

pasture than wood. A distribution of this last kind is made in the Lenham rate. And, lastly, the distinction between those having and those not having settlements in the parish might be given up. But, in the first place, a labour-rate so qualified as this would scarcely ever be adopted; and, secondly, the worst ingredient of the system would continue. The line between the pauper and the independent labourer would be *pro tanto* obliterated; and we do not believe that a country in which that distinction has been completely effaced, and every man, whatever be his conduct or his character, ensured a *comfortable* subsistence, can retain its prosperity, or even its civilization.

REMEDIAL MEASURES.

THE most pressing of the evils which we have described are those connected with the relief of the Able-bodied. They are the evils, therefore, for which we shall first propose remedies.

If we believed the evils stated in the previous part of the Report, or evils resembling or even approaching them, to be necessarily incidental to the compulsory relief of the able-bodied, we should not hesitate in recommending its entire abolition. But we do not believe these evils to be its necessary consequences. We believe that, under strict regulations, adequately enforced, such relief may be afforded safely and even beneficially.

In all extensive communities, circumstances will occur in which an individual, by the failure of his means of subsistence, will be exposed to the danger of perishing. To refuse relief, and at the same time to punish mendicity when it cannot be proved that the offender could have obtained subsistence by labour, is repugnant to the common sentiments of mankind; it is repugnant to them to punish even depredation, apparently committed as the only resource against want.

In all extensive civilized communities, therefore, the occurrence of extreme necessity is prevented by alms-giving, by public institutions supported by endowments or voluntary contributions, or by a provision partly voluntary and partly compulsory, or by a provision entirely compulsory, which may exclude the pretext of mendicancy.

But in no part of Europe except England has it been thought fit that the provision, whether compulsory or voluntary, should be applied to more than the relief of *indigence*, the state of a person unable to labour, or unable to obtain, in return for his labour, the means of subsistence. It has never been deemed expedient that the provision should extend to the relief of *poverty*; that is, the state of one, who, in order to obtain a mere subsistence, is forced to have recourse to labour.

From the evidence collected under this Commission, we are induced to believe that a compulsory provision for the relief of the indigent can be generally administered on a sound and well-defined principle; and that under the operation of this principle, the assurance that no one need perish from want may be rendered more complete than at present, and the mendicant and vagrant repressed by disarming them of their weapon,—the plea of impending starvation.

It may be assumed, that in the administration of relief, the public is warranted in imposing such conditions on the individual relieved, as are conducive to the benefit either of the individual himself, or of the country at large, at whose expense he is to be relieved.

The first and most essential of all conditions, a principle which we find universally admitted; even by those whose practice is at variance with it, is, that his situation on the whole shall not be made really or apparently so eligible as the situation of the independent labourer of the lowest class. Throughout the evidence it is shown, that in proportion as the condition of any pauper class is elevated above the condition of independent labourers, the condition of the independent class is depressed; their industry is impaired, their employment becomes unsteady, and its remuneration in wages is diminished. Such persons, therefore, are under the strongest inducements to quit the less eligible class of labourers and enter the more eligible class of paupers. The converse is the effect when the pauper class is placed in its proper position, below the condition of the independent labourer. Every penny bestowed, that tends to render the condition of the pauper more eligible than that of the independent labourer, is a bounty on indolence and vice. We have found, that as the poor's-rates are at present administered, they operate as bounties of this description, to the amount of several millions annually.

The standard, therefore, to which reference must be made in fixing the condition of those who are to be maintained by the public, is the condition of those who are maintained by their own exertions. But the evidence shows how loosely and imperfectly the situation of the independent labourer has been inquired into, and how little is really known of it by those who award or distribute relief. It shows also that so little has their situation been made a standard for the supply of commodities, that the diet of the workhouse almost always exceeds that of the cottage, and the diet of the gaol is generally more profuse than even that of the workhouse. It shows also, that this standard has been so little referred to in the exaction of labour, that commonly the work required from the pauper is inferior to that performed by the labourers and servants of those who have prescribed it: So much and so generally inferior as to create a prevalent notion among the agricultural paupers that they have a right to be exempted from the amount of work which is performed and indeed sought for by the independent labourer.

We can state, as the result of the extensive inquiries made under this Commission into the circumstances of the labouring classes, that the agricultural labourers when in employment, in

common with the other classes of labourers throughout the country, have greatly advanced in condition; that their wages will now produce to them more of the necessities and comforts of life than at any former period. These results appear to be confirmed by the evidence collected by the Committees of the House of Commons appointed to inquire into the condition of the agricultural and manufacturing classes, and also by that collected by the Factory Commissioners. No body of men save money whilst they are in want of what they deem absolute necessities. No common man will put by a shilling whilst he is in need of a loaf, or will save whilst he has a pressing want unsatisfied. The circumstance of there being nearly fourteen millions in the savings banks, and the fact that, according to the last returns, upwards of 29,000 of the depositors were agricultural labourers, who, there is reason to believe, are usually the heads of families, and also the fact of the reduction of the general average of mortality, justify the conclusion, that a condition worse than that of the independent agricultural labourer, may nevertheless be a condition above that in which the great body of English labourers have lived in times that have always been considered prosperous. Even if the condition of the independent labourer were to remain as it now is, and the pauper were to be reduced avowedly below that condition, he might still be adequately supplied with the necessities of life.

But it will be seen that the process of dispauperizing the able-bodied is in its ultimate effects a process which elevates the condition of the great mass of society.

In all the instances which we have met with, where parishes have been dispauperized, the effect appears to have been produced by the practical application of the principle which we have set forth as the main principle of a good Poor-Law administration, namely, the restoration of the pauper to a position below that of the independent labourer.

The principle adopted in the parish of Cookham, Berks, is thus stated:—

“As regards the able-bodied labourers who apply for relief, giving them hard work at low wages by the piece, and exacting more work at a lower price than is paid for any other labour in the parish. In short, to adopt the maxim of Mr. Whately, to let the labourer find that the parish is the hardest taskmaster and the worst paymaster he can find, and thus induce him to make his application to the parish his last and not his first resource*.”

In Swallowfield, Berks, labour was given “a little below the farmers’ prices.”

* App. (A.) Part II.

The principle adopted by the Marquis of Salisbury, in Hatfield, Herts, is set forth in the following rules:—

"All persons, except women, employed by the parish, under the age of fifty, shall be employed in task-work. The value of the work done by them shall be calculated at *five-sixths* of the common rate of wages for such work. Persons above the age of fifty may be employed in such work as is not capable of being measured, but the wages of their labour shall be *one-sixth* below the common rate of wages*."

The rule adopted in the parish of Welwyn adjacent to Hatfield is that—

"When employment is found for an able-bodied labourer, who is willing to work, but unable to find it, he shall be as much as possible employed in task or piece-work, and at wages below what are usually given, so as to make him desirous of finding work elsewhere, rather than of applying to the overseer†."

In the parish of St. Mary, Nottingham, the principle adopted is thus stated—

"1st. Steadily refusing to make up wages. 2dly. Invariably taking every applicant for relief and the whole of his family, however large, entirely on the parish, and setting him to work of some sort or other, without any view to profit, or to any principle but that it should be more irksome than ordinary labour‡."

The principle adopted by Mr. Lowe, at Bingham, was also that of "rendering it more irksome to gain a livelihood by parish relief than by industry."

The principle adopted by Mr. Baker, in the parish of Uley, in Gloucestershire, is thus stated by him:—

"To provide for those who are able to work, *the necessities of life*, but *nothing more*, to keep them closely to work, and in all respects under such restrictions, that though no man who was *really in want* would hesitate a moment to comply with them, yet that he would submit to them no longer than he could help; that he would rather do his utmost *to find work*, by which he could support himself than accept parish pay§."

All labour is irksome to those who are unaccustomed to labour; and what is generally meant by the expression "rendering the pauper's situation irksome," is rendering it laborious. But it is not by means of labour alone that the principle is applicable, nor does it imply that the food or comforts of the pauper should approach the lowest point at which existence may be maintained. Although the workhouse-food be more ample in quantity and better in quality than that of which the labourer's family partakes, and the house in other respects superior to the cottage, yet the strict discipline of well-regulated workhouses, and in particular

* App. (A.) Part II.
† App. (A.) Part I. p. 600.

‡ App. (A.) Part II.
§ App. (A.) Part I. p. 623.

the restrictions to which the inmates are subject in respect to the use of acknowledged luxuries, such as fermented liquors and tobacco, are intolerable to the indolent and disorderly, while to the aged, the feeble and other proper objects of relief, the regularity and discipline render the workhouse a place of comparative comfort.

The measures adopted at Southwell are thus stated by Mr. Cowell, on the authority of the governor of the workhouse.

"All the orders were:—

"1. To separate the men and women. 2. To prevent any from going out or seeing visitors, and to make them keep regular hours. 3. To prevent smoking. 4. To disallow beer. 5. To find them work. 6. To treat and feed them well.

"If they misbehaved themselves very grossly, I had authority to imprison them in a solitary cell with the consent of the overseer. But never since I have been governor have I had occasion to imprison but one person, a woman, who was a violent idiot. To the violent turbulent young paupers who came in, swearing they would beat the parish, I gave bones or stones to break in the yard—had a hammer made on purpose*."

But it appears that in others of the dispauperized parishes, the course adopted was simply refusing all relief, except in the workhouses. In the parish of Llangaddock, in Brecon, it is stated—

"We placed the parish under Mr. Sturges Bourne's Act; we made a small poor-house out of some houses adjoining one another, borrowing 300*l.* upon the security of the rates. All persons applying for relief were compelled to move into the poor-house or go without."

In the parish of Leckhamstead, Berks, the means are described to have been—

"1. By the establishment, in the autumn of 1827, of a poor-house for the maintenance of the aged and infirm, and for the employment of children, we have reduced the expenses of the parish about one-third.

"2. By adhering strictly to the statute of 43d of Elizabeth, and by setting all the children that required relief to work, feeding and lodging them in the poor-house, we have done away entirely with the bread system, or head allowance, now totally unknown in this parish; and the alteration induces our poor to look out for employment for themselves and children, which before they did not trouble themselves about†."

It is to be observed, that, although they are variously stated, all these modes of relief, whether by paying wages lower than the ordinary rate in return for out-door labour, or by maintenance in the work-house, imply that the condition of the independent labourer is taken as a standard, and the condition of the pauper

* App. (A.) p. 617.

† App. (A.) Part II.

purposely kept below it; and that these objects seem to have been effected with little real severity in any point, and least of all in that of food. In some instances a low diet was prescribed *in terrorem*, but there appears to have been scarcely ever a rigid enforcement of the rule; and in general the paupers within the work-house enjoyed a diet profuse compared with that of the independent labourers of the same district.

In the course of an investigation induced by the fact already noticed, that wherever any members of vestries, or of boards of parish officers were distinguished by strictness in the administration of relief, these members were generally persons who had themselves risen from the labouring classes; it appeared that the principle which we have set forth for the administration of the poor's-rates (and to which we shall frequently refer in subsequent passages of this Report) is generally adopted by the labouring classes themselves, as the only safe principle for the government of their friendly societies. Mr. Tidd Pratt was examined on this point. Under the 10 Geo. IV. c. 56, which was brought into Parliament at the instance and with the concurrence of delegates from the friendly societies, composed of the labouring classes throughout the country, he has examined and certified about three thousand sets of regulations for different societies, all of which, with the exception of about two per cent., were framed by the members. He was asked—"In these institutions, is the condition of a member receiving relief, or living without work, ever allowed to be as eligible on the whole, as the condition of a member living by his work?"—He answered "In most cases the allowances made by the societies are so adjusted as to make it the interest of every member not to receive relief from the society so long as he can earn his usual wages. The average allowance which they make is about one-third of what a member can earn. Thus, if the average earnings of the members of a benefit society were 1*l.* 4*s.* a week, the allowance in the case of sickness would be, *on an average of the whole time of the sickness*, about 8*s.* a week. During the last session Mr. Slaney brought in a Bill for the purpose of sanctioning the formation of societies for the relief of members when out of employment. At his instance I made inquiries amongst some of the most intelligent and respectable of the labouring classes as to what should be the extent of allowance to those who were out of work. I suggested to the parties that one-half the usual wages might be a proper allowance. The unanimous reply of all the operatives with whom I conversed on the subject was, that an allowance of one-third would be ample, and that more than that would only induce the members to continue on the society rather than endeavour to find work."

We now solicit attention to the various classes of effects produced by the application of this principle, though less strictly, to the administration of the poor's-rates.

The first immediate effects produced in Cookham, were the conversion of the able-bodied paupers into independent labourers, and the reduction of the parochial expenditure.

"About sixty-three heads of families which were formerly constantly on the parish, at once disappeared from the poor-books."

In the course of Mr. Whately's examination he was asked—

"Did the change of system drive any of the parishioners into other parishes?—Certainly not. Not a single family of parishioners of the labouring class has removed; and what is more remarkable is, that although the allowance formerly given to parishioners living at a distance was discontinued, none were brought home.

"Do you mean that not one family of parishioners of the labouring class has removed from the parish since the change of system?—I do. Of course I do not mean to state that the youth of both sexes are not encouraged to look out for suitable services wherever they may be found; and many have done themselves and their friends credit by doing so, who under the old system of relief might have had their efforts paralysed, and have continued through life a burden both to themselves and their friends."*

The money payments were reduced from 2608*l.* to less than half the amount. During the first eight years of the operation of the new system 15,000*l.* was saved as compared with the expenditure of the eight years preceding.

In Swallowfield, the annual rates were reduced from 6*s.* 8*d.* to 3*s.* 4*d.* in the pound. All able-bodied labourers left the work-house, and the total number of able-bodied claimants was diminished one-half.

Among the effects produced at Leckhamstead, it is stated that forty-three able-bodied labourers were formerly chargeable to the parish, and that three only are now chargeable. In answer to further inquiries, Mr. Brickwell who effected the change states, that—

"The forty have mostly found employment within this parish; there may be four or five employed generally in the adjoining parish of Lillingstone Lovell, where they have not a sufficient number of labourers for their ordinary work, and at some periods of the year others obtain work in the neighbourhood. Since the change of our system the farmers are more inclined to employ labourers; previously they would leave all the work that could by any means be put off until some roundsmen came to their turn, or until they could get men at reduced wages,

* App. (A.) Part II.

the parish, making up the remainder; now the case is different, that inducement for protracting their work is done away with, and there is a more regular supply of labour; the men find it much easier to obtain work at fair wages; none are driven out of the parish by our improved system; but we do observe a greater desire and anxiety to obtain work amongst the labourers than was formerly the case."*

In this parish it appears that the total population is not more than 499, and that 77 of these are labourers employed in agriculture. The population was, in 1801, 346; in 1811, 397; in 1821, 519. During the five years preceding the change, the total expenditure was 4172*l.*; during the five years subsequent it was 3000*l.*

In Hatfield also, the able-bodied labourers found independent work within the parish. There appear indeed to have been no means of emigration. The master of the workhouse was asked—

"Do the labourers ever go out of your parish to seek work?—No, they know it would be of no use; they are certain of it, as it is a general understanding in this part of the country that each parish shall employ its own poor."†

The saving in money in this parish, during the ten years succeeding the alteration, as compared with the ten years preceding, was 14,000*l.*, the population having during that time increased by 378 persons.

In Welwyn, the results of the system were very soon perceived. The Rev. Mr. Clutton states, that,—

"Since the alteration, the labourers are less disposed to throw themselves out of work; not applying to the parish on every emergency; there are few new paupers. Some of those who had been on the parish as permanently sick for years have partially recovered, and have returned to work, supporting, or at least helping to support themselves and their families. Several of the girls who came into the house when it was first opened have obtained respectable places, and have turned out well; but for the discipline and habits of the poor-house they would in all probability have been ruined."

In Southwell, the inmates of the workhouse dwindled from 80, in the first year, to 30, and in the second to 11. The total expenditure during the ten years preceding the change was 13,929*l.*; the total expenditure during the ten years succeeding, was 4005*l.*

In Bingham—

"The inmates of the workhouse dropped from 45 to 12, all of them old, idiots, or infirm, to whom a workhouse is really a place of comfort. The number of persons relieved out of the workhouse dropped from 78 to 27. The weekly pay from 6*l.* to 1*l.* 16*s.* to pensioners, all of whom are old and blind, or crippled."

* App. (A.) Part II.

† App. (A.) Part II.

The expenditure in poor's-rates was as follows:—

1816 to 17 - - -	£ 1231	1823 to 24 - - -	£ 365
1817 to 18 - - -	1206	1824 to 25 - - -	431
1818 to 19 - - -	984*	1825 to 26 - - -	356
* New system began this year.		1826 to 27 - - -	345
1819 to 20 - - -	711	1827 to 28 - - -	360
1820 to 21 - - -	510	1828 to 29 - - -	334
1821 to 22 - - -	338	1829 to 30 - - -	388
1822 to 23 - - -	228	1830 to 31 - - -	370
		1831 to 32 - - -	449*."

In Turton, near Bolton, Lancashire, where a well-managed workhouse was introduced—

"No sooner had this system been put into full operation in the house, than the able-bodied, hereditary paupers began to disappear; the discipline was new to them—they disliked the restraint; they soon found that by persevering industry and a little management, they could live above pauperism; and they left us with their habits improved, to make their way in the world without parochial assistance."

"Our poor-rates in 1790 were, upon a full valuation, nearly equal to nine per cent., and at some subsequent periods, viz., in 1816 and 1817, have been even more. After the establishment of our workhouse they began to decrease; for many years preceding the last, they have been very little more than five per cent., and last year they were less, although the population has become nearly double †."

In Ilfracombe the overseer found that when 2*d.* a day less was given by the parish than by private persons, applications were no longer made to him by the able-bodied paupers. Not a single able-bodied man has been relieved since that time, and they are all in the employment of the farmers; the rate of wages being 1*s.* 4*d.* per diem, with an allowance for beer or cider ‡.

In Uley, the burthens of the rate-payers were reduced more than one-half; and Mr. Baker, in speaking of the subsequent conversion of paupers into labourers, states,—

"That it is not so difficult for them to find work for themselves as it is generally believed to be, is proved from the shortness of the time that, with not above two or three exceptions, any able-bodied person has remained in the house; and by a list which has been made of more than 1000 persons who were on the parish books, and who now can be proved to be otherwise maintained, chiefly by their own exertions. The list shows what they used to receive, and for whom they now work. All who received parish pay before the workhouse was open are accounted for, excepting about eight or ten. Some few have left the parish, but not many. About 500 are now on the books, and most of those on reduced pay. I did not advise the introduction of the plan till I had read much and thought much, and till I had removed many doubts by

* App. (A.) Part I. pp. 611, 612.

† App. (A.) Part I. pp. 635, 636.

‡ Mr. Villiers' Report, App. (A.) Part II. p. 44.

private correspondence with those who had witnessed its beneficial effects for several years. Among these doubts the most important was, '*how, in the present scarcity of work, can those employ or support themselves who are now receiving parish pay?*' The answer was, 'You will be surprised to find how soon the impossibility will dwindle down to an improbability, the improbability to a distant hope, and that again to complete success.' I was also told that industry and frugality would increase, and that crime would become less; but I never was told, nor had I the most distant hope, that the success would have been so complete. When it began the poor were idle, insolent, and in a state bordering upon riot; they openly acknowledged that they would rather live on the parish pay in idleness, than work for full labourer's wages, and when hired, their behaviour was such that they could not be continued in work. Now all are glad to get work. I employed many of them in the winter of 1830, and in the spring I let them go; but I promised them work again in the next winter, for which they expressed more gratitude than I expected; but when the winter came very few claimed my promise, *they were in work which they had found for themselves*; and in this winter, up to this time (December 5th, 1832) only one person has asked me for work. There is one man at Uley whose character is, and ever has been, exceedingly bad, and his feet being inverted he is lame. He was allowed parish pay till very lately; he applied for an increase of it; he asserted no one would employ him, and I believed him. At a vestry meeting, however, his pay was entirely taken off; he instantly found work for himself, and has lived by his labour ever since*."

In no instance does the actual population of a parish appear to have been disturbed by these changes; no complaint has been made by adjacent parishes of the labourers of the dispauperized parishes having been driven in amongst them. The reason assigned by the witness at Hatfield for the labourers continuing in their own parish, is applicable to most of the agricultural districts. Non-parishioners may gradually introduce themselves without exciting a murmur; but it appears that the law of settlement, and the present general administration of the Poor Laws, render the transference of bodies of the labouring population from parish to parish a matter of considerable difficulty. It is found less difficult to drive them into other parishes for residences, and even for settlements, than for labour; which last object arouses the immediate opposition of the settled labourers. It appears, however, that they had no need to seek labour in other parishes, as they found it on the best terms in their own parishes, as soon as motives to steady industry were re-imposed upon them. In some large town parishes the same principle of administration, with relation to able-bodied paupers, has been tried, and, as will appear from our subsequent quotations, found equally

* App. (A.) p. 623.

efficient in rendering them independent of parochial aid; but from the want of knowledge of the individual circumstances of the paupers, or the means of tracing them amidst a crowded population, the witnesses can seldom speak otherwise than on conjecture as to any further effects.

The evidence, however, which we have been able to obtain from towns resembles that afforded by the rural districts. Mr. Gordon, a parish officer of All Saints, Poplar, one of the parishes in the metropolis where stricter management of the able-bodied paupers has been established, states,—

"I have lived 30 years in the parish, and being a cooper and ship-owner, employing in my own business between 40 and 50 men, I am conversant with the condition of the labouring classes, and can state that the effect upon them in our district has been very beneficial. It has been beneficial in inducing them to rely more on their own resources than they did formerly. It has long struck me, that they contribute more regularly and largely to savings' banks and benefit societies; in fact, I know this to be the case, as I am one of the trustees of the Poplar Savings' Bank. Now I have only one man working in my yard who does not contribute to a benefit society established amongst the men some years ago, at the instance of my brother; formerly, there were a great number of the men who did not contribute to it. Speaking of my own men, I can state that they are much more steady in their work, and more careful than formerly in not throwing themselves out of work."

The absorption of the able-bodied paupers, or, in other words, their conversion into independent labourers employed within the parish, and the reduction of the poor's-rates, were immediately followed by an improvement in wages, so far as the amount of wages in a pauperized parish, confounded as they are with partial relief under the roundsman or billet or allowance or labour-rate system, can be compared with the amount of wages in the same parish after it has been dispauperized and the labourers paid by their employers.

At White Waltham, where the same system had been adopted, the wages of the labourers are stated to be "rather better," although there were one hundred or one-ninth more labourers in the parish in 1831 than in 1821, the year before the change took place.

In Cookham, the wages of the great body of the labourers were improved.

In Hatfield, the permanent overseer was asked, with respect to the independent labourers in the parish,—

"What effect has been produced on their wages?—The wages have improved somewhat; I cannot state exactly how much, but I believe the wages have improved by 1s. a week; they formerly got 9s. and 10s.

a week, now they get about 11s. This, I think, is about the average of their wages here *."

The Rev. F. J. Faithful, rector of Hatfield, J. P., examined.

"Have the wages of the independent labourers been improved since the change of system of administration of the Poor-Laws?—Decidedly so; and the wages are higher here than in any parish in the neighbourhood where a similar system has not been adopted†."

In the adjacent parish of Welwyn, where the same system has been adopted, the wages of the independent labourers were improved.

In Swallowfield one of the first results of the change was, that single independent labourers received better wages. One of the witnesses stated at the time of the visit of the Commissioner, that he had that day been seeking for a young man to hire, but that he had been obliged to go out of the parish for one; an event which he had never before known.

In Bingham, Southwell, and St. Mary's Nottingham, Mr. Cowell made special inquiries as to the effect of the change upon the wages of labourers belonging to the classes receiving parochial relief, and found that in every instance there had been a striking improvement.

In Thurgarton, where wages have never been tampered with, and where no partial relief has been given during the last forty years, wages have remained steady in money, and advanced when estimated in kind. In the surrounding parishes which are pauperized, wages have been subject to mischievous fluctuations during the same period.

R. P. Garratt, the overseer of Downham Market, Norfolk, states, that—

"We began a change of system by invariably refusing relief in aid of wages. If the farmer would not give the labourers fair wages we took them wholly away and employed them for the parish, and we found very soon that, although it cost us much more at first, it soon had the effect of making the farmer pay his labourers fairly‡."

It must be added, that the mere amount in money does not accurately represent the increase in wages. Beer, milk, potatoes, meat, flour, and other provisions, or the use of land, are so often allowed to the labourer, or furnished to him under the market price, as to form an important part of his means of subsistence: and these advantages are of course given to the best and steadiest workmen. The Marquis of Salisbury states that at Cranborne, where he has successfully opposed the allowance system, the rate of wages is higher, if not in money, yet in value, if these privileges are to be taken into account, than in the neighbouring pauperized parishes.

* App. (A.) Part II. † App. (A.) Part II. ‡ App. (B.), Ques. 39, p. 312 d.

Before the experiment was made, it might fairly have been anticipated that the discontinuance of parochial allowance would effect little or no improvement in wages unless a similar change were made in the neighbouring parishes. When a considerable proportion of the labourers who had been entirely dependent upon the parish were driven to rely on their own industry, it might have been anticipated that the wages of the entire body of labourers within the parish would have been injuriously affected by their competition. And this certainly would have been the case if they had added nothing to the fund out of which their wages came. That fund is, in fact, periodically consumed and reproduced by the labourer, assisted by the land and the farmer's capital, and, all other things remaining the same, the amount of that fund, and consequently his share of it, or, in other words, the amount of his wages, depends on his industry and skill. If all the labourers in a parish cease to work, they no longer produce any fund for their own subsistence, and must either starve or be supported, as they were at Cholesbury, by rates in aid. A single person who has no property and is supported without working, bears the same relation to the labourers who do work as the parishioners of Cholesbury bore to the neighbouring parishes. He is supported by a sort of rate in aid on their industry. His conversion from a pauper, wholly or partially supported by the labour of others, into an independent labourer producing his own subsistence, and in addition to that, a profit to his employer, so far from injuring his fellow workmen, produces on them the same effects as the enabling the inhabitants of Cholesbury to support themselves has produced on the parishes which had to supply them with rates in aid. This has been perceived by some of our witnesses. A farmer of considerable intelligence, who had resided in Cookham, and observed the effects of the change in that parish, declared his conviction that if such a change could be generally introduced, the money saved in poor's-rates would almost immediately be paid in wages. The withdrawal of relief in aid of wages appears to be succeeded by effects in the following order:—First, the labourer becomes more steady and diligent; next, the more efficient labour makes the return to the farmers capital larger, and the consequent increase of the fund for the employment of labour enables and induces the capitalist to give better wages.

The instances of the application of the same principle of administration in those of the manufacturing districts which are pauperized are comparatively scanty; but where they have occurred the effects are in general similar. The following answer to one of our queries from the parish of St. Werburgh, Derby, by Mr. Henry Mozley, affords an example of the operation of the dis-

continuance of allowances in aid of wages in a manufacturing district.

"When I was overseer I refused to relieve able-bodied men working for other people, considering that, by relieving them I was injuring the respectable part of the poor (I mean those just above pauperism), by running down their wages. I found that some of the children in the workhouse were put out to the cotton and silk mills, and because they were workhouse children, the manufacturers paid them less wages than were given to the children of independent work people, who, on applying for employment for their children at 2s. a week, were told, 'I only give that girl, who is older and bigger, 1s. 6d. ;' I determined therefore to take them away from the mills, and that they should do something, or even nothing in the house rather than injure the deserving poor. I am certain that for every 5s. loss that the parish sustained by this conduct is gained 5l. by assisting the respectable poor, and by preventing them from requiring parish relief*."

The next class of specific effects which have followed the application of the principle of keeping the condition of the pauper inferior to that of the independent labourer, is, that it has arrested the increase of population, which the evidence shows to be produced by the present state of the law and of its administration.

In the parish of Burghfield, Mr. Samuel Cliff, the assistant overseer, states that he was—

"Convinced that the discontinuance of the allowance system had saved the parish from destruction; it did this by the immediate check which it gave to population. Whilst the allowance system went on, it was a common thing for young people to come to me for parish relief two or three days after they were married: nay, I have had them come to me just as they came out of church and apply to me for a loaf of bread to eat, and for a bed to lie on that night, and, moreover, for a house for them to live in. But this sort of marriages is now checked, and in a few years the parish will probably be brought about. If the former system had gone on, we should have been swallowed up in a short time."

"Is your knowledge of the individuals resident in your parish such that you can state without doubt that there are persons in it, now single, who would, under the influence of the system of allowing rates in aid of wages, have married had that system been continued?—I have no doubt whatever that several of them would have married; I know them so well that I am sure of it†."

In the Report from Cookham, it is stated, that "some very striking consequences have resulted from the operation of the present system. In the eight years preceding the operation of the new system, the increase of population was very rapid; for the eight years subsequent there was, as compared with the

* Appendix (B.) Quest. 44, p. 31 d.

† App. (A.) Part II.

eight years preceding, a positive diminution. Improvident marriages are less frequent." In the Report from Swallowfield, it is stated, that, "the number of improvident marriages is diminished about one-half." In Bingham, the diminution of improvident marriages was about one-half; and yet, in all these three parishes, illegitimate births, instead of having been promoted by the diminution of marriages, have been repressed still more effectually, and in the last, almost extinguished.

The master of the workhouse at Hatfield was asked—

"What has been the effect, as regards marriages, of altering the system, and paying according to the value of each man as a labourer, so far as that has been done?—I believe they think more before marriage. They would often formerly, as I have been informed, marry without having provided a home or a bed, or any thing, leaving all to the parish. I am not aware of any such marriages having taken place recently*."

In the course of the examination of the manager of the poor in the parish of Great Farringdon (Berks), to which we have already referred, in answer to the question—

"What has been the effect in respect of marriages?"—He answered, "It has been remarked that there are fewer marriages than in previous years; but the change has not, perhaps, been in operation a sufficient length of time to produce the full effect. During the last twelvemonth, however, we had only two cases of bastardy; whereas, the average, for the previous years, has been about six or seven. This alteration has been remarked as the result of the change of system†."

The population of some of the dispauperized parishes has increased since the change of system; but generally in a diminished ratio as compared with the preceding rate of increase. The diminution was in the class of improvident and wretched marriages described by the witnesses above cited.

Whatever impels any class into courses of sustained industry must necessarily diminish crime; and we find that one characteristic of the dispauperized parishes is the comparative absence of crime. In Bingham, before the change of system took place, scarcely a night passed without mischief; and during the two years preceding 1818, seven men of the parish were transported for felonies; now there is scarcely any disorder in the place. In Uley and Southwell parishes crime has similarly ceased.

In almost every instance the content of the labourers increased with their industry.

The evidence on this subject, collected by the Commission, is confirmed by that taken in the last session by the House of Commons' Committee on the state of Agriculture. We refer

* App. (A.) Part II.

† App. (A.) Part II.

particularly to the following extracts from the evidence of Mr. Smith Woolley, a land-agent and an occupier of land in the incorporation, so ably superintended by the Rev. Mr. Becher.

"How much have the poor-rates in your parish fallen?—Including the roads, I think about one-third, that is, from about 600*l.* to 400*l.*

"What is the condition of the poor in your parish with the 400*l.* a year expended upon them, compared with their condition when 600*l.* was expended upon them?—Vastly improved in comfort and usefulness, as well as character.

"Are they more happy and comfortable now?—Much more so; we endeavour to remove cause for complaint, and generally they are satisfied.

"Has the gross produce in your parish, or in those fifty parishes to which you have referred, diminished or increased since your poor-rate fell?—As far as I can judge, increased; the employment of the labourers in draining and other improvements, has produced much effect, and the advantage is felt by the farmers more every year.

"Even in these bad times the land has been permanently improved, and the gross produce increased under this system?—Most decidedly; in the last three seasons, indeed, our cold wet soils have suffered so much from continued rains that they have been very unproductive; but this has shown the advantage to be derived from draining, and more is done.

"Have you any emigration?—Not to such an extent as to produce any effect*.

"Do all classes join in estimating the benefit of this system,—the tenants and the labourers?—In the first instance there was strong prejudice in both parties, quite as much in the employer as the labourer; but they generally begin to see their mutual interest in it.

"They were willing to incur the expense of the erection of the poor-house?—There were objections, but not in many instances.

"With respect to the introduction of the anti-pauper system of Mr. Becher, not taking into consideration merely the expense of raising a workhouse, are there not other outgoings to be submitted to on the part of the farmer?—Yes; but they are more than repaid in the current year. The reduction in the poor-rates, of which I spoke, was when we paid fifty guineas to an overseer, and the instalments of the money borrowed to build the workhouse†.

"When in your parishes you (what you call) force people upon their own resources, to find the means of providing for themselves, you are in a country at no great distance from manufacturing towns, where there is considerable resource for persons so forced upon their own resources?—Not in ordinary times. I do not think we derive any benefit from them. In the very excited state of the lace trade, a few years ago, even labourers accustomed only to agricultural employment were engaged, but it was only temporary, and produced much more harm than good‡.

"Do you think, from considering the poverty of the farmers, that they

* Agricultural Report, p. 575.

† Ibid. p. 574.

‡ Ibid. p. 576.

can afford paying those [i. e. high] wages for labour?—The question is, in what shape it shall be paid; certainly he can afford better to pay for labour for which he may expect a return, than in poor-rates, for which he can expect nothing but ruin*.

The general effects on the labouring population viewed collectively, as contrasted with their condition previous to their change, appear from the evidence to have been equally striking and important.

Mr. Whately describes in the following passage the antecedent condition of his flock:—

"While the weekly wages of an agricultural labourer were still kept so very low that an industrious man could not subsist himself upon his earnings, this allowance of bread-money adapted itself to the circumstances of each particular family, without any reference at all to their moral qualities. The consequence was, that all distinction between the frugal and the prodigal, the industrious and the idle, the prudent and the thoughtless, was destroyed at once. All were *paupers* alike. The most worthless were sure of *something*, while the prudent, the industrious, and the sober, with all their care and pains, obtained *ONLY something*; and even that scanty pittance was doled out to them by the overseer. Like the Israelites in the Wilderness, 'They gathered some more, some less; yet he that gathered much had nothing over, and he that gathered little had no lack; they *only* gathered every man according to his eating.' Wages were no longer a matter of contract between the master and the workman, but a *right* in the one, and a *tax* on the other; and by removing the *motives* for exertion, the labourer was rendered by this mischievous system, as far as was possible, *totally unworthy of his hire*. The *moral* and intellectual character of the good old English labourer (who in former times had boasted with honest pride that he never was beholden to a parish officer) was destroyed altogether; all habits of prudence, of self-respect, and of self-restraint, vanished; and since a family was a sure *passport* to a *parish allowance*, it is not to be wondered at that the most improvident marriages were the consequence of this most pernicious and most demoralizing system. Indeed, we have seen *three generations of paupers* (the father, the son, and the grandson), with their respective families at their heels, trooping to the overseer every Saturday for their weekly allowances; boys and girls marrying without having provided a bed to sleep upon or a roof to cover them: the parish was to provide everything. The most wretched hovels were converted into houses, the rents of which were charged to the parish account. In this village a carpenter's workshed has been divided into *four* tenements; for which the parish was charged *five pounds a year apiece*."

The following extracts from the examination of Mr. Whately,

* Agricultural Report, p. 575.

† App. (A.) Part II. Report from Cookham.

and from Mr. Chadwick's Report, show the subsequent condition of the parish.

"Is it observed that the personal condition of the labourers has in any respect changed since the change of system of administering the poor-rates?—Decidedly. A labourer, formerly a pauper, came to the vestry not long since, to make inquiries respecting a house, in order to rent; when he had retired, one of the farmers exclaimed how neatly he was dressed, and how good his coat was; to which I answered, 'I can explain the reason of the change; it is, that there is no longer a bonus offered by the vestry for rags and dirt. You all remember when ragged clothes were kept by the poor for the express purpose of coming to the vestry in them; whereas the articles of clothing which we sell to the poor at prime cost, have every year, since the establishment of a select vestry, been required to be of an improved quality.'

"Do you mean to state that they purchase more expensive articles? I do; the blankets I send for from Witney are required to be larger and of a better quality; and so of all other articles.

"Do the labourers care to acknowledge to you that they wish to have the articles they purchase of a better quality?—Yes; and I find them less jealous of acknowledging their real condition than formerly; they now rather value themselves upon their respectability, than, as formerly, attempt to impose and extort money by pretended destitution.

"Is their food better or worse than formerly?—I think better. The labourers have a meal of meat once a day, and there is hardly a cottage that has not a supply of bacon on the rack.

"Has their general moral conduct improved, so far as you, as a minister, have observed?—It decidedly has: and I state this as a magistrate as well as a minister*."

Mr. Chadwick mentions that

Mr. Russell, the magistrate of Swallowfield, stated—

"That in riding through Cookham, he was so much struck with the appearance of comfort observable in the persons and residences of some of the labouring classes of that village, that he was led to make inquiries into the cause. The answers he received determined him to exert his influence to procure a similar change of system in Swallowfield.

"I visited," says Mr. Chadwick, "a large proportion of the cottages in the village of Cookham and some in Cookham Dean. Their internal cleanliness and comfort certainly corresponded with the condition of the exteriors, which had attracted the attention of Mr. Russell. In company with Mr. Whately I visited several of the residences of the labourers at their dinner-time, and I observed that in every instance meat formed part of the meal, which appeared to be ample, and was set forth in a very cleanly manner. One cottage in the village of Cookham, and the wife and family of the cottager, were most repulsively filthy and wretched in their appearance; and it was somewhat singular

* App. (A.) Part II, Report from Cookham.

that this family was a pauper family, the head of which received an allowance in aid of his wages from an adjacent parish.

"I noticed some very trim hedges and ornaments in the gardens of the labourers, and it was stated to me that nothing of that sort had been seen in those places before the parishes had been dispauperized. Mr. Knapp, the assistant overseer, stated that the labourers were no longer afraid of having a good garden with vegetables, and fruit in it; they were no longer 'afraid of having a pig,' and no longer 'afraid of being tidy.' Before the changes took place he had been in public-houses, and had seen paupers drunk there, and heard them declare in the presence of the rate-payers, that they (the paupers) had had more strong drink than the rate-payers had; and *would* have it, and that the rate-payers could not help themselves.

"During the agricultural riots there was no fire, no riots, no threatening letters in the parish. In the midst of a district which was peculiarly disturbed, Cookham and White Waltham, where a similar system of poor-law administration was adopted, entirely escaped; although in Cookham there are several thrashing machines, and the only paper-mill had, at the time of the riots, been newly fitted with machinery.

"At the time of my visit the deposits in the savings' bank from the parishioners of Cookham amounted to about 7000*l*. A considerable number of the present contributors had been paupers chargeable to the parish at the time of the old system being discontinued. Mr. Sawyer, the treasurer and constant attendant of the savings' bank, told me that the deposits from Cookham were greater than from any other part of the district comprehended by that bank. The average annual deposits from Cookham had risen from 310*l*. to 682*l*., and 39*l*. 3*s*. 8*d*. was collected in eight months from the children of the village. Three new schools had been opened at the instance of Mr. Whately, and were maintained partly by the labourers themselves*."

Mr. Whately was asked—

"Do you believe that the reduction of the poor's-rates by the application of the new system would be as great throughout the country as it has been in your parish?—I have no reason to doubt it. I think one-half or two-thirds of the poor's-rates might be saved; but judging from my experience in my own parish, I should say, that even if no money were saved, the moral improvements and increased comforts of the community to be derived from such a system would more than compensate the trouble of the legislature. I have often declared, both in public and private, that if all the money we have saved (which was upwards of 15,000*l*. in the first eight years) had been thrown into the Thames, the parish at large would have been enriched by the acquisition of wealth by the improved nature of the labour of the late rate-receivers, independently of the moral improvement which has accompanied their improved frugality and industry†."

Although the change in Hatfield was not so general, similar effects were perceived.

* App. (A.) Part II.

† App. (A.) Part II, Report from Cookham.

"The Rev. F. J. Faithful, examined.

"I am decidedly of opinion that the moral benefits obtained are much greater, much more important than the pecuniary saving. Though as a minister I have every day much to lament, I am sure that I should have infinitely more to lament had the old system of mal-administration continued. The most important effect of the new system is, first, in calling forth domestic sympathies and filial and paternal affections; and next, in creating provident habits (which is shown in the increase of deposits in the savings' banks). Under the old system, when a child was left an orphan, it became, as of right, a pensioner to the parish, and owed gratitude to no one. I constantly see children left orphans; and now, under the influence of our law, that no one shall receive a pension out of the house, relations and friends come forward and support an orphan child, whom they would, without hesitation, throw upon the parish if they could do so. They do not like the idea of seeing in the workhouse a relation whom they would not mind having on the parish pension list, and they exert themselves to maintain the person. A child who owes its subsistence to relations, owes a moral debt of gratitude to particular individuals, and is under moral securities for good character; but there is little gratitude to an abstract entity, the parish. What is singular is, that we have scarcely any persons come to the workhouse now who are not persons of bad character.

"Have the *personal* habits of your parishioners improved since the new system of parochial management has been introduced?—There has certainly been a very general improvement, and the advance was very considerable, until that most mischievous measure of licensing beer-shops came into operation*."

Mr. Paul Borser, who settled in the parish of Southwell in 1812, and became assistant overseer in 1813, gave the following evidence to Mr. Cowell, with relation to the effects of the allowance system, and of its discontinuance:—

"At the time of his settling in the parish, the character of the labouring population was very bad, and it continued deteriorating till 1822; their habits grew more and more dissolute, and the average quality of their industry lower, while their demeanour got more and more turbulent and disorderly. Mr. Borser gave me a great number of instances in proof of these general assertions, but I do not think it necessary to detail them; I was completely satisfied of the fact. The parish weekly pay-room, Mr. Borser declares, was a constant scene of disorder and violence; he, as overseer, was constantly threatened, and, on three occasions, was personally assaulted, for which the offenders were committed to the house of correction. The women were equally violent with the men; remembers a woman seizing a sum of money (5s.) on the pay-table, saying she would have it, and getting clear off with it. In general, the day following the weekly pay there were from 8 to 12 cases before the petty sessions between paupers and himself; sometimes there might be only 3, but has known as many as 20. The

* App. (A.) Part II.

behaviour of the paupers was frequently very violent in the justice-room. Has heard his predecessor say that he was constantly treated in a similar manner; and in general Mr. Borser declares, that the labouring population of the parish was a terror to the authorities, and that the burdens and troubles caused by them were annually increasing. Various plans and expedients were tried from 1813 to 1821, for remedying these evils, but nothing produced any benefit till the adoption of the new system. Since that time the character of the population, and their habits, have entirely changed, and their former state has gradually passed into one of order, happiness, and prudence.

"The prudence and economy, the desire of having comfortable homes, exhibits itself in a great variety of ways; for instance, many now keep pigs who did not and would not have done so before, because the fact of their being known to possess them would have precluded them from any claim on the parish; they are more anxious now to hire bits of garden ground for cultivation at odd hours; their cottages are better furnished; the men keep more at home, and are less at ale-houses; are more independent in their characters altogether. He knows that they bring up their children with a scorn of pauperism; does not believe that they would wish to change to their former state if they could; believes so because many of those who used to hate and revile him as overseer, are now quite changed, have saved money, and placed it in the savings' bank, of which they know he is secretary, and never show any jealousy of his being acquainted with the amount of their savings*."

It is noticed by Mr. Faithful, that scarcely any persons but those of bad character came into the workhouse. A similar result was also very strikingly exhibited at Cookham. Mr. Baker, of Uley states,—

"It has been said that many respectable poor persons are now starving in Uley from a dread of the workhouse.—I know no such persons, but I have very lately heard of one woman who is in distress, and who said that if she took her family to it, they should all live much better than they now do, but the character of the inmates was so exceedingly bad, that she did not choose to be among them with her family†."

These general statements are supported by many detailed examples.

Mr. Cowell states, that when the relief, though adequate, has been rendered ineligible—

"New life, new energy is infused into the constitution of the pauper; he is aroused like one from sleep, his relation with all his neighbours, high and low, is changed; he surveys his former employers with new eyes. He begs a job—he will not take a denial—he discovers that every one wants something to be done. He desires to make up this man's hedges, to clear out another man's ditches, to grub stumps out of

* App. (A.) Part I, p. 615.

