

Thomas Robert Malthus

Critical Assessments

Edited by

John Cunningham Wood

Thomas Robert Malthus:

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Volume II



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Commentary

J. Bonar wrote 'The Centenary of Malthus' 100 years since the appearance of the *Essay on the Principle of Population*. To him, the *Essay* had the look of a popular pamphlet on political philosophy, directed against the too sanguine prophecies, too unguarded and unqualified principles of William Godwin. To a lesser degree it was a pamphlet on contemporary politics, for it attacked a proposed Poor Law of W. Pitt.

In every edition of the *Essay* after the first, the Poor Laws became more prominent than the speculations of Godwin; Malthus himself became much more interested in this application of his *Essay* than in the other, and laboured to make the conclusions clear. Bonar suggested that Malthus had done his work well and that the centenary was to be gratefully commemorated.

In 'The Doctrine of Malthus and the Increase of Population During the Last Decades', L. Brentano discusses Malthus's suppositions that the cause of the increase of the human race was the desire for propagation and that this remained constant in all circumstances. Brentano does not accept Malthus's view and he argued that there is no such thing as the desire for propagation. A decline in the birth-rate he resolved into the diminution of marriages, or the diminution of the number of births per marriage, and the increase of prosperity.

J. Bonar's short article, 'Thomas Robert Malthus. Died 29 December 1834', written for the centenary of the death of Malthus, investigates Malthus as the author of the *Essay on Population*. Bonar notices that in the successive editions of the *Essay* published during Malthus's lifetime may be observed more and more for its vital statistics which Malthus utilised in his great work. To Bonar, Malthus was a frank and fair disputant, quite willing to be helped by an opponent.

J.J. Spengler, in his 'Malthus' Total Population Theory: A Restatement and Reappraisal', discusses the whole of Malthus's population theory, and indicates some views of earlier and contemporary writers regarding elements of which this theory was composed. The author states that commentators on Malthus have overlooked such important passages

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as total population theory, and the manner in which it developed or about the circumstances on which depend the increase and the availability of subsistence. J.J. Spengler also discusses Malthus's theory of economic progress and the 'effectual demand' for labour, as it relates to the population question. While this discussion is based upon the 'Principles' much more than upon the 'Essay' and other writings, he states that Malthus's theory of demand probably evolved out of his consideration of the population question. In the second part of his article, Spengler examines Malthus's treatment of industrialisation, in which he apparently found a workable solution to both the problem of economic progress and the question of population.

In 'The Structure of Malthus' Population Theory', A. Flew attempts to uncover the logical skeleton of Malthus's population theory which provided the organising and supportive framework for both his empirical enquiries and his policy recommendations. Flew takes Malthus's population theory as a very significant example of a theory in social science and considers its nature and function as a whole. In so doing, Flew provides a very distinct and thorough discussion of the Malthusian theory of population.

At the outset of his paper, 'A Dynamic Interpretation of Malthus' Principle of Population', John E. Moes argues that the traditional interpretation of the Malthusian doctrine emphasised the tendency to diminishing returns under the influence of population pressure on a given resource base. He concedes that in terms of Malthus discussing the past, this view seems justified. However, for the next 150 years after Malthus's period of writing, diminishing returns ceased to be a prevailing historical tendency as institutional barriers to growth were removed, new regions opened up and scientific production methods introduced.

Moes reformulates the Malthusian population growth model in terms of an increasing function of *per capita* real income over the lower range of the latter variable. He demonstrates that as the rate of growth declines and as real income increases, successive increments in income have a diminishing influence on the death-rate, until a turning point is reached as a result of a fall in the birth-rate. The rate of growth of output, with which the population growth is contrasted, is primarily institutionally determined. In terms of this model, the basic Malthusian tenet becomes that interaction of the two relationships outlined above will lead to a stable equilibrium.

In 'The Dangers of Accumulation: A Second Look at Malthus' Critique of Ricardo', V. Dubey examines the arguments of both Ricardo and Malthus on the question of the possibility of unemployment in a capitalist society as a result of an excessive rate of savings. Dubey assesses the correctness of the recent revision of judgement about the respective merits of the two contestants and indicates the nature of this controversy in terms of contemporary economic concepts. Dubey argues that Malthus deserves credit for sound common sense in relating the post-Napoleonic war unemployment to aggregate demand. To him, in the controversy with Ricardo, Malthus comes off second best. Malthus

indicated a genuine problem which would arise if savings were not automatically transformed to investment, and which does arise in the Harrod-Domar type of explorations. Dubey claims that Malthus was wrong in attacking Ricardo because he did not give up the Ricardian assumption that savings are investment.

