Encouragement were given.⁵⁾

Haines' feeling of hatred toward vagrants is clearly expressed here, and he proposes that rewards should be given to poor and ordinary people who take vagrants. From the sixteenth century on, the able-bodied poor having no work and vagrants were regarded as "idle", and they were more and more dealt with as dangerous deviants. Such attitudes toward them still firmly remained in the second half of the seventeenth century. But the very thought that if such "intolerable" vagrants are employed, they will become "instruments for the enriching" of the nation, was born in the latter half of the seventeenth century. It was the idea of profitable employment of the poor, which was also expressed by the other pamphleteers of those days. To employ the poor cheaply and make more profit was an innovative idea of the times, leading to the thought that a rich source of the wealth of the nation lies in the potential work force of the "idle" poor and vagrants. Considering the facts that the sixteenth century society just negatively regarded the poor and vagrants as social deviants, and that the feeling of hatred still existed in the seventeenth century, this positive attitude toward them, evaluating their work force, is remarkable and even amazing.

As the main point of his proposals for enriching the nation, Haines insists that the industry of making linen cloth should be developed and the poor and vagrants should be employed there. Therefore, he lists

5) *Ibid.*, pp.5-6.

linen cloth firstly among the foreign goods to be prohibited to import. All the items to be prohibited, that he lists, and the reasons are as follows.⁶⁾

1. Linen cloth.
2. "Mankilling-liquor", called brandy. Prohibiting its import will promote the consumption of domestic products as beer and ale, and will save three hundred thousand pounds, which brandy costs yearly.
3. Bay-salt. For salt can be made at home. Domestic production of salt will improve much land on the sea-coast and save fifty thousand pounds per annum.
4. Salt-petre. It can be also made at home.
5. Iron. Domestic production of iron will save some hundred thousand pounds and employ many people.

In addition to these items, Haines proposes that the import of French wine, which costs at least one million pounds yearly, should be restricted and people should drink domestic cider, which is "wholesome for our bodies", instead of French wine. He also insists on strict prohibition of the export of goods. Those are fuller's earth and wool. Fuller's earth is necessary for making woollen cloth and can be obtained only in England. Prohibiting fuller's earth to be exported, therefore, will damage the woollen industries of foreign countries. And the export of domestic wool has promoted foreign woollen cloth industries so far. To prohibit wool to be exported, therefore, will make the native woollen cloth industry recover its former prosperity, and will produce a lot of employment and bring much wealth to the nation.⁷⁾

6) *Ibid.*, pp.7-8.

7) *Ibid.*, pp.13-14.

He even proposes devaluation of national coin. He insists on making a new shilling coin having the value of nine pence, instead of the present value of twelve pence. The new shilling coin is, therefore, to be devaluated by a quarter. If this measure of recoinage is taken, foreign merchants will not want the devalued and lightened coin, and flowing of English coin abroad will be prevented.⁸⁾ In answer to the question that such a measure is dishonourable to the kingdom, he says that although it is honourable to maintain heavier coin than any in the world, it is far greater dishonour for England to be "truly reported to be the poorest Kingdom of Europe"⁹⁾.

This pamphlet is closed with a table in the end, which estimates that to carry out the above mentioned prohibition will save ninety million pounds in the space of forty years. In short, this pamphlet emphasizes that the limitation of import and the development of domestic linen cloth industry will bring prosperity to England, "the poorest Kingdom of Europe". Starting from this first pamphlet, Haines develops his thought to the idea of erecting workhouses.

III

In 1677, three years later, a new pamphlet was published, being entitled "*Proposals for Building in every County A Working-Alms-House or Hospital; As the Best Expedient to perfect the Trade and Manufactory of Linnen-Cloth*". "A Working-Alms-House or Hospital" in this title means a later "Workhouse". And Haines, in this pamphlet, asserts the workhouse to be the best measure of developing the linen cloth industry.

The idea of workhouse had been advocated by Samuel Hartlib and other pamphleteers since the middle of the seventeenth century. And

8) *Ibid.*, pp.15-16.

9) *Ibid.*, p.18.