† App. (A.) Part I, p. 622.

hedgerows for a third; nothing can escape his eye, and he is ready to turn his hand to anything*.

"In fact, the speed with which this method produces its ameliorating effects, is one of its most remarkable characteristics. Mr. Baker told me, that one man, after having been in Uley workhouse *but a few hours*, was so disgusted that he begged permission to leave it instantly; and upon being told that the rules did not permit any one to quit the workhouse who did not make application before twelve o'clock in the day, displayed the greatest anxiety at the prospect of being kept in till that hour the next day, and pestered the governor with repeated requests to be permitted to depart in the interval. Yet this was a man pretending that he was starving for want of employment; and though he knew that he was secure of enjoying in the workhouse excellent food, lodging, and clothing, yet the prospect of restraint spurred him instantly to quit it, and seek to maintain himself. But still more remarkable is the fact, that the instant the system was put in action at Uley, the workhouse changed the whole of its inmates *three times in one week*†."

In Southwell, the workhouse-keeper

"Only had occasion to try two with the bone plan. One said immediately, with sulky violence, that he would never break bones for the parish when he could go out and get something for breaking stones for others, and he went out next day. The other said it hurt his back to bend so much, and he would start the next day, which he did. A third had a hole to dig, which he liked so little, that he went off the third day. He had been, for nine or ten years before, one of the most troublesome men in the parish, but he went off very quietly, saying, that he did not complain of the victuals or accommodation, but if he was to work, would work for himself; he has never troubled the parish since, and now gets his own living in a brick-yard, and by thrashing and other jobs, and has done so ever since‡."

In the Report from Cookham, the following instance is given in respect to the change of system in discontinuing out-door relief by money payments:—

"The following case will serve as an example of the effects of the change of system, in respect to out-door relief by money payments: A man, who went by the name of Webb, was hanged for horse-stealing. He left a widow and several small children. The widow applied to the select vestry for relief the week after his execution. It was suspected they possessed resources which would enable them to provide for their own wants without parochial relief; and, in consequence of this suspicion, the vestry ordered them to come to the workhouse three times a week for such relief in kind as was deemed necessary. The woman begged to be allowed the money, or less money than the value of the bread, which was refused. The result was that she never applied, and she never received any relief whatever. In this case, as in almost all others, it would have been utterly impossible for the parish officers to have ascertained whether the pauper did or did not possess

App. (A.) Part I. p. 621. † App. (A.) Part I. p. 638. ‡ App. (A.) Part I. p. 617.

the suspected resources. Had relief, such as was requested, been readily granted, as it generally would, under the influence of the feelings of pity, and from the impulse of blind benevolence, or from the love of popularity in appearing to yield to the demand for assistance in a case so deeply affecting the sympathies, or from a dread of unpopularity from the imputation of hard-heartedness 'towards poor children who could not be supposed to participate in their father's crime,' or from the love of ease and the want of firmness to refuse, a *WHOLE FAMILY* would have been placed as paupers or consumers of the labour of the industrious; the children of the woman would have been further demoralized, and rendered as miserable themselves as they were worthless and mischievous to others. The course of blind benevolence, but real cruelty, would have been productive of pain to this family, and the extra indulgence applied for would moreover have been injustice towards the children of the meritorious, to whom the rule was applied without relaxation. All the members of the family are well known to Mr. Whately, in whose parish they reside, and they are in a satisfactory and thriving condition. So that in this case, which will apply to all others, the pauper would have had the relief of the exact kind and suitable (*i. e., bread, not gin*), had it been absolutely necessary, but would be driven to her own resources, if she possessed any*."

In a communication, dated in January last, Mr. Whately states—

"Nothing can be more prosperous than we are here. I am this moment returned from the vestry, which meets every fortnight, an where we talk of the state of Portugal, having nothing else to do there. I carried 15*l.* to the savings' bank at Maidenhead a fortnight ago, for a poor man who earns 12*s.* a week, and yesterday delivered 93 tons of coals to the poor, for the purchase of which they had subscribed last summer; I am to have for the use of the poor 14 tons more. But that which gives me the greatest satisfaction is, that the wife of a poor man (who was insane, and was about to be sent to St. Luke's) told the overseer, that if he would advance the money for her husband's expenses of admission, carriage to London, &c., she would repay him, for that she did not wish to trouble the parish. Pleased with this account, I went to the woman and gave her a guinea: it happened that before the man could be admitted at St. Luke's he partially recovered the use of his reason, upon which his wife, with her duty, returned to me my guinea."

The following letter from Mr. Russell, of Swallowfield, in answer to one requesting from him a detailed account of the subsequent fortunes of those who in that parish had been refused out-door relief, is so curious and instructive, that we venture to insert it notwithstanding its great length:—

"Swallowfield, November 5th, 1833.

"A LIST of those men who, before we had a select vestry, were dependent principally upon parochial relief, and who, since the esta-

* App. (A.) Part II.

blishment of the vestry, have supported themselves, would comprehend almost every labourer in the parish, except those who were in constant employment as carters, gardeners, or any other permanent capacity, and who consist, of course, of the men of the best character and steadiest habits. On examining the books, I have detected the following fifteen persons as instances of the improvement that has taken place under our new system, in the conduct and condition of the labourers. The whole population of the parish, according to the last return, is only 390; and of that number 68 are agricultural labourers above the age of 14. The persons here mentioned, therefore, are nearly one-fourth of the whole; and, taking into account only the married men, to whom the inquiry principally relates, the proportion is still larger. It is necessary, however, to premise, that in considering all statements upon this subject having reference to the county of Berks, it must be remembered that the system called 'make up,' or 'bread money,' prevails I believe universally, and that a man is not regarded as being 'upon the parish,' if he only has his weekly earnings made up to the price of two gallon loaves for himself, and one for every other member of his family.

"Elijah Wheeler.
John King.
William Oakley.
Joseph Oakley.
John Oakley.

James Cordery.
Charles Cordery.
James Deane.
George Cooper.
James Davis.

James David.
Richard Read.
David Read.
Richard Dance.
Thomas Davis.

"It is several years since Elijah Wheeler had any relief from the parish. I meet him frequently with his cart, and have reason to believe that his habits and condition are perfectly respectable. The house occupied by John King, and now used as a beer-house, with an acre and a half of ground adjoining it, belong to himself for a term, of which 38 years are still unexpired; and he is, perhaps, on that account, the strongest instance in the parish how much the facility of procuring relief has the effect of making men dependent upon it. But for the pernicious practice under the old system, of giving relief to almost everybody that asked for it, there is no reason why this man should have been more in want of assistance formerly than he is now. Until some sort of control was introduced into the parish by the select vestry, William Oakley was in the lowest possible state of idleness and misery. He never did any work at all; he was covered with rags and vermin; he had no fixed home, but slept under a hedge, or in any out-house to which he could get access. The clothes with which the parish occasionally supplied him were made away with for food or liquor; and, for some time, every attempt of the vestry to reclaim him was unavailing; by degrees, however, an amendment was wrought; and, although it would be too much to say that his reformation is complete, it is still greater than, under such circumstances, I could have expected. He now works steadily; he has no money but what he earns; he buys his own clothes, and keeps them; he sleeps at least with a roof over his head, and he has lost those reckless habits, and that squalid appearance which before distinguished him from every other man in the pa-

rish. And for this change there is no other reason than the necessity of the case; he shifts for himself, because he is obliged to do so.

"Joseph and John Oakley are the brothers of William, and though not so abject in their personal habits, they were hardly more respectable in character or conduct. Joseph is the only one of the three that is married. He has three children under eight years old. Formerly he lived upon the parish, and was always in want and idleness. John was, some years ago, in constant employ in my garden, but he absconded to avoid a warrant which was issued against him for theft, and was absent for some time. On his return he threw himself on the parish, and lived chiefly on the relief he obtained. Since the establishment of our vestry, a great improvement has taken place in both these brothers. Joseph has, for the last three years, been almost in constant employ with the same farmer. John works with different employers, and occasionally for the surveyor; and neither of them receive any relief out of the rates.

"James Cordery is an instance of the dissolute habits into which ingenuity too often betrays persons in low life. By trade he is a hurdle-maker; he is also a carpenter, chair-mender, and tinker, and used to play the violoncello in church, and to teach the parish children to sing. But the more money he was able to earn, the more he was given to squander; he wasted his time at the alehouse and among prostitutes, and was never off the parish. Since the vestry refused to maintain him, he has had no difficulty in maintaining himself. He provided himself with a set of implements, and now lives in Reading, and earns an ample livelihood in grinding knives, and mending pots and pans. With the exception of a fortnight last summer, when he was taken into the poor-house, in consequence of an attack of rheumatic gout, he has had no relief for the last four years; and instead of bringing up his children in their former idle habits, he is now endeavouring to apprentice one of his sons to a shoemaker.

"Charles Cordery, no relation of the foregoing, is a married man with four children, of whom the eldest is under fifteen. He is so skilful and diligent a workman, that it must be his own fault if he is ever out of employ. Yet, under the former system, he was almost always dependent upon the parish; his wife and children were as idle and ragged as himself; and so bad was their character for pilfering and depredation, that they were successively turned out of every cottage that was occupied by them. At last they were absolutely without a roof to shelter them, and the vestry refused to support them any longer out of the rates. I was always disposed to think the man better than he appeared to be; and on his promise of amendment, I consented to place his family in a cottage belonging to my father, notwithstanding the remonstrance of the farmer on whose land it stood. Except in one instance, just after they had taken possession, I have had no complaint from their neighbours. The man is in constant work; his family seems to be in comfort; his rent is regularly paid; and his garden has been so well cultivated, that I am now enlarging it to such an extent as, I hope, will enable him to grow vegetables enough for his consumption.

"James Deane is married, and has three infant children. He has never borne a good character, and was, some time ago, imprisoned for robbing his master's garden. He was formerly always idle, and a constant burden on the parish; but since the change of system introduced by the select vestry compelled him to depend on his own exertions, he has found work and supported his family. He occupies a cottage under the same roof as Charles Cordery; he is employed by the farmer, on whose land it is situated; and at his request I have consented to make an addition to his garden, similar to that described in the case of his neighbour.

"George Cooper, though he had advantages superior to most other men in the parish, was always as much in want of relief as any of them. Until 1830 he had a cottage, with an acre of land, rent-free; he kept bees; he had an allowance from a gentleman in the parish, which produced him about 5*l.* a year, for clearing and trimming a range of young hedges, which he did at unemployed intervals; and he was capable of draining, ditching, planting, and all the most profitable kinds of work; yet he seemed to be always in need, and was constantly applying to the parish for assistance. Since relief has been refused to him by the vestry, his cottage has been sold to a new landlord, and he has no facilities in procuring work that he had not before; yet he now not only supports himself, but pays his rent without complaint, and his children seem as much improved in their industry as he is himself.

"James Davis has three children under ten years old. He is a good labourer, and understands draining, ditching, and all the better sorts of agricultural work; but before the affairs of the parish were under the management of a select vestry, he was constantly dependent upon relief. He is of a sullen, discontented temper, owing to which he lost a good place in a gentleman's garden; but he now supports himself and his family, and appears to have his full share of ordinary work.

"James David is an elderly man with a grown-up family. By trade he is a thatcher; but he is also a carpenter, sawyer, and shoemaker, and can turn his hand to various jobs requiring dexterity. In his own trade alone he might always have found ample employment. There is but one other thatcher in the parish, and the work is more than he can get through; but David's dishonesty keeps pace with his skill, and nobody will trust him out of sight with their straw. He was always in want, and always on the parish; but since the vestry have peremptorily refused him relief, he has contrived to do without it. His condition is apparently better than it was, and, for nearly four years, we have had neither complaint nor application from him.

"Richard and David Read are father and son. Richard is about 56 years old, and has seven children, of whom the youngest four still live with him. David's age is about 34, and he has five children, of whom the oldest is under 12. The loose character and habits of the whole of this family, of both sexes, have always been such as to exclude them from permanent, and therefore from the most advantageous and respectable, employment. But both the father and the son are remarkable for their skill and diligence as workmen, and the son is the strongest

man in the parish. I happened to be one of the visiting justices of the gaol when he was committed for deserting his family; and, on the occasion of a disturbance among the prisoners, I found that he had been chosen, by common consent, as the most powerful man within the walls. They both understand draining, ditching, planting, making roads and walks, levelling and laying out grounds, and every sort of agricultural and ornamental work requiring dexterity and neatness. They have both worked a good deal, and still are working for me, to my entire satisfaction in every respect; Richard as superintendent, and David in the same capacity, when his father has found an advantageous job elsewhere. Under the old system they both lived in habitual reliance on the parish, though Richard has a cottage rent-free for his life. David, by his own loose habits, actually reduced himself and his family to take shelter under a hedge, when he was put into a cottage taken for him by the parish, the overseers becoming responsible for the rent, which, however, he now pays regularly; and both the father and the son, though no essential amendment can be said to have taken place, either in their own propensities or those of their families, now support themselves and their children; and no application for relief has been made by either of them for a considerable time past. Richard Read's wife was the first person from whom I had a complaint of the distress occasioned to herself and her children by her husband's frequenting the new beer-houses. With him, and with most others in his condition, this evil is and must continue to be unabated, in spite of all that the local authorities can do to prevent it. The more I see of the effect of these houses, the more I am convinced that they have done and still are doing more to impoverish and corrupt the English labourer, than all the mal-administration of the Poor Laws for the last 50 years put together.

"Richard Dance is a widower, with four children, of whom the eldest is about 16. He was a soldier, and has a pension of 1*s.* a week. Neither his habits, nor his skill as an agricultural labourer, were improved by his being in the army, and notwithstanding his pension, and the advantage of occupying a cottage belonging to the parish, for which he pays no rent, he used to be in constant want and the constant receipt of relief. Since the establishment of the vestry, he has been independent of the parish and is now free from those indications of distress which his appearance used to exhibit.

"Thomas Davis is one of the most active young men and best labourers in the parish. He is able to perform every sort of agricultural work; but he has never borne a good character. He is a loose, blustering fellow, a loud and specious talker, and acts, upon occasion, as the spokesman for his brethren. At the time of the riots, in the winter of 1830, he was the only man in the parish who offered any objection to being sworn in as a special constable. He endeavoured to make terms for the compliance of the labourers, and was beginning to advocate the alleged grievances, but he was soon put down by the spirited interposition of a gentleman who was present. If his courage kept pace with his wishes, he might be a dangerous man; as it is, he is rather the instigator than the perpetrator of mischief. He has

seven children, of whom the eldest is under 14, and, until the establishment of the vestry, was constantly dependent upon parochial relief. Since the change of the system, I have heard no complaint from him of his being in want, though he does not apply so much of his earnings as he ought to the support of his family. This is the man to whom I referred in one of my answers to the circular queries, as having, in November last year, been earning 15s. a week at thrashing. Some years ago he was allowed by the parish officers to build a cottage upon a piece of parish land, for which he was to pay a yearly rent of 1l.; but he seldom has paid it. He is as well able to do so as any other man in the parish; but having the parish for his landlord, he reckons upon their forbearance.

"I referred the foregoing list to our assistant overseer, and this is the note with which he returned it to me: 'These men were working principally on the parish from April 1829, (the date of the assistant overseer's appointment,) to December of the same year, when they were employed by ———; and from that time till the present we have never had any one on the parish for more than a month at a time, except in case of illness.'

"The sum of this is, that the labourers generally have the means of independent support within their reach, but that, except in a few instances of rare sobriety and providence, they will not of their own accord make the efforts necessary to command them. Of most of the men here described, I have said that they are good and diligent workmen. A want of ability and willingness to work, when work is given to them, is not among the faults of English labourers; and it cannot be expected that they will be at the trouble of finding work, if they can find support without it. They will not go in search of the meat of industry, if they can sit down and eat the bread of idleness. If you maintain them in doing nothing, and put the key of the beer-house into their hand, what right have you to complain that they are idle and dissolute? A gentleman who has for many years farmed largely in this parish, told me that before the select vestry was established, he frequently saw the labourers, in parties of 12 or 14, sauntering along the streams, in pursuit of moorhens, and, of course, poaching fish, when it was not the season to poach game. Their time, and the money they obtained from the overseer, were necessarily spent in drunkenness, dissipation, and pilfering.

"The effect of the system to which this statement refers has been materially to reduce the amount of the poor's rate. In the year in which we established a select vestry (1829-30) our expenses were increased by various charges arising out of the change of system. In that year the rate was 6s. 8d. in the pound on the rack rent. The average rate of the three years preceding the change was 6s. 1d., but that of the three years subsequent to it has been only 4s. 5d.; nor has the benefit been confined to the payers. The condition of the poor has undergone a visible amendment. They are better fed and better clothed; they bear an appearance of greater ease and comfort, and they are more healthy than they were. When some exceptions were taken to our new regulations in 1829, I referred to the gentleman who con-

tracts for the medical treatment of our poor, to know what effect the change had had upon their health. He told me that, under the old system, disease had become so prevalent in the parish, that he had made up his mind to relinquish the contract as no longer worth his holding; but that so great an improvement had taken place under the new system, that he abandoned his intention, and he has continued to attend the parish ever since. I repeated the same question to him yesterday, and his reply was, that although the parish had partaken of such disorders as had at various times been prevalent in the country, the improvement in the general health of the poor still continued relatively to what it had been before our change of system.

"Even among the labourers themselves the change was productive of little discontent. What alarm they did show was when the select vestry was first talked of, and when they had an indistinct apprehension of unknown and indefinite changes, rather than when the new system had been actually put in force. One man only, James David, who is mentioned in the foregoing list, attempted any resistance. We proceeded against him, by complaint before the Bench, and he was sent to the tread-mill. Before the expiration of his sentence the parish officers solicited a remission of the remainder, and we have never since had occasion to resort to coercive measures. Our vestry was established in 1829. The agricultural disturbances took place in the following year. We were in the midst of the disorder, surrounded by the devastation committed by machine-breakers and incendiaries, yet there was neither a riot nor a fire in the parish, nor any single instance of malicious injury to property."

The important changes produced in the habits of the able-bodied paupers by means such as those displayed in the preceding extracts, were in some instances aided by a measure which at first sight might appear calculated to become an obstacle and a means of producing permanent discontent and opposition amongst the whole of the labouring classes. It was determined to rate the whole of the cottages, and make the occupiers (or ultimately the owners) contribute towards the payment of the poor's rates.

In Cookham,—

"The measure which excited the most tumult was the rating of the cottages, and the refusal to contribute to the payment of rents; finding many of this class most tumultuous, it was thought by the vestry prudent to take a few from each division of the parish as examples. One of the ringleaders (William Sexton), who had never paid rent or rates, and who had behaved very insolently in consequence of his son (a lad of sixteen, who was out of work) being refused relief, was selected to be made an example of; and the demand for rates was enforced upon him. He has since constantly paid his rates and rent, and though his family has much increased since that time, he has never received any parochial relief. He has become an orderly and respectable person, and shows great attachment to Mr. Whately, to whom formerly he behaved in a dogged and ungracious manner. I saw the account of this person in the savings' bank, and for his station the money was considerable.

The lad above alluded to is now a respectable shopman in London. He came to see Mr. Whately, and thank him for all past favours, the greatest of which was the refusing him relief. Had the old system of relief been continued, this boy and his brothers would probably have been paupers for life*."

In Southwell,—

"The parish paid as much as 184*l.* per annum for rents of cottages. After Captain Nicholls had succeeded in abolishing this custom, his next step was to assess all the cottages to the rates. When he had succeeded in carrying this measure, he directed the permanent overseer to give formal receipts to all the payers, though for sums no greater than 2½*d.* or 3*d.*

"The poor looked upon these receipts in the light of testimonials of their independence, and proud of showing that they, as well as their richer neighbours, contributed to the parish burdens, they hung them up in the windows of their cottages. Captain Nicholls had ordered the overseer to treat them, when he was receiving their contributions, with respect, but he was surprised at this unexpected result, and at finding that they were loth to be in arrear, and generally brought their money without solicitation on the day it was due†."

Mr. Borser states, with relation to the improved condition of the labouring classes in that parish, that,—

"They have themselves told him they are better off, and it is notoriously the fact. Though he collects money for the poor-rates, and all their cottages are now assessed, none of the labouring class now are ever uncivil to him. Has observed, since cottages were rated, that the tenants become very jealous of those who receive relief; they give him such information as they think will prevent his granting relief where it is not merited; will often come to his house and tell him when they think he has been imposed upon by any one pretending to be ill. Since cottages were rated, such as apply for relief without real necessity are looked upon very shily by others; they call it 'attempting to impose on one another.' They are very jealous of those who receive relief, thinking and saying it is given out of their earnings.‡"

In Bingham it is stated—

"Great good resulted from refusing to pay rents for cottages and from rating all cottages, and strictly enforcing payment; thinks more good came from this than almost from anything else; it made all those who paid rates jealous of any one receiving relief. Only last week a woman, to whom he went for her rate, said, 'I say, I sha'n't pay any more rates if my money is thrown away. I hear that idle fellow, Jack ———, had 5*s.* from the parish some weeks ago, because he said his child was of; I sha'n't pay my money to such like.' He has seen many instances till he jealousy of the poor in this respect; if they pay rates,

* App. (A.) Part II.

† App. (A.) Part I. p. 618.

‡ App. (A.) Part I. p. 616.

they say, they don't like to be giving their earnings to their neighbours, who are only idle; and now they abuse those who want to get help from the parish*."

It might be conceived, *à priori*, that the standard of comparison, *i. e.*, the condition of the lowest class of independent labourers, is indefinite; but when examined, it is found sufficiently definite for the purpose: their hours of labour in any neighbourhood are sufficiently uniform: the average of piece-work which able-bodied labourers will perform may be correctly ascertained, and so may the diet on which they actually sustain health.

In several instances opposition to the enforcement of labour, on the ground that it was too severe, was defeated by a direct comparison between the work exacted from the paupers and that cheerfully performed by the independent labourers.

At Cookham,—

"Mr. Knapp, the assistant-overseer, stated, that when the able-bodied paupers were first set to work at trenching, they pretended that they could not do so much work as would enable them to get a living at the prices fixed. Knowing this to be false, I paid an independent labourer, an old man of seventy, to work, and as he did a great deal more than two of the stoutest young men amongst the paupers pretended they were incapable of doing, they declared 'We must cut this; this work won't suit us;' and they took their departure to search out regular employment†."

Mr. Barnett, the permanent overseer of the parish of St. Mary, Nottingham,—

"Began by offering *piece-work* to every applicant for relief, and employed an intelligent labourer to fix the price. Forthwith sixty or seventy paupers would appeal to the magistrates every week, complaining that they were not strong enough to perform the quantity of work which, at his rate of pay, would entitle them to receive a sum adequate to the maintenance of their families. Anticipating this manœuvre, he had provided himself with men of less than the average physical strength, whom he produced before the mayor, and who deposed to their ability to perform a greater quantity of work than that allotted by Mr. Barnett. By expedients of this nature he baffled the complaints of the paupers, their opposition grew gradually weaker and weaker, and now there are, speaking generally, no applications to the magistrates‡."

The circumstance of a rural parish being, to a considerable degree, an independent community, separated by the barriers of the law of settlement from other parochial communities, and the

* App. (A.) Part I. p. 613.

† App. (A.) Part II.

‡ App. (A.) Part I. p. 601.

general knowledge possessed by the witnesses of the principal circumstances of all or most of the individuals of its labouring population, give a very high value to the results of the experiment made in each of the rural parishes which we have mentioned. The uniform success of the principle, and the remarkable similarity of its incidents, in different parishes, in different parts of the country, and under different circumstances, appear to us to prove its correctness, and to leave no doubt that it would be productive of similar effects throughout the country.

Further evidence of the beneficial operation of the principle on which the improvements described in the preceding statements were founded, is afforded in almost every pauperized district: first, by the comparative character of those resident labourers who, having a distant settlement, can only claim temporary relief, and that subject to an order of removal to their own parishes; and, secondly, by the condition of that part of the labouring population which still remains independent of parochial aid. We have already stated, that in every district the condition of this class is found to be strikingly distinguishable from that of the pauper, and superior to it, though the independent labourers are commonly maintained upon less money.

"I found," says Mr. Chadwick, "the witnesses in all the parishes, town or country, agreed as to the superior value of non-parishioners as labourers. Mr. J. W. Cockerell, the assistant-overseer of Putney, stated, that many of the paupers who had applied for relief from his parish had withdrawn their claims when they were told that they would be removed to their parishes in the country; and in answer to further questions as to what became of these persons who so refused, he stated (in common with all the other witnesses with similar opportunities of observation) that these persons remained, and afterwards attained a much better condition than they had ever before attained while they considered that parochial resources were available to them on the failure of their own. He cited the cases of nine persons who had applied for relief, but had refused it when they were told that they would be removed. Six of these families had not only been saved from pauperism, but they were now in a better situation than any in which he had ever before known them. In two instances particularly, the withdrawal of dependence on parochial relief had been the means of withdrawing the fathers from the public-houses and beer-shops, and making them steady and good workmen. 'Indeed,' said he, 'it is a common remark amongst the employers of labourers in our parish, that the non-parishioners are worth three or four shillings a week more than the parishioners. This is because they have not the poor's rate to fly to. The employers also remark, that the non-parishioners are more civil and obliging than the others.' In this parish the usual wages of the single labourer are about 12s. per week; and the deterioration of the labourer by the influence of the present system of administering the

Poor-Laws, may therefore, according to the witness's statement, be set down as from five-and-twenty to more than thirty per cent. Other witnesses declare that the deterioration is much more considerable*."

This superiority, indeed, is so notorious as to be the argument most frequently employed against facilitating the acquisition of settlements. The Rev. Henry Pepys, a magistrate and clergyman of extensive experience, in a letter deprecating the facilitation of settlements, states—

"That the objections to the operation of a poor's-rate do not apply to the unsettled labourer, as the latter knows full well, that should he neglect to provide against sickness, should he be unable to support his family upon the wages of his labour, or should he fail to get employment, his only resource would be, an application to the overseer, who, as a matter of course, would immediately take him before the nearest magistrate for the purpose of having him removed to his place of legal settlement, where he is perhaps a stranger, with all the inconvenience of having to quit the house in which he may have been born, to remove with him at a considerable expense, or sell at a probable loss, his household furniture, and separate from the companions with whom he has associated from infancy. That a poor man should be subject to such a distressing alternative, may perhaps appear harsh; but the consequences are most beneficial, even to himself, for from it he derives that inducement (which we have been all seeking as the only remedy for the present evils of the Poor-Laws) to depend upon his own industrious exertions and not upon parish relief, to belong to a savings' bank or benefit-society, that he may not become chargeable, and thereby removable in the event of sickness, to abstain from wasting his wages at a public-house, and thus, by frugality and industry, to render himself capable of maintaining his family, however large, upon his own resources; in short, with regard to him the Poor-Laws are perfectly harmless, he still remains a sample of the industrious, sober, honest, and independent labourer, such as we are taught to believe constituted the peasantry of England before the statute of Elizabeth was passed.

"Should we not pause then before, by facilitating the acquisition of settlements, we reduce all to the same level of idleness and intemperance? It is true that when the unsettled inhabitants of a parish are residing in the neighbourhood of their own parishes, they will sometimes apply for assistance to their own overseer, who is occasionally disposed to accord it without requiring them to be previously removed home by an order of removal. But the relief which under such circumstances is administered, will be administered with a much more sparing hand than in the case of settled inhabitants, and only because the overseer is himself satisfied that it is really required. The *unsettled* poor are well aware they have no legal claim upon their overseer; the *magistrates have no right to interfere between them*, and hence the relief which is given, though probably much more scanty than in the case of settled inhabitants, is thankfully received as a *boon* instead of being claimed as a right."

* App. (A.) Part II.

If, while the general administration of the Poor-Laws were allowed to remain on its present footing, such occasional or partial relief as that which is available to the settled labourers of a parish were rendered equally available to the unsettled labourers, we cannot doubt that such a proceeding would demoralize and depress this respectable and valuable class to the level of the settled and pauperized labourers. This is ample reason against assimilating the condition of the unsettled to that of the settled labourers, but none against placing the settled on the same footing as the unsettled. The present practice, as to unsettled labourers, is almost exactly that which we propose to make the rule for all classes, both settled and unsettled.

The non-parishioner has no right to partial relief; to occasional relief; to relief in aid of wages, or to any out-door relief whatever from the parish in which he resides; and yet the assurance which we propose to preserve to every one, that he shall not perish on the failure of his ability to procure subsistence, is preserved to him. If that ability actually fail him, he is assured that he can immediately obtain food until he can be passed home to his own parish, where he will be saved from perishing, and be maintained at the public charge. By this course, however, he would be taken wholly out of employment, and reduced to the condition of a permanent pauper; and that condition being less eligible to him than the condition of an independent labourer, he struggles with all the occasional difficulties from which, if he were a parishioner and improvident, the usual administration of the Poor-Laws would relieve him. Relief is accessible to him whenever a case of necessity occurs; it is indeed accessible to him whenever he chooses to avail himself of it; it is simply *ineligible* to him so long as he can subsist by his own industry. The ordinary workhouse of his own distant parish, with the inconveniences of removal superadded, produces on him effects of the same description as those which we find produced on parishioners by a well-regulated workhouse.

We attach much importance to the general superiority of the conduct and condition of the non-parishioners, the unsettled labourers. Although the evidence afforded from the dispauperized parishes appears to us to be conclusive as to the effects which may be anticipated from a similar change of system throughout the country, it is still liable to the objection, however unreasonable, that these parishes are individual and scattered instances, too few to establish a general conclusion; but the evidence afforded by the character and condition of the unsettled labourers pervades the whole country. Every body of labourers resident and labouring within a parish of which they are not parishioners, and where the distance of their own parishes, and

the administration of the poor's rates does not render partial relief available, may be referred to in proof of the general effects which would follow an improved system of administering relief. These labourers make no complaints of their having no right to partial relief, and we have not met with an instance of their having suffered from the want of it. The fact of the non-settled labourers maintaining an independent condition, whilst they have a right by law to return at the public expense to their own parishes, and claim parochial aid, proves that they themselves consider their present condition more advantageous than that of paupers, and that so considering it they are anxious to retain it.

From the above evidence it appears, that wherever the principle which we have thus stated has been carried into effect, either wholly or partially, its introduction has been beneficial to the class for whose benefit Poor-Laws exist. We have seen that in every instance in which the able-bodied labourers have been rendered independent of partial relief, or of relief otherwise than in a well-regulated workhouse—

1. Their industry has been restored and improved.
2. Frugal habits have been created or strengthened.
3. The permanent demand for their labour has increased.
4. And the increase has been such, that their wages, so far from being depressed by the increased amount of labour in the market, have in general advanced.
5. The number of improvident and wretched marriages has diminished.
6. Their discontent has been abated, and their moral and social condition in every way improved.

Results so important would, even with a view to the interest of that class exclusively, afford sufficient ground for the general introduction of the principle of administration under which those results have been produced. Considering the extensive benefits to be anticipated from the adoption of measures, founded on principles already tried and found beneficial, and warned at every part of the inquiry by the failure of previous legislation, we shall, in the suggestion of specific remedies, endeavour not to depart from the firm ground of actual experience.

We therefore submit, as the general principle of legislation on this subject, in the present condition of the country:—

That those modes of administering relief which have been tried wholly or partially, and have produced beneficial effects in some districts, be introduced, with modifications according to local circumstances, and carried into complete execution in all.

The chief specific measures which we recommend for effecting these purposes, are—

FIRST, THAT EXCEPT AS TO MEDICAL ATTENDANCE, AND SUBJECT TO THE EXCEPTION RESPECTING APPRENTICESHIP HEREIN AFTER STATED, ALL RELIEF WHATEVER TO ABLE-BODIED PERSONS OR TO THEIR FAMILIES, OTHERWISE THAN IN WELL-REGULATED WORKHOUSES (*i. e.*, PLACES WHERE THEY MAY BE SET TO WORK ACCORDING TO THE SPIRIT AND INTENTION OF THE 43d OF ELIZABETH) SHALL BE DECLARED UNLAWFUL, AND SHALL CEASE, IN MANNER AND AT PERIODS HEREAFTER SPECIFIED*; AND THAT ALL RELIEF AFFORDED IN RESPECT OF CHILDREN UNDER THE AGE OF 16, SHALL BE CONSIDERED AS AFFORDED TO THEIR PARENTS.

It is true, that nothing is necessary to arrest the progress of pauperism, except that all who receive relief from the parish should work for the parish exclusively, as hard and for less wages than independent labourers work for individual employers, and we believe that in most districts useful work, which will not interfere with the ordinary demand for labour, may be obtained in greater quantity than is usually conceived. Cases, however, will occur where such work cannot be obtained in sufficient quantity to meet an immediate demand; and when obtained, the labour, by negligence, connivance, or otherwise, may be made merely formal; and thus the provisions of the legislature may be evaded more easily than in a workhouse. A well-regulated workhouse meets all cases, and appears to be the only means by which the intention of the statute of Elizabeth, that all the able-bodied shall be set to work, can be carried into execution.

The out-door relief of which we have recommended the abolition, is in general partial relief, which, as we have intimated, is at variance with the spirit of the 43d of Elizabeth, for the framers of that act could scarcely have intended that the overseers should "take order for setting to work" those who have work, and are engaged in work: nor could they by the words "all persons using *no* ordinary and daily trade of life to get their living by," have intended to describe persons "who *do* use an ordinary and daily trade of life."

Wherever the language of the legislature is uncertain, the principle of administration, as well as of legal construction, is to select the course which will aid the remedy; and with regard to the able-bodied, the remedy set forth in the statute is to make the indolent industrious. In proposing further remedial measures we shall keep that object steadily in view.

And although we admit that able-bodied persons in the receipt of out-door allowances and partial relief, may be, and in

* See post 298.

some cases are, placed in a condition less eligible than that of the independent labourer of the lowest class; yet to persons so situated, relief in a well-regulated workhouse would not be a hardship: and even if it be, in some rare cases, a hardship, it appears from the evidence that it is a hardship to which the good of society requires the applicant to submit. The express or implied ground of his application is, that he is in danger of perishing from want. Requesting to be rescued from that danger out of the property of others, he must accept assistance on the terms, whatever they may be, which the common welfare requires. The bane of all pauper legislation has been the legislating for extreme cases. Every exception, every violation of the general rule to meet a real case of unusual hardship, lets in a whole class of fraudulent cases, by which that rule must in time be destroyed. Where cases of real hardship occur, the remedy must be applied by individual charity, a virtue for which no system of compulsory relief can be or ought to be a substitute.

The preceding evidence, as to the actual operation of remedial measures, relates principally to rural parishes. We shall now show, from portions of the evidence as to the administration of relief upon a correct principle in towns, that by an uniform application of the principle which we recommend, or, in other words, by a recurrence to the original intention of the poor-laws, other evils produced by the present system of partial relief to the able-bodied will be remedied. The principal of the further evils which it would extirpate is, the tendency of that system to constant and indefinite increase, independently of any legitimate causes, a tendency which we have shown to arise from the irresistible temptations to fraud on the part of the claimants. These temptations we have seen are afforded—

First. By the want of adequate means, or of diligence and ability, even where the means exist, to ascertain the truth of the statements on which claims to relief are founded*:

Secondly. By the absence of the check of shame, owing to the want of a broad line of distinction between the class of independent labourers and the class of paupers, and the degradation of the former by confounding them with the latter:

Thirdly. By the personal situation, connexions, interests, and want of appropriate knowledge on the part of the rate distributors, which render the exercise of discretion in the administration of all relief, and especially of out-door relief, obnoxious to the

* See pp. 44, 45.

influence of intimidation, of local partialities, and of local fears, and to corrupt profusion, for the sake of popularity or of pecuniary gain.

1. The offer of relief on the principle suggested by us would be a self-acting test of the claim of the applicant.

It is shown throughout the evidence, that it is demoralizing and ruinous to offer to the able-bodied of the best characters more than a simple subsistence. The person of bad character, if he be allowed anything, could not be allowed less. By the means which we propose, the line between those who do, and those who do not, need relief is drawn, and drawn perfectly. If the claimant does not comply with the terms on which relief is given to the destitute, he gets nothing; and if he does comply, the compliance proves the truth of the claim—namely, his destitution. If, then, regulations were established and enforced with the degree of strictness that has been attained in the dispauperized parishes, the workhouse doors might be thrown open to all who would enter them, and conform to the regulations. Not only would no agency for contending against fraudulent rapacity and perjury, no stages of appeals, (vexatious to the appellants and painful to the magistrates,) be requisite to keep the able-bodied from the parish; but the intentions of the statute of Elizabeth, in setting the idle to work, might be accomplished, and vagrants and mendicants actually forced on the parish; that is, forced into a condition of salutary restriction and labour. It would be found that they might be supported much cheaper under proper regulations, than when living at large by mendicity or depredation.

Wherever inquiries have been made as to the previous condition of the able-bodied individuals who live in such numbers on the town parishes, it has been found that the pauperism of the greater number has originated in indolence, improvidence, or vice, and might have been averted by ordinary care and industry. The smaller number consisted of cases where the cause of pauperism could not be ascertained rather than of cases where it was apparent that destitution had arisen from blameless want. This evidence as to the causes of the pauperism of the great mass of the able-bodied paupers, is corroborated by the best evidence with relation to their subsequent conduct, which has corresponded in a remarkable manner with the effects produced in the dispauperized parishes of the rural districts. Ill-informed persons, whose prepossessions as to the characters of paupers are at variance with the statements of witnesses practically engaged in the distribution of relief, commonly assume that those witnesses form their general conclusions from exceptions, and that their statements are made from some small proportion of cases of imposture; but

wherever those statements have been put to a satisfactory test, it has appeared that they were greatly below the truth. The usual statements of the permanent overseers in towns are, that more than one-half or two-thirds of the cases of able-bodied paupers are cases of indolence or imposture; but it rarely appears that more than five or six in a hundred claimants sustain the test of relief given upon a correct principle. We select the following instances in illustration of these statements.

“ Mr. Thomas Langley, Examined.

“ I have been in office fourteen years, principally as out-door inspector of the parish of Mary-le-bone.

“ When you were here before, you stated that the result of your having offered work in the stone-yard to 900 able-bodied paupers at piece-work, at which they might have earned from 10s. to 18s. a week, was, that only 85 out of the 900 remained to work. If, instead of paying the men in the stone-yard such wages as those from 10s. to 18s. a week, you had given them piece-work at about 1s. a day for a full day's work, and that 1s. had been given, not all in money, but chiefly in kind, that is to say, if you had given them at the end of each day's work a three pound loaf of brown bread, and cheese, or other food, and 3d. to pay for the night's lodging, how many out of the 85, who remained to work at the full wages first mentioned, would have remained to work for the remuneration of the latter description?—I do not think that 10 of them would have remained.

“ Would less than six have remained to work?—Never having seen such an experiment tried, I could not undertake to speak confidently; but there might, out of so large a number, be half a dozen who are so peculiarly situated as to accept work on such terms for a time.

“ Then you consider that it would in any case only be for a time, meaning, I presume, for a short time?—Yes, some of them might stay one day, others three or four, but none of them, I conceive, more than a week or so.

“ Would you consider the fact of a man accepting such work on such terms a sure test of his condition?—Yes, it would certainly be an infallible test of his being in a state of distress, and disposed to work, and unable to get work any where.

“ If I were to open a stone-yard in your parish, and offer to give to all comers such work on such terms, how many square yards of stone do you think I should get broken?—I think none, or if any, very few, although three pounds of bread is a good allowance of food, and far above a starving point.

“ What evasions do you think could be resorted to?—The only evasion I can see is in the cases where a man evaded the work by pretending to be ill, which is a trick now resorted to where men say, ‘they have a pain in their insides,’ and the doctor is not able to say positively that they have not; but these cases, judging from our present experience, would be very few.

“ Might not these cases be met by workhouse regulations, confining

a man as a sick patient, and on a low diet?—Yes, that I think would fully meet the case I have supposed.

"Do you see any cases in which such regulations (making the condition of the pauper on the whole less eligible than that of the independent labourer of the lowest class) do not constitute a self-acting test?—I certainly conceive it is a test which would go to the root of pauperism, if it were carried into full execution. I can see no mode of evasion but pretended sickness.

"Do you see any difficulty in the way of the execution of those regulations?—None whatever *."

"Mr. Leonard, Overseer of *St. Giles, Middlesex*, Examined.

"In the year 1831, we tried the application of labour at stone-breaking in 260 cases of able-bodied labourers at piece-work, at 2s. per ton, at which work they might have earned about 2s. per day with tolerable application. That was in the summer; but during the winter we gave them 2s. 6d. per ton. The labour performed from amongst the whole number only amounted to 9l. 18s. 2d. during six weeks. There were never more than five or six at work at the same time. The effect of the introduction of the stone-yard, and of work in the house, and generally for the able-bodied, was to produce such peace and order as had not existed before. I am sure that where there is no work there will certainly be disorder. Where I have heard of disorder in workhouses, and riots of paupers, I conclude, from the mere mention of such occurrences, that labour is not there properly applied, or the workhouses properly regulated.

"I am certainly of opinion that if regulations could be enforced which would place the pauper in every case below the condition of the lowest class of independent labourers, that these regulations would supersede investigations of officers with relation to able-bodied paupers. This, in fact, is the principle of our employment for able-bodied paupers at the stone-yard, and has produced the effects anticipated, so far as it has been carried into operation †."

"Mr. W. Hickson, jun., of the Firm of *Hickson & Sons*, Wholesale Shoe Warehouse, *Smithfield*, Examined.

"We once engaged to supply the workhouse of *St. Giles's* with shoes, on the condition that we should give work to all the journeymen shoemakers who were then receiving relief from the board. This was about four years back. We expected a great number to apply, and made preparations for upwards of a hundred; the number of applicants were however under twenty. Of these some endeavoured to spoil the work, that they might be dismissed and have an excuse for returning to the board; others ran away with the materials; and, finally, but one man remained, who was steady and industrious, and is working for us to this day ‡."

* App. (A.) Part II.

† App. (A.) Part II.

‡ App. (A.) Part II.

Mr. Teather, of *Lambeth*, examined—

"If you could get hard work for your able-bodied out-door poor, so as to make their condition on the whole less eligible than that of the independent labourer, what proportion of those who are now chargeable to the parish do you think would remain so?—On a rough guess, I do not think that more than one out of five would remain.

"Have you any facts which you can adduce to justify that conclusion?—From the instances of the proportions who have left on the occasions of their having had work given them. Some time ago, for instance, we had a lot of granite broken: there were not above 20 per cent. of the men who began who remained to work at all; there were not above two per cent. who remained the whole of the time during which the work lasted. Many of them, however, were not idle men, but they found other jobs: they were doubtless more stimulated to seek work by the stone-breaking. I think it would save much money if the parish officers were to advertise to break stones for the roads for nothing, for all persons who chose to bring the granite and take it away again *."

"Mr. Richard Spooner, who resides near *Worcester*, mentioned to me," says Mr. Villiers, "the following instance, illustrative of the calculation made by paupers with respect to parish work. A bridge was to be built in his neighbourhood, and it was determined to employ all the able men who applied for relief. While the bridge was building, not a single pauper who was able to work applied to the overseer for relief. A short time afterwards, and when the work was completed, the overseer had frequent applications for relief, and having no work to give them, he was compelled, as usual, to relieve them in money †."

"John Hooper, Assistant Guardian, *Poole*, *St. James's, Dorset*.

"No allowance is ever given to any able-bodied man, nor are we ever applied to by such for relief, unless he is ill or cannot get work; we then give him piece-work as before stated, and it is seldom he remains in such work many days before he finds employment at his trade or calling. This number is very small, and generally consists of shoemakers, bricklayers, and such as are not so fully employed in winter; but previously to our purchasing twenty acres of land for the purpose of giving them employment, we had many such applications during the winter, and all the idle and lazy were a great pest to us almost continually; but this is now at an end, as they say they may as well work for other parties as for the parish ‡."

Mr. Butt, the Secretary of the *Surrey Asylum* for discharged prisoners, states—

"In the year 1824, I availed myself of a hint which I got from the *Mendicity Society*, and with the sanction of our committee, entered into an agreement with Messrs. *Thorington and Roberts*, who at that time kept a stone wharf on the *Regent's Canal*, and who undertook

* App. (A.) Part II.

† App. (A.) Part II. p. 11.