In 'The Reception of Malthus' Essay on Population in Spain', R.S. Smith surveys the response to Malthus' theory in Spain. Smith points out that Malthusianism reached Spain long before the publication of the *Essay* in Spanish in 1846. Malthus' insistence on food supply as a limit to population growth reinforced ideas advanced by Spanish writers as early as the seventeenth century but discredited because depopulation was thought to be the crucial problem. Smith contends that post-Malthus critics often challenged the accuracy of the Englishman's famous ratios. Many were convinced of the reality of positive checks to population growth but generally doubted their applicability to Spain, at least in the short run. Smith stresses that the sharpest division of opinion centred on the preventive checks, an issue frequently debated on moral grounds but seldom as a matter of faith or religious dogma. Smith claims that far from accepting poverty, destitution and the abandonment of children as indexes of excessive fertility, the great majority of Spaniards saw no reason why the country could not afford the resources for subsisting growing numbers in all strata of the population.

The purpose of the article 'The Editor of the Second Edition of T.R. Malthus' *Principles of Political Economy*' by J.M. Pullen is to consider the evidence relating to the identity of the author of the Memoir, the author of the Advertisement, and in particular the editor of the second edition of *Principles of Political Economy*. The evidence presented in the article shows that there are some reasons for believing, and some reasons for not believing, that each of the three authors — Otter, Empson, and Cazenove — could have been the editor. But the balance of the evidence, in Pullen's view, appears to indicate that the author of the Memoir was William Otter, and the author of the Advertisement and the editor was John Cazenove.

In 'Towards a Reappraisal of Malthus as an Analyst — An Overrated or an Underrated Economist?', H.N. Roy is concerned to assess the analytic significance and relevance of Malthusian thought, primarily in his *Principles of Political Economy*. He feels that Malthus is one of the most underrated of economists; nevertheless, as a pure theorist Malthus is great and equal to any great name in economic science. Specifically his real claim to greatness lay in the theory of effective demand which he developed in the *Principles of Political Economy*. Roy briefly touches upon Malthus's achievements, such as the distinction between savings and hoarding, the theory of price-level determination, his theory of rent, the theory of wage, of gluts and others. Roy points out that Malthus's genius lies in penetrating the surface of the capitalist process in order to show its basic weakness. To Roy, Malthus's economics are still very relevant for the analysis of advanced economies as well as for economies of developing countries.

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The object of K. C. Roychowdhury's 'Land, Labour and Accumulation: Malthus and the Underdeveloped Countries' is to investigate Malthus's contribution to the classical theory of economic development as revealed in the *Essay* and in the *Principles of Political Economy*. The author stresses that Malthus was concerned with the problem of economic development in an agricultural economy with surplus labour pressing on the means of subsistence. To him, Malthus's principal objective was to show how industrialisation can provide employment for the surplus labour in agriculture, supplying purchasing power with which the deficiency in the effective demand for labour may be made up, and bring about in the process urbanisation and a cultured life suited eventually to bring population growth to a standstill. Roychowdhury advances the view that in Malthus's theory agriculture and industry are in a process of symbiosis, with agricultural surplus providing the basis of capital accumulation in industry which tends to maintain an adequate effective demand for labour.

To Roychowdhury, the wage fund doctrine of Malthus is really a theory of employment and, given the level of wages, the size of wage fund determines the amount of labour to be employed. Roychowdhury argues that Malthus's desire for public works and his complacency about the growing government debt explain his desire to step up domestic demand for products for the survival of the growing industries. In his view, Malthus's defence of unproductive consumption is designed to show how agricultural surplus can be the basis of industry in a developing economy with unlimited supplies of labour where *rentier* consumption, by raising demand relatively to productive capacity, helps to foster employment and keep accumulation going.

In 'Malthus and the Theology of Scarcity', D.L. LeMahieu argues that in the final two chapters of his first *Essay on Population*, Malthus had attempted to reconcile the implications of his population theory with the goodness and benevolence of God. He points out that although in later editions Malthus had answered some of the critics of the early edition, Malthus largely abandoned an early intention to develop a thoroughgoing religious justification for his theory. LeMahieu's essay attempts to understand why Malthus felt compelled to include a theodicy in his *Essay* and then to enquire into the nature of his theodicy and its relation to more orthodox Christianity. Moreover, LeMahieu explores the ethics which Malthus's theology sanctioned. LeMahieu argues that Malthus believed man was a self-defining creature and although this process involved pain and apprehension, it encompassed to a far greater degree a sense of power and exhilaration. To Malthus, men need not warp their lives in response to the threat of eternal damnation and evil was the efficient cause of human creativity: such creativity was the final cause of men's happiness, freedom and indeed greatness.