Haines probably shaped his concept of workhouse under the direct influence of Thomas Firmin. Because Haines, in this pamphlet, praises Firmin for his workhouse as "laudable practice", and refers to the information given by Firmin.¹⁰⁾ Thomas Firmin had founded his own workhouse in the suburbs of London at that time, and employed many poor people.

At the beginning of his "Proposals", Haines describes the problem from which England suffers, as follows.

Considering the great Complaints of Poverty, the heavy Burdens most Parishes lie under to maintain their Poor, which daily encrease; the Swarms of Beggars, Vagrants and Idle People in City and Countrey; the great, and 'tis fear'd, irrecoverable decay of our Ancient Trade for Woollen Cloth; the vast Charge we are yearly at in purchasing Linnen, &c. from other Nations, whereby our Treasure is exhausted, and our Lands fall for want of being improved some other way, besides planting Corn, breeding for Wool, & c. Which are become of so low a price, as scarce to turn to Account:¹¹⁾

In order to improve such situation as above illustrated, he proposes that every county should erect the working-almshouse which can continually employ the poor in making linen cloth. And he points out the advantages of this scheme.¹²⁾

1. The linen cloth manufacture will be able to employ the weakest people, that is, women, children, and the aged, who are not capable of hard work. It will also employ beggars and vagrants, who

10) Richard Haines, *Proposals for Building in every County.....*, postscript, p.9.

11) *Ibid.*, pp.1-2.

12) *Ibid.*, pp.2-3.

are the most chargeable to the nation. They live idly, and by other men's labour. And they can only be brought to industry and order when they are confined under fitly qualified rulers, officers, and regular government. But this manufacture will be able to employ even them.

2. Working-almshouses will supply the nation yearly with sufficient amounts of linen cloth, except for the finest sort. 1,352,000 pounds worth of cloth may yearly be spun in them. The grounds of the estimate are as follows.

(1) It is well known by experience that three quarters of a pound of thread worth 12 pence per pound spinning will make one ell of cloth worth 2 shillings per ell. Three quarters of a pound of thread can be spun by two spinners in one day. Therefore it follows,

(2) That 2,000 spinners will spin thread enough in one day to make 1,000 ells of cloth, being worth 100 pounds. And working 260 days in the year can spin 26,000 pounds worth of linen cloth in a year.

(3) If there are 52 working-almshouses in 52 counties, and if each of the working-almshouses has 2,000 spinners on average, then 1,352,000 pounds worth of linen cloth can be spun in one year.

He is insistent that working-almshouses employ people, who have not worked so far, and can produce such huge value of linen cloth. And he is planning such a large workhouse as having 2,000 employees. Haines furthermore insists on a treble benefit brought to the nation by this scheme. Firstly, much money more than one million pounds, which are yearly sent out of the nation for foreign linen cloth, will be saved. Secondly, by employing idle beggars and non-workers, whose number is

supposed at least 100,000, the charge of every parish will be lightened. Thirdly, much land throughout England will be greatly improved by sowing hemp and flax.¹³⁾

But is it possible for the weakest people to make such a large scale of production? Answering this question, Haines discloses to his readers that he has invented a new spinning machine. By working the machine, he says, one man can turn 50 spinning wheels, using only both hands. Moreover, he declares that he has also invented a device for beating hemp, and that 50 men can beat by the device as much hemp in one day as 100 shall do in two days.¹⁴⁾ Although the details of his inventions are not known, he continues as follows.

Besides the Advantage of this Spinning Engine in Ease, Its expedition will also be considerable; For if (as we doubt not) by this help Spinners can earn 9 d. per day, as easie as 6 d. per day without: By that means computing only 1000 Spinners in each of the 52 Work-houses, in one years time will be gained the Sum of 163968 Pounds and upwards, as by Calculation appears; and the Invention for Hemp-beating (which is the hardest work of all) will likewise in its kind be very considerably advantageous.¹⁵⁾

And Haines wishes to offer his inventions to the working-alms-houses. Then the institutions will become "nurseries for bringing up all poor people's children to industry", and the most part of the great production will be made by "those who at present are a burden".¹⁶⁾ As for the resources of founding the institution in every county, he proposes to use poor

13) *Ibid.*, p.3.