‡ App. (B.) Question 30, p. 38.

to furnish employment to as many able-bodied men as we chose to send them, at breaking stones for the roads, finding them in tools and paying them at the rate of 8d. per ton for flints, and 1s. 8d. for granite. After some discussion and difficulty, I prevailed on the Committee of the Refuge for the Destitute at Hoxton, of which I was then a member, to adopt the same plan. Both institutions were, however, soon obliged to discontinue it, because they found that the orders for work were scarcely ever presented, though the price paid was notoriously sufficient to enable any man with common industry to support himself. The men to whom orders were given by the Surrey Asylum, were almost exclusively taken from the five worst classes in the house of correction at Brixton, which from its proximity to London, contains perhaps as bad a description of people as could possibly be found, and we soon ascertained that about three and three-quarters per cent. of the orders given were presented, *i. e.*, about one man out of twenty-seven went to work. I soon afterwards learnt from an active member of the Mendicity Society, that of the working tickets issued to *beggars* by the subscribers to that institution, about one in twenty-three was used, or about four and a quarter per cent*.

When witnesses have answered that they have tried the application of labour in the case of the able-bodied paupers, and that it has failed, it has appeared on further examination that the failure was merely a failure to yield pecuniary profit, or to meet their expectations of immediate results. Considerable sagacity and patience are requisite to conduct such proceedings without being misled by false appearances of failure. It is found that paupers are in general well aware that the enforcing labour is an experiment, and therefore resist. They view the contest as one in which it is worth while to hazard the labour of a week or a month, or a much longer period, for a year or a life of comparative ease, and the inexperience or the ignorance of the person superintending the experiment sometimes gives them the victory.

The most efficient application of the principle is usually by means of a workhouse. The following extracts from the evidence and communications from different parts of the kingdom, show at once the uniformity of its effects, and the general nature of the evil to be contended against.

"Mr. Oldershaw, the vestry clerk of Islington, states:—'It sometimes costs us more—the grinding corn by a mill—than the wheat ground; but then it keeps numbers away, and in that way we save. When in consequence of the stoppage of the mill it became known that we could not get work for the whole of our able-bodied, we had, in two or three days, one-third more of this class of applicants, and unless we had been able to provide work of some sort, so as to keep the great body of the able-bodied employed, we should have been inundated with them†.'

* App. (A.) Part II.

† App. (A.) Part II.

Mr. Henderson states, in his report from Liverpool, that—

"The proceedings of the select vestry show, that the workhouse is frequently used as a test of the real necessities of applicants for relief; and that while some, who pretend to be starving, refuse, others, really in want, solicit admission.

"The introduction of labour thinned the house very much: it was sometimes difficult to procure a sufficient supply of junk, which was generally obtained from Plymouth; when the supply was known to be scanty, paupers flocked in; but the sight of a load of junk before the door would deter them for a length of time*."

Mr. Atkinson, Comptroller of the Accounts for the township of Salford, states, that—

"Finding work for those who apply for relief, in consequence of being short or out of work, has had a very good effect, especially when the work has been of a *different kind* from that which they have been accustomed to. In Salford, employment to break stones on the highways has saved the township several hundred pounds within the last two years; for very few indeed will remain at work more than a few days, while the bare mention of it is quite sufficient for others. They all manage to find employment for themselves, and cease for a time to be troublesome; although it is a singular fact, that when the stock of stones on hand has been completely worked up before the arrival of others, they have, almost to a man, applied again for relief, and the overseers have been obliged to give them relief; but so soon as an arrival of stones is announced they find work for themselves again. This fact is in itself sufficient to show the nature and effects of pauperism. I sincerely believe, that if, instead of giving relief in money, all persons were taken into workhouses, and there made to work, and have no other benefit than a bare maintenance, that would almost *immediately reduce pauperism one-third*, and in less than twenty years nearly annihilate it†."

Mr. Huish, the assistant overseer of St. George's, Southwark, examined—

"What do you think would be the effect of putting an end altogether to the system of out-door relief, and enacting that all persons should either be wholly on or wholly off the parish, and that those who are on should be relieved in a strict workhouse?—I am convinced that in the first year of any attempt to take all the poor into the workhouse, no more than one in ten of the out-door paupers will remain in the parish, and that this tenth person would, in a great proportion of the cases, do so to tease them.

"I am convinced that in the second year not one out of twenty of the out-door poor would remain chargeable to the parish.

"Do you assume that the workhouses are to be conducted much as at present?—Nearly the same: but all the workhouses should be managed alike, which can only be done by Government; for whilst the world lasts, parishes will not unite to do anything.

* App. (A.) Part II.

† App. (C.)

"On what grounds do you form your opinion that the reduction of pauperism would be at the rate you mention?—As a practical man, I form my opinion on the proportion who have always, since I have been in office, refused to go into the workhouse when it has been offered them, and the instances where they have continued to get their living without parochial relief*."

Mr. Osler, in an account of the introduction of the improved workhouse system at Falmouth, states that, in the first instance—

"A select vestry was appointed, and a good house built, but the improvement effected was not so considerable as it might have been, because the house was inefficient. There was a total want of discipline; the dormitories were the common sitting rooms of their inmates, who cooked their own food, and the whole house was, in consequence, dirty and disorderly: finally, it was regulated upon principles agreeing with those explained in my former Report, and all proper cases were ordered in. The effect was, not only to cut off a great number of out-paupers, but also actually to diminish the numbers in the house.

"Last year before the use of the new workhouse—

Year ending 1820 £2,321 13 0½

"Select vestry and workhouse, but without discipline—

1821 (Population 4,392)	2,112	6	2½
1822	1,888	15	5½
1823	1,903	14	6
1824	1,686	5	3½
1825	1,670	6	6½
1826	1,599	19	10
1827	1,511	1	9
1828	1,492	14	1
1829	1,938	3	3†

"Introduction of moderate regularity into the house with increased strictness in ordering paupers—

1830 £1,378 1 8

"Introduction of efficient domestic discipline; no relief given out of the house except in casual or peculiar cases—

1831 (Population 4,761) £1,151 11 2

1832 1,029 12 7

"Profit is not to be expected from workhouse labour. If it were practicable to convert workhouses into manufactories, which it is not, the measure would be most impolitic; for every shilling thus earned in the house would be at the expense of a labourer out of doors.

"The true profit of parish labour is to form industrious habits in the young, and to deter the indolent; and the perfection of a parish establishment is for its inmates to be scarcely equal to its own work.

* App. (A.) Part II.

† "The casual list for 1829 is enormous, owing to a cargo of distressed German emigrants who remained for several months, their vessel being unseaworthy. The extraordinary charge thus incurred, included a rate of 122l. 7s., raised expressly for contributing to the hire of a vessel to carry them to their destination."

Into such a house none will enter voluntarily; work, confinement, and discipline, will deter the indolent and vicious; and nothing but extreme necessity will induce any to accept the comfort which must be obtained by the surrender of their free agency, and the sacrifice of their accustomed habits and gratifications. *Thus the parish officer, being furnished with an unerring test of the necessity of applicants, is relieved from his painful and difficult responsibility; while all have the gratification of knowing that while the necessitous are abundantly relieved, the funds of charity are not wasted upon idleness and fraud*."*

Under the present system it is found, that wherever relief is permitted to remain eligible to any except those who are absolutely destitute, the cumbrous and expensive barriers of investigations and appeals erected to protect the rates serve only as partial impediments, and every day offer a more feeble resistance to the strong interests set against them. To permit this system to continue, to retain the existing permanent officers, and yearly to subject a larger and larger proportion of those who are pressed into the public service as annual officers, to a painful and inefficient struggle, in which they must suffer much personal inconvenience and loss, a loss which is not the less a public loss, because borne by only a few individuals, must excite great animosity against themselves, and ultimately be borne down in a conflict in which the ingenuity and pressing interests of a multitude of paupers, each having his peculiar case or his peculiar means of fraud, are pitted against the limited means of detection, and the feeble interests in the prevention of fraud of one or a few public officers.

In the absence of fixed rules and tests that can be depended upon, the officers in large towns have often no alternative between indiscriminately granting or indiscriminately refusing relief. The means of distinguishing the really destitute from the crowd of indolent impostors being practically wanting, they are driven to admit or reject the able-bodied in classes. Now, however true it may be that the real proportion of cases which are found to have the semblance of being well founded may not exceed three or four per cent. of the whole amount of claims, yet since each individual thus rejected may possibly be one of that apparently deserving minority, such a rejection, accompanied by such a possibility, is at variance with the popular sentiment; and it is found that the great body of the distributors of relief do prefer, and may be expected to continue to prefer, the admission of any number of undeserving claims, to encountering a remote chance of the rejection of what may be considered a deserving case.

On the other hand, the belief which prevails that under the

* App. (C.) pp. 164 and 173-4.

existing system some claims to relief *are* absolutely rejected, operates extensively and mischievously. It appears that this belief, which alone renders plausible the plea of every mendicant (that he applied for parochial relief, and was refused), is the chief cause of the prevalence of mendicity and vagrancy, notwithstanding the existence of a system of compulsory relief; a system which, if well administered, must immediately reduce and enable a police ultimately to extirpate all mendicity. If merit is to be the condition on which relief is to be given; if such a duty as that of rejecting the claims of the undeserving is to be performed, we see no possibility of finding an adequate number of officers whose character and decisions would obtain sufficient popular confidence to remove the impression of the possible rejection of some deserving cases; we believe, indeed, that a closer investigation of the claims of the able-bodied paupers, and a more extensive rejection of the claims of the undeserving, would, for a considerable time, be accompanied by an increase of the popular opinion to which we have alluded, and consequently by an increase of the disposition to give to mendicants.

We see no remedy against this, in common with other existing evils, except the general application of the principle of relief which has been so extensively tried and found so efficient in the dispauperized parishes. When that principle has been introduced, the able-bodied claimant should be entitled to immediate relief on the terms prescribed, wherever he might happen to be; and should be received without objection or inquiry; the fact of his compliance with the prescribed discipline constituting his title to a sufficient, though simple diet. The question as to the locality or place of settlement, which should be charged with the expense of his maintenance, might be left for subsequent determination.

On this point, as on many others, the independent labourers may be our best teachers. We have seen, that in the administration of the funds of their friendly societies, they have long acted on the principle of rendering the condition of a person receiving their relief less eligible than that of an independent labourer. We have now to add, that they also adopt and enforce most unrelentingly the principle, that under no circumstances, and with no exceptions, shall any member of their societies receive relief while earning anything for himself. Mr. Tidd Pratt was asked whether, in the rules for the management of friendly societies, framed by the labouring classes themselves, he had ever found any for the allowance of partial relief; such as relief in aid of wages, or relief on account of the number of a family?—He answers—

“No, I never met with an instance.

“Then do the labouring classes themselves, in the rules submitted

to you, reject all partial relief or relief on any other ground than the utter inability to work?—Invariably.

“By what penalties do they usually endeavour to secure themselves from fraud, on the part of persons continuing on the sick list after they have become able to work?—In all cases by utter expulsion and enforcement of the repayment of the money from the period at which it was proved the party was able to work.

“Does that utter expulsion take place whatever may have been the period at which the party had contributed towards the society?—Yes; and all his contributions are forfeited to the society; and so strict are they in the enforcement of these regulations, that I have known them expel a party for stirring the fire, or putting up the shutters of his window, these acts being considered by them evidence of the party being capable of going to work. A small shopkeeper has been expelled for going into his shop; and the only exception I have found in favour of such a rule is, that of a party being allowed to sign a receipt, or to give orders to his servant. They are perfectly well aware, from experience, that to give relief in an apparently hard case, would open the door to a whole class of cases which would ruin them. The other day the steward of a friendly society came to consult me as to the reinstatement of a member who had been expelled for having neglected to pay his quarter's subscription on the regular quarter night half an hour after the books were closed. The party had been a member 32 years, and during that time had received little or no relief. The case struck me as an extremely hard one, and I endeavoured to prevail on the steward to reinstate the member, but the steward stated to me so many facts, showing that if they yielded to this one case, that it would determine a whole class of cases, and let in so much abuse, that I was ultimately forced to agree in the necessity of the decision of the society. These rules may appear to be capricious and arbitrary, but my observation leads me to believe that they are necessary to protect the society. Although there is an extremely severe enforcement of them, societies are seriously injured, and frequently ruined, by the frauds committed under this mode of relief, notwithstanding the incessant vigilance exercised against them.

“What description of vigilance is that?—It is generally provided by the rules that a domiciliary visit shall be paid by the stewards, or by a member, generally every day; these visits are to be paid at uncertain times, that they may increase the chances of detection. It is also usually provided that a sick member shall not leave his house before or after such an hour, and that on his leaving home at other times he shall leave word in writing where he has gone, by what line of road he has gone, and by what line he intends to return, in order that the stewards or members may track him. In some instances the members follow up these precautions by requiring a member, when he ‘declares off’ the box, to swear that he was unable to work during the whole time that he has been receiving relief of the society.

“Are these precautions effectual?—No; notwithstanding the utmost vigilance, serious frauds are committed, especially by the members of

those trades who can work at piece-work within doors; such, for example, as tailors, shoemakers, watchmakers, and weavers. An operative of these trades keeps his door shut and works, and when the visitor comes, the work is put under the bed clothes or otherwise concealed, and he is found in bed apparently sick. I find that in those societies where the members' work is of a nature to render fraud liable to detection, such as painters, plumbers, glaziers, stonemasons, carpenters, and any other occupation that takes a man out of his own room, the money paid for sickness in the course of a year is less than in societies composed of equal numbers of the class of members before mentioned. From the opportunities of fraud, I always judge of the certainty of fraud, and from those opportunities the certainty of the ruin of societies may be predicted."

This vigilance in the administration of out-door relief to the sick, a vigilance to which we have never found any parallel in the administration of the poor's rates, would, *à fortiori*, be requisite in the case of the administration of out-door relief to the able-bodied. But this is obviously impossible. No salaried officer could have the zeal or the knowledge of an inspector of a friendly society, who is always of the same class, and usually of the same trade as the claimant. And if it were possible, we believe that it would not be effectual. The labouring classes themselves find these daily visits and strict regulations inadequate substitutes for the means of supervision and prevention, which well-regulated workhouses afford, and which those classes, if their circumstances permitted, would doubtless adopt. In fact, the experiment has long and often been tried, and always with the same ill success. Visits are made to the claimants, their residences are inspected, and it appears that at these visits and inspections, false and fraudulent scenes are prepared with little more difficulty and much more effect than fraudulent stories, and that those who disregard all statements and trust only to what they call the evidence of their senses, are often the most completely deceived. The testimony of the most experienced and intelligent of our witnesses shows the extensive opportunities for fraud which the most rigid inspection leaves; and in the case of paupers, much more than in the case of the sick members of friendly societies, from the extent of the opportunities, may the extent of fraud be predicted. Mr. Pratt is asked—

Have you as a barrister had much poor-law practice?—Yes, I have practised 10 years at sessions, I have also edited *Bott's Poor Laws*, and other works connected with the subject.

"Would you apply to the progress of out-door relief by parishes the same rules as are founded on the experience of the labouring classes in benefit societies?—Certainly; and considering a parish as a large friendly society (the members being mostly honorary, or persons who contribute without the intention of partaking of the benefits of the con-

tribution, as the majority in most parishes are), I should look to them much more rigidly.

"If the regulations of a parish, or of a friendly society consisting of a parish, were brought to you to authorize under the statute of Elizabeth, would you certify them if you found in them rules for granting partial relief of any sort, or relief in aid of wages, or relief according to a bread-money scale, or relief in proportion to the number of a family, or out-door relief of any description?—As a lawyer I should undoubtedly consider all such allowances entirely at variance with the spirit and intention of the statute of Elizabeth, and I should without hesitation reject them. My experience, also derived from the observation of less dangerous regulations in friendly societies, would enable me to pronounce them to be mischievous and ruinous to whatever community adopted them. I am sure that no members of any benefit society, incomplete as their knowledge is, would ever frame rules upon such ruinous principles. The only definite ground of relief, as it appears to me, is utter inability to work, and so it appears to the labouring classes themselves, for whose benefit, and with whom I act, for their allowances are always made upon that ground.

"In what way do the members generally regard parochial assistance? As discreditable?—In their rules it is generally provided, that in the case of the death of a member, notice be given to the treasurer, who summonses two of the stewards; and, says the rule, 'They both shall attend such funeral, and see that the corpse is decently interred, and free from parish grants;' or it is expressed, as in the following rule: 'That the president and vice-president shall attend funerals of members and their wives, see they be decent, and free from parochial assistance; and if either of them neglect so to do, he shall be fined 5s.; but for such attendance each of them shall receive 2s. 6d. from the fund.'"

We believe that the following evidence expresses the sentiments of a large proportion of the most respectable mechanics:—

Launcelot Snowden examined,—

"Are you acquainted with the operative classes?—Yes, having been a journeyman printer 20 years, and one half of the time foreman, and having been in different situations in our own societies, as well as connected with various other societies of operatives, I believe I am well acquainted with them.

"In what way do they regard the fact of any one of their body receiving parochial relief?—I know that none but the worst characters would ever think of applying for parish relief; and that the respectable workmen consider it disgraceful. The other day, a list of those who received out-door parish relief was brought to a printing-office to be printed. One of the men saw on the list the name and address of one of the journeymen in the same office. This man was challenged with the fact, which he did not attempt to deny. He had been receiving as much as 6s. or 8s. a week out-door relief, during two years, for four children, although he had been in receipt of 36s. a week steady wages during the same time. The men stated the circumstance to the employer, and he was discharged.

"Did they request that he might be discharged?—The proceeding was tantamount to that, and of course the master acceded.

"Suppose the whole of the relief were regulated by an independent, or, say a Government authority, on a fixed rule, that of not rendering the condition of the pauper within the workhouse so good as that of the lowest class of workmen living by his labour out of the house?—That of course. No reasonable man would, I should conceive, expect to have his condition in the workhouse bettered. I think a Government authority would be much the best, as the parish officers are now, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, interested parties."

2. Little need be said on the next effect of the abolition of partial relief (even independently of workhouse regulations) in drawing a broad line of distinction between the paupers and the independent labourers. Experience has shown, that it will induce many of those whose wants arise from their idleness, to earn the means of subsistence; repress the fraudulent claims of those who have now adequate means of independent support, and obtain for others assistance from their friends, who are willing to see their relations pensioners, but would exert themselves to prevent their being inmates of a workhouse.

3. It will also remove much of the evil arising from the situation of the distributors of relief.

It has been shown that destitution, not merit, is the only safe ground of relief. In order to enable the distributors to ascertain the indigence of the applicant, it has been proposed to subdivide parishes, and appoint to the subdivisions officers who, it is supposed, might ascertain the circumstances of those under their care. But when instances are now of frequent occurrence where a pauper is found to have saved large sums of money, without the fact having been known or suspected by the members of the same family, living under the same roof, how should a neighbour, much less a parish officer, be expected to have a better knowledge of the real means of the individual? We are not aware that our communications display one instance of out-door pauperism having been permanently repressed by the mere exercise of individual knowledge acting on a limited area. What our evidence does show is, that where the administration of relief is brought nearer to the door of the pauper, little advantage arises from increased knowledge on the part of the distributors, and great evil from their increased liability to every sort of pernicious influence. It brings tradesmen within the influence of their customers, small farmers within that of their relations and connexions, and not unfrequently of those who have been their fellow workmen, and exposes the wealthier classes to solicitations from their own dependants for extra allowances, which might be meritoriously and usefully given as private charity,

but are abuses when forced from the public. Under such circumstances, to continue out-door relief is to continue a relief which will generally be given ignorantly or corruptly, frequently procured by fraud, and in a large and rapidly increasing proportion of cases extorted by intimidation—an intimidation which is not more powerful as a source of profusion than as an obstacle to improvement. We shall recur to this subject when we submit the grounds for withdrawing all local discretionary power, and appointing a new agency to superintend the administration of relief.

Many apparent difficulties in the proposed plan will be considered, and we hope removed, in a subsequent part of this Report. One objection, however, we will answer immediately; and that is, that it implies that the whole, or a large proportion, of the present paupers must become inmates of the workhouse. One of the most encouraging of the results of our inquiry is the degree in which the existing pauperism arises, from fraud, indolence, or improvidence. If it had been principally the result of unavoidable distress, we must have inferred the existence of an organic disease, which, without rendering the remedy less necessary, would have fearfully augmented its difficulty. But when we consider how strong are the motives to claim public assistance, and how ready are the means of obtaining it, independently of real necessity, we are surprised, not at the number of paupers, but at the number of those who have escaped the contagion. A person who attributes pauperism to the inability to procure employment, will doubt the efficiency of the means by which we propose to remove it, tried as they have been, and successful as they have always proved. If such a person had been present when the 900 able-bodied paupers applied to the Mary-le-bone officers, on the ground that they could find no work, he would have treated lightly the proposal of getting rid of them by the offer of wages and the stone-yard. He would have supposed that work must have been provided for the 900, not for the 85, who actually accepted it. If a workhouse had been offered, he would have anticipated the reception of the 900, not the 85, or rather, according to the opinion of the officer, the 10, who would probably have entered it. He would have come to the same conclusion respecting the 20 shoemakers, to whom relief was offered by Mr. Hickson. We have seen that the test showed that among the 20 there was one deserving person: if the test had not been applied, and to meet the chance of there being one such person, the whole 20 had received out-door relief, even that person would have received relief instead of wages, and 19 persons, really capable of earning their support, would have been converted into permanent paupers, besides those whom the example would have

attracted. Before the experiment had been tried, the 63 heads of pauper families at Cookham might have been confidently pronounced to be a surplus population, and emigration have been urged as the only remedy. "The low rate of wages," it might have been said, "proves the redundancy, and the certain effect of throwing upon the depreciated labour-market nearly one-third more of competitors (rendered desperate by their privations) will be to increase the prevalent misery; the proposal to take them into the workhouse, which will require expensive preparations for the whole of them, is impolitic, and indeed impracticable." Such, in fact, were the anticipations of persons deemed competent judges, as to the number of the pauperized labourers who would remain permanently chargeable. It is stated in the Report from Cookham, that "The work provided was trenching; an acre of hard gravelly ground was hired for the purpose. Some of the vestry, at the outset, considered that this quantity of land would be utterly inadequate. Many of the farmers thought the parish officers would have to trench the whole parish; but it turned out that not more than a quarter of an acre was wanted for the purpose." In several others of the dispauperized parishes, the erection of workhouses, and other remedial measures, were strongly and sincerely opposed on similar grounds. In answer to all objections founded on the supposition that the present number of able-bodied paupers will remain permanently chargeable, we refer to the evidence which shows the general causes of pauperism, and to the effects produced by administration on a correct principle, as guaranteeing the effects to be anticipated from the general application of measures which have been tried by so many experiments. But we cannot expect that such evidence will satisfy the minds of those who sincerely disbelieve the possibility of a class of labourers subsisting without rates in aid of wages; and we have found numbers who have sincerely disbelieved that possibility, notwithstanding they have had daily presented to their observation the fact, that labourers of the same class, and otherwise no better circumstanced, do live well without such allowances; still less can we expect that such evidence will abate the clamours of those who have a direct interest in the abuses which they defend under the mask of benevolence.

Such persons will, no doubt, avail themselves of the mischievous ambiguity of the word *poor*, and treat all diminution of the expenditure for the relief of the poor as so much taken from the labouring classes, as if those classes were naturally pensioners on the charity of their superiors, and relief, not wages, were the proper fund for their support: as if the independent labourers themselves were not, directly or indirectly, losers by all expenditure on paupers; as if those who would be raised from pauperism

to independence would not be the greatest gainers by the change; as if, to use the expression of one of the witnesses whom we have quoted, the meat of industry were worse than the bread of idleness.

We have dwelt at so much length on the necessity of abolishing out-door relief to the able-bodied, because we are convinced that it is the master evil of the present system. The heads of settlement may be reduced and simplified; the expense of litigation may be diminished; the procedure before the magistrates may be improved; uniformity in parochial accounts may be introduced; less vexatious and irregular modes of rating may be established; systematic peculation and jobbing on the parts of the parish officers may be prevented: the fraudulent impositions of undue burthens by one class upon another class—the tampering with the labour-market by the employers of labour—the abuse of the public trust for private or factious purposes, may be corrected; all the other collateral and incidental evils may be remedied;—but, if the vital evil of the system, relief to the able-bodied, on terms more eligible than regular industry, be allowed to continue, we are convinced that pauperism, with its train of evils, must steadily advance; as we find it advancing in parishes where all or most of its collateral and incidental evils are, by incessant vigilance and exertion, avoided or mitigated.

It has been strongly, and we think conclusively, urged, that all local discretionary power as to relief should be withdrawn. Mr. Mott, when he was examined on the subject of workhouse management, was asked, whether, under a well-regulated system, he thought that the local officers might be intrusted with the power of modifying the dietaries? He answers,—

"I am decidedly of opinion that no such authority can be beneficially exercised, even by the local manager and superintendent of any place; whatever deviation there is in the way of extra indulgence has a tendency to extend and perpetuate itself which cannot be resisted. If you give to particular people an extra allowance on special grounds, all the rest will exclaim, 'Why should not we have it as well as they?' and too often they get it. That which was only intended to be the comfort of the few; and as an exception, at last, one by one being added to the list, becomes the general rule; and, when once established, there are few annual officers who will interfere to abridge the accustomed allowance."

Thus uniformity of excess is produced; and then again it is often deemed necessary to make distinctions in the way of increase, which increase is again diffused, and the whole is again equalized to the profuse standard. Uniformity in the administration of relief we deem essential as a means, first, of reducing the perpetual shifting from parish to parish, and fraudulent removals

to parishes where profuse management prevails, from parishes where the management is less profuse; secondly, of preventing the discontents which arise among the paupers maintained under the less profuse management, from comparing it with the more profuse management of adjacent districts; and, thirdly, of bringing the management, which consists in details, more closely within the public control. The importance of the last object will appear more clearly in our subsequent statement. The importance of uniformity in reducing removals appears throughout our evidence. We have found that the confirmed paupers usually have a close knowledge of the detailed management of various parishes (although the managers rarely have), and act upon that knowledge in their choice of workhouses. Many of the out-door paupers, when they have the means, avoid those parishes in which there are workhouses. The Rev. Rowland Williams, Vicar of Myfod, Montgomery, states in his communication,—

“It is notorious, that when paupers come to swear their settlements, they show a strong inclination to be removed to parishes where there are no workhouses. Those magistrates who are experienced in such removals exercise great caution in believing testimony given under such influence.”

The next subject for consideration is the agency by which partial relief to the able-bodied may be abolished, and a continued administration of relief, on the principle suggested by us, maintained.

The simplicity of that principle, and the effects which it has produced, and apparently with ease, in the dispauperized parishes, naturally suggest to those who have observed only these striking instances, that the change may be effected by a single enactment. That there would be much able and correct administration of any law which the legislature might pass we entertain no doubt, since we find much ability, and often eminent ability, displayed in the administration of the existing system; neither do we doubt that the number of cases of voluntary improvement would greatly increase; for we have been informed of some instances where improvements have actually been commenced in consequence of the light thrown upon the subject by the published extracts from the Reports of our Assistant Commissioners; but the evidence collected under this Commission proves, that whilst the good example of one parish is rarely followed in the surrounding parishes, bad examples are contagious, and possess the elements of indefinite extension. The instances presented to us throughout the present inquiry of the defeat of former legislation by unforeseen obstacles, and often by an administration directly at variance

with the plainly expressed will of the legislature, have forced us to distrust the operation of the clearest enactments, and even to apprehend unforeseen mischiefs from them, unless an especial agency be appointed and empowered to superintend and control their execution.

While we find, on the one hand, that there is scarcely one statute connected with the administration of public relief which has produced the effect designed by the legislature, and that the majority of them have created new evils, and aggravated those which they were intended to prevent, we find, on the other hand, that the obstacles to the due execution by the existing functionaries of any new legislative measure, are greater than they have ever been. The interests of individuals in mal-administration are stronger, the interests in checking abuses are proportionately weaker; and the dangers to person and property from any attempts to effect the intention of the statute of Elizabeth are greater than any penalties by which the law might be attempted to be enforced. That the existing law admits of a beneficial administration of the provisions of that statute is proved by the instances of the dispauperized parishes; but those instances were produced by the circumstance of there being found within each of those parishes, an individual of remarkable firmness and ability, often joined with a strong interest in good administration, great influence to overcome opposition, and leisure to establish good management. In the majority of instances the change originated with the clergyman, or some of the largest holders of land within the parish. In the absence of these fortunate accidents the example has not been followed. In Cookham and White Waltham the benefits of the improved administration have been manifested since the year 1822, but manifested without imitation.

In Faringdon, Berks, which we have already cited as an instance of improvement, the governor of the workhouse was asked,—

“Are the surrounding parishes aware of the effects produced in your parish by the change of system?—They are quite aware of them.

“If legislative measures were taken for the adoption of such a system as that adverted to by you, do you think that obstacles would be found to prevent their execution?—If the adoption of the measures were not enforced by some strong means, I do not believe they would be extensively carried into effect voluntarily.

“Are those parishes heavily or lightly burthened?—Most heavily burthened. Property is a great deal deteriorated in value in consequence of the progress of pauperism. One gentleman, the other day, mentioned to me that lately, in consequence of the heavy burthen of the poor's rates, by which, for the last two or three years, he had lost upwards of a hundred a year upon the farm his family had held for upwards of two centuries, he had thrown up that farm and gone to another

parish, which was not yet so heavily burthened with poor's rates. I know that in the surrounding parishes capital is fearfully diminishing and property deteriorating.

"Are you aware of any steps being taken in those parishes to follow the example of your parish?—I am not aware of any steps being taken to follow the example. I have indeed heard some persons say they should be very glad to see the same system followed.

"What are the obstacles which stand in the way of their following it?—Partly fear, and partly the want of persons of influence and energy to come forward to take the first steps."

The Commissioner who examined Cookham visited Bray, and made inquiries of persons connected with that and other adjacent parishes, why they did not adopt the means of reducing their heavy rates, which (as they were well aware) had been found so efficient and salutary in Cookham. The answers were usually to this effect:—"The farmers are so disunited and unwilling to stir." "The members of the vestry are so jealous of each other, that they can do nothing." "We have no one to take the lead." "We have no one who will take upon himself the responsibility." "It never can be done, unless we have among us a man of the talent and influence of Mr. Whately."

Mr. Whately himself was asked—

"Do you think your example would be followed if extensively known?—I very much doubt it. I believe it is pretty extensively known, but it has been followed only in one or two solitary cases, so far as I am aware of.

"Are you aware that any pains have been taken by the neighbouring parishes to ascertain the nature of your system?—Yes; many have made themselves fully acquainted with it by personal application to me; but either through indolence or want of firmness, or some other cause, have not availed themselves of the information they have received; nor have I any reason to hope that a great national benefit can be effected by the personal exertions of individuals, who must necessarily expose themselves to considerable obloquy, if not to great loss of property, and who, in many cases, have no immediate personal interest.

"If you were to withdraw your exertions, do you think that the present system would be carried on in your parish?—Many of the principal rate-payers, with whom I act, are of opinion that it would not*."

In the communication of Messrs. Cameron and Wrottesley will be found an account of the ignorance and apathy prevalent amongst the rate distributors of the adjacent parishes, with relation even to the important pecuniary results of the change of system at Cookham. Mr. Whately having been prevented, by a severe illness, from attending the vestry, the effects of his absence soon exhibited themselves in the management of the poor; and some

* App. (A.) Part II.

of the members of the select vestry were convinced that the safety of the reformed system depended upon his restoration to health. It appears from Major Wilde's Report, that when the master of the workhouse at Southwell, who had long been accustomed to manage that establishment, under the admirable superintendence of Mr. Becher, went to another parish, he soon relapsed into the common habits. In Hatfield the management fell back during the short illness of the permanent overseer, who is a person excellently qualified; and it appears from various other instances, that the voluntary adoption and continuance of an improved system is dependent on obtaining, within each parish, an individual of great firmness, ability, and disinterestedness, to originate it and carry it on; or, in other words, that the good general administration of the existing system is dependent on a perpetual succession of upwards of fifteen thousand men of firmness and ability agreeing upon a system and conducting it voluntarily.

We must again state, that while there is no province of administration for which more peculiar knowledge is requisite than the relief to the indigent, there is no province from which such knowledge is more effectually excluded. The earlier part of our Report shows the consequences of acting upon immediate impressions, or upon conclusions derived from a limited field of observation. At present, the experience which guides the administration of relief is limited to the narrow bounds of a parish, and to a year of compulsory service. The common administration is founded on blind impulse or on impressions derived from a few individual cases; when the only safe action must be regulated by extensive inductions or general rules derived from large classes of cases, which the annual officer has no means of observing. Capacity for such duties comes by intuition even to persons of good general intelligence as little as an intuitive capacity to navigate a ship or manage a steam engine. The influence of the information and skill which any officer may acquire, may be destroyed by other officers with whom his authority is divided, and even though he may prevail, it usually departs with him when he surrenders his office. The improvements which he may have introduced are not appreciated by his successor. In petty and obscure districts, good measures rarely excite imitation, and bad measures seldom yield warning. "I have seen," says Mr. Mott, "sets of officers succeed sets; I have seen a great many plans and systems suggested and tried; I have seen them tried by officers of the highest respectability and intelligence, and the little good derived from the practical operation of their plans utterly defeated by their successors, who, though equally honest, come into office with different opinions and views. Here and there an extraordinary man will come

into office, and succeed very satisfactorily. But when he goes, there is generally an immediate relapse into the old system. His example works no permanent change in his own parish, still less is it attended to in the adjacent parishes. In short, I am quite convinced, from all my experience, that no uniform system can be carried into execution, however ably it may be devised; nor can any hopes of permanent improvement be held out, unless some central and powerful control is established."

Such being the qualifications essential to the performance of parochial offices, our evidence abounds with indications, that in devising any new legislative measures it would be necessary to guard not only against adverse interests, but against the actual incapacity of the persons usually filling parochial offices. The following are instances from our communications:—

The Rev. Robert Ellison, the rector of Slaugham, in Sussex,—

"The accounts of eight or ten surrounding parishes should be audited by a person with a proper salary, resident in an adjoining town. It is difficult to get a proper person in villages to audit accounts. My vestry clerk is a pauper, and not a good character; the two last overseers could neither read nor write. Need I say more? The rates rose last year 9s. in the pound, which amounted to near 700*l.* additional. The poor cost upwards of 1,600*l.*; the population not 800."

Major General Marriott, an acting magistrate of the Pershore division, containing sixty-six parishes, of Worcester, states that some of the overseers (small farmers)—

"Can scarcely write their names, and few can keep accounts (witness the Returns made to Parliament), and are so ignorant or inattentive to the magistrates' orders, wishing to slip through their half year with as little trouble as possible, that many appeals against removals and other expenses are very unnecessarily incurred, which would have been saved to the parish by a regular assistant, and at a trifling expense. In the above sixty-six parishes there may be twelve or fifteen where gentlemen or clergymen reside, and take part in parish affairs; in most of the rest, I fear, I might draw too exact a picture by saying, their affairs are managed by some few principal farmers and landholders, generally at open variance, and formed into two inveterate parties; the poor parishioners are obliged to take one side or the other, and are favoured or oppressed as their party prevails. *Such are the persons for whom it is necessary to legislate (as well as for inhabitants of large towns) in making or altering laws for the poor.*"

Although clear and often able replies to our queries have been received from the officers of the town parishes, some of the answers, even from the metropolis, were evidently written by illiterate and ignorant men. One of the population returns from Middlesex, to which we had occasion to refer, was attested by the mark of the returning officer. The revision of the lists of

votes under the Reform Act, however, brought to view, in some respects much more completely than the present inquiry, the qualifications of the general body of overseers; and it appears from the information of the revising barristers, that the inability of a large proportion of them was not confined to the comprehension of legal distinctions, but extended to the execution of the most simple directions.

"The class of persons," says Mr. Moylan, "whom I have seen in the office of overseer are generally men who, far from being able to fulfil the duties imposed upon them, seem unable to comprehend those duties. The general ignorance and stupidity of the overseers in country parishes with whom I came acquainted as Revising Barrister, in Cheshire and Nottinghamshire, surpassed any thing which I could have previously conceived. In some of the agricultural parishes we found a *X* substituted for the overseer's signature to the list of voters. Many lists were made out and signed by the village schoolmaster, or some other person who accompanied the overseer in attendance upon our court, and was alone competent to answer on his behalf any inquiries we deemed it requisite to make. In some cases where the overseer had not had recourse to the aid of others, his blunders were ludicrous. Instead of making the list a fair transcript of the claims, he would perhaps undertake to insert what he thought a more accurate description of the qualification, which would prove, in point of fact, no qualification at all *."

"In 1832," says Mr. Maclean, "I revised the list of voters for the Western Division of the county of Sussex, and in the present year I have revised the lists of the Northern Division of the county of Essex. In both counties I met with many overseers apparently perfectly unable to comprehend, from reading the Reform Act, what they were required to do. Many were unable to write at all, and others could with difficulty affix their names to the lists. Some appeared unable to copy accurately the schedule of the Act according to the form there given. Those lists which had any pretension to correction had been invariably written out by the parish schoolmaster, or under the advice and direction of some resident gentleman. Few were capable of furnishing any information, or of understanding that any distinction existed between a freehold and a leasehold qualification. Through ignorance or obstinacy, many had neglected several of the duties distinctly pointed out in the Act; such as to publish the names which were upon the register of the preceding year, or to sign the lists previous to affixing them on the church door. I met with few lists which did not require considerable alteration. Attempts at an alphabetical arrangement seemed to have completely failed. Several had omitted to make out lists at all. In one instance I was attended by a female overseer, and it is due to her to state, that the list furnished by her, and in her own handwriting, was one of the most correct I met with."

* App. (A.) Part I. Report of D. C. Moylan, Esq. p. 280 *a.*

Mr. Flood, Revising Barrister for the Northern Division of the county of Leicester, states,—

"I found very great difficulty in revising the list of voters, owing to the illiterate character of the overseers of many of the parishes. In one instance, where there were two overseers, one had not acted, and did not sign the list, though he was able to write; and a mark X was substituted for the signature of the other. There were, I think, three or four lists unsigned, none of the overseers being able to write, and about the same number only signed by one overseer. In about 16 or 18 lists the overseers had resorted to the assistance of the parish schoolmaster, or some other person to assist them. In not more than 10 parishes did the overseers appear in the least to comprehend the duties they were required to perform. I found, however, the overseers of the parishes of Loughborough, Castle Donington, Melton Mowbray and Ashby-de-la-Zouch exceedingly intelligent men, while in the eastern side of the county, where the population is exclusively agricultural, I met with a degree of ignorance I was utterly unprepared to find in a civilized country."

Mr. Villiers, when acting as a Revising Barrister in North Devon, found that not less than one-fourth of the overseers were unable to read, and he mentions one overseer who had not that qualification, and yet was intrusted with the distribution of rates to the amount of 7000*l.* per annum.

Such being the *capacity* of a large proportion of the distributors, we shall find the state of their *motives* to either the commencement or the support of improvement equally unpromising. Persons engaged in trade have represented the management of parochial affairs to be analogous to the management of a bankrupt's estate by creditors, where, although each creditor has an interest in the good management of the estate, yet, as the particular creditors who were appointed assignees had not an interest sufficient to incite them to exertions which necessarily interfered with their other and stronger interests, no estates were ever so extensively mismanaged, or so frequently abandoned to plunder, until a special and responsible agency was appointed for their protection. The common fallacy in which the management by overseers, that is, by two or three persons, is treated as a management by the people of the "people's own affairs," and an "attention to their own interests," meaning the affairs and interests of some hundreds or thousands of other persons may be exposed by a slight examination of the evidence. It will be found that the private interests of the distributors of the rates are commonly at variance with their public duties, and that the few pounds, often the few shillings, which any parish officer could save to *himself* by the rigid performance of his duty, cannot turn the scale against the severe labour, the certain ill-will, and

now, in a large proportion of cases, the danger to person and property, all of which act on the side of profusion. And it must be recollected, that the consequences of a large proportion of the existing mismanagement do not fall on the parishes in which they have originated, but upon those against whom, under the present system of parochial warfare, they are aimed, and that much of that mismanagement is, consequently, mismanagement by the officers and by the vestries, not of their own affairs, but of the affairs of other parishes, or of the public at large. Even if the whole power were left to the vestry, and the vestry were composed of the proprietors as well as of the occupiers, it could not be said, except in very small parishes, that the governing body were the managers of their own affairs. Numerous bodies are incapable of managing details. They are always left to a minority, and usually, to a small minority; and the smaller that minority, the greater, of course, is the preponderance of private and interested motives.

It must be added, as indeed might have been expected, that as parochial duties become more arduous, as they require more leisure and ability, those who have that leisure and ability appear less and less inclined to undertake them. This is shown in the great falling off in the number of representative vestries, in consequence of the difficulty of obtaining the attendance of those who were the best qualified; although such vestries are amongst the best existing instruments for systematic management, with the least annoyance to those who perform the duties. It has been stated to us, that in one district where the income of the proprietors was reduced nearly one half, chiefly by the progressive increase of the rates, several of them declared that they would abandon the remainder rather than encounter the annoyance of having to contend against the system. The property of the whole parish of Cholesbury was abandoned to pauperism, apparently without a struggle.

We need only revert to the evidence, quoted in the earlier part of our Report, to mark the extent to which interests *adverse* to a correct administration prevail amongst those who are entrusted with the duties of distributing the fund for relief.

We must anticipate that the existing interests, passions, and local habits of the parish officers will, unless some further control be established, continue to sway and to vary the administration of the funds for the relief of the indigent; and that whatever extent of discretion is left to the local officers, will be used in conformity to those existing interests and habits. Wherever the allowance system is now retained, we may be sure that statutory provisions for its abolition will be met by every possible evasion. To permit out-door relief as an exception would be to permit it as a rule.

The construction which has been put on the 59th Geo. III. shows that every case would be considered "a case of emergency;" and under provisions directing that the able-bodied shall be relieved only in the workhouse, but allowing relief in money to be continued to the sick, we must be prepared to find allowances continued to many of the able-bodied, as belonging to the excepted class. We have had instances where, after the use of fermented liquors in workhouses had been forbidden, they were found in use in extraordinary quantities as medicines.

In addition to these strong elements for the perversion of any legislative measures, we cannot omit to notice again the comparatively new and still more powerful element of intimidation now openly avowed in the most pauperized districts.

The labouring men in a large proportion of the districts, where the allowance system prevails, must have seen and felt, what indeed the labourers who have been examined explicitly declare, that the discretion and irresponsible power allowed to the distributors of relief are often used prejudicially to them. We believe, however, that the acts of injustice properly imputed to those who have so exercised that power, bear no proportion to the injustice imagined, and erroneously attributed to them by the receivers, under the notion generated by the indefiniteness of the existing system of relief, that the poor's-rates are an inexhaustible fund, from which all who call themselves poor are prevented drawing to the extent of their desires, only by the cupidity or partiality of parish officers.

However groundless this suspicion may be, its existence appears to us a sufficient reason for endeavouring to remove its pretext. Every man ought, in fact, to distrust his own judgment and his own actions in the affairs of others in proportion as his interests and affections are concerned. Our law, in its jealousy of the influence of similar interests, has rendered the taint of pecuniary interest a ground for incompetency in the case of a witness, and for exclusion from the execution of trusts, and in both cases to a degree which is very inconvenient. The powers vested in the overseers by the statutes of Elizabeth can only be accounted for on the supposition that the distribution of the poor's-rates was little more than an occasional distribution of alms from the poor's box, too small in its amount and influence to be regarded. Not a century had elapsed, however, before the evils of the "unlimited power of the overseers" and their "giving relief upon frivolous pretences, but chiefly for their own private ends, to what persons and number they thought fit," had been stated and attempted to be remedied. The remedy however was, as we have seen, unsuccessful, indeed worse than unsuccessful. It gave, or was construed as giving, powers to the justices, of which we have described the

effects, and it does not, in practice, appear to check the powers of the overseers, powers which enable them to reduce the value of the labour, of which they themselves are the purchasers, and even to throw on others a part of its price, to increase the productiveness of their own property, and depreciate that of their neighbours, and generally to gratify their own feelings and promote their own interests at the expense of every other portion of the community.