G. Gilbert in 'Economic Growth and the Poor in Malthus' *Essay on Population*', analyses the chapter on growth and welfare in successive editions of the *Essay*. Gilbert considers such themes as the relative value of industry and agriculture in promoting national welfare, the role of

custom and habit in determining the long-term welfare of the lower classes, and the effective constraints on population.

In 'Malthus' Theological Ideas and Their Influence on His Principle of Population', J.M. Pullen describes the theological ideas that appeared in the first edition of the *Essay*. Pullen argues that although the two theological chapters of the first edition were omitted as a block from subsequent editions, some of the theological ideas were retained. The most probable reason for this omission was that he deferred to criticisms from church authorities. Some of Malthus's theological views were important not so much in themselves, but because they played an essential role in the formulation of his principle of population. In brief, Pullen argues that Malthus's principle of population cannot be properly understood if excised from its theological context.

Salim Rashid, in his 'Malthus' *Principles* and British Economic Thought, 1820-1835', tries to clarify several aspects of the role played by Malthus in the unfolding of the classical economic tradition. Malthus stubbornly propagated his opposition to the New Political Economy of Ricardo and his friends. In the course of defending the Smithian concepts of wealth and productive labour Malthus struck upon most of the methodological problems involved in National Income Accounting. Malthus was the first to suggest that 'personal services' be used instead of the Smithian term 'unproductive labour'. Malthus felt that if the problem being considered was accumulation, then it was both useful and valid to consider only material goods in the definition of riches.

The Centenary of Malthus

J. Bonar

Source: *Economic Journal*, Vol. 8, June 1898, pp. 206-8.

It is a hundred years since the appearance of the *Essay on the Principle of Population as it affects the future improvement of Society, with remarks on the speculations of Mr. Godwin, M. Condorcet, and other writers*. The preface is dated 7th June, 1798. The anonymous author was a modest young Cambridge man of thirty-two, who had taken a good degree, become Fellow of his College, and written a political pamphlet on "The Crisis," which was refused by Debrett in 1796, and remained unpublished. He had no literary reputation behind him. He was curate at Albury in Surrey, and in spite of good health and strength was somewhat depressed by a slight defect in speech, and had little to expect but a quiet country living and oblivion.

The success of the Essay was such as to secure him from oblivion at least, for all time. It hit the public "between wind and water." It had the look of a popular pamphlet on political philosophy, directed against the too sanguine prophecies and too unguarded and unqualified principles of William Godwin. In a less degree it was a pamphlet on contemporary politics, for it attacked a proposed Poor Law of William Pitt. The weapon was in both cases the same, the tendency of population to increase up to the means of subsistence. Godwin's millennium of anarchy, when all men were to be free and equal, wealthy and wise, was shown to be impossible so long as the tendency to increase and multiply remained as it had been from the first. Pitt's proposal to give relief in proportion to the size of the pauper's family was shown to encourage the growth of an excessive population; both the paupers and the rates would increase without limit.

Pitt's Bill was dropped, and Godwin's theories were widely discredited. It is true that Bentham as well as Malthus had written against Pitt; and there were many other critics of Godwin besides the anonymous essayist. It is even true that long before him other critics of political utopias had used the argument from the tendency of population to increase with the food. The services of Malthus, then, may seem to have been over-valued at the time of the appearance of the Essay, especially as it took the political economists some little time to discover that a new

contribution had been made to their particular study, and there are still a few of them even now who "fear to speak of '98."

It may still be contended that the work then done was well done, and that the Centenary is to be gratefully commemorated. Perhaps the following reasons will be enough in themselves.