14) *Ibid.*, p.4.

15) *Ibid.*, p.5.

16) *Ibid.*, p.7.

¹⁷⁾
rates.

The most interesting part of this pamphlet concerning his plan of workhouse lies in the arguments of how to organize its spinners.

I propose it to consideration, whether it might not be a more Christian and effectual course to suppress notorious Malefactors (except only in cases of Treason and Murder) to condemn them hither [workhouse] for life or years, where they may be serviceable to turn Wheels, fit Tier to the Distaffs, reel Yarn, swingle or hitch-el Hemp or Flax, Weave, &c. which an ordinary Ingenuity may learn in few days, rather than to send them out with a Brand to commit fresh Villanies, or transport them, whence they presently return: And this the rather to be heeded, for that Foreign Plantations have now so little occasions for them, that Merchants refuse to take them off the Sheriffes hands, without being paid for their Passage; so that above 80 Convicts in Newgate lately obtained a General Pardon on that very score, because they knew not what to do with them: Besides, how many overstockt Trades are there that complain for want of Trade, &c. These may quickly learn to weave, and never fear an employ.¹⁸⁾

In short, he is planning that criminal offenders should be committed to workhouses and set to work in making linen cloth there. But the problem of how to control them will soon arise. He answers as follows.

They may be secured well enough, and those that turn the Wheel, &c. may be separated by an Iron Grate from the rest: — And

17) *Ibid.*, pp.5-6.

18) *Ibid.*, pp.7-8. The content of the square brackets [] is my supplement.

here by the way, the pious wisdom of the City of London may find out a means, whereby all those Impudent Night walkers, and Nurses of Debauchery may be wholly removed, which at present are a destruction both to the Estates, Bodies and Souls of many Hundreds, and cannot be reclaimed by ordinary Bridewels, because their Labour there is only a punishment, and turns not to advantage, to keep them there all their days, or at least until they marry, and keep within doors.¹⁹⁾

Through his explanations, we can almost sketch the outline of workhouse, which Haines plans. Although the most of the inmates of workhouse consist of the poor and their children, convicted criminals are also included, except for traitors and murderers. He is insistent that it is better for convicted criminals to be confined in workhouses and set to work there, than to be transported to the colony. The convicted criminals, mentioned here, are mainly vagrants and prostitutes. As for the criminals like vagrants and prostitutes, they were committed so far to the houses of correction, one of which was famous London Bridewell. Otherwise vagrants were transported to the English colony in America. But as the latter quotation indicates, Haines is critical of the house of correction.

London Bridewell was founded in the middle of the sixteenth century. The purpose of the foundation was to confine "idle" persons like vagrants there, setting them to work, and to reform their "idleness". But because of the financial shortage, the persons who were confined and set to work were the minority of the whole committals, and the average term of confinement was about a week. It seems, therefore, that the purpose of their reformation was not fully realized. And the work carried

19) *Ibid.*, p.8.

out in Bridewell had the characteristics of punishment, as Haines writes. It was not the work from which the institution could get profit. It is, therefore, rightly supposed that the houses of correction, the origin of which was London Bridewell, had the function of governing people, not of economy.²⁰⁾ But Haines regards the work of inmates of his workhouse as the object of economical profits, as the other writers do in the seventeenth century.

In 1678, the next year of the publication of that "Proposals", another pamphlet was published, the concise version of "Proposals", being entitled "*Provision for the Poor: or, Reasons for the Erecting of a Working-Hospital in every County.*" Although his past arguments are repeated here, it is worthy of note that the workhouses of Holland are referred to in the pamphlet. He says that England is "famous all the world over, as abounding with huge stocks of Wooll, Hemp, Flax". And it is also famous for "Poor People, and Beggars in abundance", he continues, "and all for want of Publick County-Working-houses of Confinement, for administring Instruction, Encouragement, and Correction".²¹⁾ Then he describes as follows.