Whatever may have been the various causes of the agricultural riots in various districts, whether the object was to force an increase of wages or a reduction of tithes or rent, the one effect has been to prove, that the discretion exercised in the distribution of the poor's-rates can be affected by intimidation, and the rate-receivers every week show themselves more completely aware that intimidation may be made as efficient a means of producing mal-administration as the corrupt interests of the distributors. Various communications, made to us in 1833, correctly anticipated the continuance of incendiarism during the present winter. Intimidation is not unfrequently exercised in the town parishes, and the police called in for the protection of the distributors. To such an extent has it been carried in a large parish in the metropolis, that the officers thought it necessary for their safety to go armed to the vestry.

Under these circumstances, any discretionary power left to the local officers must be a source of suspicion, and so far as their persons or properties are obnoxious to injury, a bounty on intimidation. The ignorant rarely estimate, or even take into account, the motives which lead men to pursue any line of conduct except the narrow track pointed out by their own immediate interest, and are prone to exaggerate any power that may be used against them, and to fear and hate those who exercise it. It is matter of common observation, that acts of incendiarism have been most frequently committed against persons who had done "nothing to excite animosity," or who were "distinguished for their kindness," or were "the last persons who would have been expected to become the victims of such revenge." We see no ground for expecting that any purity in act or intention in the distribution of rates will render the distributors less obnoxious to hatred, which is always the stronger as they are the more closely connected with the rate-receivers. A refusal by a person who is nearly an equal, excites more animosity than one by a person who is comparatively a stranger and has greater authority. Can a farmer at a vestry be expected to refuse relief, and endanger his own property and person, to save funds to which he is only one of many contributors, when, in proportion to his belief that

the applicant is undeserving, must be his conviction of the capability of that applicant to resort to any criminal means of obtaining compliance with his demands, or of gratifying his revenge? But the immediate distributors of relief are not the only persons obnoxious to such motives. Mr. Villiers states, that a magistrate declared to him, that, in his neighbourhood, if a gentleman living upon his own property were strictly to perform his duty in a large proportion of the cases where paupers appealed from their overseers, he would be in danger of having his property destroyed. Such dangers, it is to be observed, are generally incurred by refusals to increase allowances, which are *now* wholly illegal; and, therefore, to expect the voluntary execution of new and strict regulations by persons placed under such circumstances appears unreasonable. Mr. Day, the magistrate at Maresfield, to whose communication we have before referred, in the following passage forcibly expresses opinions which we have reason to believe are entertained by a numerous class.

"I must here guard against an impression that may be conveyed by these remarks, which might lead to a fatal disappointment. The workhouse system is at present legal, and funds for emigration may, in many instances, be raised by voluntary contributions. But were the plan advocated by me attempted to be put in execution at the mere instigation of an individual, or by a vote of vestry, it would probably induce an irritation that would lead to disastrous consequences. When in the parish of Mayfield it was rumoured that I intended interfering to reduce the rates, it was immediately suspected by the paupers that I was opposed to their interest. On the door of the first vestry I attended, I found affixed a notice, 'that they intended washing their hands in my blood.' In 1826, a threat of that kind was readily disregarded; at present it would be consummated in a riot or fire. But if the alteration be the act of the legislature, it assumes a different aspect. It comes with the sanction of the law, and however it may be murmured at, the odium is removed from the obnoxious vestryman, or the individual magistrate. The complaining pauper looks round to the adjacent parishes and the neighbouring benches. He sees his lot the lot of all; and is told that however he may meet with sympathy, there is no power of redress. He may hope to intimidate a vestry, but he cannot dare to oppose a government*."

"We believe however that general regulations made under the immediate control of the executive would meet with comparatively ready obedience; not from despair of the success of resistance, but from confidence in the disinterestedness of the source from which the regulations emanated. We are happy in having found no distrust of the Government amongst the labouring classes in the pauperized districts: we rather apprehend that they entertain extravagant expectations of what can be

* Appendix (C.) p. 152,

accomplished by legislative interference. In the instructive letters from emigrants of the labouring classes to their friends in England, we see few traces of discontent with the political institutions, or the general government of their former country; few expressions of satisfaction that they now live under other institutions; but we do find, in those letters, felicitations that they are no longer under local control or parochial management: "Here" say the labourers, in speaking of their new abodes, "there are no overseers to tread us under foot." Wherever in the course of this inquiry it has been deemed requisite to communicate directly with the labouring classes, the Commission appears to have been regarded with entire confidence. Our written communications from labouring men on the subject of the labour-rate are abundant; our Assistant Commissioners found their inquiries answered with alacrity by all the labourers who were examined. Under the conception that the Commissioners were invested with extraordinary powers, the labourers have appealed to us for interference against local malversations. One of the Sussex labourers was asked in the course of his examination—

"What alterations of the Poor-Laws are talked about by the labourers?—They have hopes that Government will take it in hand, as they would then be contented with what was allotted to them; they would be sure that they would have what was right, and would not be driven about by the overseers.

"Are you sure that the labourers would be pleased to see the overseers deprived of their power?—Yes, that they would, for they often fail, and take the parishes in; and besides, all parish business now goes by favour. Many people do now say that they talk about reform in the Government, but there wants reform in the parish.

"Suppose that the workmen were deprived of the allowance in aid of wages, but deprived in such numbers that the farmers would be compelled to pay wages to the same amount, how do you think such a measure would be received by the workmen?—That would give a great deal more content, and I am sure that they would do the farmer more work. The parish money is now chucked to us like as to a dog*."

The jealousy felt by the labourers towards the local authorities, from a suspicion of their being under the influence of adverse interests, combined with distrust of their possession of knowledge qualifying them to interfere with advantage, was strongly displayed in framing the present Act for the Regulation of Friendly Societies.

Dr. James Mitchell, Examined.

"We are informed that you have paid great attention to the formation of friendly societies, and the legislative proceedings with relation

* Appendix (A.)

to them?—I have lectured and published works on the subject of benefit societies, and took an active part in assisting the delegates of the working men of the benefit societies in London, in framing the present Act of Parliament under which benefit societies are regulated, and, as an actuary, I am very often consulted on the subject.

“Was the appointment of a central authority or control, under the authority of the Government, to revise the regulations of the benefit societies, and enforce conformity to the will of the Legislature, popular with the representatives of the working classes?—Yes; in order to prevent the capricious control of the various local authorities, each of whom had his own notions, which probably differed from the notions of every body else, and were formed from very limited experience and observation, and often from no observation whatever, the working men thought it would be very beneficial to get one person appointed to revise the rules of all the societies throughout the country, in order that their administration might be rendered uniform, and that the detailed regulations might be the result of more extended information. The chief object of the labouring men was to prevent capricious local interference, which might often be the interference of employers. The clause for the purpose was framed by the delegates themselves.”

In the various dispauperized parishes, the enforcement of one inflexible rule of administering relief prevented the exercise of any discretionary power by the employers of labour. The contentment which followed is, to a considerable extent, attributable to this circumstance.

The circumstances which tend gradually to drive discreet and trustworthy persons from voluntarily undertaking the management of the poor's-rates, leave it in fact either to compulsory service, performed by officers whose authority is transient, who have no appropriate knowledge, and whose only interest is to get through their service with the least personal inconvenience to themselves, or to voluntary service by persons who have either a strong private interest, or who are actuated by ardent feelings. If those feelings are well directed they produce indeed the effects which have followed at Southwell, Bingham, Cookham, and Farthinghoe, but in ill-disciplined minds they may be more injurious than the basest self-interest. On these grounds many of the most respectable parochial officers who have been examined under this Commission have urged the necessity of withdrawing from themselves and from their associates and successors, all discretionary power in the distribution of relief. They implore, even as a mere protection, that they may be released from that discretion, and declare that while it lasts they *dare* not pursue the course which they deem the most beneficial even to the paupers by whom the intimidation is exercised.

The following Extracts exhibit the tenor of the independent Communications to the Board, as well as of the Reports of our

Assistant Commissioners as to the state of opinion on this subject in the most pauperized districts.

Mr. Okeden's Report, Appendix (A.) p. 4.—“The magistrates of that county (Oxfordshire) are so fully aware of this [the evils produced by the scale and head-money system] that they are ready to concur in and support any measures proposed by Government for averting the increasing curse.”

Mr. Majendie, Appendix (A.) p. 188.—“The vestries held every fortnight for determining relief are very ill-attended, the parishioners seeming to despair of any improvements; and anxious hopes are expressed of the interference of Government.”

Ibid. Appendix (A.) p. 198, Disturbed Districts.—“The allowance system is represented to be so established, that without some legislative enactment neither overseers, vestries, nor magistrates can make any effectual change.”

Ibid. Appendix (A.) p. 216.—“It was observed to me at Maidstone, that the management of the poor is beyond the power of parish officers, and requires the superintendence of Government.”

Mr. Power, Appendix (A.) p. 240, Cambridge.—“I have reason to think that opinion points rather to a total change of the system than to partial and palliative amendments.”

Ibid. p. 249, Bottisham.—“They have no workhouse there at present; an assistant commissioner 10 years hence would probably find them with double rates, and no workhouse still; so little chance is there of the mere propagation of opinion on the subject of that system inducing its general adoption, without some active interference by the legislature to that effect.”

The conclusion of most examinations of witnesses in the deeply-pauperized districts is usually of the following tenor:—

(The parish officers of the parish of Bethnal Green, London, examined:)

Mr. Hooker.—“My trade is declining; so is the trade of my neighbours. From year to year my returns are less; so are theirs; and respectable people are leaving the place, which makes it still worse.”

“The condition of your parish being such as you describe, sunk deep in debt, if not absolutely bankrupt; houses deserted in consequence of the pressure of the rates; the pressure increasing; rents declining, and ruin impending; what remedies have presented themselves to the minds of those who govern the parish; what new courses are they prepared to take?—I do not know; I have not heard of anything; we cannot do anything; we must depend on Providence; I do not see what is to save us from ruin, if government does not do something for us.”

Mr. Brushfield, of Spitalfields.—

“The outcry for the establishment of some strict regulations is very generally increasing throughout our parish. They ask, what remedy is there for the increasing evil? I have said I see no way but by some superior and central control being established. Since I was here

before the subject has been the topic of conversation at our Board of Governors, and it is agreed on all hands that some powerful central control ought to be established."

Mr. Thomas Single, of Mile End Old Town, says—

"I hear it very frequently said in the parish, that it would be a very excellent thing if the government would take the parish affairs in their own hands, for the inhabitants see no chance of the present rates being reduced under the present system. Some regulating power should be established.

"I consider it a very necessary interference for the protection of the good order of society, against the worst misgovernment. I think it necessary for the protection of property, which is now giving way, and must continue to give way, under the pressure of pauperism. Rents are now much reduced in consequence of the heaviness of the rates. We have 800 empty houses in our parish, and persons are constantly leaving it to go to other parishes where the rates are lower. As the owner of houses, I can speak to these effects from my own knowledge."

The Rev. Thomas Pitman, vicar of Eastbourne, Sussex—

"I have no hope void of the interference of Government. If Government take up the administration, we may be relieved, and the present laws, upon revision, may effect this; but as long as the system which is at present adopted here and in the neighbourhood is permitted to continue (and we have no means void of the interference of Government of having it discontinued), we have no prospect but the destruction of our property, the corruption of our people, and the distress of all."

A recommendation that the legislature should divest the local authorities of all discretionary power in the administration of relief, appears to us to follow as a necessary consequence from the mass of evidence to which we have adverted.

Witnesses, when speaking of the necessity of withdrawing all discretionary power from the distributors, in their own parishes, usually express a hope that the relief may be fixed, and to the "smallest detail unalterably prescribed by the legislature." The evidence, however, proves that little more reliance can be placed on the voluntary execution by the present agency of any regulations, than on their correct execution of any general principle of management prescribed to them.

It appears, too, that the actual condition of the pauperized districts does not admit of legislation in detail. The differences in the modes of administering the law in different districts have produced habits and conditions of the population equally different. The best-informed witnesses have represented that the measures applicable to adjacent districts are totally inapplicable

to their own; and it appears to us, that measures which might be safely and beneficially introduced into the majority of parishes in a district might, if immediately introduced, be productive of suffering and disorder to the remainder. Even if the simultaneous and complete execution of so great a change of system throughout the country were practicable, we consider it desirable to avoid it.

It must be remembered that the pauperized labourers were not the authors of the abusive system, and ought not to be made responsible for its consequences. We cannot, therefore, recommend that they should be otherwise than gradually subjected to regulations which, though undoubtedly beneficial to themselves, may, by any sudden application, inflict unnecessary severity. The abuses have grown up in detail, and it appears from our evidence that the most safe course will be to remove them in detail. We deem uniformity essential; but, in the first instance, it is only an approximation to uniformity that can be expected, and it appears that it must be obtained by gradations in detail, according to local circumstances. And although uniformity in the amount of relief may be requisite, it may not be requisite that the relief should be invariably the same in kind. In Cumberland, and some others of the northern counties, milk is generally used where beer is used in the southern counties. The requisite equality in diet would probably be obtainable without forcing any class of the inmates of the workhouses in the northern counties to take beer, or those of the southern counties to take milk.

The most practical witnesses concur with Mr. Mott in representing the voluntary adoption of detailed regulations hopeless, and legislation on details ineligible, if not impracticable. He is asked—

"Do you think it practicable to bring parishes to the voluntary adoption of any uniform regulation when their importance is proved to them?—He answers, I certainly do not think it practicable. I think it utterly impossible to bring the 14,000 or 15,000 parishes in England and Wales to one mind upon any one subject, however clear the evidence may be; much less so to act with uniformity in any one point. The Commissioners must be well aware that great frauds are committed by paupers in the metropolis receiving relief from different boards on different board days. I have known instances of paupers receiving pensions from three or four different parishes. It was proposed some years ago, and it has been proposed from time to time, to remedy this evil, which all the parishes are aware is very great, by one simple but effectual expedient, which it would be very easy to adopt—namely, by all the parishes paying on the same day; but they never could be got to do this. Individual conveniences prevented the remedy being applied, and the system of fraud still prevails, and will continue to prevail, so long as the present management prevails. Now, if the parishes in the metro-

polis cannot be got to act in concert for the suppression of an evil which affects only one part of the system, I think it will be seen that I am justified in my opinion, that any reform or co-operation in the country is quite hopeless without the establishment of a strong central management; nothing else will check the system.

"Might not such general regulations as those to which you have alluded be prescribed by Act of Parliament?—No, certainly not. The regulations of any system must be very numerous; and though they may be uniform, it would be necessary to vary them from time to time; and unless Parliament was to do nothing but occupy itself with discussions on details of workhouse management, it would be impossible to effect any great alteration in that way. Many regulations, however ably devised, must be experimental. Unforeseen and apparently unimportant details might baffle the best plans, if there were not the means of making immediate alteration. Suppose a general regulation were prescribed by Act of Parliament, and it was found to want alteration; you must wait a whole year or more for an Act of Parliament to amend it, or the law must be broken. A central authority might make the alteration, or supply unforeseen omissions in a day or two. Besides, a central board or authority might get information immediately on the matters of detail. If they had, for instance, to settle some uniform diet, they could at once avail themselves of the assistance of men of science, physicians, or chemists; but you would find that Parliament, if it could really attend to the matter, and would do anything efficient, must have almost as many committees as there are different details. If there was a central board established, and it were easily accessible, as it ought to be, persons in local districts would consult them or make suggestions, who would never think of applying to Parliament. Who would think of applying to Parliament to determine whether four or five ounces of butter should be used as a ration in particular cases, and whether the butter should be Irish or Dutch? or, if Irish, whether Cork or Limerick; or to determine whether the old women's under-petticoats should be flannel or baize, and how wide or how long? Yet on details of this sort, beneath the dignity of grave legislators, good or bad management would depend*."

By many it is considered that the only means by which the system can be effectually amended, is the management of the whole poor-law administration as a branch of the general government. The advocates of a national rate, and those who are willing and desirous that the Government should take upon itself the whole distribution of the funds for the relief of the poor, do not appear to have considered the expense and difficulties in the way of obtaining such an agency throughout the country.

We have received no definite plan for the purpose, and have prepared none. We trust that immediate measures for the correction of the evils in question may be carried into effect by a comparatively small and cheap agency, which may assist the parochial or district officers, wherever their management is in

* App. (A.) Part II.

conformity to the intention of the legislature; and control them wherever their management is at variance with it. Subject also to this control, we propose that the management, the collection of the rates, and the entire supervision of the expenditure, under increased securities against profusion and malversation, shall continue in the officers appointed immediately by the rate-payers. This course, we believe, will be the most easily practicable, and will best accord with the recommendations of the majority of the witnesses, and with the prevalent expectation of the country.

The course of proceeding which we recommend for adoption, is in principle that which the legislature adopted for the management of the savings' banks, the friendly societies, and the annuity societies throughout the country. Having prescribed the outline and general principles on which those institutions should be conducted, a special agency (which, in this instance, was constituted by one barrister only) was appointed to see that their rules and detailed regulations conformed to the intention of the law. This agency, we believe, has accomplished the object effectually. From magistrates and clergymen, who act as trustees and managers of savings' banks, we have learned, that it is found to work satisfactorily to them and to the members at large, because they are aware that the decision by which any regulation is established or disallowed is made on extended information derived from all similar institutions throughout the kingdom, instead of being made only on such as the neighbourhood might chance to afford. We believe that the control has also been found beneficial by the members of friendly societies, and has put a stop to many which were founded, either ignorantly or dishonestly, on principles fraught with ruin to the contributors. Since the adoption of this measure, there has been only one appeal against the barrister's decision, and that appeal was disallowed.

WE RECOMMEND, THEREFORE, THE APPOINTMENT OF A CENTRAL BOARD TO CONTROL THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE POOR-LAWS, WITH SUCH ASSISTANT COMMISSIONERS AS MAY BE FOUND REQUISITE; AND THAT THE COMMISSIONERS BE EMPOWERED AND DIRECTED TO FRAME AND ENFORCE REGULATIONS FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF WORKHOUSES, AND AS TO THE NATURE AND AMOUNT OF THE RELIEF TO BE GIVEN AND THE LABOUR TO BE EXACTED IN THEM, AND THAT SUCH REGULATIONS SHALL, AS FAR AS MAY BE PRACTICABLE, BE UNIFORM THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

We have already recommended the abolition of partial relief to the able-bodied, and particularly of money payments. It appears to us that this prohibition should come into universal operation at the end of two years, and as respects new applicants, at an earlier period, and that the Board should have power, after due inquiry and arrangements, to shorten these periods in any district:

one of their first proceedings should probably be the gradual substitution of relief in kind for relief in money.

With such powers the Central Board might discontinue abusive practices, and introduce improvements gradually, detail after detail, in district after district, and proceed with the aid of accumulating experience.

Another advantage of this course, as compared with that of a simultaneous change, is, that trouble and expense may be spared to all those parishes where abusive modes of administration do not exist.

The Commissioners would assist those who were willing to exert themselves in bringing about the change, and would exonerate from responsibility those who found it too heavy, or who could not sustain it beneficially. Since the Commissioners would have no local interests or affections, they would enforce the law without ill-temper on their parts, and without exciting animosity. Unless those measures which have hitherto caused a decrease of pauperism, and diminished its peculiar burthen, the only measures which it would be the duty of the Commissioners to enforce, should produce bad effects instead of good, the benefits of the change in the first districts in which it will be effected, must be such as to remove from the minds of the ill-informed or the timid all the undefined apprehensions which beset the subject, and suppress the interested opposition with which every such change will be assailed.

As one barrier to increase of expense in the detailed management, the Commissioners should be empowered to fix a maximum of the consumption per head within the workhouses, leaving to the local officers the liberty of reducing it below the maximum if they can safely do so.

The following are exemplifications of the regulations which might be transferred from district to district, when found applicable by the Commissioners. An officer of Whitechapel parish, in London, was asked,—

“What sort of work have they in the workhouse?—They have various sorts of work in the workhouse. Out of the workhouse we employ them as general scavengers for cleansing the parish, contracting for carting only, and making the paupers cleanse all the lanes, alleys, and streets, and fill the carts, giving them a small allowance.

“What has been the effect of this regulation?—It had been in operation some years before I came into office, and has been found very beneficial. The parish is much better cleansed, and is more healthy than if left to contractors only. The contractors generally shuffle off cleansing the alleys as they cannot get the cart up them, but we make our men take the wheelbarrows up the avenues. The paupers are by this system made spies to prevent any nuisances that may occasion them trouble. If they see any one throwing down filth, they fetch the super-

intendent and the party is made to take it up again. For this purpose we find that the paupers are better than the police. The efficiency of this system depends mainly on the superintendent, who is paid to attend the labour of the paupers. The parish was fortunate in making choice of a proper officer.”

In Mr. Codd's Report, there is a similar instance. In the parish of St. Paul, Covent Garden, the able-bodied paupers were employed to cleanse the streets:—

“Our parishioners,” the witness states, “say that the streets were never kept so clean as they have been since the new system prevailed. The fact is, that it is the interest of the contractors to employ as few labourers in the work as possible, and to leave the streets until they are so dirty that large portions may be removed at once.”

In the answer from Penrith, it is stated by the assistant overseer,—

“We have at present about ten acres of land, two of which are planted with potatoes every year by the paupers, with the spade; the remainder is sown with corn and hay-grass. We also collect manure from the streets, which we farm of the Duke of Devonshire for that purpose, and for the sake of cleanliness and employment for the poor. The streets are kept clean by those in the workhouse; and at times, when able-bodied out-door paupers apply for relief, we offer them work in the streets, which they invariably refuse. By this means, and that of spade husbandry, we get rid of both our male and female applicants.”

Mr. Tweedy states, that at Huddersfield—

“Two years ago a number of men (15) applied for relief as out of work, and were ordered to come next morning, and have employment in cleansing the streets. Out of the 15, but one came the next morning, who said the others had got jobs elsewhere*.”

The same results may always be expected where the applicant cannot plead actual inability; and the labour of cleansing the streets can be offered in every town. The Reports of the various Local Boards of Health on the state of the densely-peopled neighbourhoods, show how grievously this source of employment has been neglected. Even where it has been introduced, it has seldom been enforced with regularity and upon principle: even the success of the experiment does not ensure its repetition, still less its imitation.

Another instance is the mode in which the out-door paupers are paid in some of the large parishes in the metropolis. The vestry clerk of the parish of St. Luke, Middlesex, states that,—

“For several years past a new system of paying the pensioners has been adopted in our parish. Formerly they came in crowds, the regular pensioners being then about 800, and were paid promiscuously on the presentation of their cards. It was found that some persons obtained

* Tweedy, App. (A.) Part I. p. 808.

payment twice over by getting other persons to present their cards after they had been once paid. The whole coming together, a large proportion of them was kept waiting a considerable time, and in addition to the time lost by the paupers, there was much mischief done by an extension of the opportunities of communication, and the formation of vicious acquaintances. The mothers of bastard children might form acquaintances with others still more depraved. The children of more creditable people became familiar with the confirmed paupers.

"The improvement consisted in the pensioners being paid in sets of 100 each; each 100 is paid, and each payment entered within a quarter of an hour. Any person within the same 100 may be paid within the same quarter of an hour; the quarter of an hour, it may be observed, is printed on each ticket. If the party does not attend at the proper time their pension is suspended during the ensuing week. An hour and a half of the pauper's time is thus saved; and, on an average, the crowd is reduced from 800 to 50, and the commission of fraud by repeated payments on the same ticket is rendered impossible."

The regulation might probably be made much more efficient, but such as it is, it appears to have been little imitated. The overseer of the adjacent parish of St. Matthew, Bethnal Green, states in his evidence—

"There were 400 people with new faces for me to pay the first night I sat. I had no one to assist me or inform me, and I gave money away on the mere statements made to me; I am confident I paid some of the people twice over that night."

These crowds are kept often the whole day, and usually during several hours congregated together in the most corrupting state of idleness around the workhouse door. The conduct of these crowds is thus described by the governor of St. Pancras workhouse—

"Even this course has not entirely got rid of the evil; for while they are congregated round the workhouse doors, their language and conduct are so degrading and obscene as to be a subject of heavy complaint with the neighbours and passengers; no decent female can approach them without being insulted; and I grieve to say, that the young women especially seem to have entirely lost all sense of propriety, or rather of common decency; it is no unusual sight to see them upon these occasions in situations of indecency that are most revolting."

"These very shameful practices have not subsisted for more than five or six years; but they have increased in force and frequency within that time, and we have tried every means of prevention within our reach, without success. We have called in the aid of the police, have taken the parties before the magistrates, &c., but all to no purpose."

Other witnesses, whose own parishes are the boundaries of their knowledge, as well as of their experience on the subject, assert that such evils are incurable. One parish evinces perfect

ignorance of regulations which have long been in force as efficient remedies in adjacent parishes. The instance mentioned at St. Pancras relates to a form of relief which we hope to see abolished; but during the period of its unavoidable continuance, provision should be made for the introduction of regulations by which its evils may be abated. Some valuable practical improvements of the existing system are found in the voluminous codes and by-laws under which incorporations are managed.

If the sum of the good regulations which are found in single and separate, and therefore partial operation, scattered amidst a multitude of parishes, were carried into complete execution in every parish or district to which they were found applicable, the improvement would probably be greater than can be hoped for from untried enactments. We recommend, therefore, that the same powers of making rules and regulations that are now exercised by upwards of 15,000 unskilled and (practically) irresponsible authorities, liable to be biassed by sinister interests, should be confined to the Central Board of Control, on which responsibility is strongly concentrated, and which will have the most extensive information. Even if the Board were to frame bad regulations (and worse regulations than those now in practice they could scarcely devise), it would be a less mischievous arrangement than the present, inasmuch as the chances of opposition to a pernicious measure would be increased in proportion to the extension of the jurisdiction, and success in such opposition would be success throughout the jurisdiction. Those who are now maintainers of their own errors would be vigilant and unsparing censors of the errors of a distant authority. Under the existing system, when opposition is made to the continuance of a bad practice, and the opposition is successful, the success is limited to one parish, or to one fifteen-thousandth part of the whole field in which the practice may prevail. In the next parish, and in other parishes, the form of the abuse is generally varied, and requires a varied as well as a renewed opposition. These variations elude legislative enactments, and divide and weaken the force with which the opinion of the intelligent part of the community would act against them. But if a bad practice is rendered uniform, it becomes obnoxious in proportion to its extent, to the full force of public opinion; the aggregate of its effects, immediate or collateral, which may appear insignificant, and unworthy of attention, in the single and obscure parish, or in any group of parishes, may be correctly estimated, and brought completely within the cognizance of the Legislature. For this purpose, therefore, in addition to the others which we have already laid down, we consider that uniformity of management would, in many cases, be essential to improvement, and to the permanency

of any improved system. To the accomplishment of these objects, other measures, to which we shall shortly advert, appear to us to be requisite. By means, however, of the agency which we have proposed, by alterations of detail after detail, with which the Legislature could not occupy itself, bad practices may be weeded out of every district, good practices may be planted in every district. The precedent which we have adduced with relation to the control of savings' banks and friendly societies illustrates this course of operations. Mr. Tidd Pratt states—

"I invariably forward to all the institutions suggestions of the expediency of adopting rules which have been found to work beneficially; and I also warn them of mischievous results experienced from particular rules in other places. For example, with regard to the former, I found in one of the savings' banks (the Exeter) a rule which allowed the trustees to apply to the member's benefit any portion of the deposits in case of insanity or imbecility; and not one of the other savings' banks possessed such a rule. The consequence was, that when a member became insane, they would have had no other mode to enable them to apply the member's money to his use than an application to the Lord Chancellor. Sometimes the sums to be applied were only 10*l.*: this rule I communicated by circular to the members of every savings' bank, with a recommendation that it should be adopted: many of them have already adopted it; and I believe that in a short time it will be generally adopted. Where I find a good rule, I send it to all; and when I find a bad rule, I stop it in all, and the chances of finding good rules are just in proportion to the extent of the jurisdiction."

The central agency instituted by the Legislature for the control of the administration of the Poor Laws, would form a depository of comprehensive information to guide the local officers in cases which, from their comparatively limited experience and knowledge, might appear to them to be, or which really were, anomalous. Applications in cases of this nature have already been made to the Commissioners. Their information would be received with the conviction of its being the best existing upon the subject. The last witness cited was asked, with reference to this point,

"Are you often consulted in cases of difficulty experienced by magistrates and others who are managers of the several societies within your supervision?—Yes; and by chairmen of quarter sessions, by Members of both Houses, under the supposition, as I conceive, that I am paid by salary, and that, being a servant of the Crown, they are entitled to apply to me in cases where they themselves feel difficulty. I invariably give the assistance asked, although it takes up a great deal of a professional man's time."

The chief remedy for the principal evil of the system, the increase of the number of the able-bodied paupers, having been shown to be their reception in a well-managed workhouse; we shall next consider by what means by which such workhouses can be provided, and the requisite management enforced.

The first difficulty arises from the small population of a large proportion of the parishes. Of the 15,535 parishes (including under that name townships maintaining their own poor) of England and Wales, there are 737 in which the population does not exceed 50 persons; 1907 in which it does not exceed 100; and 6681 in which it does not exceed 300. Few such parishes could support a workhouse, though they may have a poorhouse, a miserable abode, occupied rent-free by three or four dissolute families, mutually corrupting each other. Even the parishes which are somewhat more populous, those containing from 300 to 800 inhabitants, and which amount to 5353, in the few cases in which they possess an efficient management, obtain it at a disproportionate expense.

In such parishes, when overburthened with poor, we usually find the building, called a workhouse, occupied by 60 or 80 paupers, made up of a dozen or more neglected children (under the care, perhaps, of a pauper), about twenty or thirty able-bodied adult paupers of both sexes, and probably an equal number of aged and impotent persons, proper objects of relief. Amidst these the mothers of bastard children and prostitutes live without shame, and associate freely with the youth, who have also the examples and conversation of the frequent inmates of the county gaol, the poacher, the vagrant, the decayed beggar, and other characters of the worst description. To these may often be added a solitary blind person, one or two idiots, and not unfrequently are heard, from among the rest, the incessant ravings of some neglected lunatic. In such receptacles the sick poor are often immured.

In the former part of the Report we have given instances of the condition of the larger workhouses in the metropolis. The statements with respect to those in the provincial towns and in the rural districts are equally unfavourable: we annex a very few instances.

Captain Pringle states that, in

"*Portsea Workhouse*—In the women's yard all characters mix together, excepting that the very old have small rooms, in each room three or four; in these, and in the large day-room, in which were nurses with bastards, they had fires in August, and were cooking, making tea, &c. The general character of the house, both as to the persons of the paupers, their day-rooms and bed-rooms, is slovenly and dirty. The space so limited also, that in rooms containing from twenty to

thirty beds, they were so close as merely to allow a person to pass between them.*

"In that at *Rumsey*, in which the inmates amount to forty-eight, they are farmed at the price of 3s. weekly, children included. There is no scale of diet, that being left to the farmer or contractor, who also employs the paupers where and how he pleases. The house was dirty, the old men particularly so; the younger men and boys were out at work. On inquiring for the boys' dormitory, I found they slept each with one of the men; the mistress said this was done to keep them quiet. The overseer, who accompanied me, and whose duty it was to inspect the house, stated that he was not aware of the placing men and boys to sleep together; that he never had any complaints either as to diet or beds, and he believed all were comfortable. And as a further proof of the little attention paid by these constituted authorities to the duties confided to them, one of the girls, it appeared, had a child by the brother of the contractor. The overseer did not consider this as a circumstance of any importance. Nothing was said to the contractor, and his brother was still allowed to be about the house.†"

"With regard to classification it may be observed, that in the small poor-houses, with the exception of Millbrook, I never found it more than nominal; and even in the larger poor-houses, classification and other regulations appeared never to be carried into effect in an efficient manner, for which the master was probably often less to blame than those under whose control he held his situation. The children are the sufferers from this neglect, as may be inferred from so large a portion turning out badly.‡"

"In the small agricultural parish of Tandridge, with a population of 478, a double tenement has been hired as a poor-house: in one of the rooms, in one bed, sleep the master with two boys, aged 15 and 12; in the other bed, a girl of 15 with a boy of 11; in another very small room, a man and wife, and two children, lie in one bed, and two children on the floor. The parish cage, the interior of which is about eight feet square, is used as the habitation of four persons,—a man, his wife, and two children; a grated opening in the wall admits light and air."

"In Dover workhouse the number of inmates is 250; the average expense of diet 2s. 7½d.; seven lunatics are confined here, two of whom are very dangerous, and are chained to their beds; one of them was lately at large in the yard, and had very nearly put one of the paupers to death, who was saved by the master coming in time to rescue him. In many workhouses in this county there are idiots and insane persons who are a great annoyance to the inmates in general; probably this nuisance will not exist much longer, as the asylum near Maidstone is nearly completed.§"

Mr. Osler, in his communication, gives the following instances of the condition of the workhouses in the vicinity of Falmouth:

"*Mabe House*, a ruinous hovel, utterly unfit for the residence of a

* App. (A.) Part I. p. 292. † App. (A.) Part I. p. 296.
‡ Mr. Majendie, App. (A.) Part I. pp. 173, 174. § App. (A.) Part I. pp. 217, 218.

human being, two men, four women, three children; of whom four receive 8s. 9d. weekly, and a man, his wife, and three children, have only shelter. A married couple occupy the same room with two women*."

"*Mylor*.—Eight men, seventeen women, seven children, who are placed in the different rooms, supporting themselves either by an allowance of money from the parish, or by their own labour. A barber, who carries on business in the house, has his pole hung out at the door. No governor, or domestic authority of any description †."

In such places, when questions of the following tenor are put—Why is no labour found for the able-bodied? Why are not the children placed under proper tuition? Why is not proper care taken of the lunatic?—the usual answers are, "The parish is too poor to pay for a keeper;" "We cannot keep a school-master for so few children;" "To provide a superintendent to keep half a dozen or a dozen men at work would be too heavy a charge." Even the superintendence of the whole of these various classes, and the management of the house, is often found a pecuniary burthen disproportionately heavy; and the parish officers attempt to diminish it by confiding the whole to one who is in reality, and sometimes avowedly, a pauper.

"*Constantine House*.—Ten men, nineteen women, two children. The governor has been dismissed for the sake of economy, and an infirm old pauper regulates the diet and keeps the accounts. All rooms, except the kitchen, close, dirty, and offensive. Bedsteads, clumsy wooden ones. Men's dormitory, their sitting-room, very low, with windows too small for ventilation; excessively dirty, and an abominable musty smell. The fish dinners are cooked here. House appeared not to have been whitewashed from time immemorial. Two men slept in the women's rooms, but the new overseer expressed an intention to correct these evils ‡."

The Rev. Peyton Blackiston, the curate of Lymington, Hants, states—

"It appears to me that parochial workhouses are in most places very inefficient, owing to their want of a proper and extensive subdivision, so that the bad may be completely separated from the good. All the parish officers with whom I have conversed upon the subject have at once acknowledged the evil; but they say that the parishes could not afford the expense of such subdivisions."

"The result of my inquiries and observations respecting the moral and religious education of the children in the parochial workhouses is, that it is greatly neglected. Even in the workhouse of Lymington there was no such instruction previous to the year 1831, with the exception of about an hour a day, in which the girl who cooked taught the children to read. This has also contributed to make them turn out badly. At this moment the generality of parochial workhouses in

* App. (C.) p. 167.

† App. (C.) p. 166.

‡ App. (C.) p. 167.

Hampshire do not supply any effective religious and moral instruction; the children cannot do even the coarsest needlework in a creditable manner, nor are they practised in that kind of work which, as domestic servants, they would be required to perform. I dare say the parish officers will endeavour to gloss over the matter, and from shame would make it appear that the moral and religious instruction of the parish children was well attended to; but as an eye-witness of many parochial workhouses, and having conversed with many of my brother clergy on the subject, I can state that such is not the case. In the workhouse of Lymington parish, which is one certainly of the most improved provincial towns I know, a school was established in 1831, when an able woman was appointed to give instructions in reading and religious duties, and to teach and superintend needlework. The advantages were most striking. It is almost past belief, that about two months ago the vestry discontinued the schoolmistress, although her salary was only 10*l.* per annum and her dinner*."

Even in the larger workhouses internal subdivisions do not afford the means of classification, where the inmates dine in the same rooms, or meet or see each other in the ordinary business of the place. In the largest houses, containing from eight hundred to a thousand inmates, where there is comparatively good order, and, in many respects, superior management, it is almost impossible to prevent the formation and extension of vicious connexions. Inmates who see each other, though prevented from communicating in the house, often become associates when they meet out of it. It is found almost impracticable to subject all the various classes within the same house to an appropriate treatment. One part of a class of adults often so closely resembles a part of another class, as to make any distinction in treatment appear arbitrary and capricious to those who are placed in the inferior class, and to create discontents, which the existing authority is too feeble to suppress, and so much complexity as to render the object attainable only by great additional expense and remarkable skill. Much, however, has been accomplished in some of the existing houses, but much more it appears to us, may be effected, and at a less expense by the measures which we proceed to suggest.

At least four classes are necessary:—1. The aged and really impotent; 2. The children; 3. The able-bodied females; 4. The able-bodied males. Of whom we trust that the two latter will be the least numerous classes. It appears to us that both the requisite classification and the requisite superintendence may be better obtained in separate buildings than under a single roof. If effected in the latter mode, large buildings must be erected, since few of the existing buildings are of the requisite size or

* App. (C.) pp. 1, 2.

arrangement, and as very different qualities, both moral and intellectual, are required for the management of such dissimilar classes, each class must have its separate superintendent. Nothing would be saved, therefore, in superintendence, and much expense must be incurred in buildings.

If, however, a separate building is assigned to each class, the existing workhouses might, in most cases, be made use of. For this purpose the parishes possessing these houses must, for certain purposes, be incorporated. By these means four parishes, each of which has at present no means of classification, might at once obtain the means of the most effectual classification; and though so small a number of parishes as four might be sufficient for an incorporation, it is obvious that a much larger number might unite, and obtain the advantages of wholesale management and good superintendence, not only without any increase, but with a great diminution of expense.

The salary of the masters of separate workhouses in towns does not usually exceed fifty or sixty guineas per annum; the aggregate expenses of management of four such workhouses may be stated to be two hundred or two hundred and forty guineas, and yet no special provision is usually made for the superintendence of the labour of the able-bodied, nor for the education of the children. Under a system of combined management a less salary would probably suffice for the person who superintended the poor-house or receptacle for the old, whilst a larger salary might be given to a person of appropriate qualifications to act as task-master or superintendent of the workhouse, properly so called, for the reception of the able-bodied, and also to a person properly qualified to act as a schoolmaster. Each class might thus receive an appropriate treatment; the old might enjoy their indulgences without torment from the boisterous; the children be educated, and the able-bodied subjected to such courses of labour and discipline as will repel the indolent and vicious. The principle of separate and appropriate management has been carried into imperfect execution, in the cases of lunatics, by means of lunatic asylums; and we have no doubt that, with relation to these objects, the blind and similar cases, it might be carried into more complete execution under extended incorporations acting with the aid of the Central Board.

Apprehensions are frequently expressed of the evil consequences from congregating "large bodies of sturdy paupers together in workhouses." Such consequences have not ensued in the instances of the dispauperised parishes, and we believe that the most effectual means of preventing them is the classification which we propose. It is natural, indeed, for those who judge from the conduct of the able-bodied paupers in small classes, under the existing

system to anticipate that in larger classes their conduct will be proportionably worse, and that the difficulty of controlling them will be increased, and could be overcome only in edifices constructed for the purpose. We should admit this opinion to have weight, if the able-bodied paupers were brought together in larger classes, without being placed under better management; the probable mischief of an ill-regulated and idle class being proportionate to the chances of there being found within the class persons able to give it a mischievous direction, and all other things remaining the same, these chances are of course increased by the increase of the class; but by good management those chances are almost annihilated. The evidence which we have received appears to establish that continued tumult on the part of able-bodied paupers, is conclusive proof of inexperience or incapacity on the parts of those charged with their management. The testimony upon this subject of Mr. Mott, a witness of the most extensive practical experience of any witness examined under this Commission, is corroborated by that of others.

"The refractory poor," he states, "occasion great mischief and confusion in all workhouses; but the mischief arises more from the bad example of the *few*, than from the *many*, for all my experience has shown that the number of refractory paupers is not great, as compared with the gross number of paupers in any parish or district, perhaps not much above five per cent., certainly not ten per cent.; and the conduct even of persons of this class must be attributed to the inducements offered by the present defective system, rather than to any innate disposition to act unlawfully. They know that their customary allowances and the rules of management are *discretionary* in the breasts of the parish officers; they have daily proof that the most refractory frequently obtain their ends, and get their condition 'bettered,' partly through the fear or dislike of the officers to come in contact with such characters, and partly from a desire of the stipendiary manager to save himself trouble, well knowing that a complaint to the magistrates is only a waste of time, because the punishment awarded is in fact no punishment whatever. These refractory characters are generally the most expert work-people (of those who apply for relief) under proper guidance. If I had a given quantity of work to get done in a certain time, by paupers, I should say to the parish officers, 'Let me have your most refractory characters;' as I find that, with mildness and persuasion, but with a determined conduct, constant superintendence, and suitable encouragement, they may be brought to do much more work than other paupers. They are not to be calculated upon as permanent paupers under a good system, and I do believe that to a man they would run to steady industry, if compelled by superior authority to conform to regulations rendering such industry preferable."

The success of the management of various institutions in the metropolis, which give no partial relief, such as the Philanthropic

Society, where the children of criminals are educated and brought up to useful trades; the Refuge for the Destitute, in which young persons who have been discharged from prison are supplied with the means of instruction and reformation; and the Guardian Society, in which females who have become outcasts from society are provided with a temporary asylum and suitable employment until their conduct affords assurances of their amendment, are instances of what might be done by the good management of separate classes of the existing paupers.

These societies take for their subjects persons trained up in vice, and are stated, in a large proportion of cases, to reclaim them. The children who enter an ordinary workhouse, quit it, if they ever quit it, corrupted where they were well disposed, and hardened where they were vicious.

The circumstances which appear to conduce to the success of the excellent institutions to which we have referred (and to which we might add the Asylums for the Indigent Blind, the Schools for the Deaf and Dumb, the Marine Society's Schools), appear to be, first, that by classification of the objects of relief, the appropriate course of treatment is better ascertained, and its application and the general management rendered less difficult; secondly, that the co-operation of persons of leisure and information is obtained. The institutions for females are generally superintended by ladies' committees.

The following extracts from some evidence given by Mrs. Park, wife of Mr. Adam Park, surgeon, Gravesend, the brother of the celebrated traveller, will serve to show, that under good arrangements much voluntary service might be made available in a great proportion of the workhouses throughout the country.

"About two years ago the state of our workhouse attracted my attention, from the condition in which I learned that it was during my inquiries respecting Mr. Park's patients, he being then the surgeon of the parish. There were then fifty females in the workhouse. Of these, twenty-seven were young, stout, active women, who were never employed in doing any thing whatever. There were five of these young and able women who were accustomed to go to bed in the forenoon, solely to pass off the time. There was no separation of the sexes during the day, and the most frightful demoralization was the consequence. Four old females did the whole of the work of cooking and cleaning the house.

"The younger females, the children, were brought up much in the same way; they were educated by an exceedingly ignorant, ill-conducted man, a pauper, who acted as the parish schoolmaster. These females were brought up in the same school with the boys, and very great disorders prevailed.

"The old females were also very ill regulated. I found that they made it a practice to send the children to the public-house for spirits. How they obtained the money was a mystery which I have never been

able to penetrate. On the whole, the workhouse appeared to me, from all I saw and all I could learn, a frightful and increasing source of demoralization to the labouring classes, and of burthens to them in common with the higher classes.

"Seeing this I got several ladies to form a committee, and we tendered our services to the churchwardens and the parish officers to educate the children, and to make the young and able-bodied paupers of our own sex work a certain number of hours a day, and conform to industrious and religious habits.

"The first object was to bring all the inmates to more industrious habits. Instead of four old persons always doing all the work in the house, our intention was, that the requisite number of persons should perform the cooking and other work in turn, so that these young women might learn household work, and form useful domestic habits, instead of bad habits and immorality."