In the first place, the reluctance to dwell on the memory of the achievement is partly due to the success of the achievement itself. We had an instance of the kind two years ago. The Jubilee of the Repeal of the Corn Laws was celebrated in a faint-hearted manner, because every one knew that, whether for good or for ill, the deed was done irrevocably, and the policy is now a matter of course. So it is, in a great measure, with the Essay of Malthus. In the second place, the principles of Malthus in the course of the times seem to be regaining more evidently their first application, which was to political philosophy rather than the Poor Laws. In every edition of the Essay after the first, the Poor Laws became more prominent than the speculations of Godwin; Malthus himself became much more interested in this application of his Essay than in the other, and laboured to make the conclusions clear. In this he was largely successful, even in his own lifetime. The New Poor Law was passed in 1834, only a few months before his death. But he has been still more successful since. It is not too much to say that thoughtful men, differing widely on politics and religion, are very near agreement on the general principles of relief; and the principles are nearly all traceable to the *Essay on Population*. The treatment of poverty is another matter; there is a wide difference between the poor and the paupers. But even there it is not easy to refuse Malthus the honour of having shown us the way. John Mill, in his review of "The Claims of Labour" (*Edin. Rev.*, April, 1845) dates the origin of careful and reasoning hopeful philanthropy in England "from the appearance of Mr. Malthus's *Essay on Population*. Though the assertion may be looked upon as a paradox, it is historically true that only from that time has the economical condition of the labouring classes been regarded by thoughtful men as susceptible of permanent improvement."

Mill, at least, had no fear to speak of '98; and though our own England is larger than the England of Malthus, Ricardo, and even of Mill, we cannot reasonably forget its limits. The theory of population has a bearing even where the limits seem to be widest. But it takes a better hold of the popular mind and has a greater appearance of truth when the limits are contracting than when they are expanding. It was so in 1798; and in 1898, when there are few more countries to conquer, it is threatening to be so again. Even if Ontario fulfils all its new promises, there is no longer a boundless West in America. The world is distinctly older. But there is more heart in it. Though the life of the poor is still hard, much has been done by them and for them since 1798. They have better hopes and sounder knowledge. The plans of reform on which they are learning to lean are better rooted in the present, while they reach hardly less far into the future than Godwin's visions. They, too, must meet the Malthusian challenge. Whether our economic institutions remain as they are, or give place to a new order, we shall not long be able

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to import cheap corn from all parts of the earth; and, whether we are able to import cheap corn or not, no new order will last if the divisor increases at the expense of the dividend. It would seem true, therefore, that perhaps the weightiest bearing of the *Essay on Population* at present is its old first bearing of a hundred years ago on the sanguine speculations of political philosophers.

The Doctrine of Malthus and the Increase of Population During the Last Decades¹

L. Brentano

Source: *Economic Journal*, Vol. 20, September 1910, pp. 371-93.

The rate of increase of population during the last decades has been in such conspicuous contradiction to what the teaching of Malthus would have led us to expect, as to call for a renewed examination of these doctrines in the light of the experience of to-day. This examination I have made in a treatise, with full statistics, which was published by the Royal Bavarian Academy of Sciences. I should exceed the space which the *ECONOMIC JOURNAL* is able to place at my disposal if I attempted to reproduce these statistics here, and must therefore confine myself to stating in condensed form the results which can be deduced from them.

Malthus maintained that mankind had a natural tendency to increase faster than the means of subsistence. The capacity and the desire for reproduction were alike greater than was necessary to compensate for the loss by death, and both the former remained constant. Hence there was a permanent disproportion between the number of human beings in existence and the amount of food required for their support. There were two methods by which equalisation could be established: by misery and crime, or by moral continence. Hitherto only the former had been effective. As soon as the means of subsistence rose above the measure of the absolute necessities of life, numbers would increase until wretchedness pressed back the position of the population to its former level. A permanent improvement, therefore, in the condition of the lower classes could not take place until there had been a general spread of moral continence.

What do the facts since 1871 show? The condition of the lower classes has admittedly improved during this period in a hitherto unprecedented degree. This has been proved in the case of England by Bowley, but it is no less true of all the Western European nations, of America and Australia. According to Malthus, this increase in prosperity should have been followed by a general increase of population. And this has been the case. But did it take place in the manner predicted by Malthus — by a general increase in the number of marriages and births?

Malthus starts — apart from the incorrect statistical basis of his

doctrine, into which I cannot enter here — from two erroneous psychological principles: — (1) The supposition that the cause of the increase of the human race is the desire for propagation, and (2) that this remains constant in all circumstances.

But there is no such thing as the desire for propagation. The causes responsible for the increase of population are the desire for sexual intercourse and the love of children. But sexual desire is under the influence of mental activity, an influence which is capable not only of stimulating and increasing, but also of diminishing it, which, in short, can regulate its activities. And the love of children manifests itself in more ways than the mere bringing of them into the world.