It's judged, that to one Pickpocket, Cutpurse, & c. in Amsterdam, there are an Hundred in London, and to one sturdy Beggar in Hol-

20) As for London Bridewell, see my books and articles written in Japanese, and my English articles, Takashi UHARA, "London Bridewell in the Early Elizabethan Period", *Journal of Baltic and Scandinavian Studies*, vol.4, 1994; "Bridewell and People, Social Control in Early Modern London", *The Kyotogakuen University Review, Faculty of Business Administration*, vol.11, no.1, July, 2001; "Vagrancy and Punishment, Social Policy in Early Modern London", *Journal of Baltic and Scandinavian Studies*, vol.11-12, 2002; "Morality and People, Social Control in Early Modern London", *The Kyotogakuen University Review, Faculty of Business Administration*, vol.18, no.1, November, 2008. And see also, Paul Griffiths, *Lost Londons, Change, Crime and Control in the Capital City, 1550-1660*, Cambridge UP., 2008.

21) Richard Haines, *Provision for the Poor.....* p.7.

land (in time of Peace) there are four hundred in England; And what's the Reason? They have Publick-Work-houses in every City, for perpetual confinement in cases requiring the same.²²⁾

The workhouses of Holland, as noted in the pamphlet, are called Ras-phuis and Spinhuis. They are reformatory institutions, being founded in Amsterdam in the late sixteenth century, and erected later in the other Dutch cities. Haines was, therefore, under the influence of the information of Dutch workhouses, as well as of Thomas Firmin.

IV

In the pamphlet published in the same year, "*A Model of Government for the Good of the Poor, and the Wealth of the Nation.*", Haines argues the methods of governing and operating the workhouse which he advocates.

In the first place, he points out the necessity of arguments on the method of government in the workhouses, on purpose to prevent such wrongs as following.²³⁾

1. The Country would be cheated of money raised for erecting and furnishing workhouses.
2. The poor would be abused there.
3. Knaves and unfit persons would become officers and exercise power.
4. Justice would be wrested, so as not to redress grievances and punish offenders.

22) *Ibid.*, p.8.

23) Richard Haines, *A Model of Government.....* p.2.

And he proposes that in order to prevent such injustices, every parishioner should be concerned in or about the government and inspection of the workhouse, as follows. According to him, these points should be enacted.²⁴⁾

1. All parishioners, or the great part of them, meet quarterly and elect one or more as their representatives or delegates for this inspection. Then every parish sends the representatives every quarter of the year, to inspect the state of the parish workhouse. Each parish neglecting to choose, and each representative neglecting his duty, should be forfeited to the workhouse. Each representative is allowed 2 shillings and 6 pence a day by his parish for the time he is out for the inspection on horseback, and 1 shilling and 6 pence being out on foot. Such allowance is provided on the condition that none continues out above six or seven days at one time. If this seems too burdensome, two, three, or more small parishes may join to this purpose as one.
2. These representatives of each parish, being assembled, have power as following. To elect governors, prescribe rules and orders, choose trustees, appoint offices and officers. To see and inquire into the welfare of the inmates, whether or not they might be abused or discouraged. To hear and redress all their grievances, and to correct and reform all disorders. To call each officer and trustee to an account, and to continue them in their office or turn them out, and elect new ones, when they judge necessary. For these purposes, they may sub-divide themselves into several committees, and dispatch much business in little time.
3. All men in this assembly may be of equal authority, and their

24) *Ibid.*, pp.3-5.

chairman continues only for one day under oath.

4. No drunkard, gamester, swearer, rude or disorderly person shall be permitted to have any office in that government. But for the encouragement of the inmates to earn their living, all inferior offices or places of preferment may be conferred on such of the workhouse as most deserve.
5. If it is known any person or persons, directly or indirectly, has given or taken any bribe or fee, or offered so to do, then every such person shall thenceforth for ever be incapable of having or holding any office in the workhouse, or giving any vote concerning the same in any assembly.
6. The representatives shall every quarter give a fair and just account of revenue and expenditure of the workhouse.
7. For the building and first stocking such workhouses, every parish and united parishes, shall send their representatives every fortnight or four weeks, who shall carry the proportion of money payable thereunto by such parishes respectively.