The exertions of these ladies were greatly impeded by the parish officers; much good was nevertheless accomplished. The witness states, that—

"The elder paupers were taught knitting stockings, and the younger females needlework. Before we went to the workhouse they were badly clothed, and some of them were almost in a state of rags and nakedness. We wished to have the whole clothed in one way, with gowns of blue linsey-woolsey, check aprons, dark handkerchiefs, and close white caps. After violent opposition from the mistress of the house and the females themselves, this was acceded to. Hitherto they had purchased the most gaudy prints for the females, and ready-made slop shirts for the men in the house, whilst the young women were lying in bed idle. One of the paupers, a girl of eighteen years of age, who refused to work, was dressed in a dashing print-dress of red and green, with *gigot* sleeves, a silk band, a large golden or gilt buckle, long gilt earrings, and a lace-cap, turned up in front with bright ribbons, in the fashion of the day, and a high comb under the cap, and abundance of curls. A general order was given that the hair of the females should be braided, and put under their caps, and no curls or curl-papers seen. We got the whole of the young females clothed in the manner we designed in two months during the first year. This was done by their own labour, under the instructions we gave them. The benefit of this dress was, that whenever they went out of the workhouse they were known and liable to observation, and could not act as they had been accustomed to act when they could not be distinguished. In the next place the parish saved money. They were thus clothed comfortably for 10s. each; the clothing consisting of one chemise, one apron, one cap, gown, and petticoat, stockings, handkerchief, and all for 10s.

"After that we procured them needle-work, in which we had no difficulty, though we were opposed, in the first instance, under the notion that we should injure the National School, where work is taken in. It was supposed also that it would injure industrious poor people in the neighbourhood. But, according to the statements of the National School Society, the amount of the labour done was not diminished. Neither could we ascertain that any industrious people out of the house

had been injured by it; we never had any complaint, nor ever heard of one from any industrious people. I believe the fact to be, that a great part of the work we procured was work created, or which would not have been done had it not been taken in at the workhouse. But it would have been much better that the work which might be done in wealthy families should be done in the workhouse, that these paupers should be occupied usefully, and instructed. The ladies paid great attention to the work, and employed one of the most intelligent and active of the inmates of the house as the general superintendent. The work was remarked for its neatness; no slovenly or indifferent work was permitted to go out; and the committee were so particular, that the instruction they received was necessarily much better than that which they would have obtained in the houses of their own parents. One effect of this partial discipline in the house was, that in almost two months about one-half of the workers left. Some of them called themselves widows; others said that they did not come in to work; they merely came in until they could accommodate themselves, until they could get themselves another situation; but they would not remain to work, indeed, that they would not; they would take a room and keep themselves when they were out of place, sooner than put on a dress, and be made to work! One refractory person said, 'The poor were not going to be oppressed by work.'

"If you had been seconded in your exertions, and been allowed to carry into effect the alterations which you thought desirable, what further effects do you believe, judging from your experience, would have been practicable?—In the first place, we should have had the hours of work at least doubled. I am well convinced that the workhouse might, as regards females, be made a school of industry, and a place of wholesome restraint, instead of a school of vice. Whilst no one would come to it under the influence of the inducements afforded by indolence, those who must necessarily come there, orphans, and the great numbers of young people who have been born on the parish, might be so instructed as to be made superior servants and good nurses, and superior wives of working men. In the first place, the workhouse affords the means of giving to females instruction in household work and in domestic economy, which at present is their great want, and which so frequently occasions the ruin and misery of labouring men when they take wives from this class. That which is done by the Guardian Society in London, might be done in every workhouse throughout the kingdom. If matrons, with proper qualifications, were appointed, they might conduct the system, and might obtain the assistance of the ladies of the vicinity. I was told at the outset that ladies could not be got to form a committee, but I found no difficulty whatever in getting a committee of the age and qualifications to command respect. The household work, scouring, cleaning, washing, plain cooking, needlework, knitting, mending and making up carpets, and economical industry might under such a system be taught in a much higher degree than they could be learned in a cottage, or even in the house of a person of the middle classes. They might also receive superior instruction in another respect; they might be well qualified to act as nurses when sickness occurred in the families of their employers

or in their own families. There are always poor people sick in the workhouse, and they might be usefully taught to wait upon the sick people. There are very few females capable of acting as nurses; in fact, it requires good instruction of a nature which might be given by the physician who attends the workhouse. The ladies' committee might maintain a very high order of domestic instruction in these places; and the children of misfortune, who are now a prey to every vice, might be good servants, and in every respect good members of society. This is, in fact, accomplished by the ladies of the Guardian Society in London.

"Did you attempt to make any classification in the house?—In such a house classification was nearly impossible. We did on some occasions separate the very old from the young, which was deemed by the old a very great blessing. Some attempt was made to separate the very bad females from the others who were less depraved, but we never could effect it. In short, it appears to me that the only classification which could be made, would be by placing them in separate houses, which might be effected, I am sure, without any addition to the present number of houses. When I look at the parishes around here and their houses, I see no difficulty whatever in making a good classification of the inmates, provided they were under one general management. The persons who are placed as superintendents should have no local interests, and therefore should not be locally appointed. So surely as they are, so surely will there be disorder. The rules will not be so rigidly applied as they ought to be from the numbers in the house who are connected with them or known to them. The mischief which we find to result from this exercise of partiality goes beyond the violation of some rules, and the weakening of all others, in the ferment and discontent and disorder excited in the minds of the other paupers by the injustice done by the exercise of this partiality. If the class were large, as it would be for a time, from such a district, it might be worth while to employ, as the superintendent of the house for the females, a person of education and respectability. Such persons as the widows of non-commissioned officers would be extremely glad to accept such situations; and they might also be made acceptable to such persons as the widows of poor clergymen, and it would be cheap to the public in the end to obtain the services of such persons. They would be incapable of the low cunning and petty jobbing which exist at present."

The different effects of different modes of education and treatment upon the same descriptions of persons are strikingly exemplified in some portions of the evidence collected under this Commission, in which it is shown that whilst nearly the whole of the children of one parish where their education and training is neglected, become thieves or otherwise pests of society, nearly the whole of the children of another parish where better care of them is taken, are rendered industrious and valuable members of the community*. In the latter case much of the beneficial results may be ascribed to the attention of persons of education

* App. (A.) Part II.

who visited and superintended the schools. One great advantage of the classification obtainable by means of a combination of workhouses would be, that the aid of voluntary associations or local committees, of the class of persons who have conducted useful public institutions, might be more extensively obtained, to superintend the education of the workhouse children, as well as of the other classes of paupers adverted to by the lady whose testimony we have cited.

Although our evidence does not countenance the apprehension that, under a good system of management, a large proportion of the existing able-bodied paupers would continue permanently dependant on the poor-rates, it appears that in the first instance the chief arrangements must be made with reference to this class of paupers. But we do not apprehend that in many instances new workhouses would be requisite for their reception. It is another of the advantages held out by the aggregation of paupers from a district for the purpose of classification, that the separate classes of the proper objects of relief might be accommodated temporarily in ordinary dwelling-houses, and it is a fortunate district in which there are no empty tenements available for their reception. The tenements belonging to the parish might be rendered available for the separate accommodation of one class of paupers, and the poor-house itself for that of the able-bodied; and on the whole it appears from the evidence, that although a considerable proportion of the parishes are without workhouses, there are a few *districts* in which, by combined management, and under good regulations, the existing workhouse-room would not suffice.

By assigning one class of paupers to each of the houses comprehended in an incorporation, a greater number of persons might be received within each house. In small districts there are considerable fluctuations of the numbers of persons in each class; in the workhouse of a single parish the rooms appropriated for the reception of the sick must often be empty; in a house for the reception of the sick from a number of parishes, the absence of patients from one parish would be met by an influx from another, and a more steady average number maintained, and so with the other classes of inmates. The rooms left empty by these fluctuations or reserved for emergencies under the existing management, cannot, without great inconvenience, be immediately appropriated to the use of the redundant class. If any rooms on the female side of the house be left unoccupied, they cannot be readily appropriated to the use of an extra number of male paupers. The witness last cited states—

"In Lambeth, under the present arrangement, 800 is as great a

number as we can reasonably calculate upon accommodating; whereas, if the whole workhouse was appropriated to the reception of only one class of persons, from 900 to 1,000 might be fairly accommodated. If you add to this the room that would be obtained by the discharge of those of the *present* inmates who *would not* submit to the restraint of strict workhouse regulations, I think ample accommodation might be made for all those who *would* avail themselves of the workhouse dietary and accommodation, when their money allowance was discontinued."

Although such is the general tenor of the evidence, we cannot state that there may not be some districts where new workhouses would be found requisite, but we have no doubt that where this does occur, the erection of appropriate edifices, though apparently expensive, would ultimately be found economical. Under a system of district management the workhouses might be supplied under one contract at wholesale prices. Mr. Mott states, that if 500 persons cost 10*l.* per head, or 5,000*l.*; 1,000 persons would cost only 9*l.* per head, or 9,000*l.* He also states, that there would be no more difficulty in managing five or six combined workhouses than five or six separate wards or rooms in one house. Considerable economy would also be practicable in combined workhouses, by varying the nature of the supplies. In the smaller workhouses the children receive nearly the same diet as the adults; if they were separated they might receive a diet both cheaper and more wholesome.

TO EFFECT THESE PURPOSES WE RECOMMEND THAT THE CENTRAL BOARD BE EMPOWERED TO CAUSE ANY NUMBER OF PARISHES WHICH THEY MAY THINK CONVENIENT TO BE INCORPORATED FOR THE PURPOSE OF WORKHOUSE MANAGEMENT, AND FOR PROVIDING NEW WORKHOUSES WHERE NECESSARY, TO DECLARE THEIR WORKHOUSES TO BE THE COMMON WORKHOUSES OF THE INCORPORATED DISTRICT, AND TO ASSIGN TO THOSE WORKHOUSES SEPARATE CLASSES OF POOR, THOUGH COMPOSED OF THE POOR OF DISTINCT PARISHES, EACH DISTINCT PARISH PAYING TO THE SUPPORT OF THE PERMANENT WORKHOUSE ESTABLISHMENT, IN PROPORTION TO THE AVERAGE AMOUNT OF THE EXPENSE INCURRED FOR THE RELIEF OF ITS POOR, FOR THE THREE PREVIOUS YEARS, AND PAYING SEPARATELY FOR THE FOOD AND CLOTHING OF ITS OWN PAUPERS.

The power of incorporation for workhouse purposes appears to us to be absolutely necessary. It also appears to us that parishes may be beneficially incorporated for some other purposes. As this opinion depends in some measure on a further opinion that extended management is in certain points and within certain limits economical, and as this opinion is at variance with a prevalent impression in favour of the general economy of small dis-

tricts, we shall support it at some length. In the minds of many, management on a large scale, and large establishments, are associated with large expenses and general profusion: where every thing is magnified, abuses, which, though greater in proportion, would have been imperceptible on a smaller scale, become visible and striking; but we find that in the small parishes the expense per head of the persons entitled to relief is generally the greatest, and that, although the actual burthen per pound on the rental is often small, that is effected, not by diminishing but by shifting and often aggravating the real burthen, by destroying cottages, preventing settlements, and driving the labourers into the adjoining district. The following answer by Mr. Mott both states the comparative economy of the larger parishes, and accounts for it. He was asked,—

"What would be the effect of dividing Lambeth into as many independent parishes as there are in the city of London?"

He replies,—

"The chief effects which appear to me to be likely to ensue are, that we should have ninety-six imperfect establishments instead of one; ninety-six sources of peculation instead of one; ninety-six sets of officers to be imposed upon by paupers instead of one set; ninety-six sources of litigation and of expense for removals and disputed settlements instead of one; and ninety-six modes of rating instead of one.

"It appears that the 96 city parishes, (many of which are extremely wealthy, and lightly burthened with poor) with a population of 55,000, expended for the relief of the poor, in the year 1831, 64,000*l.* Lambeth, with 32,000 more people, and many densely-peopled districts containing very poor people, expended on the relief of the poor only 37,000*l.* during the same year. In the wealthy parishes of the city of London, the money annually paid as poor's-rates amounted to 1*l.* 3*s.* 3½*d.* per head; whilst in Lambeth the amount annually paid is 8*s.* 6*d.* and a fraction per head. The adults of Lambeth parish are now supported in the workhouse at 3*s.* 11*d.* a week per head; whilst in the city of London, the greater proportion of all classes of poor, including children, are farmed out at an expense of from 4*s.* 6*d.* to 7*s.* each, and the expense of those maintained in the small city workhouses varies from 5*s.* to 8*s.* per head per week for all classes."

The following is a recapitulation of an examination of the comparative expense of the poor's-rates per head, in the largest, the least, and the intermediate sized parishes; comprehending all the parishes from which we have received returns, belonging to the first seven counties, taken in alphabetical order, referred to in our Supplement.

	Population.	Rate per Head.
BEDFORDSHIRE:		£. s. d.
16 Parishes	12,224	1 0 0 $\frac{3}{4}$
5 Largest	6,163	0 16 5
6 Intermediate	4,012	1 6 10 $\frac{3}{4}$
5 Least	2,049	0 17 8 $\frac{1}{2}$
BERKS:		
30 Parishes	40,971	0 14 7 $\frac{1}{2}$
10 Largest	29,489	0 12 10 $\frac{1}{2}$
10 Intermediate	8,401	0 17 7 $\frac{1}{2}$
10 Least	3,081	0 19 3 $\frac{1}{2}$
BUCKS:		
35 Parishes	34,456	0 14 5 $\frac{1}{2}$
12 Largest	22,655	0 11 8 $\frac{1}{2}$
11 Intermediate	8,386	0 18 7 $\frac{1}{2}$
12 Least	3,415	1 4 1 $\frac{1}{2}$
CAMBRIDGE:		
41 Parishes	59,016	0 13 11 $\frac{1}{4}$
12 Largest	37,114	0 11 9 $\frac{1}{2}$
12 Intermediate	11,830	0 14 8 $\frac{1}{2}$
12 Least	5,410	0 14 10 $\frac{1}{4}$
CHESTER:		
17 Parishes		
6 Largest	6,481	0 7 0 $\frac{3}{4}$
5 Intermediate	1,568	0 6 8 $\frac{3}{4}$
6 Least	871	0 9 9 $\frac{1}{4}$
CORNWALL:		
30 Parishes	60,121	0 6 11 $\frac{1}{4}$
10 Largest	43,328	0 4 9 $\frac{1}{2}$
10 Intermediate	11,520	0 9 7
10 Least	5,273	0 9 5
CUMBERLAND:		
46 Parishes	45,607	0 5 8
12 Largest	32,979	0 5 4 $\frac{3}{4}$
12 Intermediate	6,419	0 6 3
12 Least	2,223	0 7 11 $\frac{3}{4}$
Of these 7 Counties,	s. d.	
The 67 largest parishes give	9 0 $\frac{3}{4}$	per head on the population.
The 66 intermediate parishes	14 4	ditto.
The 67 least parishes	14 11 $\frac{3}{4}$	ditto.

Of all England,—

The 100 absolutely largest parishes, containing a population of 3,196,064, give 6s. 7d. per head.

The 100 intermediate parishes, containing a population of 19,841, give 15s. per head.

The 100 least parishes, from which Poor Rates Returns are made, with a population of 1,708, give 1l. 11s. 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per head.

The 100 intermediate parishes are of the size of which there is the greatest number, and where the population is not too large, to allow the parish officers to obtain a personal knowledge of the individuals relieved.

We have no recent returns of proportions of paupers in the parishes referred to in the preceding statement; but on referring to the Parliamentary Returns of the number of paupers in each parish in the years 1803 and 1813, it appears that the number of persons relieved in the large and small parishes bears some proportion to their relative amount of rates. In the three hundred parishes of which the comparative amount of the poor's-rates on the population has been stated, the

	1803.	1813.
Average number of persons relieved was, in the		
100 largest parishes	1 in 16, or 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ p' cent.	1 in 13, or 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ p' cent.
100 intermediate ditto	1 in 10, or 10 p' cent.	1 in 8, or 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ p' cent.
100 smallest ditto	1 in 6, or 16 $\frac{2}{3}$ p' cent.	1 in 4, or 25 p' cent.

	In 100 Largest Parishes.	In 100 Intermediate.	In 100 Smallest.
The Increase of Pauperism on Population from 1803 to 1813, was .	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.	8 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

The economy of extended management in the rural districts, is also proved by the evidence derived from the incorporated hundreds. These hundreds are, on the whole, distinguished by the economy and general superiority of their administration, as compared with the unincorporated hundreds. From a comparison of the expense of the eight unincorporated hundreds of Suffolk with the expense of the nine incorporated hundreds of the same county, making the calculation on the basis of the real property assessment of 1815, it appears that the expense of maintaining the poor, during the years from 1824 to 1831, was 53 per cent. in favour of the incorporated hundreds.

Captain Pringle, who appears to have examined carefully the administration of the poor's-rate in the Isle of Wight, the whole of which is incorporated, shows that notwithstanding much general ill management, the result, after a trial of 60 years, is greatly in favour of incorporation. On a comparison of the amount of property assessed in the year 1815, with the amount of rates raised in the year 1829, it appears that the rate per pound for the whole county was 3s. 6d.; for the county exclusive of the island, 3s. 8d.; for the island exclusive of the rest of the county, 1s. 10d. In this incorporation, however, litigation about settlements and the expense of removals are almost entirely avoided*.

Much of the saving is attributable to the efficiency of the officers of the incorporations, and to the more methodical transaction of their business. Mr. Meadows White, a solicitor of great experience in the management of incorporated hundreds, states that each of the parishes incorporated in Blything hundred for less than 10*l.* per annum, obtains for the management of the in-door poor the services of a

		£.	s.	d.
Chaplain	at a Salary of	50	0	0
Governor and a Matron	ditto	100	0	0
Schoolmistress	ditto	20	0	0
Superintendent of the Labour (a weaver)	ditto	20	0	0
Clerk	ditto	140	0	0
Visiting Guardian	ditto	40	0	0
House Surgeon	ditto	52	0	0
TOTAL for 46 parishes		£422	0	0

If it were possible that the several functions performed by each of these officers could be performed by any one person, at least five times the amount of money paid by each of the parishes incorporated would be requisite to obtain the services of such a person. But it is obviously impossible that one officer could execute these functions: the performance of the duties of the school-master or matron of the workhouse imply a neglect of the duties of the school, in which it appears that there are rarely less than 100 or 120 children; neither could the business of the superintendent of the pauper labour, nor the business of the clerk (an attorney, whose salary includes the remuneration for all his attendances, journeys and law business in the county) be performed unless at the expense of other duties.

In the establishments of the larger parishes, whilst there is great gain in efficiency by the division of labour, there is also

* Capt. Pringle, App. (A.) Part I. p. 309.

frequently gain by the concentration of labour where it may be concentrated without interfering with the performance of other equally important duties. One of the assistant-overseers of Lambeth parish, in reciting his duties, states,—

“ Besides inquiring into the cases of applicants for relief, I inquire into the cases of the non-payment of poor's-rate, and whether the neglect or refusal proceeds from inability to pay, or from any other causes, and I report the same to the overseers. It is also my duty to inform the vestry-clerk of all houses newly erected in the parish, and of all houses, noted in the rate-book as empty, which have become inhabited; I report them in order that they may be assessed to the rate; I enter this in a book kept for the purpose, and called the Draught-book. This serves as a check on the collectors and on overseers, who, from favouritism or other causes, might be disposed to overlook the houses of friends. The overseers or parish officers may be persons in business who are desirous of favouring friends. By imposing these duties on the assistant-overseers, who have to traverse districts for purposes relating to the paupers, they are performed at a very little additional expense, as it is all done under one head. I find frequently that when I am inquiring of a person about a house, he can also give me information with relation to a pauper.”

To these advantages may be added the greater facility of obtaining securities against embezzlement.

One of the most prominent suggestions of those who have written on Poor-Law amendment, is compelling the adoption of a uniform and well-arranged system of accounts, a provision which they often appear to consider a sufficient check on peculation. There can be no doubt that arrangements to insure completeness, clearness, uniformity and publicity of parochial accounts are as requisite in this as in any other department of public administration. WE RECOMMEND, THEREFORE, THAT THE CENTRAL BOARD BE EMPOWERED AND REQUIRED TO TAKE MEASURES FOR THE GENERAL ADOPTION OF A COMPLETE, CLEAR, AND, AS FAR AS MAY BE PRACTICABLE, UNIFORM SYSTEM OF ACCOUNTS. But it appears to us that new arrangements as to the mode of transacting the business in question and the establishment of self-acting checks (which are partly independent of accounts) are equally requisite. It is one advantage of management on a large scale, that it admits of these arrangements and securities, without any increase of expense. Thus, in the incorporated hundreds, there are six distinct functionaries for the collection and the expenditure of the rates. 1. The assessments are fixed by the Board of Guardians. They are collected by, 2, the Overseers of the several parishes incorporated, who are compelled under a penalty to pay within a certain time to, 3, the Treasurer; the money collected. The latter gives security. 4. The Clerk of the incorporation receives the commodities supplied, and enters

an account of them into the stock-book. 5. The Governor of the workhouse attends to the distribution of the goods supplied, and is answerable for it. 6. It is the duty of the Visiting Guardian to see that the goods received are in conformity to the contracts, and, in fact, to act as a check on the two last-mentioned officers. In the parishes of the unincorporated districts, one person, the overseer, is usually assessor, collector, treasurer and distributor, and the checks derived from the performance of the business by separate individuals are lost.

Similar advantages to those of the incorporations are possessed by the larger parishes.

In Lambeth, containing 87,000 persons, a population equal to that of 1300 of the smaller parishes, under 1300 sets of officers, the money is assessed by

It is collected by

By whom it is paid into the hands of

On the other hand, for the distribution of relief there are

Who in the majority of instances are assisted by the inquiries of

And when relief is ordered it is given by ticket on

1. The churchwardens and overseers.

2. A paid collector.

3. A Banker or Treasurer.

4. The annual overseers.

Assistant overseers or paid officers.

5. The clerk at the workhouse.

Here then the parish being large, the business of collecting and distributing the fund is managed by five different hands, exclusive of the workhouse-keeper and other assistant officers. The following is the account which the vestry-clerk gives of one simple expedient by which a check is obtained against peculation in the distribution of the casual relief.

Mr. Watmore, Vestry Clerk of Lambeth; Examined.

"Each overseer relieves the casual poor in cases within his district, which are cases of necessity; and this relief is by a little printed ticket on the clerk of the workhouse. The overseer relieving signs his name and the amount on the ticket, and this serves as a voucher for every one, the smallest item.

"Before the establishment of the checks, I have known casual poor obtain relief from the whole eight overseers. Frauds have been committed with the tickets; one woman was prosecuted for increasing the amount of the ticket, but frauds in this way cannot be very extensive. I see every day the benefits of this check as regards officers as well as the applicants, and I can see no reason why it should not be adopted in other parishes. In our parish the overseers neither receive nor pay any money; the collectors are bound to pay in every week to the bankers the money collected; we have eight collectors, with securities of 1000*l.* each."

Some large parishes, however, neglect these precautions, and commit to one person the whole distribution of the rates. In one case the overseer draws from the treasurer a sum of money which he distributes at his discretion; in another, the money is paid into the hands of several overseers who severally distribute it as they think proper, and account for it at the end of the year; the only check being their honour. It appears, however, that this check is not always sufficient, and that cases occur in which the officers mix fictitious names in the crowd of items, and overcharge the sums paid to real characters; thus, where 1*s.* 3*d.* has been given, 1*s.* 9*d.* is charged; where 1*s.* 6*d.* has been given, 2*s.* or 2*s.* 6*d.* is often charged. The following portions of the examination of the parish officers of Bethnal Green show the danger of omitting proper checks.

The Parish Officers of Bethnal Green; Examined.

"Mr. Bunn.—The overseers do not pay by ticket, but pay money out of their own pockets, which they charge to the parish, and account for the money at the end of the quarter; my last weekly account of the casual relief for one division was 27*l.* odd; this was paid away in shillings and sixpences. It is paid in advance for the quarter, and we receive no interest for the outlay.

"Has this been the usual course of proceeding for years past?—I believe it is; there has been no alteration.

"Is this expenditure discretionary with the annual overseer?—Yes, the casual relief is.

"Does he frequently sit alone, or is he assisted by other parish officers?—On Thursdays and Saturdays we sit alone, unless some governor by chance drops in in the course of the day, but generally we sit alone.

"And are you not regularly assisted by any permanent officer?—No, we are not assisted by any one.

"Do you not find that you are frequently imposed upon?—In spite of all an annual officer can do, we are frequently imposed upon. There were 400 new faces for me to pay the first night I sat. I had no one to assist me or to inform me, and I gave money away on the mere statements made to me. I am confident that I paid some of the people twice over that night.

"Have you had overseers serving more than one year?—Mr. Davis.—Yes. Since I have been in office, two have served three years, and one two years.

"Have you had others who have been desirous of serving?—Mr. Davis.—Those who last served were known to have been desirous of serving again.

"What reason did they allege for being desirous of serving again?—Mr. Davis.—I do not know.

"Mr. Bunn.—For my own part I would have gladly paid to have been excused. I have offered 60*l.* to be excused from serving after I was in office; I also offered to put down 50*l.* as a subscription to extricate the parish from its difficulties, but not a soul followed my example.

I was offered by my predecessors, when I entered into office, to have my duties performed for me, but this offer I declined, as I must have been responsible for all monies.

"Can you judge or state what you suppose to have been the object of the parties in again serving so burdensome an office?—I know their object, Sir, but that I must, if you please, decline stating.

"Have there been any cases of malversation in your parish?—Never, that I am aware of.

"Nor any suspicions or rumours of malversation prevalent in the parish?—There have been such rumours.

"Have there been no grounds for such rumours?—I do not know of any of my knowledge, and cannot speak to them.

"Are you ready to swear that you know of no grounds?—All that I can say is, that the expenditure this year is less than it was last year; I cannot say how that was.

"But in a parish like yours, where there are a number of small tradesmen, whose credit is not very good, and where large sums pass through the hands of parish officers, with considerable opportunities for malversation on the part of any one who has the inclination, is not the parish exposed to very considerable danger unless a prudent choice be made?—Certainly. I have heard such persons boast that if they were in office they would take care of themselves."

Mr. Masterman, another parish officer of *Bethnal Green*; Examined.

"What other opportunities has the system afforded for considerable malversation?—The payment of the casual poor, and the out-door relief, affords very great opportunities for fraud on the parts of the overseers, as well as the paupers, but I cannot say that I know of any instances. I suggested the payment by tickets, but the suggestion was not adopted.

"What is the popular opinion on this subject?—That to be an overseer and take care of the poor is a very good thing.

"On what grounds has that opinion been founded?—They have seen a person's condition greatly improved after having served the office of overseer; they have seen this take place without seeing any increase in his business, and without having heard or known of any money having been left to him; having, in short, no ostensible reason except that he has been in office.

"Is the remark common?—Yes, it is."

In the smaller parishes the state of things is still worse. There one officer collects and distributes, and unless he have some personal adversary who inspects the accounts, and objects to them, this officer really accounts to no one, for the audit by the magistrates is confessedly a form.

Many parishes have been agitated by contests to obtain publicity of accounts; these accounts have accordingly been published, and peace has ensued; but the statements published leave the satisfied rate-payers almost as much in the dark as ever.

The items are usually published in the following form:—

	£	s.	d.
Beer and Ale	440	0	6
Bread and Flour	1779	7	6
Butcher's Meat	1694	11	11
Butter, Cheese, and Bacon	691	13	6
Candles and Soap	120	15	6
Coals	238	13	0
Grocery	324	19	0
Clothing for Paupers	175	9	0

The parishioner knows not from such items what was the character of the purchases; whether 3s. or 7s. per pair was paid for shoes, if any were included in the general item *Clothing*. If the account were made out in detail, the other shoemakers or the other bakers of the parish might judge of the reasonableness of the charges; but even these details would still leave room for fraud in the misstatement of the *quantity* of goods supplied, and as to the actual consumption of the whole quantity supplied.

We consider, therefore, that any uniform and good system of accounts would not of itself suffice, unless the operations or the mode of doing business were clearly arranged. One system of accounts might be prescribed to the two parishes, Lambeth and Bethnal Green: it might be required in both, that every item of casual relief given should be entered in the accounts; but whilst in Lambeth the security against fraud, derived from the checks arising from the method of doing business, would, perhaps, be found nearly complete, in Bethnal Green the accounts would afford little or no security whatever; the names of the parties alleged to have been relieved may be fictitious; the amount of the payments may be misstated; and yet the accounts may, *primâ facie*, afford to the auditor no means of detection. Clearness does not ensure truth. Captain Pringle, who has had much experience in the examination of the accounts of commissaries, states that he generally found that the greatest peculators had the clearest accounts. Clear accounts, then, must be based on good arrangements of the modes of transacting business. Uniformity as to some points in the modes of keeping accounts would be of great service for the purpose of comparing the detailed expenditure of one district with another, and would form a necessary means of any general system of management, but the same forms in every point cannot suit every parish. The forms requisite in Mary-le-bone, containing 122,206 inhabitants, would be unsuited to the 1657 parishes, containing, collectively, only 122,170 inhabitants, and managed by 1657 different sets of officers.

The sources of peculation will be to a great extent extirpated by

the abolition of money-payments; by the supply of goods on public contract, under proper securities, and by the adoption of the checks rendered practicable by more extended management. In a large proportion of the smaller parishes, it would be requisite to obtain in each the services of a good book-keeper. In the larger establishments this is accomplished without difficulty, and at a comparatively trivial expense; one set of books serves instead of forty or fifty sets; and the officers of the establishment are usually competent to the task of keeping them.

A further advantage of extended districts arises from the comparative facility of providing for the paupers' useful employment. Opportunities for such employment are wanting in many parishes; in others, exist in forms too large to be undertaken; and in still more numerous instances exist uselessly, in consequence of the jealousies which always act most powerfully in small neighbourhoods. It appears that one of the first preliminary measures must be the preparing for the able-bodied more of this employment than we believe that they will accept.

Employment of some kind can, indeed, be always provided, but it appears to us that it ought to be useful employment. Parish officers, whilst they have had sufficient labour of this description before their doors, in their unwillingness or their inability to take upon themselves the trouble of superintendence, or to make any immediate pecuniary sacrifice for the purpose of enforcing the performance of that labour, have resorted to the expedient of sending paupers on fictitious errands, with baskets full of stones, or blank paper directed as letters, and other devices of the same nature, obviously intended to torment them. Such contrivances are pernicious in the revengeful feelings which they generate in the minds of the paupers themselves, and they are also pernicious in exciting sympathy in behalf of the indolent and vicious, and in the obstacles which they create to the use of legitimate labour and salutary discipline. We believe that they ought to be carefully prevented. The association of the utility of labour to both parties, the employer as well as the employed, is one which we consider it most important to preserve and strengthen; and we deem everything mischievous which unnecessarily gives to it a repulsive aspect. At the same time we believe that in extended districts the requisite sources of employment will be easily found. The supply of the articles consumed in workhouses and prisons would afford a large outlet for the manufactures carried on in the house; and, with respect to out-door employment, it is probable that there are few districts to which such evidence as that contained in the following extracts would not be applicable. Mr. William Winkworth, overseer of the parish of St. Mary's, Reading,

whilst advocating the necessity of the incorporation of the parishes in that town, states,—

"The town, for example, wants draining. We have brickmakers, and carpenters, and other labourers on the parish receiving relief; and the whole town might be well drained by the labour of these paupers, at the expense of materials only; bricks, wood, mortar, and sand. This, however, is a work which the parishes cannot, or will not, undertake separately; it is prevented by petty jealousies and dissensions, and the want of able officers to direct the work of the paupers. The owners of premises well situated and well drained, say, 'Drainage is a benefit to the owners of the property, and we do not see why we should be called upon to contribute money for their benefit.' The owners of the houses where the drainage is most wanted, say, 'We can get no rents to pay for the work, and the nuisances which are caused by the want of it must therefore continue.' No account is taken of the necessity of finding work of any sort for the able-bodied paupers; nothing can be done with the separate parishes governed by open vestries, no cordial co-operation can be got, and the benefit of considerable labour is lost. As the surveyor of the road from this town to Basingstoke, and also of the road from hence to Shillingsford, I can state, from my observation of the several parishes (nineteen in number) through which these roads pass, that very considerable labour might be found, under good direction, in improving their private roads. This is an instance of the sort of work which might frequently be found for paupers. In some of the parishes the roads are kept in very good order, but this is mere accident; whilst in the immediately adjoining parishes more money will be expended, and the roads will nevertheless be in so bad a state that the parish is indictable for them. The farmers steadily adhere to their old practices, and never willingly conform to any improvements; they employ waggons where carts would serve much better; they throw down on the roads materials totally inapplicable, and think they can mend them with big loose stones, which stones would really be useful if they were broken up.'

The Rev. James Randall, rector of Binfield, Berks, states—

"In *this* parish I think the poor might be beneficially employed in making roads; the parish having been lately inclosed, many cottages and many fields are *only* approachable by *drift ways*, which are mere green lanes, almost impassable in winter, the soil being a stiff clay. The inhabitants of these houses are consequently cut off from the village, and remain in a very uncivilized state. It would be a public benefit to turn these lanes into good roads; but the *vestry* will never agree to such a measure, unless under legislative compulsion, because it would require an immediate *outlay*, from which *temporary* occupiers would derive no advantage, and also because the chief benefit, after all, would be to the cottagers, not to the large rate-payers."

Mr. Villiers states that an opinion was expressed to him—

"By many different persons, that from the present state of the com-

munication in many parts of the county of Worcester, that if the roads were placed under any general system of superintendence, and properly attended to, assuming that the same number of paupers as at present should remain dependent upon their parishes, that employment for the five next years at least might be found for them, and with the greatest advantage to the county, a fact which is worth considering, if an immediate change in the system of maintaining the poor is contemplated.*

WE FURTHER RECOMMEND, THEREFORE, THAT THE CENTRAL BOARD BE EMPOWERED TO INCORPORATE PARISHES FOR THE PURPOSE OF APPOINTING AND PAYING PERMANENT OFFICERS, AND FOR THE EXECUTION OF WORKS OF PUBLIC LABOUR.

We must not, however, conceal our fear, that the appointment of efficient permanent officers will be difficult.

Those only who have a full knowledge of the peculiar nature of the duties to be performed would be qualified to judge of the fitness of the agents to perform them; a knowledge which, as it does not influence the daily practice, can scarcely be presumed to exist in the districts where abusive systems prevail. In the dispauperized parishes the appointment of fitting officers was found to be attended with great difficulty, and was rarely accomplished without opposition. The person appointed as the permanent overseer and master of the workhouse at Hatfield had been a drill-serjeant and paymaster-serjeant in the Coldstream Guards. One of the witnesses states,—

“That the parish was entirely indebted for the change to the talents and personal energy applied to the work by the Marquis of Salisbury, and to the peculiar personal qualifications of the person appointed by him to serve the office of permanent overseer. This appointment would never have been made had the matter been left in the hands of the rate-payers at large. Many of them openly said that a stranger ought not to be brought into the parish; that they ought to appoint a person from amongst themselves, some poor person, who wanted a comfortable home; when the duties of the office required a person of peculiar firmness and habits of command, and were such as ninety-nine out of a hundred in the parish would have been unable to execute*.”

The success of this appointment occasioned similar appointments to be made in some adjacent parishes where the larger proprietors attempted to amend the administration. The Hon. and Rev. Robert Eden states, that in Hertingsfordbury,

“A permanent overseer was appointed, who was also to collect the rates in the adjoining parishes of Bayford and Little Berkhamstead, and to keep the accounts, and superintend the men employed at parish work. He had been a pay-serjeant in the Guards; his appointment was opposed chiefly on the ground of his being a stranger†.”

* App. (A.) Part II.

† App. (A.) Part II.

The Rev. Ralph Clutton, curate of Welwyn, states,—

“A permanent overseer has been appointed, who is also the governor of the poor-house; he was serjeant in the Coldstream Guards, a married man, and not a parishioner. It is to the efficiency of himself and his wife that the success of the undertaking thus far must in a great measure be attributed. His chief qualifications are firmness, order, clearness and accuracy in his accounts, unconquerable resolution and integrity; and on the part of his wife, extraordinary cleanliness, and a sincere desire to better the condition of those (especially the young) under her care*.”

The wife herself stated “that the selection of her husband had excited great displeasure, because it was considered that none but a parishioner ought to have been appointed.” In Watham, where some improvements were carried into effect,—

“A permanent overseer has been appointed, who is also governor of the workhouse, but is not a parishioner: having been in the army, his qualifications for the discipline and management of the workhouse, by the aid of that order, regularity, and system in which he had been there initiated, together with a perfect ability as to the arrangement and keeping of the accounts, are his merits. Dissatisfaction was manifested to this appointment: the principal objections were his being a stranger, and not a parishioner†.”

The statement of Mr. Richard Gregory, of Spitalfields, is characteristic of the circumstances under which the permanent officers are frequently appointed in the town parishes:—

“Might not paid and responsible officers be elected by the parishioners?—He answers, No; I think you would never get such offices well filled, unless it was by accident. The people have no conception of what sort of men are requisite to perform properly the duties of a parish officer. If such a situation were vacant, what sort of a man would apply for it? Why, some decayed tradesman; some man who had got a very large family, and had been ‘unfortunate in business,’ which, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, means a man who has not had prudence or capacity to manage his own affairs; and this circumstance is usually successful in any canvass for a parish situation to manage the affairs of the public. Men who have before been in office for the parish would obtain a preference. And what sort of men are those who would be likely to be at liberty to accept a vacant situation? The situations of overseer and churchwarden are by some considered situations of dignity, and dignity always attracts fools. I have known numbers of small tradesmen who were attracted by ‘the dignity of the office,’ and succeeded in getting made overseers and churchwardens. Their elevation was their downfall. They have not given their minds to their own business as before. The consequence of this was that they have lost their business and have been ruined. Now and then a good man of business will be desirous of taking office when he thinks he is slighted, or has

* App. (A.) Part II.

† App. (A.) Part II.

had an affront put upon him by being overlooked; but in general, any man in decent business must know, if he has the brains of a goose, that it will be much better for him, in a pecuniary point of view, to pay the fine than serve. I could name from fifteen to twenty people in our parish, who have been entirely ruined by being made churchwardens. These would be the people who would succeed best in parochial or district elections; for the people would say of any one of them, 'Poor man, he has ruined himself by serving a parish office, and the only recompense we can give him is to put him in a paid office.' This always has been the general course of parish elections, and I have no doubt would always continue to be so. There is infinitely more favouritism in parish appointments than in government appointments. In appointments by the government there is frequently some notion of fitness; but in the case of parish appointments, fitness is out of the question. When I was the treasurer of the watch department of the parish, I took great interest in the management of the police of the district, and determined to make it efficient. You would conceive that the inhabitants would have been so guided by their own apparent interests, as to get active men appointed, but I had solicitations from some of the first and most respectable houses in the parish to take their old and decayed servants and put them on the watch. I had also applications from the parish officers to put men up on the watch who were in the workhouse. As I was determined to make the police efficient, I resolutely resisted all these applications*."

It is also clear that such officers should be selected as would not be biased by local interests or partialities. The most fitting persons must often, as in the instances we have cited, be sought for in distant districts, and, *cæteris paribus*, would be preferable to persons within the same districts.

These premises appear to lead to a conclusion that the Central Board ought to be empowered to appoint the permanent and salaried officers in all parishes, or at least in those which they should incorporate. But we do not venture such a recommendation. In the first place, because we doubt the power of a single Board to select a sufficient number of well-qualified persons; secondly, because such a duty would occupy too much of their time and attention; and, thirdly, because the patronage, though really a painful incumbrance to them, would be a source of public jealousy. But believing that, after all, more will depend, as more always has depended, on the administration of the law than on the words of its enactments, and that the good or bad administration will mainly rest on the selection of the inferior administrators, we think that no security for good appointments should be neglected, and no means of preventing the effects of bad appointments omitted. We think that the first object might be aided, if the Commissioners were directed to prescribe some

* App. (A.) Part II.

general qualifications, in the absence of which no person should be eligible as a salaried officer, and we think that the number of competent persons who must in time come under their observation would enable them frequently to assist parishes and incorporations by recommending proper candidates; we also think that they might, to a great degree, both aid and support the well-disposed, and prevent the continuance in office of improper persons, if they were invested with the power of removing them. Some of the ablest of the permanent officers who have been examined under the authority of this Commission, have urged that they ought to be immediately responsible to the authority whose regulations they are to enforce; that it ought to be obvious that they really have no discretion, that the rule of duty is inflexible, and that, if they violate or neglect it, suspension or dismissal must be the consequence. If the permanent officers continue responsible only to the annual officers or to the vestry, a screen will be interposed between the Central Board and the actual administrators of relief, which will encourage and protect every form of malversation.

WE RECOMMEND, THEREFORE, THAT THE CENTRAL BOARD BE DIRECTED TO STATE THE GENERAL QUALIFICATIONS WHICH SHALL BE NECESSARY TO CANDIDATES FOR PAID OFFICES CONNECTED WITH THE RELIEF OF THE POOR, TO RECOMMEND TO PARISHES AND INCORPORATIONS PROPER PERSONS TO ACT AS PAID OFFICERS, AND TO REMOVE ANY PAID OFFICERS WHOM THEY SHALL THINK UNFIT FOR THEIR SITUATIONS.

The alteration of some portions of the existing law with respect to contracts for the supply of food and other necessities to the workhouses will be requisite to protect the public from continued jobbing, fraud and mismanagement. The extensive prevalence of these evils is indicated not only by the direct testimony contained in our Appendix, but by the recurrence in the answers to our circulated Query as to the propriety of giving relief in kind, of apprehensions of speculation. Such an alteration is necessary also in order to facilitate a change, which in many districts will be more strenuously opposed by the few who will lose, than supported by the many who will gain by more rigid management. Private interest, often apparently inconsiderable, has always created the strongest and the most successful opposition to improvement. The Hon. and Rev. Robert Eden states,—

"In the year 1827 I endeavoured to unite, under Sturges Bourne's Act, the parishes of Hertingfordbury, Essendon, Little Berkhamstead and Bayford. Could I have succeeded, we should have built a central workhouse, and have had under superintendence a population of 2000 persons, and been able to pay a really efficient officer. My plan failed, partly from the lukewarmness of the landowners, from the unwillingness

of the occupiers (being tenants at will) to contribute to the formation of a new building, and from the opposition of the tradesmen of the various parishes, who were employed occasionally in the old repairs of the old workhouses, but had no chance of getting the tender for building the new."

In Cookham and other parishes, as soon as the general benefits of improved management had become apparent, a renewed opposition was organized by publicans and beer-shop keepers, who found that they were losers by the frugality created among their customers. In many instances, the profusion which prevails in the workhouse management has been directly traced to the tradesmen who took the most active part in the parochial business.

Mr. Richmond, one of the guardians of the poor in St. Luke's parish, Middlesex, states,—

"When I came into office it was a recognized principle, that the purchase of commodities for parochial consumption should be confined to the tradesmen of the parish. The effects of the patronage incident to the purchase of goods to the amount of upwards of 20,000*l.* per annum from shopkeepers within the parish, patronage exercised by a board who are themselves shopkeepers or connected with shopkeepers, may well be conceived. For several years I have contended, but unsuccessfully, for the universal application of the principle, that contracts should be taken from those who made the lowest tenders, wherever they resided, provided they gave the requisite securities for the due performance of the contract. On investigating the purchases of goods within the parish, I found that some of the charges were upwards of forty per cent. above the market prices. Whatever opposition may be made against an extensive or efficient reform or generalization of the management of the funds for the relief of the poor, will be based on the retention of the parochial patronage and power, although such a motive will never be ostensibly avowed. I have no doubt they will even assume that extended management will be more profuse than their own."

What may be expected is also indicated in the following extract from the evidence collected by Mr. Codd:—

"Before we had a select vestry, it was not unusual for our overseers to be quite willing to take the office, and even to continue in it for more than one year; and it was well understood, that this was because they had the means of spending money on behalf of the parish with their neighbours, or with whom they pleased. Since the establishment of the select vestry, however, we purchase every thing by open contracts, and the consequence has been, that our rates are 25 per cent. at least below what they were prior to the formation of the select vestry. Our tradesmen now cry out against being exclusively called upon to serve as overseers, and they have said, that they will insist upon having the gentry included with themselves."