Sexual desire is indeed the most powerful of all impulses. At a low stage of civilisation it acts with the same elementary force as among animals, and the same applies to the lowest classes and individuals of a more civilised era. In these cases the love of children is a negligible factor in the man's life, their care being entirely relegated to the woman. A change in this state of things occurs as soon as a large family brings with it consideration, influence and power. The man at this point also begins to wish for children, for the more numerous these are, the more he becomes a person of consequence and influence. Wherever, at this stage of civilisation, sexual intercourse has taken on the form of marriage, every man strives to marry as soon as he has reached the age of puberty. Marriage appears so essential that anyone who remains single is looked upon as an almost unnatural being, and is certainly despised.

It often happens that moral conceptions survive the primitive circumstances out of which they have evolved. So it has come about that even among nations that have attained a high degree of civilisation, a single life is held to be morally reprehensible, and marriage is regarded as a duty for men and women. Even at a primitive stage, however, certain limits to the contracting of marriages had to be observed. As soon, for example, as a wife had to be bought, the man who wished to marry had to be able to produce the purchase-money. Such obstacles, however, are not absolutely effective. A more effective check was given to the birth-rate by the change in economic conditions which took place when a large family, instead of being an advantage, began to occasion expenses, which constituted a definite burden. A second check was produced by the working of a real increase of refinement on the character of mankind.

The influence of these changes becomes apparent (1) if we compare the increase of population in the upper with that in the lower classes, wherever the necessary data exist; (2) if we consider the increase of population which has accompanied changes in the economic conditions of the mass of the people; and (3) if we compare the relative increase in population in countries where better economic conditions prevail with those in which the conditions are not so good.

A decline in the birth-rate may be due to one of two causes: to a diminution of marriages or to the diminution of the number of births per marriage.

According to the valuable statistics collected by Pontus E. Fahlbeck

for Sweden and Finland, the number of married persons among the nobility and the upper middle classes is 10 to 23 per cent. less than among the entire nation; also the average age at marriage of the men is higher in the upper than in the lower classes in both these countries; not so, however, the average age at marriage of the women. The same facts are brought out by a comparison of the average age at marriage in the various occupations in Copenhagen, Rotterdam, Dordrecht, England and Prussia. In Great Britain and Ireland there is further, since 1891, a decrease in the number of married persons, and since 1873, in spite of rising wages, a decline in the marriage-rate. According to Malthus, a rise in wages must have produced an increase in the number of marriages. So also we find a decline in the marriage-rate of Russia, Hungary, Servia and Italy. The decline in the United States, in Chili, Uruguay and in the Australian States, with the exception of Western Australia, is specially remarkable, for in America and Australia the number of persons of marriageable age is constantly increased by immigration.

In the German Empire, on the other hand, the number of marriages increased between 1881 and 1900, as did also the number of married persons. During the same period the marriage age, both of men and women, fell, especially in the towns. The greatest number of marriages took place in the large towns with a growing factory population, while in the towns inhabited by millionaires² and prosperous citizens the number of marriages declined. A similar increase of marriages may be noted in the remaining countries, not yet specified above.

How are these phenomena to be explained?

A certain falling-off in the percentage of marriages is simply explicable by the decline in the rate of mortality. Out of every thousand inhabitants there is a larger number between the ages of 15 and 40 to-day than there was in 1871. It happens less frequently therefore that marriages are dissolved by death, where, had this been the case, the survivor might have been disposed to re-marry; hence a decrease in the number of widows and widowers who would have started a fresh union.

This, however, can be responsible for a proportion only of the decline in the marriage-rate where this exists, and as a matter of fact it is precisely among first marriages that the decrease is found to have taken place.

In order to explain these phenomena, I will start with the upper classes, among whom alone the decrease in the frequency of marriage is found in *all* civilised countries. The conclusions at which we shall arrive will throw light alike on the cases where the decline in the marriage-rate has spread to all classes of the population, and on those where the marriage-rate has risen. The decline in the upper classes can be explained:—

1. As a consequence of the increased demands made on persons of the upper classes by education and preparation for their future avocations. A man needs more time to obtain the training necessary to fit him for the earning of his livelihood. Consequently, the higher his social and professional rank, the later he will marry, and there will be a relative

increase in the number who remain unmarried.