Because the rules of government of the workhouse are, according to Haines, prescribed by the representatives of each parish, the concrete contents of the rules are not mentioned here by himself. He just emphasizes that the principle of his methods of government of the workhouse lies in the system where the interests of the representatives do not depend on one member. And as for the officers of the institution, he recommends the case of Christ's Hospital in London as a good model.

Although Haines does not describe the concrete rules of the workhouse, he prescribes what kind of persons should be accommodated there.²⁵⁾

25) *Ibid.*, pp.5-6.

1. The children of all poor people, who are chargeable to the parish, are employed in the workhouse at four or five years old and upwards. And all impotent people, who cannot earn their living at home, and all others that are chargeable are employed. But married people having children are excluded, in order not to part husband and wife.
2. The male children brought up in the workhouse have their liberty to go to trades or service, when they come to the age of 13 or 14 years. And the female children also have like liberty at the same age.
3. All beggars and vagrants, who have no habitation, nor will earn their livings in any lawful employment, are placed there.
4. All dangerous persons and criminals whom the law condemns to be hanged, and so on, except in the case of murder and treason, may be confined to the workhouse, during life, or for a certain term of years. Whereby they may have the opportunity to be reformed, and in the mean time they can serve the public, maintaining as many more as themselves by their labour.
5. All debtors in prison may remove themselves to the workhouse, because the conditions of English prisons are terribly bad.

In short, the inmates of the workhouse consist of, mainly, the poor who are chargeable to the parish according to the prescriptions of Poor Laws, and of beggars and vagrants, and even of other convicted criminals. And they are set to work there, making linen cloth. As above mentioned, London Bridewell also confined various offenders and "idle" persons, except for felons, and set them to work. Whereas the work carried out in Bridewell was a kind of punishment, Haines and others regard the work in workhouse as profitable, and as a source of wealth. He esti-

mates earnings of the inmates of the workhouse, and emphasizes their highness by using the spinning machine which he invented. According to him, men can earn 18 pence a day, and women 9 pence or 10 pence a day, and the impotent 8, 9, or 10 pence per day. He says, "any one that could earn 6 d. a day heretofore, shall in this House as easily earn 9 d. or 10 d. a day". A child at four or five years old, which costs the parish 1 shilling 6 pence or 2 shillings per week keeping, can earn 3 pence per day after two months teaching in the first year, 5 pence a day in the second year, 7 pence a day in the third year, and 9 pence a day in the fourth year. Therefore, he declares that "at nine years of age, they may earn more than any woman by the same Employment can do without the help of our Engine²⁶⁾".

Until the year when this pamphlet, concerning the government of the workhouse, was published, Haines had advocated the development of linen cloth industry in England. But he changed his opinion after the next year.

V

In 1679, a new pamphlet was published, entitled "*A Breviat of some Proposals prepared to be offered to the Great Wisdom of the Nation, The King's most Excellent Majesty, and Both Houses of Parliament, for the speedy Restoring the Woollen Manufacture, by a Method practiced in other Nations.....*" As the title indicates, it is the work in which Haines argues on the methods of developing not linen industry but woollen industry. The main points of his arguments are that England produces more wool than other countries, and that domestic processing the wool into woollen goods, instead of exporting it as before, will bring great wealth to England. And he argues that by employing the estimated 200,000 "idle"

26) *Ibid.*, p.7.

persons in workhouses and setting them to work in making woollen goods for half the wages of the present, the wealth of the nation will increase at least by 4 million pounds per year.²⁷⁾

To our surprise, Haines scarcely refers to developing linen cloth industry in this pamphlet, including his later ones, although he so earnestly insisted on it before. He just mentions in the last page that even in the case “we have not Wool enough to employ them, this Expedient still remains unshaken, for we may employ them in making of Linnen to great Advantage”.²⁸⁾ And his “inventions” of the spinning machine and the device for beating hemp, which his past pamphlet declared, are also not mentioned here. The reason of all is unknown. It might be possible that he desires to develop the woollen industry besides the linen industry, or that he has changed his opinion because his “inventions” turned out to be ineffective. But the truth is not clear.