WE RECOMMEND, THAT THE CENTRAL BOARD BE EMPOWERED

TO DIRECT THE PAROCHIAL CONSUMPTION TO BE SUPPLIED BY TENDER AND CONTRACT, AND TO PROVIDE THAT THE COMPETITION BE PERFECTLY FREE.

This will prevent much indirect fraud. Direct embezzlement must also be guarded against more effectually than while left to voluntary prosecution. It is vain to expect men to proceed, on public grounds, against their own neighbours, friends, or connexions. It is to local influence, not to the absence of peculation, that we ascribe the rarity of prosecutions against parochial defaulters; and the prosecutions which do take place are often attributed, truly or falsely, to private motives, and public sympathy becomes enlisted in favour of the criminal.

WE RECOMMEND, THAT THE CENTRAL BOARD BE EMPOWERED AND REQUIRED TO ACT IN SUCH CASES AS PUBLIC PROSECUTORS.

The pecuniary loss by bad management, or the pecuniary gain from good management, are of course insignificant when weighed against the moral evils of the existing system. It will be necessary, however, to guard sedulously against pecuniary mismanagement, as it is usually a primary cause of the extension of pauperism, and we trust that it will be found that the measures which we have proposed, though recommended by us chiefly as beneficial to the labouring classes, will also be found the means of pecuniary saving.

Not one instance has been met with where a permanent increase of expenditure has followed any moderately well directed efforts to repress abusive modes of administration. Where select vestries have been established, and a strict management has been introduced, even under the existing law, the expenses have been reduced by an amount seldom less than one-third. In the dispauperized parishes, the real reduction has seldom been less than half the expense. In Durham and Cumberland, paupers are kept well and contented, at a weekly expense of 1*s.* 6*d.* per head for food. In most of the southern counties the expense varies from 3*s.* 6*d.* to 4*s.* 6*d.*, 5*s.*, and 6*s.* per head. The average is probably not less than 4*s.* per head; the expense may in all probability be reduced to 2*s.* per head, the common expenditure of a labourer's family, and the legitimate objects of relief be much better provided for. The whole evidence proves that if a Central Board be appointed, consisting of fit persons, and armed with powers to carry into general effect the measures which have been so successful wherever they have been tried, the expenditure for the relief of the poor will in a very short period be reduced by more than one-third.

From the metropolis, from the provincial towns, and indeed from nearly every district, complaints have been received that large classes of persons, who obtain, during particular seasons, such wages as would enable them to maintain themselves and their families until the return of the season of work, and provide by insurance against sickness and other casualties, spend the whole of their earnings as fast as they receive them, and, when out of work, throw themselves and their families on the parish, and remain chargeable until the period of high wages returns. The alternations of dissipation and of privation to which such persons have become habituated, render it probable that even under an improved system of administration, many of them would endure the most rigid workhouse discipline during the winter, to gain freedom from self-restraint during the spring, summer, and autumn.

The following extracts from the Evidence describe the nature of the evil, and suggest the remedy:—

Mr. John Coste, relieving overseer of St. Leonard, Shore-ditch—

“We have frequently amongst our paupers mechanics who obtain very high wages during particular periods, and when work fails, immediately come upon the parish. These men are, generally speaking, the greatest drunkards. I formerly carried on the business of a willow-square maker, and have paid as much as 4*l.* or 5*l.* a-week to particular men for months together. I do not believe that one of these men ever saved a pound; several of them are now in the workhouse, and receiving relief, who might have provided for themselves by means of savings’ banks, until they got some other description of profitable labour. The sawyers are another set of men of the same description. It would be of great advantage to parishes, if relief were given to all these classes in the way of loan, and power were conferred to attach a portion of their wages for repayment*.”

Mr. Teather, an assistant overseer of Lambeth, when examined as to the condition of some of the paupers, stated,—

“We have had many bootmakers and shoemakers who might have saved enough money when in work to keep them from the parish when they are out of work. Amongst the barbers there are several who have been master barbers, who might have saved enough money to keep them from the parish; one man I know could not have got less than 3*l.* or 4*l.* a week; he boasted that he made 30*s.* on a Sunday. Amongst the tailors are many who might save money. Some of them on the parish are very good workmen, who could earn about 6*s.* a-day, and when they chose to work over-work, about 7*s.* One of them now on the parish, a man named M’Innis, is said by persons in the trade to be one of the best workmen in London. He is now just out of the tread-mill for neglecting his family. The greater part of sawyers could

* App. (A.) Part II.

save enough to keep them from the parish during the intervals of work. The greater part of them, that is, all the able men, before the saw-mills came up, could have put by at least 1*l.* Before the saw-mills were established, a pair of sawyers have, during the whole year, earned 5*l.* a week; they have acknowledged to me, in blaming their own improvidence, that there have been times when they have earned as much as 10*l.* a-week; they have acknowledged also that when they have been earning money they have never taken their families more than 1*l.* a-week regularly; they have paid rent and bought coals besides; but they have themselves lived at the public-house with the rest of their money. Barge-builders are men who could save money; they have 6*s.* a-day standing wages. The coal-porters earn a great deal; they have been known to get as much as 9*s.* or 10*s.* a-day, but they are very rarely known to save anything*.”

Mr. Robert Oldershaw, vestry clerk of Islington,—

“Amongst the able-bodied labourers are many brick-makers, men who, during seven or eight months in the year, work hard and obtain very high wages. They sometimes earn 6*l.*, 8*l.*, or 10*l.* a-week per gang. Some of these gangs are children. The adults will, I have been informed, earn from 2*l.* to 3*l.*, 4*l.*, or 5*l.* a-week. The head of the gang, I am informed, often earns as much as 5*l.* per week. They drink much beer, and perhaps their labour requires it; but they might, out of their wages, wholly, or in part, make provision for the winter, if they were so inclined; but they spend all; they make no provision whatever for the winter, and when the weather sets in, they throw themselves upon the parish as a customary thing. We have tried to make savings’ banks available against this course of improvidence, but without effect. Formerly, however, their wives have made small deposits in the savings’ banks to provide for their confinement, or the payment of their rent in the winter, unknown to their husbands. If their husbands knew they had the money, they would beat them to force it from them, and would then spend it improvidently. I was a member of the savings’ bank, and have seen the poor women bring their little pittances there. They have besought me to keep it secret from their husbands†.”

Mr. Money, builder and master brick-maker, Shaw-cum-Donnington, Berkshire, was asked with respect to the men in his own employment, of the class adverted to by the last witness,—

“What do you think would be the effect of an enactment enabling the parish to order the employers of men of this class to receive a portion of their wages to repay the parochial expenditure of the winter?—This would be of great advantage, and I believe would be entirely practicable.

“You would perhaps say that if the deduction were too great, he would abscond?—There is certainly that danger.

“What deduction do you think might be made from a brick-maker’s wages without material danger of his absconding?—I think, in the

* App. (A.) Part II.

† App. (A.) Part II.

instance of any labourer in my employment, a deduction might be made, from Lady-day to Michaelmas, of about 5s. a-week.

"I should recommend that no relief whatever be given to able-bodied single men or women, but let the officers have authority to advance small sums of money by way of loan, upon receiving some acknowledgment or security for the repayment of the same. With regard to applicants for relief who may have families, or where there is sickness, the local board should have discretionary power either to relieve them under the same conditions, or otherwise, according to the circumstances of the case, and when the parties get into work, the overseer should have the same power of recovering the sum advanced from their employers, either by instalments or otherwise, as they now have of claiming seamen's wages in the merchants' service, or the pension for past services in the navy or army, for money advanced either to the parties themselves, or to their families. There is a provision already made to authorize overseers to advance small sums of money in this way; but there is no power to enable the overseers to enforce a repayment of the money so advanced from the employers*."

Mr. Hollands, some time vestry clerk of Bermondsey, examined,—

"When in office I found that the provisions of the 59th Geo. III. c. 12, enabling parish officers to stop the wages of merchant seamen, and to receive those of men in the king's service, were provisions of the greatest utility. They were satisfactory to the well-disposed poor, and the parishes were greatly benefited. I have had deserted wives express the highest gratitude for wages saved from vagabond and unprincipled husbands. I have no doubt that these provisions might be profitably extended to all classes of workmen. Parish officers would not make the deduction from wages too heavy†."

In the returns of the occupations of the depositors of the savings' banks, we have found a number of mechanics of each of the large classes, whose unworthy members we see in the condition of paupers. These habits detract extensively from the support of savings' banks and friendly societies, so meritoriously sustained by a large proportion of the working classes. Elcemo-synary aid, even in cases of sickness, to those who, from their condition, will probably have wherewithal to repay it, is a bounty on improvidence. Statements to the following effect have been made to us from various quarters:—

"We are of opinion," say the trustees of the Mary-le-bone Savings' Banks, "that, if the facilities given to the able-bodied of obtaining parochial relief or public charity (and we are induced to lay much stress upon the latter) were removed, the number of members of such institutions as ours would be increased.

"We are unable to state in what proportion the increase would take place; but we think that, wherever any considerable number of a class of labourers and others are found to be depositors in banks for savings,

* App. (A.) Part II.

† App. (A.) Part II.

almost all such persons might follow their example, and probably would do so, were they not encouraged in their thoughtless and improvident habits by the expectation of obtaining relief from some established public charity in almost every circumstance of difficulty or distress to which they can be exposed*."

The Rev. William Otter, vicar of Kinlet, Salop, states,—

"When I first came to this living, the landlord and myself persuaded the farmers to join in the establishment of an institution which was intended to combine the advantages of a sick club and a savings' bank. In the former capacity, after doing some good, it has gradually declined, because it was found difficult to make the members contribute steadily and regularly; and there seemed, besides, to be a notion prevalent that, in case of sickness, the parish doctor might always be had recourse to for nothing†."

On this subject, as well as the general question of the poor-laws, we have had ample evidence tendered by some of the most respectable of the workpeople themselves. Launcelot Snowden, the witness whose evidence we have before cited, was asked,—

"Do you find any effect produced by men obtaining parochial relief readily, when they are out of work, or have anything the matter with them?—I have always seen that men who have had parish relief have been very careless of work and of their money ever afterwards. It has also acted very mischievously on the benefit societies, as these men would never contribute to them. We had a large and very good society of our own, which failed some time ago, and I have known the societies of other trades fail: and it has been a common complaint amongst us, that, but for the parish, they would have stood firm. I am myself confident, that, but for the parish, they would have stood firm.

"Do you think that rendering a workman's wages attachable, when in work, as repayment for any relief which he may have had from the parish, would be serviceable as a remedy for the evil you have mentioned?—Yes, I think it would be highly useful in every point of view. I have no great hopes of the old ones who have had parish relief, but I have no doubt that it would make many of the young ones subscribe, and keep themselves from the parish.

"Do you think the body of operatives with whom you are acquainted would agree with you in this view?—Of course those who have been paupers would not agree; but all the respectable workmen would decidedly agree. I think that, in instances of real misfortune, which I have known occur, it would be thought better of, if the relief was given as a loan, and not as a charity. But the workmen would generally object to any compulsory payment to guard against future liabilities.

"Do you think the process of collecting this sort of repayment would be difficult?—I think not."

A large proportion of those who become in any way chargeable to the parish, are incapable of self-control, or of altering their

* App. (A.) Part II.

† App. (C.)

habits and making any reservation of money when once it is in their possession, although they acknowledge their obligations, and are satisfied to perform them.

It appears that, from the Chelsea pensioners, there are about 3500 quarterly assignments, or 14,000 annual assignments, of pensions to parish officers, and 1480 pensions annually claimed by virtue of magistrates' orders, in cases in which pensioners have allowed their wives or families to become chargeable to the parish; and that from the Greenwich out-pensioners, 1200 pensions, amounting to 12,530*l.*, were attached and recovered last year. The parish officers examined upon this subject agree, that, but for the provisions of the Act, the whole amount of these pensions would be lost to the parish, and would be injuriously wasted by the pensioners, from their incapacity to take care of large sums of money.

Any collection from the labourer himself must be weekly, and the labour of collecting these small instalments would often prevent its being undertaken; but if wages were attached in the hands of the master, the payments might be at longer intervals, or in liquidation at once of the whole demand.

Tradesmen declare that they should feel it no grievance to be compelled to make reservations of wages to satisfy such demands, and that whatever money was recovered, would be recovered from the ginshop. The more important object of the measure is the reimposing motives to frugality on those who possess the means of being frugal; on this account we consider that it would be deserving of adoption, though the greater number of labourers defeated the claims upon them by absconding. By a tolerably vigilant administration of the proposed law, however, much money might be recovered from them. A large proportion of the labour of the classes in question is of a nature not to be found everywhere. A tailor may run away, but a brickmaker can only get work in the brick-fields, where he may be found. During the period when the labourer is in the receipt of full wages, if he spend them he will have in prospect the necessity of absconding in search of work at the commencement of another season; and if subjection during the interval to strict workhouse regulation be comprehended in the view, there can be little doubt that he will often be impelled to have recourse to the savings' banks to avoid the inconvenience.

It appears, then, that if power were given to parish officers of attaching wages, or of ordering the reservation of such instalments as they deemed expedient for the liquidation of debts due to the parish, a proportion of those debts would be recovered.

We are further of opinion that such a measure might be made still more useful, if the principle on which the 29th, 30th, 31st, and 32d clauses of the 59th Geo. III., cap. 12, are founded, were

acted on more extensively. The 29th clause enables the officer to whom it appears that the applicant for relief might, but for his extravagance, neglect, or wilful misconduct, have been able to maintain himself, or to support his family, to advance money to him weekly, or otherwise, by way of loan. It appears from our evidence that in some places this clause has been acted upon beneficially, but that in general little use is made of it, partly because a person who has not been guilty of extravagance, neglect, or wilful misconduct, is excluded from its operation, and partly because the existence of the clause is not notorious. It appears to us advisable that, under regulations to be framed by the Central Board, parishes should be empowered to treat any relief afforded to the able-bodied, or to their families, and any expenditure in the workhouse, or otherwise incurred on their account, as a loan, and recoverable, not only in the mode pointed out by the clause to which we have referred, but also by attachment of their wages, in a way resembling that in which the 30th, 31st, and 32d clauses of the same Act direct the attachment of pensions and seamen's wages.

WE THEREFORE RECOMMEND, THAT UNDER REGULATIONS TO BE FRAMED BY THE CENTRAL BOARD, PARISHES BE EMPOWERED TO TREAT ANY RELIEF AFFORDED TO THE ABLE-BODIED, OR TO THEIR FAMILIES, AND ANY EXPENDITURE IN THE WORKHOUSES, OR OTHERWISE INCURRED ON THEIR ACCOUNT, AS A LOAN, AND RECOVERABLE NOT ONLY BY THE MEANS GIVEN BY THE 29TH SECTION OF THE 59TH GEO. III., c. 12, BUT ALSO BY ATTACHMENT OF THEIR SUBSEQUENT WAGES, IN A MODE RESEMBLING THAT POINTED OUT IN THE 30TH, 31ST, AND 32D SECTIONS OF THAT ACT.

In our recommendation of the prohibition of partial relief to the families of the able-bodied, we proposed that relief by apprenticing should, to a certain extent, be excepted from that prohibition. In the instructions given by us to our Assistant-Commissioners, we directed them to ascertain "the practice in the different parishes as to the apprenticing of poor children, inquiring to what class of persons they are apprenticed, and whether such persons take them voluntarily or by compulsion, and if the latter, according to what principle they are distributed; whether any and what care is taken to see that they are well treated and taught; and whether there are any grounds for supposing that a power to bind for less than seven years would be expedient."

But we regret to say that we have received less information on this subject than on any other. The most important is that collected by Captain Chapman* and Mr. Villiers†, but even that

* App. (A.) pp. 431, 432, 433, 434, 435.

† App. (A.) Part II. pp. 6—8.

is contradictory; and if it were consistent, too meagre to afford grounds for legislation. It is a mode of relief expressly pointed out by the 43d of Elizabeth, and so much interwoven with the habits of the people in many districts, that we should hesitate, even if its evils were much more clearly ascertained, and even if we believed that those evils will not be much diminished by the alteration which we shall propose respecting settlement, to recommend its abolition until it has been made the subject of further inquiry, and until the effects of the measures now likely to be introduced have been ascertained by experience.

At the same time we think it probable, perhaps we might say certain, that further inquiry will show that the laws respecting the relief to be afforded by means of apprenticeship are capable of improvement, particularly those portions of them which render the reception of a parish apprentice compulsory.

WE RECOMMEND, THEREFORE, THAT THE CENTRAL BOARD BE EMPOWERED TO MAKE SUCH REGULATIONS AS THEY SHALL THINK FIT RESPECTING THE RELIEF TO BE AFFORDED BY APPRENTICING CHILDREN, AND THAT AT A FUTURE PERIOD, WHEN THE EFFECT OF THE PROPOSED ALTERATIONS SHALL HAVE BEEN SEEN, THE CENTRAL BOARD BE REQUIRED TO MAKE A SPECIAL INQUIRY INTO THE OPERATION OF THE LAWS RESPECTING THE APPRENTICING CHILDREN AT THE EXPENSE OF PARISHES, AND INTO THE OPERATION OF THE REGULATIONS IN THAT RESPECT WHICH THE BOARD SHALL HAVE ENFORCED.

On the subject of vagrancy, a large mass of evidence is contained in the Appendix, particularly in the reports of Mr. Bishop*, Mr. Codd†, Captain Chapman,‡ and Mr. Henderson§. It appears from this evidence, that vagrancy has actually been converted into a trade, and not an unprofitable one; and it also appears, that the severe and increasing burden arises from the vagrants by trade, not from those on account of destitution. We state, in proof of this, and the statement is more valuable, as it points out the remedy as well as the cause of the evil, that in those few districts in which the relief has been such as only the really destitute will accept, the resort of vagrants has ceased, or been so much diminished as to become only a trifling inconvenience. But it appears vain to expect the remedy from detailed statutory provisions. The tendency of legislation respecting the poor to aggravate the evils which it was intended to cure, a tendency which we have so often remarked, is strikingly exemplified in that portion of it which respects vagrancy. The early statutes attempted to repress it by severity. "This part of our history," says Dr. Burn, "looks like the history of the savages in America.

* App. (A.) p. 894.

† App. (A.) Part I. p. 456.

‡ App. (E.)

§ App. (E.)

Almost all severities have been exercised against vagrants except scalping; and as one severity fell short, it seemed naturally to follow that a greater was necessary." But such was their effect, that every successive preamble admits the inefficiency of the former law down to the 1st and 2d Geo. IV., c. 64, which recites, "that the provisions theretofore made, and then in force, relative to the apprehending and passing of vagrants, were productive of great expense, and that great frauds and abuses were committed in the execution thereof;" and to the 5th Geo. IV., c. 83, which declares that it is expedient to make further provision for the suppression of vagrancy. Nor has the last-mentioned Act been more successful than those which preceded it. As one among many instances in which its provisions have been perverted, we will mention the effect of the 15th clause, which allows the visiting justices of prisons to grant a certificate, or other instrument, enabling any person discharged from prison to receive relief on his route to his place of settlement. The intention of the clause was to enable prisoners, after having undergone their punishment or trial, to go *from* prison to their own homes without temptation to further crime. The effect has been "for the benefit of the pass" to convey *into* prisons paupers, and families of paupers, as if the legislature intended that they and their children should have all the terrors of a prison obliterated from their minds, and receive instruction in the worst schools of vice; as if provision ought to be made to increase the stock of juvenile delinquents, already more numerous in England than in any other European country. By what foresight could the benevolent author of this clause have guarded against such an administration of the enactment as that which one of the witnesses, a gaoler, thus describes? "It is a melancholy thing that poor people are sent into prison as vagrants that they may be passed home. There is now a mother, a widow with five children, under my care; the boys are from five to fifteen years of age. The mother was committed, not for any crime, but having been found sitting in the open air. Now what, I beg to ask, can be the effect of sending these children with their mother to a gaol? What can they not learn? In general, vagrants are told that they are sent to prison, not for their punishment, but for their benefit. Prisons should not, in any case, as I humbly conceive, be held out as places where people are to be *benefited*. They are now looked upon as places of *relief*, and the large class of vagrants are told that they are sent to prison avowedly for their advantage*."

"When the law," says another witness, "was made restricting pauper passes to Scotch and Irish, very few for a time came to

* App. (A.) Part II. Ex.

Westmoreland or Cumberland; but the vagrants soon found that they might easily resume their trade by swearing they belonged to those countries; and the expense became as large as ever. When this again was checked by making the contract for a fixed sum annually, to convey all paupers with passes by cart through the country, the number of vagrants calling themselves discharged prisoners (and therefore not subject to these regulations) began to increase, and has continued to do so progressively*."

Feeling convinced that vagrancy will cease to be a burthen, if the relief given to vagrants is such as only the really destitute will accept; feeling convinced that this cannot be effected unless the system is general; and also convinced that no enactments to be executed by parochial officers will in all parishes be rigidly adhered to, unless under the influence of strict superintendence and control,—**WE RECOMMEND THAT THE CENTRAL BOARD BE EMPOWERED AND DIRECTED TO FRAME AND ENFORCE REGULATIONS AS TO THE RELIEF TO BE AFFORDED TO VAGRANTS AND DISCHARGED PRISONERS.**

We have now given a brief outline of the functions, for the due performance of which we deem a new agency, or Central Board of Control, to be requisite; and we have inserted none which the evidence would warrant us in believing attainable by any existing agency. The length of this Report precludes the statement, in further detail, of the powers and duties of the proposed board. The extent of those powers and duties must be measured by the extent and inveteracy of the existing evils, and by the failure, or worse than failure, of the measures by which their removal has been attempted. If for that purpose the powers which we have recommended are necessary, to withhold those powers is to decree the continuance of the evil. The powers with which we recommend that they should be invested are in fact the powers now exercised by 15,000 sets of annual officers. By far the majority of those officers are ignorant of their duties, influenced by their affections, interests and fears, and restrained by scarcely any real responsibility. The Commissioners would act upon the widest information, under the direct control of the legislature and the supervision of the public, and under no liability to pecuniary or private bias, partiality or intimidation. They would have the immediate advantage of having well-defined objects assigned to them, powerful means at their disposal, and clear rules for their guidance; and they would soon have the aid of varied and extensive experience; and it appears to us, that the best means of

* App. (A.) Part I. 317.

preventing their negligent or improper use of the discretion with which it appears to be necessary to invest them will be, not to restrict that discretion, but to render their interest coincident with their duty, and to let them be removable at Your Majesty's pleasure.

We entertain, however, no hope, that the complicated evils with which we have to contend, will all be eradicated by the measures which we now propose. The mischiefs which have arisen during a legislation of more than 300 years, must require the legislation of more than one Session for their correction. In order to secure the progressive improvement from which alone we hope for an ultimate cure; and in order to bring the proceedings of the Commissioners more constantly and completely within the superintendence of the executive and the legislature, we propose that the Commissioners should be charged with the duty, similar to that which we now endeavour to perform, of periodically reporting their proceedings, and suggesting any further legislation which may appear to them to be desirable.

WE RECOMMEND, THEREFORE, THAT THE BOARD BE REQUIRED TO SUBMIT A REPORT ANNUALLY, TO ONE OF YOUR MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARIES OF STATE, CONTAINING—1. AN ACCOUNT OF THEIR PROCEEDINGS; 2. ANY FURTHER AMENDMENTS WHICH THEY MAY THINK IT ADVISABLE TO SUGGEST; 3. THE EVIDENCE ON WHICH THE SUGGESTIONS ARE FOUNDED; 4. BILLS CARRYING THOSE AMENDMENTS (IF ANY) INTO EFFECT, WHICH BILLS THE BOARD SHALL BE EMPOWERED TO PREPARE WITH PROFESSIONAL ASSISTANCE.

We consider that three Commissioners might transact the business of the Central Board. The number of the Commissioners should be small, as they should habitually act with promptitude, as responsibility for efficiency should not be weakened by discredit being divided amongst a larger number, and as the Board, whenever the labour pressed too severely, might avail themselves of the aid of their Assistants. The Central Board would probably require eight or ten Assistant Commissioners, to examine the administration of relief in different districts, and aid the preparations for local changes. As the Central Board would be responsible for the performance of the duties imposed upon them by the legislature,—

WE RECOMMEND THAT THE CENTRAL BOARD BE EMPOWERED TO APPOINT AND REMOVE THEIR ASSISTANTS AND ALL THEIR SUBORDINATE OFFICERS.

We now proceed to two of the most difficult and most important of the questions submitted to us: the Laws respecting Settlement and Bastardy.

We have seen that the liability to a change of settlement by hiring and service, apprenticeship, purchasing or renting a tenement, and estate, are productive of great inconvenience and fraud; and it does not appear that those frauds and inconveniences are compensated by any advantage whatsoever. We have seen that these heads of settlement were introduced as qualifications of an arbitrary power of removal, and then indeed they were necessary. If they had not been created, the parish officers would have been empowered to confine almost every man to the place of his birth. Now that power is at an end. No man can be removed until he himself, by applying for relief, gives jurisdiction to the magistrates. The slightest evil arising from enactments, the motive for which has ceased, would be a sufficient ground for their repeal. It has been shown, however, that the evils are very great. We recommend, therefore, the immediate but prospective abolition of all these heads of settlement. For this recommendation we have the sanction of the great majority of those whose opinions we have taken. It is true that those opinions advocate most strongly the repeal of settlement by hiring and service, apprenticeship and renting a tenement, and with respect to the last, rather recommend raising the rent necessary to give a settlement from 10*l.* a year to 20*l.*, or some larger sum, than the abrogation of the law. It appears, that the witnesses are led thus to restrict their recommendations chiefly from the circumstance that these are the most common modes of settlement, and therefore those of which the evil is most apparent, and that all the grounds which exist for making a change of settlement by renting a tenement more difficult, are also grounds for making it impossible. And we believe that if these modes of settlement are destroyed, and settlement by purchase and estate are allowed to continue, we shall be holding out temptation to perjury and fraud, not only without an adequate motive on our part, if any motive could be adequate, but with no motive whatever.

WE RECOMMEND, THEREFORE, THAT SETTLEMENT BY HIRING AND SERVICE, APPRENTICESHIP, PURCHASING OR RENTING A TENEMENT, ESTATE, PAYING RATES, OR SERVING AN OFFICE, BE ABOLISHED.

There will remain parentage, birth, and marriage; with respect to parentage, however, there is this difficulty. If while the modes by which a male can lose his settlement are abolished, settlement by parentage is continued unaltered, and every male child is to acquire his father's settlement, to have no means of changing it, and to transmit it, equally unchangeable, to his children and his children's children, settlement will in time be reduced to a question of pedigree, and the expense of ascertaining it become intolerable. On the other hand, if settlement by

parentage is totally abolished, the parents and their infant children will often be settled in different parishes.

It appears to us that the best mode of meeting these difficulties is to continue settlement by parentage during that period of a child's life during which it is dependent on its parents, and to put an end to it at the age at which that dependence has so nearly ceased as to render their separation comparatively unimportant. This age may be said, in general, to commence at fifteen or sixteen years. At fifteen or sixteen a child can generally earn his own maintenance, and if his parents cannot maintain him, it cannot be advisable that he should continue a member of their family.

WE RECOMMEND, THEREFORE, THAT (SUBJECT TO THE OBVIOUS EXCEPTIONS OF PERSONS BORN IN PRISONS, HOSPITALS, AND WORK-HOUSES) THE SETTLEMENT OF EVERY LEGITIMATE CHILD BORN AFTER THE PASSING OF THE INTENDED ACT, FOLLOW THAT OF THE PARENTS OR SURVIVING PARENT OF SUCH CHILD, UNTIL SUCH CHILD SHALL ATTAIN THE AGE OF SIXTEEN YEARS, OR THE DEATH OF ITS SURVIVING PARENT; AND THAT AT THE AGE OF SIXTEEN, OR ON THE DEATH OF ITS SURVIVING PARENT, SUCH CHILD SHALL BE CONSIDERED SETTLED IN THE PLACE IN WHICH IT WAS BORN.

It will be seen that we do not recommend the introduction of settlement by residence. We are aware of the advantages of that mode of settlement; it is the most natural and the most obvious, and its adoption would often prevent inconvenience to particular parishes, from the return, in age or infirmity, of those who have left them in youth and vigour, and inconvenience to the paupers themselves, from being removed from friends and residences to which they have become attached, to places in which they have become strangers.

But these advantages, great as they are, appear to us to be over-balanced by objections still more powerful. It appears from the evidence, that the existing modes by which a settlement can be changed are productive of perjury and fraud, and that they tend to injure the employers of labour by restricting them in the choice of their servants,—the owners of property, by distributing the labouring families according to rules not depending on the demand for their services, or the fund for their support,—and above all, the labourers themselves, by depriving them of the power of selling all that they have, their labour, to the best advantage. We fear that settlement by residence would aggravate all these evils. At present, a labourer may be steadily employed for years in a place in which he is not settled, by means of successive hirings, each hiring being for less than a year. But if settlement by residence were adopted, this would be impossible. We should have the constant occurrence of one of the worst consequences of the existing law, the separation of master and man,

notwithstanding their mutual utility, and their mutual attachment, to the injury of both, but to the greater injury of the most numerous and the most helpless class,—the labourers. Again, the demolition of cottages, and the forcing the agricultural population into the towns and the parishes in which property is much divided, though we fear that they must, to a certain degree, arise under any law of settlement whatever, would be much promoted by a law which would fix on a parish every labourer who should have been allowed to reside there for any given period, unless the period were so long as to render the law almost inoperative. Another objection to settlement by residence, which has been dwelt on by many of our most intelligent witnesses, arises from its effect on the unsettled labourers. At present they are confessedly superior, both in morals and in industry, to those who are settled in the parishes in which they reside. Make that residence give a settlement, and they will fall back into the general mass. With respect to the hardship on those who may be removed, we must repeat, 1st, that a person who applies to be maintained out of the produce of the industry or frugality of others, must accept that relief on the terms which the public good requires; and 2ndly, that in the small proportion of cases in which his claim is not founded on his own indolence, or improvidence, or misconduct, the duty of rescuing him from the hardship of a removal, falls peculiarly within the province of private and uncompulsory charity; a virtue so deeply implanted by providence in human nature, that even the existing system has rather misdirected than destroyed, or even materially diminished it.

We further recommend that, instead of the present mode of first removing a pauper, and then inquiring whether the removal was lawful, the inquiry should precede the removal. We find this measure in a Bill brought into the House of Commons in 1819, and printed in the Parliamentary Papers of that year, Number 211. That Bill empowers the Justice who shall order a removal to suspend its execution, and to forward (which might be effected through the Post-Office) a copy of the examination of the pauper, and of the order of removal, to the overseers of the parish in which the pauper has been adjudged to be settled. It then enables the parties who think themselves aggrieved by the order to appeal to the quarter-sessions within twenty-eight days, and the sessions to decide on the question as if the removal had actually taken place. In the absence of appeal, the order is to be conclusive. The expediency of this measure is so obvious, that it is difficult to account for its rejection in 1819, unless we are to believe a tradition, that it was defeated by a combination of persons interested in creating litigation and expense.

It will be observed, that in our exposition of the evils arising

from the law of settlement, we have not dwelt on the expense of litigation and removals; we have passed it over slightly, not because we doubt its magnitude, but because we believe that in this, as in every other branch of the evils connected with the administration of the Poor-Laws, the pecuniary loss, great as it may be, is utterly unimportant when compared with the moral mischief. The collection, burthensome as it is, is far less ruinous than the expenditure. If twice the number of millions were annually thrown into the sea, we might still be a moral, industrious, and flourishing nation. But if the whole of our poor-rates could be raised without inconvenience; if they were paid to us, for instance, as a tribute by foreigners, and were still applied as they are now applied, no excellence in our laws and institutions in other respects could save us from ultimate ruin. And we must add, that we think it would be rash to expect, from the alterations which we have recommended in the law of settlement, much diminution of expense.

Some diminution, however, we anticipate from them, particularly with respect to litigation. The simplicity of the rule which we propose will exclude all questions of law, and in all cases reduce the question to a matter of fact; and when a general registration of births shall have been established, a measure which cannot be long delayed, the proof of the fact of birth will be much easier. We anticipate, however, a much further diminution, both of litigation and removals, from the operation of our general measures. In proportion as there is an approximation to uniformity of management, the motives on the part of paupers, to shift from a parish where there may be rigid management or "a bad parish," to a parish where there is profuse management or "a good parish," will decrease. In proportion as there is an approximation to our main object, that of rendering the condition of the able-bodied pauper less eligible on the whole than that of the independent labourer, it is proved by all experience, that the able-bodied will cease to avail themselves of any settlement whatever, whether immediate or distant.

Mr. Thomas Langley, out-door inspector of the parish of Marylebone, a witness whose evidence has already been cited, was asked, What effect regulations upon the principle last mentioned would have upon removals, and upon the general operation of the law of settlement? He answers—

"I think the law of settlement would then be of very little consequence. Where a pauper has a doubtful settlement, it is now our practice to offer him labour, or to take him into the workhouse, as an experiment. We even take families in, and we now, under all our disadvantages, get rid of three out of four of such cases. If we were under such regulations as would make a pauper's condition, whether in or out

of the workhouse, not so good as the condition of a hardworking labourer of the lowest class, the experiment being much cheaper, we should naturally resort to it more frequently. In fact, if such regulations were established, I think we should very seldom incur the expense and trouble, or the risks, of a removal in any case.

"Would the law of settlement remain then of any consequence in any case?—I do not know that it would; I cannot see that it would*."

And in order to afford further facilities to the proof of a birth settlement,—WE RECOMMEND THAT WHENEVER THERE SHALL BE ANY QUESTION REGARDING THE SETTLEMENT BY BIRTH OF A PERSON, WHETHER LEGITIMATE OR ILLEGITIMATE, AND WHETHER BORN BEFORE OR AFTER THE PASSING OF THE INTENDED ACT, THE PLACE WHERE SUCH PERSON SHALL HAVE BEEN FIRST KNOWN BY THE EVIDENCE OF SUCH PERSON, BY THE REGISTER OF HIS OR HER BIRTH OR BAPTISM OR OTHERWISE, TO HAVE EXISTED, SHALL BE PRESUMED TO HAVE BEEN THE PLACE OF HIS OR HER BIRTH, UNTIL THE CONTRARY SHALL BE PROVED.

With respect to the BASTARDY laws, the evidence shows, that, as a general rule, they increase the expense which they were intended to compensate, and offer temptations to the crime which they were intended to punish, and that their working is frequently accompanied by perjury and extortion, disgrace to the innocent, and reward to the shameless and unprincipled, and all the domestic misery and vice which are the necessary consequence of premature and ill-assorted marriage. We advise, therefore, their entire abolition.

What we propose in their room is intended to restore things, as far as it is possible, to the state in which they would have been if no such laws had ever existed; to trust to those checks, and to those checks only, which Providence has imposed on licentiousness, under the conviction that all attempts of the Legislature to increase their force, or to substitute for them artificial sanctions, have tended only to weaken or pervert them.

FIRST, with respect to the Child.—In the natural state of things, a child, until emancipated, depends on its parents. Their legal domicile, or, as it is technically called, place of settlement, is also the settlement of their offspring. And such is the existing law with respect to legitimate children. Only one of the parents of an illegitimate child can be ascertained. WE RECOMMEND THAT THE GENERAL RULE SHALL BE FOLLOWED, AS FAR AS IT IS POSSIBLE, AND THAT EVERY ILLEGITIMATE CHILD BORN AFTER THE PASSING OF THE ACT, SHALL, UNTIL IT ATTAIN THE AGE OF SIXTEEN, FOLLOW ITS MOTHER'S SETTLEMENT. The immediate effect will be to prevent a great amount of waste, suffering, and demoralization. At present an unmarried pregnant female,

* App. (A.) Part II.

though asking for no relief, is hunted from parish to parish, her feelings deadened by exposure, and her means of supporting herself and her child destroyed, and all this evil is incurred merely to save expense to the parish in which she is resident, at the much greater expense of the parish to which she is removed. We feel confident that if the woman were allowed to remain unmolested until she asked relief, she would, in many cases, by her own exertions, and the assistance of her friends, succeed in maintaining herself and her infant; but, as the law now stands, she has not power and inducement to do this. If she is settled in the parish in which her pregnancy took place, she has no inducement. The parish offers her a pension, generally equalling, often exceeding, her incumbrance, to be obtained without any additional disgrace. If she is unsettled, she has no power. However willing or anxious she may be to toil for her own and her child's subsistence, rather than to be dragged in shame to the scene of her youth, she is not allowed the choice. The officers know, that if the child is born in their parish, they are responsible for its support throughout life, and for the support of its posterity. The consequences which her removal will produce to the child, to the mother, and to her parish, are no concern of theirs. They remove her as a matter of course.

SECONDLY, with respect to the Mother.—AS A FURTHER STEP TOWARDS THE NATURAL STATE OF THINGS, WE RECOMMEND THAT THE MOTHER OF AN ILLEGITIMATE CHILD BORN AFTER THE PASSING OF THE ACT, BE REQUIRED TO SUPPORT IT, AND THAT ANY RELIEF OCCASIONED BY THE WANTS OF THE CHILD BE CONSIDERED RELIEF AFFORDED TO THE PARENT. This is now the law with respect to a widow; and an unmarried mother has voluntarily put herself into the situation of a widow: she has voluntarily become a mother, without procuring to herself and her child the assistance of a husband and a father. There can be no reason for giving to vice privileges which we deny to misfortune.

This course, or a course as nearly resembling it as the existing law will allow, has been tried, and with uniform success. "In Swallowfield, Berks," says Mr. Russell, "a few years ago we adopted the practice of paying to the mother as much only of the allowance from the father as was absolutely necessary for the immediate support of the child. The effect upon the mother was precisely what we expected and desired it to be; and, if we could have persevered in the practice, I have no doubt it would have been productive of very salutary consequences; but a question having arisen as to its legality, we were compelled reluctantly to abandon it. At present a bastard child, instead of being an incumbrance, is a source of profit to the mother*."

* App. (A.) Mr. Chadwick's Report.

In Cookham, Berks, the same plan was adopted and persevered in by Mr. Whately. The result has been, that in a population of 3337 persons, but one bastard has been christened during each of the last five years. In 1822 there were twenty-six bastards; now ten years after, notwithstanding the increase of population, there are but five*.

It appears, from Mr. Cowell's Report, that at Bingham, in Nottinghamshire; as soon as the parish adopted measures which prevented the mothers from recurring to the parish, bastardy, which had been previously prevalent, almost ceased. For the first three years there was not one illegitimate birth in the parish, except in the case of a woman who was an idiot, and for the last twelve there appears to have been only one woman who has had a second†. The same principle has been acted on, and for a longer period, with equal success, in the United States. An instructive article on the Poor Laws, in the twenty-seventh number of the American Quarterly Review, the part of which relating to America we have inserted in Appendix (F.) states, hat—

"In Boston, Baltimore, and Salem, the principle has long been acted upon, that the public will not undertake to bring up illegitimate children, without expense to the mother. The consequence is, that in 1826, but ten cases came under the notice of the public officers at Boston, and but two at Salem; while in Baltimore the public was put to no expense whatever in regard to them. In the same year, in Philadelphia, the number of bastards under the care of the guardians of the poor was two hundred and seventy-two‡."

Further evidence in favour of this plan is afforded by the conduct of those whom it would principally affect, the labouring classes themselves. Mr. Tidd Pratt, to whose evidence we have so often referred, was asked,—

"What is the course adopted by the labouring classes in their friendly societies, with regard to illegitimate children?—He answered, In female societies, which are numerous and increasing, they utterly deprive the parties of relief, and expel them. In male societies they allow no benefit on the birth of a child, unless such child is born in wedlock. In those societies which allow an annuity or other payment to a widow on the death of a member, such benefit is forfeited by her having lived apart from her husband during his lifetime, or having had an illegitimate child after his death. Their Rules are usually of the tenor of the following:

"We do also agree to and with each other, that if any widow,
 "pensioner of this society, who shall be proved to be with child,
 "or be delivered of a child, either alive or still-born, at any time
 "after she has been a widow eleven months, that then and from
 "thenceforth every such widow shall forfeit all her right and

* App. (A.) Part II.

† App. (A.) Part I. p. 649.

‡ App. (F.)

"title to the pension of ten pounds per annum, and to be for
 "ever debarred from every part thereof*."

"No benefit will be allowed for the birth or death of a child that
 "is not born in wedlock."†

"Then in all cases they utterly disallow relief to a woman who has
 "a bastard child?—Yes, both male and female societies."

In those classes of society which are above the labouring classes, the burthen of supporting an illegitimate child, in the first instance, falls of course on the mother. The labouring classes throw it upon her when they frame regulations for themselves. It appears, therefore, that the plan of exempting her has been rejected wherever there has been the power of rejecting it, and has been adopted only where one class has legislated for another.

One great advantage which will follow from giving an unmarried mother no advantage over a widow with a legitimate child, will be, that her parents will be forced, if it is necessary, to contribute to her support and to that of her infant. In a natural state of things they must do so, whether the child be legitimate or not; and when we consider that, in the vast majority of cases, the neglect or ill example, and in many cases the actual furtherance of those parents has occasioned their daughter's misconduct, it appears not only just, but most useful, that they should be answerable for it.

WE RECOMMEND THAT THE SAME LIABILITY BE EXTENDED TO HER HUSBAND. The general law of the country throws on the husband all his wife's liabilities; he is bound to pay her debts, he is answerable for her engagements, even though he may not have been aware of them, though they may have been carefully concealed from him; and there seems no reason why this peculiar liability, a liability which must almost always be notorious to him, should be excepted. We certainly consider it no objection that this will make it more difficult for a woman who has misconducted herself to obtain a husband: and we must add, that if this plan be not adopted, it will be difficult to follow out the system of giving no relief to the child independently of the mother, and of giving that relief in the workhouse.

ON THE OTHER HAND, WE RECOMMEND THE REPEAL OF THAT PART OF THE 35 GEO. III., c. 101, s. 6, WHICH MAKES AN UNMARRIED PREGNANT WOMAN REMOVABLE, AND THE 50 GEO. III. c. 51, s. 2, WHICH AUTHORIZES THE COMMITTAL OF THE MOTHER OF A CHARGEABLE BASTARD TO THE HOUSE OF CORRECTION. The first of these enactments will cease to be applicable as soon as the

* 21st Article of Agreement for regulating the Friendly Society formed at Eltham, Kent.

† 8th Article for regulating the TRIPLE FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY, Blackfriars, London.

child follows the mother's settlement. The second appears, by the evidence, to produce on the whole much more harm than good, and we object to them both as unnecessary interferences. If our previous recommendations are adopted, a bastard will be, what Providence appears to have ordained that it should be, a burthen on its mother, and, where she cannot maintain it, on her parents. The shame of the offence will not be destroyed by its being the means of income and marriage, and we trust that as soon as it has become both burthensome and disgraceful, it will become as rare as it is among those classes in this country who are above parish relief, or as it is among all classes in Ireland. If we are right in believing the penalties inflicted by nature to be sufficient, it is needless to urge further objections to any legal punishment. We may add, however, that the effect of any such punishment would probably be mischievous, not only by imposing unnecessary suffering on the offender, but by making her an object of sympathy.

THIRDLY, as to the Father.—In affirming the inefficiency of human legislation to enforce the restraints placed on licentiousness by Providence, we have implied our belief, that all punishment of the supposed father is useless. We believe that it is worse than useless. Without considering the numerous cases in which that punishment falls upon the innocent, without dwelling upon the perjury by which that injustice is accomplished, we will confine ourselves to the effect produced on the woman's mind by her power of calling for that punishment. That power is the security to which the woman looks at present; she expects that the parish will *right her*. If she is ill disposed, this adds to the force of her temptation; if she is well disposed, this removes the prop which should support her self-control. Marriage will always be preferred by the woman if she can attain it, and she ought not to be placed in circumstances in which marriage shall be most easily attainable by previous concession.