We can explain on the same lines the increase of marriages in the German Empire, the fall of the marriage age in Prussia, its special fall in the Prussian towns, and, above all, in the large towns with a growing factory population. The majority of the population here has experienced in the last decades a change of economic conditions which has made marriage easier, for the increasing industrialisation of Germany falls within this period. The agricultural labourers, who had until then been obliged to emigrate in order to marry, because no dwelling was obtainable in the country, now moved into the German towns, and more especially into the centres of the great industries. As factory workers they succeeded in making a home at a much earlier age. The same conditions prevail in other countries where the marriage-rate is rising and the age of marriage falling.

Great Britain, on the other hand, has long since been industrialised; the effects on the facilities for founding a home, of the transition from a predominantly agricultural to a predominantly industrial state, have long since worked themselves out. Here, on the other hand, the rise of the standard of comfort among the working classes places obstacles in the way of marriage exactly as it does among the upper classes. In America and Australia the decline of the marriage-rate, in so far as it is not attributable wholly to the scarcity of women, may likewise be traced to the increased standard of life among the lower classes.

In Norway and Sweden the marriage-rate fluctuates fairly regularly in inverse ratio to the rate of emigration. The decline of the Italian rate is apparently connected with the increase of emigration out of the country. Conversely the recent rise of the marriage-rate in Ireland and Spain may be connected with the decline of emigration from these countries. The extraordinarily high marriage-rate of Servia, of Hungary with its strong Slavonic element, of Saxony with its numerous factories, as also that of unpretending Japan, can be explained by the fact that the demands made on the education and preparation for a man's future occupation are relatively small, owing to the modest standard of comfort which obtains in these countries, or the greater facilities they afford for making a home.

2. Another cause responsible for the decrease of marriages among the upper classes is the growing difficulty of supporting a family in the face of increasing social requirements. This cause made itself felt earliest among the nobility, and most powerfully, where, owing to the system of primogeniture, the younger children were unable, if married, to live in accordance with the requirements of their rank. The decrease has been most marked since the ancient privileges of rank in the matter of public appointments and ecclesiastical preferment have yielded to the equalisation of rights, a process which coincided with a shrinking of the emoluments attached to the offices in question. Since when there has been the greatest number of bachelors and spinsters in families whose fortune consists solely of entailed estates.

With the rise in the standard of living, this tendency spread from the nobility to the upper classes in general. Here, too, marriage as a rule

means retrenchment, and so a comparatively large number of persons remain unmarried.

3. A powerful influence for the decline of the marriage-rate is the altered position of woman. In the process of time, from man's slave she has become his companion, and, in accordance with the most recent developments, often even his competitor. Hand in hand with her growing independence came a rise in the social consequence of the unmarried woman. This was bound to react on the attitude of women towards marriage. It may be that the large increase in the proportion of women earning their own livelihood, which took place just between 1895 and 1907, is connected with the decline in the German marriage-rate, which until then had risen, and began, between 1901 and 1905, to decline from 168 to 160. In Great Britain the decrease in the frequency of marriage set in much earlier, and points even more conclusively to its connection with the strivings of women after economic emancipation, a phenomenon which made its appearance much sooner in that country than in Germany. It is clear that the increasing economic independence of woman must diminish the force of one of the motives that leads her to marry. She becomes less ready to undertake the work of a housekeeper under the disadvantage of not being able to give notice; she frequently feels no inclination for the burdens which marriage would put upon her; she is less inclined to submit to a man's will, occasionally she agrees with Bernard Shaw in denouncing the home as "the girl's prison, the woman's workhouse." In short, she is less disposed to marry as her grandmother did, because, as a matter of course, a girl marries as soon as a suitable opportunity offers. She is more apt to reject one suitor in order to wait for a better man. She will look for real feeling as the decisive factor in the case, and will prefer to remain single rather than marry without affection or inclination.

This influence becomes the more effective the greater the number of enjoyments which enter into competition with the amenities of married life. The increase of new inventions and discoveries, of trade and travel, the general spread of education and culture have widened the circle of interests and the tastes of both men and women, have increased their requirements and made many new pleasures accessible to them. Hence the home has lost its paramount importance for the man, and also for the woman; the share of life's joys which marriage contributes to happiness has decreased in proportion as these other joys have increased. And where married life would, for the persons concerned, be incompatible with the satisfaction of these new requirements, whether for pecuniary or other reasons, marriage is often renounced altogether. Hence the decline of the marriage-rate more especially among the upper classes. But this also explains why the percentage of marriages decreases among the people as a whole, as the nation ascends in the scale of civilisation. The desire for marriage decreases in proportion as the pleasures increase which are accessible to everyone, but which, for the reasons already specified, must be renounced on marriage.

5. Lastly, there is no doubt that among the upper classes the mutual