His idea of employing the poor for the half wages coincides with the view often expressed by many pamphleteers of those days, that is to say, the view that giving low wages is the only method for keeping the poor industrious.²⁹⁾ They insisted that as the poor will spend excessive money unthriftilly and become idle, keeping their wages as low as possible can make them work diligently. According to Haines, such cheap workforce in workhouse can produce woollen cloth cheaper than ever.³⁰⁾

As for developing the woollen industry, Haines argues it to the full in his next pamphlet in 1681, entitled “*England’s Weal & Prosperity proposed: or, Reasons for Erecting Publick Work = Houses in every County, For the speedy promoting of Industry and the Woollen Manufactory, shewing how the Wealth of the Nation may be increased, many Hundred thousand pounds*”

27) Richard Haines, *A Breviat of some Proposals*..... pp.1-3.

28) *Ibid.*, p.6.

29) M. James, *op.cit.*, p.282.

30) Richard Haines, *A Breviat of some Proposals*..... p.2.

per Annum. And also that many Thousand persons may be so Reformed, to their own and the whole Kingdoms present and future Wealth and Glory, that there may no more be a Begger bred up in the Nation....." In the first place he points out the importance of woollen industry, saying that "our Wool is the main Support of that Trade which maintains and encreases the Wealth, Strength and Glory of the *English Nation*". But such goodness of the nation, he continues, "consists not in the Exportation of unwrought Wooll, nor in the Consumption of our Woollen-Draperies at Home; but in the Exportations of, and quick Markets for our Woollen-Draperies abroad". And for the realization of this, he insists that "Publick Work-Houses to be Erected in every County, will be a most certain and effectual Expedient"³¹⁾. He explains the reasons as follows.³²⁾

1. Such workhouses bring all idle persons, poor people, beggars, vagrants, and so on, into a habit of industry. It has already been proved in the countries where such institutions are erected and well-governed.
2. Without workhouses, it is impossible to convert them to such habit of industry, and keep them employed in such profitable manufactures, by which the wealth of the kingdom will be promoted.
3. By these measures, there will be no beggars in the nation. And the poor will have no occasion to complain for want of employment.
4. By these measures, a hundred or two hundred thousand poor people will get their happiness. And the wealth of the nation will increase by many hundred thousand pounds per year.

31) Richard Haines, *England's Weal & Prosperity.....*, p.4.

32) *Ibid.*, pp.4-12.

5. For want of workhouses, English wool has fallen from 12 pence to 6 pence per pound. Because the number of the people employed at present can convert wool only half so fast as it grows.
6. The export of unwrought wool has destroyed English foreign markets for the sale of domestic woollen cloth. But if such quantities of English and Irish wool had not been exported, it would have fallen from 12 pence to 3 pence per pounds. Because as the stock of wool increases, the price must decrease. Therefore, in order to raise the price of wool and not to destroy domestic woollen industry at the same time, all idle poor people must be brought to industry and set to work in converting wool domestically as fast as it grows. By this means English wool will soon mount to 12 pence or 18 pence per pound. And it will also remove the occasion for the export of wool, and damage the woollen manufactures of France, Flanders, and so on. Because they cannot make woollen cloth without mixing English wool. Wherefore the easy way to destroy the wealth and trade of the nation is to export wool and maintain many thousands of poor in idleness and debauchery, and the most certain means to revive and regain the domestic woollen manufactory is to bring the poor to industry. Only by the means, the price of wool at home will rise, and woollen cloth will be made cheaper than in other countries for the export to foreign markets.
7. All the wool of England and Ireland has been monopolized into the hands of the clothiers by act of parliament. And because they cannot convert it half so fast as it grows, they may keep down the price of wool at their pleasure.
8. By this means, many hundreds of well-skilled but poor decayed clothiers, who have little or no stock of their own, can employ 200 people in workhouse respectively.