"One day," says a witness examined by Mr. Chadwick, "I went into the house of one of the people who work at the chalk quarries at Northfleet, to buy fossils, and a young woman came in for a few minutes whose appearance clearly showed approach to maternity. When she went out, I said to the woman of the house, 'Poor girl, she has been unfortunate.' She replied, 'Indeed she has, poor girl, and a virtuous, good girl she is too. The fellow has betrayed her, and gone to sea.' I said, 'She should not have trusted him till she had been at church.' To this observation the woman replied, and let me observe *her own children were all about her*, 'What could she do, poor girl? if she did not do as other girls do, she would never get a husband. Girls are often deceived, and how can they help it?'"

* App. (A.) Part II.

WE RECOMMEND THEREFORE THAT THE SECOND SECTION OF THE 18 ELIZ. CAP. 3, AND ALL OTHER ACTS WHICH PUNISH OR CHARGE THE PUTATIVE FATHER OF A BASTARD, SHALL, AS TO ALL BASTARDS BORN AFTER THE PASSING OF THE INTENDED ACT, BE REPEALED.

Cases will no doubt occur of much hardship and cruelty, and it will often be regretted that these are not punishable, at least by fine upon the offender. But the object of law is not to punish, but to prevent: and if the existing law does not prevent, as is too clear, it must not be maintained against its proper design, with a view to punishment, still less must it be maintained if it acts as an incentive. It must be remembered, too, that we do not propose to deprive either the woman or her parents of their direct means of redress: she may still bring her action for breach of promise of marriage, and her parents may still bring theirs for the loss of their daughter's service.

One objection, however, may be made to our plan, which deserves an answer in deference, not to its force, but to the religious and moral feelings in which it originates. It may be said, that throwing on the woman the expense of maintaining the child, will promote infanticide. It appears, from Mr. Walcott's Report, that infanticide, and in one of its worst forms, is promoted by the existing law; but we do not, in fact, believe that we have to choose between the two dangers: we do not believe that infanticide arises from any calculation as to expense. We believe that in no civilized country, and scarcely in any barbarous country, has such a thing ever been heard of as a mother's killing her child in order to save the expense of feeding it.

We have still to consider a subject which, though not expressly mentioned in our Commission, appears to us within its spirit, and that is,—

EMIGRATION.

Before we examine the expediency of resorting to measures for facilitating emigration, as principal or auxiliary remedies for the evils which we have described, it is necessary to consider the questions, whether there exists in any part of England a population which materially exceeds the actual demand for labour; and whether such an excess is likely to exist, after the measures which we have already recommended shall have been put in force.

After a system of administration, one of the most unquestionable effects of which is the encouragement and increase of improvident marriages among the labouring class, has prevailed in full vigour for nearly forty years, it is a remarkable proof of the

advance of the wealth of this part of the kingdom, that a question should arise as to the existence of a Surplus Population; and a mere inspection of the comparative account of the numbers of the people, especially in the Agricultural Districts, at the times of the three last enumerations, would seem to remove any doubt which may have arisen on such a question. Not only has an increase of population, which would have been heretofore deemed extraordinary in a long-settled country, taken place in the Manufacturing Counties, but the increase has been nearly as rapid in those purely Agricultural Districts from which we have received general complaints of a decrease of the Capital of the Farmer. In the County of Bedford, for instance, the increase of Population has been, in the years ending 1821, 19 per cent.; in the ten years ending 1831, 14 per cent.; in Buckinghamshire, 14 and 19 per cent.; in Northamptonshire, 15 per cent. and 10 per cent.; in Essex, after similar rates for the same periods; and in Cambridgeshire, 20 per cent., and 18 per cent*. In the communication so often referred to, Mr. Day has given the following statement:—

"Our division of petty sessions comprehends the following eleven parishes, the population of which is almost exclusively agricultural, and the censuses of which I subjoin:—

PLACE.	1801.	1811.	1821.	1831.
Buxted	1,063	1,292	1,509	1,642
Chiddingly	673	739	870	902
East Hothly	395	468	510	505
Framfield	969	1,074	1,437	1,468
Horsted	207	235	286	300
Isfield	334	464	569	581
Maresfield	960	1,117	1,439	1,650
Mayfield	1,849	2,079	2,698	2,738
Rotherfield	1,963	2,122	2,782	3,085
Uckfield	811	916	1,099	1,261
Waldron	752	840	965	997
TOTAL	9,976	11,346	14,164	15,129

Increase in 30 years 50 per cent.

Ditto in last 20 years 33 —

Ditto in last 10 years 6·8 —

"Note.—The increase in the *whole county* (exclusive of the towns of Brighton, Chichester, Hastings and Lewes), in the last 20 years, is from

* Some allowance must be made in this case for the rapid increase of the town of Cambridge.

161,577 to 204,707, or 26 + per cent. This population I apprehend to be purely agricultural. It gives an average increase of about 158 souls in each parish, the average present population being 752."

"The accuracy of the census of 1801 has been generally disputed; assuming then the census of 1811 for the purpose of my argument, we find that there are now 133 labourers to do the same work that was then done by 100. I say the same work, but I should be justified in saying less; for as the profits of agriculture have declined, and the capital of the farmer deteriorated, so has the state of tillage and the general cultivation of the land. As I consider this point of the argument to be of vital importance to a just view of the subject, I beg to explain that I mean, that the same physical force which effectuated a certain state of cultivation in 1811, (without reference to what was left undone,) would effect the same in 1831; and if that is now done by the application of a greater number of labourers, it must be by assigning less work to the share of each."

In the Answers to the Questions addressed by us to individuals in agricultural districts of the Middle, Southern and Eastern Counties, we find frequent cases stated of a great excess of labourers above the means of employment in the respective parishes. And we find the statement confirmed by the fact of multitudes of able-bodied young men wasting their time on the roads and in gravel-pits at the expense of the rate-payers, who deem it cheaper to pay them for their idleness than for their labour. The excess in some districts of labourers beyond the actual demand must be taken to be established beyond dispute.

But in the case of labour, as of commodities, the extent of the demand, as compared with the supply, will depend in some degree on the quality of the article offered. The present state of the administration of the Poor-Laws does not allow us to ascertain, in the great majority of parishes we have referred to, what the demand for labour would be, if work were sought for with energy, and performed with diligence. It is to be observed, too, that although not employed, all the population in the parishes which complain of its excess, is at any rate clothed and fed, and that the income which maintains an able-bodied pauper in idleness would, if not so expended, be applied directly or indirectly to the employment of labour. It does not necessarily follow, indeed, that the demand for labour which would arise from the saving of the farmer through the diminution of rates would be felt within the same parish or district within which the poor-rates are now expended, and we have therefore looked with some anxiety to the effect on the demand for labour in those parishes where a reform in the administration of the Poor-Laws has been effected. We have already had to state, among the most gratifying results of this reform, that the dispauperized labourers have found employment to a greater extent

than the most sanguine friend of the change could have anticipated in the parishes where they were previously relieved as paupers.

One of the parishes which we have mentioned among those in which an improved administration of the law has been introduced (Uley), was the seat of an apparently large surplus population, and of a declining manufacture. No circumstances could be conceived apparently less favourable to the absorption of surplus labour. Yet of 1000 persons who, before the introduction of the reform, were on the parish books, (out of a population of 2641,) and who are now chiefly maintained by their own exertions, few have left the parish; and this statement is supported by a list, showing the actual occupations and present means of support of all who received parish pay before the workhouse was opened*. No evidence can be more satisfactory or complete.

These results lead us to a conviction, that even in the parishes where the greatest surplus above the actual demand exists, it would be rapidly reduced and ultimately disappear, if relief were no longer granted, except in return for actual labour, and subject to the restraints of a workhouse.

But no expedient by which the reduction of the surplus labour can be accelerated, and the suffering of the labourer during the progress of the change diminished, should be disregarded; and we are of opinion, that emigration, which has been one of the most innocent palliatives of the evils of the present system, could be advantageously made available to facilitate the application of the remedies which we have already suggested.

Numerous instances are stated in our evidence, of emigration at the expense of parishes, and the results have generally been satisfactory†; we believe they have been uniformly so wherever the experiment has been made on a considerable scale. In the case of Benenden, in Kent, where the effects of emigration, unconnected with other remedies, have been carefully detailed by Mr. Law Hodges, the result has been, that the annual parochial expenditure, exclusive of the emigration expenses, has been reduced in four years by one-third; that within the same time the debt incurred on account of emigration has been nearly liquidated; that the whole expense of the poor, including the sums applied to this liquidation, has been considerably reduced from the very year the emigration commenced, while the moral condition of the labourers has been decidedly improved. But emigration has hitherto been resorted to under many discouragements

* Mr. Cowell's Rep. App. (A.) Part I. p. 619 et seq.

† Mr. Majendie's Rep. App. (A.) Part I. p. 170; Mr. Stuart (A.) Part I. p. 375; Capt. Pringle (A.) Part I. p. 320; Mr. Maclean (A.) Part I. p. 573, &c.

and difficulties. The same causes which make those who are dependent on the poor-rates listless in seeking employment at home, render them unwilling to undergo the temporary privations and inconvenience which must attend their settlement in another country. Those persons are generally most forward to emigrate who are least corrupted by the abuses of the system of relief. Those are most willing to remain a burthen to their parishes who are most thoroughly profligate and useless.

Mr. Stuart, speaking of the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, where emigration to a greater or less extent has taken place in many of the parishes, observes,—

“It is, however, vain to hope that emigration can be carried to an extent equal to effect any diminution on the expenditure on the poor, so long as the parish funds are open to all comers. It is a matter of complaint by the farmers, that emigration only carries off the industrious and well-behaved, and leaves them encumbered with the idle and profligate; and it cannot be otherwise while every one is sure of a liberal maintenance whether they are idle or industrious. Mr. Turner has taken the trouble to extract from the overseer's books the parish allowances paid to those who removed from Kettleburgh, from which it will be seen that men with seven children were in receipt of 14s. a week, and others in proportion. It is surprising that any inducement could be discovered sufficiently strong to influence any person to forego the certainty of so liberal a pension, to encounter the violent change of feelings and habits which must accompany emigration under any circumstances. It is universally known that those who are in receipt of parish relief, leagued together, for the purpose of keeping it up and augmenting it for their own benefit, or extending it to others; and as they are less scrupulous in the means they resort to, they are better able to carry through their designs of encroachment than the rate-payers are their endeavours to resist them. The progressive increase of the expenditure on the poor would seem to prove this. In such a state of things, it cannot be expected that the expenditure on paupers can be diminished by lessening the numbers of the population, unless it be carried to a greater extent than seems to be possible, so long as compulsory relief exists; the chances being, that whatever diminution of expense might take place from that cause, would be no saving to the rate-payers, as fresh candidates for relief would immediately start up. Where the parochial fund is considered as a property on which all have a claim, there is little difficulty in contriving pretences to make the claim good; and as long as the fund exists for the purposes to which it is now directed, it is not by the diminution of the numbers of the population which could be effected by emigration, that it can be brought within reasonable bounds*.”

“If chargeable paupers would go,” says Mr. Maclean, speaking of Dorking, “the parish would be willing to raise a large sum; but this class of persons naturally prefer an idle but

* App. (A.) Part I. p. 377.

certain dependence on the parish at home, to an uncertain independence abroad, to be procured by industry and good conduct*."

The following extract from Mr. Majendie's Report shows the pecuniary saving which has been effected by emigration. It is valuable, also, as showing that emigration alone is an inadequate, and must be a transient remedy. We have seen in the cases of Cookham, Swallowfield, and other parishes, that the evils of the Poor Laws disappear under the influence of the system we have recommended, notwithstanding an apparent surplus of population. We see in the evidence we are about to quote; that although the supernumerary labourers be removed by emigration, yet, in the absence of other changes, the abuses of the allowance system may continue to abound, and that the charge for the poor may be 27s. per head on a population, where no pretence of a surplus continues to exist;

EWHURST.

POPULATION.			
In 1801.	In 1811.	In 1821.	In 1831.
847	1032	1225	1200
Rates in the £.	Value.	Total Expenditure, 1832.	
11s.	$\frac{2}{3}$	1630l.	

Wages, 2s. 3d. Allowance, 1s. 6d. for third child.

"In the year ending March, 1822, the total expenditure was 3371l. The reduction of rates in the parish of Ewhurst has been effected partly by adopting money payment, but principally by emigration. Since the year 1818, 100 persons have emigrated, so that there are now no supernumerary labourers. In a parish which has incurred the expense of emigration to such an extent as to leave no more labourers than are requisite for the cultivation of the soil, in which 400 acres of hops afford employment to women and children, winter and summer, and where the rate of weekly wages is 13s. 6d., the allowance for children must be considered as compulsory, and to that must it be ascribed that rates are still 27s. per head on the population, and 11s. in the pound on a two-thirds value.

"The rector, from benevolent motives, has offered small allotments to the labourers, at a low rent: he has been able to let three acres only, and his offer of nine acres more has been rejected†."

Even in Benenden, where emigration has been so well managed, the expenditure on the poor is still above 20s. per head on the whole population. The abolition of partial relief will remove

* App. (A.) Part I. p. 574.

† Mr. Majendie's Rep., App. (A.) Part I. p. 203.

the main discouragement to emigration, while it will ascertain the extent to which emigration may be useful; it will increase the disposition to emigrate on the part of those whose emigration is to be desired. We believe, therefore, that in proportion as our other remedies are applied, there will be an increased disposition on the part of parishes to supply the means to paupers desirous of emigrating, if they be enabled by law so to do. WE RECOMMEND, THEREFORE, THAT THE VESTRY OF EACH PARISH BE EMPOWERED TO ORDER THE PAYMENT OUT OF THE RATES RAISED FOR THE RELIEF OF THE POOR, OF THE EXPENSES OF THE EMIGRATION OF ANY PERSONS HAVING SETTLEMENTS WITHIN SUCH PARISH, WHO MAY BE WILLING TO EMIGRATE; PROVIDED, THAT THE EXPENSE OF EACH EMIGRATION BE RAISED AND PAID, WITHIN A PERIOD TO BE MENTIONED IN THE ACT. We think it also would be expedient to adopt the measures for facilitating and regulating emigration contained in the Bill introduced into the House of Commons in 1831, and to be found (as amended by a Committee) in the Parliamentary Papers of that Session, (No. 358.)

It has occasionally happened that emigrants have returned to burthen the parishes at the expense of which they have been removed; and to remedy this evil, it has been proposed that every person who should, with his own consent, be removed to the Colonies at the expense of his parish, should lose his settlement. But we do not think it expedient that this proposal should be adopted. We do not believe the instances of the return of emigrants are now frequent enough to affect the profit to a parish of an emigration judiciously conducted, and we believe that the instances would be still more rare if it were known that the emigrant on his return would not be entitled to relief otherwise than in a well-managed workhouse. But the chief objection is, that to deprive the emigrant of his settlement,—while it might operate to prevent the pauper from emigrating by the threat of an imaginary forfeiture,—would only enable returned emigrants to be relieved as casual poor in any places, not excluding their own parishes, where they might be pleased to fix themselves.

We should propose rather, that the expenses which any parish shall have defrayed, or contracted to pay for the removal of any voluntary emigrant, shall, upon the return to England of the emigrant, become a debt due to the overseers for the time being, and shall be recovered by an attachment of any wages to which the debtor may become entitled, as we have before recommended in the case of other expenses incurred on account of a pauper or his family.

We forbear to enter upon a consideration of the modes in which emigration may be most beneficially conducted, because it has already formed the subject of minute inquiries by

Parliamentary Committees, and because, if the Emigration Bill which we have referred to be passed into a law, the Commission to be appointed under its provisions must soon be able to avail itself of information much more ample and detailed than we have had access to. But there is one suggestion of which we feel the value, from all the evidence we have received as to the state of feeling of the pauper emigrants. Under the influence of the system, which at once confines the labourer to a narrow neighbourhood, and relieves him from the care of providing for his subsistence, he has acquired, or retained, with the moral helplessness, some of the other peculiarities of a child. He is often disgusted to a degree which other classes scarcely conceive possible, by slight differences in diet; and is annoyed by any thing which appears to him strange and new. We believe the novelty of food and manners in the Colonies, and the longing for old associates and old associations, have concurred, with a retrospect of the ease and security of pauperism, to bring back to their parishes some of the least energetic emigrants, who, to justify themselves, spread discouraging accounts of the Colonies from which they have returned. In Mr. Stuart's Report will be found a letter from an emigrant at Montreal, who, being able to save money enough from his wages to pay his passage back, declared his intention to return to the parish in which he had been a troublesome pauper; apparently moved to that determination, as much by the want of well-tasted beer in Canada and a longing for old associations, as by the fact that he was obliged punctually to pay rent for his lodgings, instead of being provided with a cottage at the parish expense. We suggest, that to diminish distaste to the Colonies on imaginary grounds, the emigrants from particular parishes and neighbourhoods in England should be directed, as far as possible, to the same townships or districts, in which the new comers would thus find old acquaintances, and manners with which they would be familiar. We believe that this precaution would commonly lessen their aversion to a new country, and that, if any returned, their misrepresentations would be more effectually checked by the accounts continually received from their colonial neighbours.

There are some other matters connected with the objects of our inquiry, on which we do not propose the immediate adoption of any specific measures, because we should be unwilling to embarrass the progress of the remedies we deem of paramount importance by any change not necessarily connected with them. The following subjects appear to us, however, to deserve the consideration of the Legislature.

The first is the present method of rating the property chargeable with the relief of the poor. The mode of rating is now, like many other parts of the administration of the Poor-Laws, in the highest degree uncertain and capricious. "It will be seen," says one of our Assistant Commissioners, "by a reference to the Return recently made to Parliament, that in the first *ten* parishes named, viz. Abingdon, Andover, Arundel, Ashburton, Aylesbury, Banbury, Barnstaple, and the parishes of St. Michael, St. Peter and St. Paul and Walcot, in the City of Bath, *nine* different rates of assessment are now in operation, and these vary in the proportion of *one-fifth* of the rent or actual value, as assessed at Ashburton, to the full or actual value as assessed at Bath; while at Bridgnorth, a little further on in the Return, it appears that, in the seven parishes of the *same* town, five different modes of assessment are adopted*."

Nor is the fractional part of the value on which the rate is professedly made always fixed or ascertainable within each parish.

The Commissioner whom we have quoted says, "Appeals are frequently made to me (as a magistrate) upon this subject, and although it has been my duty as well as my desire to ascertain the fractional part of the real value (for we do not rate on the rack-rent) upon which the assessment *professes* to be made, in Kensington, where I reside, I have been unable to do so, because I could not find any man in the parish who could state it with accuracy; and my conviction is, that, when once the simple rule of real value is departed from, a door is opened to much partiality and much abuse*."

In the town of Southampton, according to Captain Pringle, the assessment for the poor-rates is on a valuation made 60 years since. New buildings are assessed by the guardians, and at a much higher rate; many of the old being rated at about one-third of the rack-rent, whilst the new are nearly two-thirds.

That the mode of rating should be uniform; that it should be according to the actual value, and not any alleged, much less any uncertain or variable fractional part, is too obvious to be doubted; and we may observe, that besides affording a temptation and a cover to partiality and abuse, the present system, or want of system of rating, enables parishes at their discretion to render nugatory the salutary provisions of the 58th Geo. III. c. 69, as to the manner of voting in vestries.

It would be unjust, however, to assume the actual value of rateable property to be identical with the rack-rent. The value according to which property should be rated, appears to us to be the rent which a tenant, taking upon himself the burthen of repairs, could afford to pay under a 21 years' lease.

* Mr. Codd's Rep., App. (A.) Part I. p. 50.

We have incidentally observed, in a former part of our Report, on the evils which arise from the exemption from rates enjoyed by the cottages or apartments inhabited by the poor, and of the payment of their rents by the parish. The enactment of the 59 Geo. III. c. 12, s. 19, was directed against these evils; but it has been found defective, inasmuch as it *empowers*, and does not enjoin parishes to rate the owners instead of the occupiers, and because dwellings let at a rent of less than 6*l.* a-year, or for three months, or any longer term, are exempted from the operation of this power. The remedies we have already recommended will lessen the interest of the owners of the dwellings of the poor in the mal-administration of the parochial fund; but we think that for effecting an improvement in the composition and conduct of vestries, and for securing the more full and punctual payment of the rates, it is desirable that the owner of every dwelling or apartment let to the occupier at any rent not exceeding 15*l.* for any less term than seven years, should be rated instead of the occupiers.

The Act of the 43d Geo. III. c. 47, (for consolidating the laws for the relief of the families of militia-men,) to which we have already referred, appears to us to be within the range of the inquiries which we have been directed to make, and it deserves to be reconsidered by the Legislature. It enacts in substance, that if a militia-man be called into actual service, leaving a family unable to support themselves, an allowance, after a rate not exceeding the price of one day's labour, nor less than 1*s.* per head, for the wife and each of the children under ten years of age, shall be paid, upon the order of one justice, to such family, by the overseers of the parish where they dwell.

The justices in quarter-sessions may settle the rate of allowance for such county, and the allowance so settled is binding on the individual justices. The payment made by the overseers of the place where the family dwell, to be reimbursed by other parishes and places in a manner immaterial to our purpose.

These payments are open to many of the objections to the "allowance system." They are made not in reward of the services of the father, or in proportion to those services, but in proportion to the assumed necessity of the family, and this necessity is assumed to be in proportion to their numbers; for although, perhaps, the words of the Act would authorize a justice to refuse to make an order, where the mother was manifestly able to maintain all her children, yet it is clear that, if he give anything, the magistrate must give the full allowance for all the members of the family; and we believe the Act is commonly construed (as without violence it may be) as not even leaving the justice satisfied of the fact of marriage, and the number and age of family, any discretion to withhold the allowance. We have

already stated that this Act, or rather the Acts which it consolidates and amends, largely contributed, in many parts of the kingdom, to familiarize both magistrates and parish officers with the allowance system, and it diminished the shame of applications for parochial assistance, because it exhibited, as receivers of relief by the hands of the overseers, numerous families to whom no moral blame could be justly attributed. We feel great difficulty, however, in proposing the abolition of the provisions in question, depending as it does on the method established by law of recruiting for the militia by lot. It is not within the province of our commission to pronounce an opinion on this mode of recruiting; but whatever may be its advantages, we may be permitted to state our belief, that it has tended—it must tend when it is no longer dormant—to discourage the course of steady industry, and to increase the excuses for improvidence. It adds a factitious chance of ruin to those inevitable accidents of health and fortune which make the reward of steady industry in some degree precarious, and must render the strict administration of the poor-laws more difficult, by multiplying the cases of blameless destitution.

Closely connected with the relief provided by the Poor-Laws is the relief provided by charitable foundations. As to the administration and effect of those charities which are distributed among the classes who are also receivers of the poor-rate, much evidence is scattered throughout our Appendix, and it has forced on us the conviction that, as now administered, such charities are often wasted, and often mischievous. In many instances being distributed on the same principle as the rates of the worst managed parishes, they are only less pernicious than the abuse in the application of the poor-rates, because they are visibly limited in amount. In some cases they have a quality of evil peculiar to themselves. The majority of them are distributed among the poor inhabitants of particular parishes or towns. The places intended to be favoured by large charities attract, therefore, an undue proportion of the poorer classes, who, in the hope of trifling benefits to be obtained without labour, often linger on in spots most unfavourable to the exercise of their industry. Poverty is thus not only collected, but created, in the very neighbourhood whence the benevolent founders have manifestly expected to make it disappear.

These charities, in the districts where they abound, may interfere with the efficacy of the measures we have recommended, and on this ground, though aware that we should not be justified in offering any specific recommendation with respect to them, we beg to suggest that they call for the attention of the Legislature.

WE have now recommended to YOUR MAJESTY the measures by which we hope that the enormous evils resulting from the present mal-administration of the Poor-Laws may be gradually remedied. It will be observed, that the measures which we have suggested are intended to produce rather negative than positive effects; rather to remove the debasing influences to which a large portion of the Labouring Population is now subject, than to afford new means of prosperity and virtue. We are perfectly aware, that for the general diffusion of right principles and habits we are to look, not so much to any economic arrangements and regulations as to the influence of a moral and religious education; and important evidence on the subject will be found throughout our Appendix. But one great advantage of any measure which shall remove or diminish the evils of the present system, is, that it will in the same degree remove the obstacles which now impede the progress of instruction, and intercept its results; and will afford a freer scope to the operation of every instrument which may be employed for elevating the intellectual and moral condition of the poorer classes. We believe, that if the funds now destined to the purposes of education, many of which are applied in a manner unsuited to the present wants of society, were wisely and economically employed, they would be sufficient to give all the assistance which can be prudently afforded by the State. As the subject is not within our Commission, we will not dwell on it further, and we have ventured on these few remarks only for the purpose of recording our conviction, that as soon as a good administration of the Poor-Laws shall have rendered further improvement possible, the most important duty of the Legislature is to take measures to promote the religious and moral education of the labouring classes.

All which We humbly Certify to YOUR MAJESTY.

C. J. LONDON.	(L. S.)
J. B. CHESTER.	(L. S.)
W. STURGES BOURNE.	(L. S.)
NASSAU W. SENIOR.	(L. S.)
HENRY BISHOP.	(L. S.)
HENRY GAWLER.	(L. S.)
W. COULSON.	(L. S.)
JAMES TRAILL.	(L. S.)
EDWIN CHADWICK.	(L. S.)

Whitehall Yard,
20th February, 1834.

SUPPLEMENT,

&c. &c.

SUPPLEMENT, No. 1.

We have adverted in the Report to Appendix (B.) containing the Answers to our circulated Queries, as the most valuable portion of our evidence. Its great length must, however, render it inaccessible to many of those into whose hands the Report is likely to come. We have deemed it advisable, therefore, to extract a portion, and append it as a Supplement.

For this purpose we first selected, as the most important points, the Population and Relief per Head in each parish, and the Answers to the nine following questions:—

Question 4.—Number of labourers sufficient for the proper cultivation of the land?

Question 5.—Number of agricultural labourers?

Question 7.—How many nonparishioners, distinguishing Scotch and Irish?

Question 24.—Have you any, and how many, able-bodied labourers in the employment of individuals receiving allowance or regular relief from your parish on their own account, or on that of their families; and if on account of their families, at what number of children does it begin?

Question 25.—Is relief or allowance given according to any and what scale?

Question 29.—Is there any and what difference between the wages paid by the employer to the married and unmarried, when employed by individuals?

Question 37.—Is the industry of the labourers in your neighbourhood supposed to be increasing or diminishing; that is, are your labourers supposed to be better or worse workmen than they formerly were?

Question 38.—Do the labourers in your neighbourhood change their services more frequently than formerly? and how do you account for that circumstance?

Question 53.—Can you give the Commissioners any information respecting the causes and consequences of the agricultural riots and burnings of 1830 and 1831?

We then extracted the Answers to these Questions from the first seven counties of England, taken alphabetically, that is to say, Bedfordshire, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Cambridgeshire, Cheshire, Cornwall, and Cumberland. We might have made a selection which would have given much more striking results; but we think that a fairer estimate of the general bearings of the evidence may be made by the mode which we have adopted, than if we had picked out and contrasted the very best and the very worst examples. The counties which we have taken comprise each extremity of England, and some of its central districts. Some are maritime, others inland: some thickly and others thinly peopled. Some contain mining, others manufacturing, and others only agricultural districts. In some the management of the poor is bad, in others excellent. We believe, in short, that a fairer average of the whole country cannot be taken. To reduce the extent of this Supplement, we have omitted the returns from the parishes mentioned in the note.* On referring to them, as printed at length in Appendix (B.) it will be seen that they afford no material information with respect to the selected Questions.

Questions 24 and 25.

Of the 14 parishes in the county of Bedford which reply to the Questions "Have you any, and how many, able-bodied labourers in the employment of individuals receiving allowance or regular relief from your parish on their own account, or on that of their families; and if on account of their families, at what number of children does it begin?" and "Is relief or allowance given according to any, and what scale?" allowance is refused in 4^a, scarcely exists in 1^b, begins with the fifth child in 1^c, with the fourth child in 1^d, with the third child in 4^e, "whenever the family is large" in 1^f, "cases of allowance for large families are so various that no specific answer

* BEDFORDSHIRE:—Cardington.

BERKSHIRE:—Padworth, Sunningwell.

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE:—Datchet, Fingest, Hambleden, Hedsor, Horton, Istone, Iver, Langley Marish, Marsh Gibbon, Great Marlow, Little Marlow, Medmenham, Stoke Pogis, Whitechurch.

CAMBRIDGESHIRE:—Cherry Hinton, Comberton, Doddington, Duxford, Fulbourn, Little Gransden, Harston, Isleham, Newton, Orwell, Sawston, Tyd St. Giles, Wisbech St. Mary, Wisbech St. Peter.

CHESTER:—Dutton, Landican, Little Leigh, Leighton.

CORNWALL:—Cardynham, St. Enoder, St. Ewe, Morval, Ruan Major.

CUMBERLAND:—Belbank, Culgaith, Greystoke, Melmerby, Skirwith.

^a Caddington, Maulden, Northill, Southill-cum-Warden.

^c Cople. ^d Sharnbrook.

^e Bromham, Kempston, Lidlington, Puddington.

^b Willington.

^f Turvey.

can be given" in 1^a, and allowance begins with the first child, whether the man be in employment or not, in 1^b.

Of the 28 parishes in the county of Berks, allowance is not granted in 7^c, in one of which (Winkfield) occasional relief is sometimes given when there are more than five children; in 2 others^d there is no stated allowance, but relief is given to large families; it begins with the sixth child, according to earnings, in 1^e; with the fifth child in 1^f, and is increased if bread is dearer; with the fourth child in 6^g; with the third or fourth child, according to the price of the gallon loaf, in 1^h; with the third child in 5ⁱ; with the second child in 1^k; and according to a rule, if any, not stated, when the family is large, in 3^l. In almost all these cases it is regulated by the price of bread.

Of the 21 parishes in the county of Bucks, allowance is not granted in 2^m; given at "times," "in winter," in 2ⁿ; begins with the fifth child in 1^o; "seldom under five" in 1^p; begins with the fourth child in 4^q; with the third in 1^r; all the children whom the labourer cannot maintain are taken into the poor-house in 1^s; and in the 8 remaining, allowance is given according to rules which the answers do not clearly indicate.

Of the 29 parishes in the county of Cambridge, regular allowance is not given in 8^t, in one of which (Wimpole) the labourers are employed by an agreement of the nature of a labour rate; it begins with the sixth child in 1^u; with the fourth child in 4^v; in winter, sometimes with the third, in 1^x; in 1^y, in the case of large families, "the children are sent to school and allowed 1s. each;" and in another^z, "they are sent to the gravel-pit and allowed from 1s. 6d. to 2s. a week in idleness;" and in the remaining 13 it is given generally when the family is large, or the children unemployed, or the wages earned are insufficient to purchase a definite quantity of flour per head.

Of the 13 townships in the county of Chester, allowance is re-

^a Meppershall.

^b Westoning.

^c Burghfield, Cookham, Great Faringdon, Hurley, Shottesbrook, White Waltham, Winkfield.

^d Binfield, Bray.

^e Upton Noret.

^f Wargrave.

^g Boxford, Bradfield, Kintbury, Long Wittenham, Milton, Shrivenham.

^h Wasing.

ⁱ Drayton, East Hondred, Lambourne, Letcombe Regis, Sutton Wick.

^k St. Mary, Reading.

^l Coleshill, Thatcham, Uffington.

^m Denham, Taplow.

ⁿ Farnham-Royal, Upton-cum-Chalvey.

^o Amersham.

^p Chenies.

^q Beaconsfield, Bledlow, Great Missenden, Turville.

^r Oving.

^s Leckhampstead.

^t Bassingbourne, Foxton, Melbourn, Over, Papworth St. Agnes, Royston, Wimpole, Wisbech.

^u Sutton.

^v Histon, Linton, Littleport, Thorney Abbey.

^z Chatteris.

^y Meldreth.

^z Little Shelford.

fused in 10^a; house-rent only is paid in 1^b; allowance has been given with the third child in 1^c; "relief is given on account of families," but by no regular scale, in 1^d.

Of the 25 parishes in the county of Cornwall, allowance is not granted in 15^e; house-rent is paid where there are more than four children in 1^f; assistance is given where there are more than four children under 10, and they apply to the parish, in 4^g; with the fourth child in 4^h; and with the third, occasionally, in 1ⁱ.

Of the 42 parishes in the county of Cumberland, in 27 allowance to the able-bodied is unknown^k; in 1^l "the allowance on account of families varies from 2*l.* 10*s.* to 5*l.*;" it is given sometimes and begins with the second or third child in 1^m; one shilling is sometimes given for each child under nine years of age in 1ⁿ; rent has been paid or occasional relief given, on account of large families, in 9^o; "it depends on father's earnings^p in 1;" several receive "small allowances" in 1^q; and in 1, (Bewcastle, population 1336) three able-bodied labourers, with families, receive constant relief.

Question 29.

That the married men, even when employed by individuals, are generally or frequently better paid than the single, is admitted,—

In Bedfordshire, by 9 parishes^r out of 15.

In Berks, by 14^s out of 28.

In Bucks, by 11^t out of 21.

^a Audlem, Childer Thornton, Eastham, Hooton, Leftwich, Overpool, Great Sutton, Little Sutton, Thelwall, Whitby.

^b Bostock.

^c Handforth-cum-Bosden.

^d Rostherne.

^e St. Agnes, St. Antony in the East, Botusfleming, Buryan Deanery, Calstock, St. Gluvias, Gwennap, Kca, Landewednack, West Looe, Mawnan, Penzance, Roche, St. Stephen by Saltash, St. Winnow.

^f St. Merryn.

^g Falmouth, Newlyn, Northhill, Talland.

^h St. Columb Minor, St. Kew, Lanreath, South Petherwin.

ⁱ St. Ive.

^k Aikton, Borrowdaile, Brampton, Caldbeck, Cumrew, Dacre, Edenhall, Farlam, Gamblesby, Glassonby, Holme Cultram, Hunsonby, and Winskill, Hutton in the Forest, Irton, Kirkandrews-upon-Esk, Kirkandrews-upon-Eden, Kirkland, Kirkoswald, Loweswater, Nicholforest, Plumbland, Ponsonby, Little Salkeld Stafford, Walton, Waterhead, Waverton.

^l Hayton.

^m Burtholme.

ⁿ Nether Denton.

^o Alston, Arthuret, Hesket, Langwathby, Wetheral, Wigton, Bootle, Great Salkeld, Renwick.

^p Bowness.

^q Ainstable.

^r Bromham, Cople, Liddington, Maulden, Puddington, Sharnbrook, Southill-cum-Warden, Westoning, Willington.

^s Boxford, Bradfield, Burghfield, Drayton, Great Faringdon, East Hendred, Lambourne, Letcombe Regis, Long Wittenham, Milton, St. Mary Reading, Sutton Wick, Uffington, Wasing.

^t Adstock, Bledlow, Steeple Claydon, Denham, Leekhampstead, Oving, Sherrington, Thornton, Turville, Upton, Woolston.

In Cambridgeshire, by 14^a out of 28.

In Chester, by none.

In Cornwall, by 3^b out of 25.

In Cumberland, by 3^c out of 41; and in one of these, (Hesket,) the ground assigned is totally unconnected with the administration of the Poor Laws.

We will now take the 37th Question.

Question 37.

"Is the industry of the labourers in your neighbourhood supposed to be increasing or diminishing; that is, are your labourers supposed to be better or worse workmen than they formerly were?"

In Bedfordshire, out of 14 parishes which answer the question, 1^d states the industry of the labourers to be increasing, owing to gardens having been let to them; 5^e that it is much the same, or not diminishing; and 8^f that it is diminishing.

In Berks, out of the 28 which answer, 2, Cookham and Faringdon, in each of which an amendment in the administration of the Poor Laws has taken place, state that the industry of the labourers is increasing: 7^g say, "much the same, not diminishing, or as good as formerly;" or, "not increasing:" 18^h, "diminishing," or, "worse workmen." In 1 parishⁱ, of three respondents two say, "much the same as for many years past," and one says, "diminishing."

In Bucks, of the 21 parishes which answer, 1^k says, "rather increasing;" 4^l, "no great difference;" "they work as well;" "they are industrious while at work, but less careful of their earnings, owing to their dependence on relief;" "they know how to work as well, but are more artful:" in 2 parishes^m, of two respondents, one says, "much the same," the other, "worse;" and 14ⁿ, "industry diminishing," or, "worse workmen."

^a Bassingbourne, Bottisham, Bourne, Foulmire, Fordham, Foxton, Histon, Melbourn, Meldreth, Over, Royston, Great Shelford, Little Shelford, Wimpole.

^b Botusfleming, Northhill, St. Winnow.

^c Hesket, Kirkoswald, Stafffield.

^d Turvey.

^e Bromham, Caddington, Meppershall, Southill-cum-Warden, Willington.

^f Blunham, Cople, Kempston, Liddington, Maulden, Puddington, Sharnbrook, Westoning.

^g Boxford, Uffington, Ufton, White Waltham, Thatcham, Wasing, Winkfield.

^h Binfield, Bradfield, Bray, Burghfield, Coleshill, Drayton, East Hendred, Hurley, Kintbury, Lambourne, Letcombe Regis, Long Wittenham, Milton, Shottesbrook, St. Mary Reading, Speen, Sutton, Wick, Wargrave.

ⁱ Shrivenham.

^k Farnham Royal.

^l Burnham, Denham, Beaconsfield, Upton.

^m Taplow and Great Missenden.

ⁿ Adstock, Amersham, Bledlow, Chenies, Cholesbury, Steeple Claydon, Fawley, Leekhampstead, Oving, Sherrington, Thornton, Turville, Wexham, Woolston.

In Cambridge, out of the 27 parishes that answer the question, 5^a say that the labourers are "much the same;" that "there is no difference;" "not much difference;" "no material change;" "no reason to complain:" 1^b, "less industrious in winter, in summer no material difference:" 1^c says, "the labourers are generally as good as formerly, except those deteriorated by the operation of the Poor Laws:" 1^d, "that their industry is not increasing:" 1^e, "farmers sometimes complain of diminishing industry, but are unable to substantiate their complaints; I imagine that the labourer works more unwillingly, but not less skilfully, and, as might be expected, feels less interest in his employer:" 2^f state that industry is diminished in part, but not generally; and 16^g, that it is diminished, or that the labourers are worse workmen.

In Cheshire, out of 13 parishes, only 1^h states that the industry of the labourers has diminished: 6 give in fact no answer, and 6 give an answer which states or implies that the answerer is not aware of any difference having taken place.

In Cornwall, out of 26 parishes, 7ⁱ state that the industry of the labourers is increased, or that they are better workmen: 2^k, that those who occupy cottages, with a portion of land attached, are very industrious, or most industrious: 1^l says "the greater part are very industrious:" 1^m, "the labourers that have small families and good masters are as industrious as ever; the opposite class have lost their independence:" 2ⁿ, the same as ever they were: 2^o, not materially diminished: 1^p, industry diminished, but they have more knowledge, and are better workmen: 9^q, industry diminished, or worse workmen: 1^r labourers less able-bodied.

Of the 42 parishes in Cumberland, 21^s state that the industry of the labourers is increasing, or that they are better workmen; 4^t say

^a Bourne, Stetchworth, Sutton Thorney Abbey, Upwell. ^b Holy Trinity (I. of Ely.)

^c Linton. ^d Little Shelford.

^e Papworth St. Agnes.

^f Trumpington, Waterbeach.

^g Bassingbourne, Bottisham, Chatteris, Foulmire, Fordham, Foxton, Histon, Littleport, Melbourn, Meldreth, Over, Royston, Great Shelford, Wimpington, Wimpole, Wisbech.

^h Thelwall.

ⁱ Buryan, Falmouth, Gwennap, St. Merryn, Newlyn East, Northhill, Penzance.

^k St. Agnes, Calstock.

^l St. Columb Minor.

^m Botusfleming.

ⁿ Landewednack, St. Stephen by Saltash.

^o St. Gluvias, Mawnan.

^p St. Winnow.

^q St. Ive, Kea, St. Kew, Lanreath, Westlooe, South Petherwin, Roche, Talland.

^r St. Antony in the East.

^s Alston, Arthuret, Bootle, Bowness, Burtholme, Caldbeck, Dacre, Nether Denton, Gamblesby, Glassonby, Holme Cultram, Hunsonby and Winskill, Kirkandrews-upon-Esk, Loweswater, Ponsonby, Great Salkeld, Little Salkeld, Walton, Waverton, Waterhead, Wetheral.

^t Borrowdaile, Brampton, Hayton, Staffield.

that they are as industrious or as good workmen as formerly; 11^a say there is little or no alteration, that they are much the same; 1^b that they are less toilsome; 1^c that their industry is not improved; 1^d that they are better ploughmen, but worse as mowers and reapers; 1^e that "they wish to be employed; but as the farmers often cannot employ them in winter, some try smuggling and poaching;" and 2 do not answer the question.

Question 38.

The principal object of the 38th question, "Do the labourers change their services more frequently in your neighbourhood than formerly? and how do you account for that circumstance?" was to ascertain whether the fear of a settlement by hiring and service being obtained, occasions a more frequent change of service among the labourers. The answers afford much information, not only on that point, but on the general tendency of Poor Law mal-administration, to weaken or dissolve the connexion between the labourer and his employer.

Of the 14 parishes in Bedfordshire that answer the question, 5^f do not admit that there is any difference; 5^g state that there is less hiring, from the fear of making settlements; 1^h that there is frequent change, in consequence of restlessness and dissatisfaction; 2ⁱ that change is more frequent, in consequence of the idleness and ill-conduct resulting from superfluous labourers; and 1^k that they change more frequently, in consequence partly of the farmer's alleged inability to employ labourers for a continuance, and partly from the labourers causing themselves to be discharged and thrown on the parish.

Of the 28 parishes in Berks, 10^l do not admit that there is much difference; 8^m state that they do change more frequently, or that there is less hiring, from the fear of making settlements; 1ⁿ says, "the fear of making parishioners causes frequent changes; also the unsteadiness of farm servants;" 1^o says, "the young and unmarried change more frequently, partly from the fear of making settlements, and frequently from caprice; but the older married farming servants, whose settlements are in the same parish, do not change

^a Aikton, Cumrew, Edenhall, Farlam, Hutton, Kirkandrews-upon-Eden, Kirkoswald, Langwathby, Nicholforest, Renwick, Wigton.

^b Kirkland.

^c Hesketh.

^d Irtton.

^e Bewcastle.

^f Bromham, Caddington, Northill, Sharnbrook, Southill.

^g Cople, Maulden, Meppershall, Willington, Turvey.

^h Blunham.

ⁱ Lidlington, Puddington.

^k Westoning.

^l Boxford, Bradfield, Burghfiel, Cookham, East Hendred, Kintbury, Shottesbrook, St. Mary Reading, Thatcham, Wasing.

^m Coleshill, Great Faringdon, Hurley, Shrivenham, Speen, Sutton Wick, Upton Nervet, White Waltham.

ⁿ Winkfield.

^o Letcombe Regis.

oftener than formerly;" 2^a say that they change more frequently, partly from the fear of making settlements, and partly from the farmers not receiving the labourers into their houses. In 1 instance^b, of three respondents, two say that they change more frequently from the fear of making settlements; and 1 says, that "they do not change more frequently; good labourers seldom want good employment." In 1 parish^c, of two respondents, one says they change more frequently, owing to "the settlement law, lower wages, dissatisfaction of the labourer, and deterioration of character;" the other, because "the certain provision under the Poor Laws has generated a spirit of independence which renders them indifferent to please their employers." 1 return^d says that they change more frequently, because there is less reluctance to come upon the parish; 1^e that it is owing to a restlessness of disposition and love of change; 1^f because they are worse servants than formerly, and the masters seek amendment by change; 1^g says, "Certainly; causes, less attachment between master and servant; more unsettled habits in the servant; indifference to regular service; looking to parish relief: on the master's side, less interest in the services of any particular labourer, as their places are easily supplied; less inclination to indulge them."

Of the 21 parishes in Bucks, 5^h do not admit that there is any difference. Of 15 that state that the labourers do change their services more frequently, 2ⁱ say that it arises from the fear of making settlements; 3^k, partly from the fear of making settlements, and partly from their having the parish to apply to, or not boarding in the farmer's house; 3^l, from the farmers' being unable to give the same regular employment, from dissatisfaction on account of low wages, or from a superabundance of labourers; 2^m, because the farmers generally hire labourers to board themselves; 1ⁿ, because they know the parish gives them as much for doing nothing as they get for working hard; 1^o, from a love of change; 3^p, from various causes—such as, their having the parish to apply to, insubordination, dissolute habits, the injurious effects of the present Poor Laws. In 1 parish^q, of two respondents, one says they change more frequently because they are "not so good labourers;" the other says, "one-third of the labourers are in the habit of remaining with the same master; but the majority are distributed among employers by a vestry arrangement."