9. England can make and sell woollen cloth cheaper than other countries. England has fuller's earth and English wool is the kindest in the world to be converted without mixture of other. But other countries cannot make woollen cloth without mixing English wool.
10. The life of trade is not money but industry. And the workhouses are the mother of industry.
11. Because the poor will be bred up to such habit of industry, the intolerable charge of all parishes will decrease.
12. By the means proposed, the wealth of the nation will increase 3 or 4 million pounds per annum. But in fact, it will amount to much more. If England does not have enough wool to employ all the poor, the nation may employ them in making linen with great advantage. Because England has enough wool, enough hemp and flax, enough fullers earth, and enough poor people, to make draperies enough to make the nation excel all kingdoms in the world in wealth and power, strength and safety. There are two hundred thousand beggars and idle, chargeable people in England, and each cost for eating, drinking, and clothing amounts to 5 pounds per year. It needs one million pounds in one year in total. Such people will be able to support themselves in workhouses.
13. The money that must pay for erecting and running the workhouses never goes out of the nation, but remains and circulates in the nation.
14. The king's revenue cannot amount to less than a hundred thousand pounds per year, by the increase of customs, poundage, and tollage.

In short, his basic plan is to employ the poor for low wages in work-

houses, setting them to work diligently in the woollen manufacture, and to increase the wealth of the nation by exporting the cheap woollen goods to foreign markets. In his past pamphlets proposing the development of linen cloth industry, Haines advocated domestic production of linen cloth in workhouses, which had been imported so long. But he never proceeded to the plan to export it abroad. He just insisted that the domestic production of linen cloth by employing the poor could prevent the flow out of the money for importing it, and that his "inventions" of spinning and beating machines would make the production possible, because the machines could raise the productivity and employ even children.

But the focus of his arguments is now on the export of woollen cloth. And as the production using workhouses was already carried out in Holland, he emphasizes some advantages of England, namely, its produce of fuller's earth and wool of good quality, and the large numbers of the poor. He insists that the production of woollen goods in workhouses by taking such advantages will make England excess other countries.

As for the methods of government of the workhouses, where the production of woollen goods would be made, a new pamphlet was published, entitled "*A Method of Government for such Publick Working Alms-Houses as may be Erected in every County for bringing all idle hands to Industry. As the best known Expedient for resorting and advancing the Woollen Manufacture*" But this pamphlet has the same content as his past works on the government of workhouse. He proposes here that two or three or more public workhouses should be erected in every county in order to employ constantly the poor or idle persons in the woollen manufacture, and that those workhouses should be governed in the aforesaid methods.

VI

Tracing the pamphlets written by Richard Haines in chronological order, we could understand his ideas, especially on the profitable employment of the poor, and on the workhouses. His view that the poor, who had been thought as just burdensome so far, could become the source of the national wealth, coincides with that of the contemporary thinkers. And his idea of employing not only the poor but also convicted criminals in workhouses is remarkable, because his proposed workhouses have the function of prison where the inmates should be reformed through working.

The workhouses, which Richard Haines and other pamphleteers advocated, were actually erected at many places in England after the foundation of Bristle Workhouse in 1696, although Daniel Defoe bitterly criticized the institutions.³³⁾ But those workhouses could not become the source of the national wealth, nor become even the institutions making profit. As the Knatchbull's Act suggests, the workhouses seem to have been used for the means to restrain the poor relief. Through the policy that the poor who would refuse to be accommodated in workhouse should not be relieved, English cities and parishes could reduce the expense for poor relief and poor rates as well. Workhouses seem to have continued to exist as strictly controlled institutions, or "horrible" houses, where the poor would dislike to be accommodated, and to have fulfilled the role of the reduction. But these views must be demonstrated

33) D. Defoe, *Giving Alms no Charity, and Employing the Poor A grievance to the Nation, Being an Essay upon this Great Question,*, 1704. Daniel Defoe criticizes workhouses, as follows. Workhouses only increase the poor. The employment of the poor in workhouses destroys the present producers. It is an attempt to take away employment and bread from industrious families and give them to vagrants, thieves, and beggars. Therefore, workhouses do not relieve the poor, but increase the poor, and make honest people starve. D. Defoe, *ibid.*, p.23 and passim.

by more historical evidence, and the further research should be made to reveal the real aspects of workhouses in detail.

A hundred years later than the works of Haines, the industrial revolution would be in progress in England. And England, that was called "the poorest kingdom of Europe," would be developing into "the world factory", where most of the poor would be absorbed as factory labourers.