Of the 27 parishes in the county of Cambridge that answer the question, 11^r do not admit that there is any material difference: of

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|---|---|-------------------------------|
| ^a Long Wittenham, Uffington. | ^b Wargrave. | ^c Milton |
| Binfield. | ^e Bray. | ^f Drayton. |
| ^h Amersham, Burnham, Cholesbury, Leckhampstead, Thornton. | ^g Lambourne. | |
| ⁱ Fawley, Upton. | ^k Bledlow, Farnham Royal, Sherrington. | |
| ^l Beaconsfield, Oving, Turville. | ^m Chenies, Denham. | ⁿ Steeple Claydon. |
| ^o Wexham. | ^p Great Missenden, Taplow, Woolston. | ^q Adstock. |
| ^r Bassingbourne, Bottisham, Histon, Linton, Melbourn, Meldreth, Stetchworth, Thorney Abbey, Wimblington, Sutton, Upwell. | | |

15 who say that the labourers do change their services more frequently, 2^a say that it arises from the fear of making settlements, and 1^b says, that "the labourers are hired by the week;" 7^c, that it arises from the certainty of parish relief, and from the absence of good feeling between master and servant; 1^d, from want of means to employ them; 1^e, because a man with a large family cannot maintain them, and applies for relief; 1^f, because the Poor Laws make them independent of their masters; 1^g, that it is owing to the increase of population, aggravated by the Poor Laws; 1^h, "owing to the pride of their employers." 1ⁱ says, "The best labourers do not change more frequently; but some will not keep employment when they might."

Of the 11 townships of Cheshire that answer the question, 7^k do not admit that there is any difference. Of 4 that say they do change more frequently, 3^l say it arises from an increase of labourers; 1^m, from the advanced wages given at the salt works.

Of the 22 parishes in Cornwall that answer the question, 13ⁿ do not admit that there is any difference. Of 9 that say the labourers do change more frequently, 2^o ascribe it to the fear of making settlements, and 1^p says they are generally hired by the day; 1^q says it may be owing to "decreasing simplicity of manners, to a greater facility of moving over the country, to the relaxation of the ties between master and servant, and to the increased number of persons seeking service;" 1^r attributes it to "the increase of general knowledge, and the advancing state of communication;" 1^s says it is owing to the reduction of wages; 1^t, to a growing indisposition to restraint; 1^u says it is "partly owing to the more frequent change of occupiers;" and 1^v simply states the fact, without assigning any reason.

Of the 42 parishes in Cumberland, only 4 admit that the labourers change their service more frequently. These are Ainstable, Hesket, Plumland, and Wigton. Of these, Plumland attributes the circumstance to the discontinuance of hiring for a year: the 3 others, to a variation in the demand for labour.

The general result is: that of 92 parishes comprised in the first 4 counties, allowance is given in 70, and refused in 22; and that of

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|---|--------------------------------|
| ^a Papworth, Wimpole. | ^b Little Shelford. |
| ^c Chatteris, Foulmire, St. Mary (Isle of Ely), Over, Great Shelford, Trumpington, Holy Trinity (Isle of Ely). | ^d Bourne. |
| ^e Royston. | ^f Waterbeach. |
| ^g Bostock, Childer Thornton, Eastham, Hooton, Rostherne, Whitby, Thelwall. | ^h Wisbech. |
| ⁱ Overpool, Great Sutton, Little Sutton. | |
| ^j Leftwich. | |
| ^k Botusfleming, Calstock, St. Gluvias, Gwennap, St. Ive, Kea, St. Kew, Landewednack, Lanreath, Newlyn East, Northhill, Penzance, St. Stephen by Saltash. | |
| ^l St. Merryn, Roche. | ^m St. Agnes. |
| ⁿ St. Winnow. | ^o St. Columb Minor. |
| ^p South Petherwin. | ^q Tolland. |

the 80 parishes comprised in the 3 last counties, allowance is given in 28, and refused in 52.

That in 92 parishes in the 4 first counties, the married, even when working for individuals, are better paid in 49, and paid equally with the unmarried only in 43; and that in 71 parishes in the 3 last counties, the married are better paid only in 6, and paid equally with the unmarried in 65.

That in the 4 first counties, out of 81 parishes which distinctly answer the question, there are 4 in which the industry of the labourers is increasing; 21 in which it is stationary; and 56 in which it is diminishing. And that in the 3 last counties, out of 68 parishes that answer the question, there are 28 in which it is increasing; 27 in which it is stationary; and only 13 in which it is diminishing; and of these 13 cases, 10 are in Cornwall, the county which appears more infected both with the system of allowance, and with that of making a distinction between the wages of the married and unmarried, than either Cheshire or Cumberland.

It appears also that, out of 88 parishes in the 4 first counties that reply to the question, "Do the labourers change their service more frequently?" 31 reply that they do not, and 57 that they do. Out of 75 parishes in the 3 last counties, 58 reply that they do not, and 17 that they do; and, of these 17, 9 are from Cornwall.

Questions 4 and 5.

It appears from the Answers to Questions 4 and 5, "Number of labourers sufficient for cultivation?" "Number of labourers in your parish?" that, according to the ideas of the respondents on the subject, there is a considerable surplus population in those counties in which the Poor Laws have been the worst administered; while, on the other hand, in those to which that mal-administration has not in any great degree extended, there appears (we might almost say) a corresponding deficiency.

In Bedfordshire, out of the 9^a parishes that have answered the two queries with sufficient precision to be made use of in the induction, the surplus is 126 out of a population of 863, or 1 in 6.

In Berks, out of the 6^b parishes that have so answered, the surplus is 68, out of a population of 836, or 1 in 12.

In Bucks, out of the 3^c answering the question, it is 1 in 2, or 85 out of a population of 193.

In Cambridgeshire, out of the 17^d answering, it is 450 out of a population of 2,643, or 1 in 5.

^a Bromham, Cardington, Cople, Liddington, Puddington, Sharnbrook, Turvey, Westoning, Willington.

^b Bradfield, Great Faringdon, Shottesbrook, Thatcham, Wargrave, Wasing.

^c Adstock, Chenies, Cholesbury.

^d St. Andrew the Less (Cambridge), Bottisham, Bourne, Chatteris, Cherryhinton, Foulmire, Fulbourn, Histon, Littleport, St. Mary (Isle of Ely), Melbourn, Meldreth, Orwell, Royston, Sawston, Little Shelford, Sutton.

In Cheshire, out of the 4^a parishes that answer, there appears, by the same sort of induction, a surplus of 18 out of a population of 216, or 1 in 12.

In Cornwall, out of the 7^b parishes answering, there is a deficiency of 44, out of a population of 614, or 1 in 13.

In Cumberland the deficiency, from an average of the 11^c parishes answering the Questions, is 318 out of a population of 830, or nearly 1 in 2.

A similar result is obtained by extending the investigation over all the counties. Thus, taking the two counties of Sussex and Hereford as affording examples of a *comparatively* bad and good administration of the Poor Laws: In Sussex, out of 9 parishes, taking the alphabetical order from the beginning, we find a surplus of 206 out of a population of 1,579, or 1 in 7; while in Hereford, from the same *data* similarly assumed, we have a deficiency of 198 out of a population of 1,160, or 1 in 5.

Question 53.

To the 53d Question, "Can you give the Commissioners any information respecting the causes and consequences of the agricultural riots and burnings of 1830 and 1831?"—

Of the 15 parishes in Bedfordshire, 3^d give no answer; 3^e attribute the riots and fires to distress, and want of regular employment; 2^f to private enmity, or political feeling; and the remaining 7 attribute them directly to Poor Law administration; generally to the refusal of the amount of relief demanded by the paupers.

Of the 23 parishes in Berkshire which answer the Question, 8^g attribute the riots and burnings to political excitement, beer shops, or imitation; 7^h to distress; and the remaining 8 to mal-administration of the Poor Laws.

Of the 21 parishes in Bucks, 2ⁱ ascribe the riots and fires to distress; 1^k to dislike of machinery; 2^l to beer shops; 6^m to causes connected with the administration of the Poor Laws; and the remaining 10 afford no material information.

^a Audlem (township), Dutton, Leftwich, Little Leigh.

^b St. Agnes, St. Enoder, St. Ive, Kea, St. Kew, Lanreath, South Petherwin.

^c Caldbeck, Nether Denton, Farlem, Greystoke, Hutton in the Forest, Kirk-andrews-upon-Eden, Kirk-andrews-upon-Esk, Loweswater (township), Ponsby, Great Salkeld, Wetheral.

^d Northill, Puddington, Turvey.

^e Cople, Maulden, Meppershall.

^f Bromham, Caddington.

^g Kintbury, Lambourn, Speen, Sutton Wick, Thatcham, Uffington, Upton, Wargrave.

^h Coleshill, Farringdon, Letcombe, Milton, Shottesbrook, Shrivenham, St. Mary Reading.

ⁱ Adstock, Turville.

^k Oving.

^l Great Missenden, Taplow.

^m Bledlow, Steeple Claydon, Leckhampstead, Sherrington, Thornton, Upton,

Of the 29 parishes in the county of Cambridge, 10^a afford no material information; 7^b attribute the riots and burnings to distress, lowness of wages, and want of regular employment; and the remaining 12 attribute them to the mal-administration of the Poor Laws.

In Cheshire, Rostherne, the only township that affords any information, says, "Such as have occurred in this part of the county, have been caused by private malice." The others either do not answer the question at all, or say they have had no riots or burnings.

In Cornwall, not one of the 25 parishes admits the existence of any riots or burnings in its neighbourhood. Those which attempt to account for their having occurred in other places, attribute them, apparently at hazard, to beer shops, want, surplus labour, the belief that the authority of the law was at an end, the allowance system, tithes, threshing machines, or political feeling.

Of the 42 parishes in Cumberland, not one appears to have been the scene of any riots or burnings: 2^c ascribe those which took place elsewhere to inflammatory speeches and writings; 1^d to political feelings, distress, and want of employment; and the remaining 39 make no answer, or say that they know nothing about them.

It may now be useful to compare these results with the expense per head of relief.

Of the 15 parishes in Bedfordshire, comprised in the Supplement, the population is 11,630, and the expenditure in relief 11,005*l.*, or 18*s.* 11*d.* per head. Of the 28 parishes in Berkshire, the population is 40,398, and the expenditure 28,651*l.*, or 14*s.* 2*d.* per head. Of the 21 parishes in Bucks, the population is 18,570, and the expenditure 15,362*l.*, or 16*s.* 6*d.* per head. Of the 29 parishes in Cambridge, the population is 42,549, and the expenditure 26,960*l.*, or 12*s.* 8*d.* per head. Of the thirteen parishes in Chester, the population is 7,898, and the expenditure 2,712*l.*, or 6*s.* 10*d.* per head. Of the 25 parishes in Cornwall, the population is 55,764, and the expenditure 16,436*l.*, or 5*s.* 10*d.* per head. Of the 42 parishes in Cumberland, the population is 42,076, the expenditure 11,672*l.*, or 5*s.* 6*d.* per head.

The result is, that of 93 parishes, in four ill-administered counties, the population is 113,147, and the expenditure, 81,978*l.*, or 14*s.* 5*d.* per head; and of 80 parishes in three well-administered counties, the population is 105,728, and the expenditure 30,820*l.*, or 5*s.* 9*d.* per head; and that those counties in which the expenditure is large are those in which the industry and skill of the labourers are passing away, the connexion between master and servant has become precarious, the unmarried are defrauded of their fair earnings, and riots and incendiarism have prevailed. The three counties in which it is

^a St. Andrew the Less (Cambridge), Bassingbourne, Littleport, St. Mary (Ely), Melbourn, Meldreth, Stetchworth, Sutton, Holy Trinity (Ely), Trumpington, Upwell, Wimblington.

^b Bourne, Chatteris, Foxton, Little Shelford, Waterbeach, Wimpole, Wisbech.

^c Edenhall, Langwathby. ^d Walton.

comparatively small, are those in which scarcely any instance of fire or tumult appears to have occurred, in which mutual attachment exists between the workman and his employer, in which wages depend not on marriage, but on ability, and the diligence and skill of the labourers are unimpaired or increased.

Question 7.

The object of the Question 7, "How many non-parishioners have you in general, distinguishing Irish and Scotch?" was to ascertain whether the number of Irish and Scotch labourers is sufficient to produce any effect on the general rate of wages in England. It will be seen, that of the 15 parishes in Bedfordshire, and the 21 in Buckinghamshire, not one acknowledges the presence of any Irish or Scotch labourers.

That of the 28 parishes in Berkshire only 2 admit their presence; these are Bray and Winkfield. At Bray, the population of which is 3,480, there are stated to be 100 families of non-parishioners, and among them very few Irish or Scotch. At Winkfield none, except at harvest or haymaking.

In Cambridgeshire, out of 29 parishes, 7 acknowledge the presence of Irish or Scotch. These are St. Andrew the Less, in which, in a population of 6,651, there are said to be about 20 Irish and 5 Scotch families. Chatteris, which, in a population of 4,177, acknowledges there are 150 non-parishioners, and among them 50 Irish. Littleport, population 2,644; from 10 to 20 Irish in summer. Royston, population 1,757, 2 Irish. Sutton none, except the Irish in harvest. Thorney Abbey, population 2,055, an influx of English and Irish in summer, to the amount of some hundreds; and Wimblington, population 965, from 20 to 30 Irish; in harvest a greater number.

Of the 12 parishes in Cheshire, only 2 state that they have any Irish. Childer Thornton, population 296, 2 Irish families; and Whitby township, population 234, non-parishioners 50, 6 Scotch, 4 Irish.

In Cornwall, of 25 parishes, only 3 state that they have any Irish. St. Columb, in which they have come to build a pier. Petherwin, population, 988, two Irish; and Talland, population 841, two Irish, two Scotch.

In Cumberland, out of 42 parishes, only 9 appear to have Irish. Arthuret, population 2,903, thirty families Scotch, eleven Irish. Bootle, no Scotch or Irish, except in harvest. Bowness, one Irishman. Caldbeck, population 1,578, 270 non-parishioners, of whom nine Irish, thirteen Scotch. Edenhall, one Irishman. Hayton, about 100 employed on the railroad. Kirkandrews-upon-Esk, population 2,053, two Irish, sixteen Scotch. Kirkoswald, two Irish, one Scotch. Wetheral, many Irish and Scotch on the public works.

Supposing these statements to be a fair sample of the general amount of the Irish and Scotch in the agricultural districts of England, they afford, we think, the means of judging how far the competition of so limited a number of strangers can affect the general rate of wages.

BLUNHAM-CUM-MUGGERHANGER.

*J. H. B. Mountain, Rector and J. P.
Robert Judd, Overseer.*

(A.)—580.

(C.)—1*4s. 7d.*

4.—

5.—120.

R. J.

7.—Forty. No Irish or Scotch.

R. J.

24.—During the Winter and Spring a large proportion of them.

J. H. B. M.

Generally no allowance on account of large families.
No wages paid directly out of the Poor Rates.

R. J.

25.—The Magistrates prescribe no scale, but decide on individual cases.

J. H. B. M.

29.—Generally none.

J. H. B. M.

None.

R. J.

37.—They are much degenerated; and, being generally disaffected to their employers, they work unwillingly and wastefully. The disaffection is in a great measure to be attributed to continual disputes respecting the Parish Relief, and it has doubtless been aggravated by agitators.

J. M.

38.—They are addicted to change their service, from a restless and dissatisfied temper which prevails among them.

J. M.

53.—In this neighbourhood the object has been, by keeping the Farmers in awe, to extort higher wages, and a greater parochial allowance: when this is refused, policy and revenge produce incendiarism. It has been threatened in Vestry where relief has been refused, and the relief has, in consequence, been granted.

BROMHAM.

*J. J. Goodall,
Vicar of Bromham and Oakley.*

(A.)—324.

(C.)—£1. 0*s. 5d.*

4.—53.

5.—53.

7.—Five; neither Irish nor Scotch.

24.—None in the employment of individuals. The allowance begins at three children, 1*s.* per week, and increases 1*s.* for each child under 10 years of age.25.—Relief is afforded at the rate of 1*s.* per week for every child above two, and less than 10 years of age.29.—1*s.* difference occasionally.

37.—Much the same as usual.

38.—No difference perceptible.

53.—Private enmity; perhaps excited by the very general diffusion of inflammatory Journals.

EXTRACTS from the QUESTIONS;

AND

(A.) (C.)—PARLIAMENTARY DOCUMENTS.

(A.)—POPULATION in 1831.—

(C.)—EXPENSE per head on the whole Population in 1831.—

4.—NUMBER of Labourers sufficient for the proper cultivation of the Land?—

5. NUMBER of Agricultural Labourers in your Parish?—

7.—How many Non-Parishioners have you in general, distinguishing Irish and Scotch?—

24.—HAVE you any, and how many, able-bodied Labourers in the Employment of Individuals receiving Allowance or regular Relief from your Parish on their own Account, or on that of their Families; and if on account of their Families, at what Number of Children does it begin?—

25.—Is Relief or Allowance given according to any and what Scale?—

29.—Is there any and what Difference between the Wages paid by the Employer to the Married and Unmarried, when employed by Individuals?—

37.—Is the Industry of the Labourers in your Neighbourhood supposed to be increasing or diminishing; that is, are your Labourers supposed to be better or worse Workmen than they formerly were?—

38.—Do the Labourers in your Neighbourhood change their Services more frequently than formerly?—and how do you account for that circumstance?—

53.—CAN you give the Commissioners any information respecting the causes and consequences of the Agricultural Riots and Burnings of 1830 and 1831?—

CADDINGTON.

H. B. Morris, Woodside Farm.

		—53.
	R. J.	5.—53.
4.—Forty. No Irish or Scotch.	R. J.	7.—Five; neither Irish nor Scotch.
24.—During the Winter and Spring a large proportion of them. Generally no allowance on account of large families. No wages paid directly out of the Poor Rates.	J. H. B. M. R. J.	24.—None in the employment of individuals. The allowance begins at three children, 1s. per week, and increases 1s. for each child under 10 years of age.
25.—The Magistrates prescribe no scale, but decide on individual cases.	J. H. B. M.	25.—Relief is afforded at the rate of 1s. per week for every child above two, and less than 10 years of age.
29.—Generally none.	J. H. B. M.	29.—1s. difference occasionally.
None.	R. J.	
37.—They are much degenerated; and, being generally disaffected to their employers, they work unwillingly and wastefully. The disaffection is in a great measure to be attributed to continual disputes respecting the Parish Relief, and it has doubtless been aggravated by agitators.	J. M.	37.—Much the same as usual.
38.—They are addicted to change their service, from a restless and dissatisfied temper which prevails among them.	J. M.	38.—No difference perceptible.
53.—In this neighbourhood the object has been, by keeping the Farmers in awe, to extort higher wages, and a greater parochial allowance: when this is refused, policy and revenge produce incendiarism. It has been threatened in Vestry where relief has been refused, and the relief has, in consequence, been granted.		53.—Private enmity; perhaps excited by the very general diffusion of inflammatory Journals.

(A.)—386.

(C.)—13s. 10d.

4.—I do not know.

5.—I do not know; there are not enough labourers in harvest, although there is a surplus of them in winter; partly real; partly artificial.

7.—There are as many non-parishioners resident as parishioners. There are no Irish or Scotch.

24.—No allowance is given to able-bodied labourers in the employment of individuals, on account of themselves or families, with the exception of cases of illness in families. I think the Overseer in this parish did once take some work of a gentleman, who paid him a sum of money. The Overseer agreed to do the work for that sum, and paid the labourers by the grate: of course the Overseer was out of pocket by the job. In the adjoining parish a brick-kiln has just been erected by a Quaker, who actually calculates on a profit by giving his work to the adjoining Overseers at a low price, rather than employ men himself to dig his clay.

25.—No scale of allowance; all permanent relief is considered and fixed by a vestry.

29.—No distinction is made.

37.—No difference.

38.—No.

53.—No riotings have taken place. Several large fires took place in Dunstable parish, which were attributed to two individuals, who wanted to create a revolution; they have now enlisted as soldiers. The Duke of Bedford's farm at Lewsey, in Luton parish, was totally burnt: this was the work of some individual who owed a spite against the tenant. Another fire destroyed a farm in Flamstead parish; it was attributed to an individual who owed the tenant a grudge for preventing him committing petty thefts on his hedges and turnips; the man was tried and acquitted.

COPEL. J. Clayton, Churchwarden.	KEMPSTON. G. O. Fenwicke, Vicar and J. P.
(A.)—643.	(A.)—1,571.
(C.)—1 <i>l.</i> 1 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>	(C.)—1 <i>l.</i> 7 <i>s.</i> 7 <i>d.</i>
4.—Above 50 men and 20 boys.	4.—The men actually employed. The poor laws, as at present administered, act as a bounty upon marriage; nor can they be materially altered, until by some means or another the number of labourers be made proportionable to the work our parish can afford them, which can only be done by an extensive emigration. In this case relief might be restricted to the aged, infirm, and sick, as it was formerly done.
5.—About 83 men; from 30 to 40 boys.	5.—350.
7.—Very few. No Irish nor Scotch.	7.—All the persons residing at Kempston belong to it. No Irish or Scotch.
24.—For able-bodied labourers, receiving an allowance on account of their families. Allowance is made to large families exceeding four children. Work done for individuals is not partly paid for by the parish.	24.—No work done for individuals is paid for by the parish. We have 53 agricultural labourers receiving weekly allowance from the parish on account of their families. When a man has a wife and 3 children, which children are under 10 years old, he has 1 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> per week in addition to his earnings; if 4 children, 3 <i>s.</i> ; and if 5 children, 4 <i>s.</i>
25.—The scale of allowance, where required, is from 1 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> to 1 <i>s.</i> 9 <i>d.</i> per head, including families. Infirm men and widows at from 3 <i>s.</i> to 4 <i>s.</i> weekly.	25.—There is no particular scale, but relief is given according to circumstances.
29.—Not much difference when by the day-work; but the married men with families are mostly preferred in giving them work by the piece. Single men, if by the day, have from 6 <i>s.</i> to 9 <i>s.</i> per week.	29.—No distinction is made between the married and single when employed by individuals.
37.—Labourers considered not such good workmen as formerly: accounted for by the surplus number of men and boys unemployed, except on the round system.	37.—The industry of the labourers is confessedly diminishing. Those who are out of work are employed by the parish on the roads. Any one passing by will see them loitering about, and trifling away their time in idleness, and may think himself fortunate if he escape being insulted by them.
38.—Less change of service than formerly, there being less hiring by the year, on account of gaining settlements.	38.—
53.—Generally supposed to originate from the dissatisfaction of able-bodied young labourers, being out of regular employment, (excepting the gravel-pit or round system,) associating together, and not getting such wages as they demanded.	53.—In this neighbourhood there have been more than twenty fires, and some insubordination. I was engaged, with my brother magistrates, in examining into the causes of three of them. I questioned an unhappy young man who was executed for setting fire to another farm-yard near to this place, and I am of opinion that they all originated in private pique taken against the farmer, for refusing some demand for relief.

LIDLINGTON. Thomas Batchelor.	MAULDEN. T. M. Overman, Churchwarden.
(A.)—814.	(A.)—1,231.
(C.)—1 <i>l.</i> 15 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>	(C.)—8 <i>s.</i> 7 <i>d.</i>
4.—At one man for 25 acres arable, or 50 of pasture,—about 64 men; but the indolence acquired by loitering on the roads, &c. makes a larger number now necessary.	4.—
5.—About 113 above 20 years of age in 1831, and 78 boys under 20 (the boys and young men are not included in the return of the population.)	5.—
7.—Scarcely any non-parishioners.	7.—
24.—No work done for individuals is at the present time paid for by the parish; but in the neighbouring parish of Ridgmont, the overseer pays four-fifths of the wages of surplus men, who are employed in ditching, digging or forking land, or digging clay or drains: 1 <i>s.</i> additional is allowed by the overseers for 3 children; 2 <i>s.</i> for 4; 3 <i>s.</i> for 5, &c.	24.—No. I have always objected to that system, considering there was no law to compel me to adopt it. The magistrates began it to court a little popularity from it. To that measure I trace the reduction of wages. The labourer, when he found that the parish was to make up his money, became indifferent about the quantity he did; and the ordination that 'man was to live by the sweat of his brow' was broken down.
25.—Of late, relief is given only if there be 4 children; formerly money was often allowed for the third child, and in dearer times I believe for the second child.	25.—Not in this parish. We give it as the occasion may require.
29.—Unmarried men sometimes work for 6 <i>s.</i> or 7 <i>s.</i> a week, while the married men have 9 <i>s.</i> If we say 7 <i>s.</i> for an unmarried man, who would have only 3 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> if employed (as it is called) by the overseer, he gains by working for a master 3 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> a week, and the master 2 <i>s.</i> ; an inducement to both.	29.—There is a difference when the quantity of labour in the market is greater than is wanted; but when the demand is equal to the quantity, the single man gets as much as the married, if he can do as much work.
37.—Diminishing very much, in consequence of the evil example of paying many persons on the roads for doing scarcely any thing; and the reason why they are permitted to have wages almost without work is, because the farmers have no interest in the permanent improvements of the roads, or even the lands, while the laws permit the public, or the landowners, to receive nearly all the profits of work, which they refuse to pay for, or encourage by allowances.	37.—Decreasing; 12 men now only do the work that 9 did when I commenced business, 18 years since; and as long as the magistrates keep up that system of ordering the overseers to make up men's money, the evil will keep increasing; it takes away that nice feeling that the family is maintained by himself, which must be restored, or property will be of little value soon.
38. Change of service is more frequent, in consequence of the indolence and ill-conduct resulting from superfluous labourers.	38.—The farmers are afraid of making settlements, which deters some from hiring; and from the great increase of population, there are more labourers than are wanted.
53.—I believe the riots and fires, and almost every other evil which has been charged on what are termed <i>perversions of the Poor Laws</i> , are chargeable solely to the unjust and impolitic, if not unlawful, system of sending all who can get no other work to be employed by the overseer, and at the same time, leaving the profits of such employment to be enjoyed by the public &c. who pay nothing towards it.	53.—Restore that feeling amongst the labourers that their well doing depends upon their good conduct, which can only be done by enabling the farmers to employ them.

MEPPERSHALL. <i>James Webster, B.D. Rector.</i>	NORTHILL. <i>John Taddy, Minister.</i>
(A.)—444.	(A.)—1,106.
(C.)—13s. 5d.	(C.)—12s. 3d.
4.—More than sufficient.	4.—
5.—Know not; but more than are wanted.	5.—The proportion between the quantity of acres in the parish and the number of labourers, is 3 men to each 100 acres.
7.—Several non-parishioners, but no Irish or Scotch.	7.—
24.—Able-bodied labourers never receive relief from the parish, except when sick, and not in a benefit club. Cases of allowance, on account of large families, so various, no specific answer can be given.	24.—None.
26.—No general rule can be given in regard to relief, for every case differs from another.	25.—
29.—Wages generally the same to the married and unmarried, if they are equally able-bodied.	29.—None.
37.—The industry of the labourer is the same in general as it always has been when they can obtain proper labour and proper wages; but population has of late so much increased, that proper employment for them cannot always be found, and then they are put under the direction of the surveyor of roads at and under price, and must be assisted by parochial relief.	37.—I cannot say.
38.—Farmers for the most part refuse to hire servants by the year, to avoid giving a legal settlement.	38.—They do not.
53.—I think they have frequently been caused by the distress of the times, and for want of proper employ by the labouring classes.	53.—

PUDDINGTON. <i>Richard L. Orlebar.</i>	SHARNBROOK. <i>George Church, Churchwarden; J. Gibbard, J.P.</i>
(A.)—563.	(A.)—754.
(C.)—17. 0s. 9d.	(C.)—13s. 8d.
4.—80.	4.—85. <i>G. C.</i>
5.—70.	5.—95. <i>G. C.</i>
7.—Only one labourer's family, belonging to a neighbouring parish.	7.—11 heads of families, exclusive of their children. No Irish or Scotch. <i>G. C.</i>
24.—15. To men of large families an allowance is generally made, according to the price of bread, usually commencing at 3 children.	24.—Perhaps there may be 10. <i>J. G.</i> Allowance often made out of the poor-book when the number of children exceeds three. Sometimes idle able-bodied men are let at a low rate of wages to the farmers, and the deficiency paid out of the poor book. <i>G. C.</i>
25.—According to a scale founded on the price of bread, allowing about 3 gallon loaves to a man, 2 to a woman, and 1 to a child.	25.—It is given according to scale. <i>J. G.</i>
29.—Single men generally have 3s. less wages, except they are very superior workmen. There are very few <i>unmarried</i> men, as they generally marry very young in order to get higher wages; in some cases, to spite the parish. The few single men there are, can, if very good workmen, get wages nearly equal to married men, but are always the first to be turned off by the employer; if indifferent workmen, they are employed at very low wages.	29.—Married men have more wages than single, when employed by individuals. <i>J. G.</i> Married men generally receive more wages than single men. There are many exceptions. <i>G. C.</i>
37.—The workmen are generally not equal to their fathers, more especially the very young men. This may be attributed to the fact, that farmers seldom employ any but married men with families in works requiring skill; such as draining, thatching, felling wood, ditching, &c.	37.—Diminishing. <i>J. G.</i>
38.—Much more frequently, on account of their idleness, carelessness, and insolence, which spring from, and are encouraged by, the notion, here acted upon, that they must at all events be supported by the parish.	38.—I am not aware that they do. <i>J. G.</i>
53.—No.	53.—The excitement leading to these crimes has been produced by the antipathy of the pauper to the overseer, by the game-preservers, and by the prejudice entertained against threshing machines. <i>J. G.</i>

SOUTHILL-CUM-WARDEN.	TURVEY.
<i>Fred. H. Neve, Vicar.</i>	<i>C. Lorguet Higgins, Turvey Abbey. W. Finch, Churchwarden.</i>
(A.)—1,267.	(A.)—988.
(C.)—12s. 7d.	(C.)—17s. 11d.
4.—	4.—About 120. <i>W. F.</i>
5.—Southill, 250 ; Warden, 130.	5.—About 120. <i>W. F.</i>
7.—Scarcely any non-parishioners.	7.—About 4 families. <i>W. F.</i>
24.—None. Work done for individuals not partly paid for by the parish.	24.—Where the family is large, relief is given. <i>C. L. H.</i> No part of work is paid for out of the rates ; but relief given if the earnings are not sufficient. <i>W. F.</i>
25.—	25.—The scale is about sufficient to obtain 2 half-peck loaves for the labourer, and one for every other member of his family. Where families are small, the scale is rather higher. <i>C. L. H.</i>
29.—Not any difference usually, though it does occur occasionally. Sometimes single perhaps 2s. less.	29.—No. <i>C. L. H.</i> No. <i>W. F.</i>
37.—Not diminishing.	37.—On the whole increasing, owing to the late arrangements of letting out land for gardens. <i>C. L. H.</i>
38.—No.	38.—Yes ; owing to the ill working of the settlement laws. <i>C. L. H.</i>
53.—There was one agricultural riot at Stotfold, in this neighbourhood ; a parish where there was no gentleman, nor, at the time, any clergyman residing ; and I believe that the parish system pursued there was such as would not improbably lead to very great discontent.	53.—

WESTONING.

Thomas Pearse, Vicar.

(A.)—627.

(C.)—17. 13s. 3d.

4.—70 men and boys might be sufficient, according to the open field system of farming, which at present prevails. If the parish were inclosed, or the lands allotted and exonerated from tithe, it is generally supposed that a better system would prevail, and all the labourers of the parish be well employed on the land. Notwithstanding the present demoralization of the

5.—90 men and boys, able bodied.

7.—10 to 12 English families ; the labourers in general belong to parishes in the neighbourhood, whither they generally go daily for work.

24.—There is scarcely 1 able-bodied labourer in the employment of individuals but what receives regular relief on account of his family. A married man and his wife, without any child, receive 5s. per week, if he be out of employment ; for 1 child, he is allowed 1s. whether in or out of employment ; for 2 children, 2s., and so on in proportion to the number of children under 10 years ; above ten years, each boy out of employment is allowed from 1s. 6d. to 3s. 6d.

25.—A married man and his wife (the former being out of employment) are allowed 5s. per week without a child ; with 1 child 6s. ; and on an increasing scale, according to the number of children under 10 years.

29.—Yes ; before the labour rate was agreed upon, the wages of a married man varied from 9s. to 12s. ; the highest wages of a single man 9s., commonly not more than 6s. According to a plan lately agreed upon by the farmers, they propose paying to a single man of 21 years, and upwards, 9s. ; between 18 years and 21, 7s. ; between 15 and 18, 5s. ; and so on.

37.—The industry of the labourers in this parish is supposed to be greatly diminishing. For many years they have, unfortunately, not been able to obtain regular employment, but have been thrown on the parish during a great part of the year, during which they were required to do very little or no work for the parish ; persons out of employ were all sent to the gravel-pit, (commonly,) men and boys, of various ages and characters ; the evil consequence of which is obvious. Poaching and drunkenness have increased very much during the last few years ; and these habits have greatly tended to make the labourers worse workmen, and to lead them to the commission of other offences.

38.—Yes. The farmers in general are not able (they say) to employ more than one or two labourers for a continuance ; the discharged labourer is thrown on the parish, and engages with any farmer afterwards who happens to want another hand, and is willing to hire him. It is also true that too many of the labourers do not take much pains to give satisfaction to their employers, and cause themselves to be discharged and thrown on the parish.

53.—During the latter part of the year 1830, only 20 able-bodied labouring men, and about as many boys, were in regular employ : the rest of the labouring poor were left to themselves, day after day, in idleness ; in the evening, many of the worst regularly adjourned to the new beer shops, and their weekly pay being unequal to their consumption of beer, they agreed together to demand of the principal inhabitants a higher allowance. In this parish some of the farmers accompanied the labourers, when they surrounded me in the village, and demanded higher pay : on their making this demand, the farmers exclaimed against the pressure of rent and tithe. Neither the landlords nor the lay rector resided in the parish ; therefore the labouring poor surrounded me, instigated (as I am credibly informed) by the farmers. At my recommendation the people quietly dispersed, and no mischief was done then or since by the people of this parish, as a body, to any person or property.

WILLINGTON.

*Philip Hunt, LL.D. Vicar.
Thomas Twitchell, Churchwarden.*

(A.)—332.

(C.)—19s. 11d.

4.—About 40 men and 16 boys.

5.—About 45 men and 20 boys.

7.—

24.—Scarcely any. There is, indeed, now only one able-bodied labourer having a very large family, and he receives 1s. 6d. a week, in addition to his 11s. wages.

25.—Whenever by casualty or disease a family becomes chargeable, the scale of relief is at about 2s. a head weekly. Single or infirm men, and widows, 3s. to 4s. a week, exclusive of what little they can earn.

29.—A little difference if employed by the day, but none at task work; but both task or piece work is given in preference to married family men. At day work, married men have 10s. a week; single, from 8s. to 9s.

37.—In this parish, owing to the labourers being continually employed by the farmers, we find them as industrious as formerly, and as good workmen. But in other parishes, where young able-bodied men are much employed at the gravel-pits, or on the roads, or as rounds-men, they have become considerably worse labourers than formerly; for in such employment they receive the minimum of wages, or rather mere support, and they become lazy, dissatisfied, and mischievous.

38.—The practice of hiring yearly servants has decreased, but servants hired for a year like to attend the Michaelmas statute hirings, to try to better themselves.

53.—Dissatisfaction with parish employment made them hostile to overseers and members of vestries. The game laws appear also to have been very odious to the unemployed labourers; and the frequent commitments to crowded prisons, led to evil communications and rancorous feelings, and the agricultural riots and fires of 1830 and 1831. As the peasant has lost his attachment to the farmer, through the poor laws, so he has lost his respect for the landlords and the aristocracy through the administration of the game laws.

BINFIELD.

James Randall, Rector.

(A.)—1,045.

(C.)—12s.

4.—

5.—Number above 20 years old was returned in the Population Returns of 1831 as 136.

7.—Cannot say. No Irish or Scotch.

24.—The practice of the parish paying partly for work done for individuals once obtained here, but has been quite abolished for 4 or 5 years past. There are about 6 labourers with large families, and of indifferent character for industry, who receive relief so often as to be almost constant; but there is no stated allowance on account of large families.

25.—Old and impotent persons have a regular allowance of 2s. 6d. per week, if in the house, and 3s. if out. Others are relieved according to the exigency of the case.

29.—No; the only distinction is as to their ability as labourers.

37.—They are supposed to be worse workmen.

38.—They are said to do so. Probably they have less reluctance to come upon the parish, and therefore are less anxious to keep their places.

53.—

BOXFORD.

John Wells, Rector.

(A.)—628.

(C.)—17s. 6d.

4.—

5.—

7.—None.

24.—All able-bodied labourers, having more than 3 children, receive regular relief. Relief now begins after 3 children, but previously to this week it began after two. Wages not paid out of the poor rates.

25.—

29.—There is a difference of about 1s. 6d. a week, except in the case of such single men as are very expert labourers.

37.—They are full as good labourers, and industrious as formerly.

38.—No.

53.—

BRADFIELD.

Thomas Stevens, Churchwarden.

(A.)—956.

(C.)—17. 5s.

4.—At least 4 able men and 3 strong boys for every 100 acres of arable land.

5.—About 150.

7.—None at all.

24.—Allowance begins with the fourth child, if none are able to work. The price of a loaf is given to the fourth, fifth, and so on. Work done for individuals is not partly paid for by the parish. About 23 families receive relief in consequence of their being large, and the earnings of the man being thought insufficient to keep them.

25.—It begins with the fourth child who cannot work; and the fourth, and every succeeding child, has at the rate of a loaf per week. This is not always a fixed rate; we gave less when the price of labour was higher. Since the price of corn has so much declined, the farmers could not keep up the wages, and the relief was increased.

29.—Yes. A single man will take enough to support him if he cannot get more; but the married must be paid enough to support his family if employed at all. Generally there is a difference. It arises from the market for labour being over supplied (*i.e.* in proportion to the agricultural capital employed. We have not enough labourers if our land were cultivated as it ought to be, and I am confident this parish is capable of producing one-third more corn). The married men must be paid enough to support their families, either by their employer or by the parish; the single man only enough to support himself if on the parish; therefore he is always ready to take an offer from the farmer, if that offer is better than the parish; of course he can in this way undersell the married man.

37.—Decidedly diminishing: the labourers are worse workmen. This evil is being greatly increased by the most demoralizing effects of the beer shops.

38.—About the same. Labourers generally like change.

53.—I think they arose from the very bad state of mind of the labourers, who were sent in numbers to idle on the roads without any one to look after them; thus affording opportunity for evil-disposed persons to disseminate evil principles among them; and advantage was taken of this, I am persuaded; they were too ill-paid before the riots, and this gave ground to work upon.

BRAY.

Walter Levett, Vicar.
Charles Sawyer, J. P.

(A.)—3,480.

(C.)—7s. 11d.

4.—

5.—About 850.

W. L.

7.—About 100 families. Very few Irish or Scotch.
W. L.

24.—No able-bodied labourers receiving relief.

C. S.
There are 4 or 5 cases of very large families earning nothing in winter, and which receive regular relief, but not under a recognition of right. Wages never paid out of the rates, excepting to labourers sent to the gravel-pits or on the roads.
W. L.

25.—Not according to any scale, but according to the merits of the case.
C. S.

29.—No.

C. S. W. L.

37.—Diminishing; particularly in those branches where ingenuity is required. There are fewer men that can thatch a rick well.
C. S.

38.—Yes. Farmers tell me that it arises from restlessness of disposition, and love of change.
C. S.

53.—We have had one fire in this parish, and no rioting; supposed to have been the work of discontented individuals.
C. S.

BURGHFIELD.

Henry Curtis Cherry, Rector and J. P.

(A.)—965.

(C.)—19s. 8d.

4.—

5.—141.

7.—About 7. No Irish or Scotch.

24.—Able-bodied labourers in work for individuals used to receive relief, but now none are relieved but those actually in work on the parish account. Till lately, relief was given according to the size of the labourer's family, the farmer paying for work 8s. or 9s. and the parish the difference required for the support of large families; but this system is discontinued.

25.—No particular scale.

29.—A great distinction is made; the single men generally receive much less.

37.—Decidedly diminishing; and so it will continue to be as long as the gravel-pit system is resorted to.

38.—Not much difference.

53.—The causes, in my mind, were principally the lowness of wages; no task-work, or, if given, restricted in earnings; and several others mentioned before.

COLESHILL. <i>Lord Radnor.</i>	COOKHAM. <i>Thomas Whately, Vicar.</i>
(A.)—351.	(A.)—3,337.
(C.)—19s. 3d.	(C.)—5s.
4.—	4.—Four to every 100 acres.
5.—	5.—292.
7.—	7.—Very few. No Irish or Scotch.
24.—Some able-bodied labourers have assistance for their families.	24.—No.
25.—According to a fixed scale, depending on the price of bread.	25.—No relief or allowance is given out of the workhouse, except in cases of illness or accidents.
29.—No.	29.—None.
37.—I think the labourers are certainly growing worse both in moral and physical qualities.	37.—Increasing. Labourers are better workmen than formerly.
38.—Yes; farmers are very unwilling to hire servants for a year, lest they should thereby gain a settlement.	38.—No.
53. The causes: the low rate of wages; the harsh treatment of the labourers; the desire to depress them; the general feeling of distrust and animosity existing between the agricultural labourers and their employers. The consequences: an increase of wages to the labourer, but unaccompanied by any better feeling; less discontent, however, because less suffering. I should state, however, that there was no riot or burning in this parish.	53.—I conceive the riots and burnings of the years 1830 and 1831 arose from the distressed and wretched state of the poor; and this wretchedness was the natural consequence of the mal-administration of the poor laws.

DRAYTON. <i>W. Caudwell, Churchwarden and Overseer. W. Lyford, Overseer.</i>	GREAT FARINGDON. <i>R. W. Crowley, Deputy Visitor.</i>
(A.)—506.	(A.)—2,729.
(C.)—13s. 2d.	(C.)—11. 2s. 8d.
4.—	4.—From 160 to 180.
5.—107.	5.—About 185.
7.—Six. No Irish or Scotch.	7.—A few, but cannot state the number.
24.—All able-bodied labourers that have 3 children claim relief, earn what they may, and receive it. Wages not paid out of the rates.	24.—It was the custom to make up the allowance after the third child from the poor rates, until within the last year, when the parish began to be farmed, and the system was put an end to.
25.—Man and wife with three children, allowed 1s. more than they earn; and for every child above 3, the price of a half-peck loaf; and 3d. for each child, since the riots, which alteration has advanced the poor rates considerably.	25.—According to the scale of relief usually adopted in this county, which is as follows:—for a man, 2 gallon loaves per week; a woman, 1½; each child, 1.
29.—The good labourers that are single, are paid as much as the married men that are idle and dissolute, 5s. per week. The single are not paid so much as the married generally.	29.—There is a distinction of about 2s. per week in favour of the married man.
37.—Diminishing. When complaint is made, the answer is, 'You may send us away;' for they know the overseer must pay them.	37.—Increasing since the contract for farming the parish took place, but was diminishing before it.
38.—Yes; and we account for it because they are not so good servants as formerly, and most masters wish to seek amendment by change.	38.—The labourers appear to have had, of late years, a growing disposition to change; and the master, to avoid a settlement, having lately accustomed themselves to hire for periods short of a year, may have occasioned this change.
53.—When the riots first broke out, had the punishment been more severe than three days' imprisonment for breaking machines, we should not have heard of so many riots and burnings.	53.—Happily this parish has hitherto escaped; and although riots did take place in the neighbourhood, they must be attributed to want of employment in the winter, the lowness of wages, a general discontent among the labourers, and the example set by riots in other parts of the kingdom.

EAST HENDRED.

*John Crapper, Assistant Overseer.
Charles Eyston, J. P.*

(A.)—865.

(C.)—17. 8s. 3d.

4.—

5.—184.

J. C.

7.—

24.—Allowance on account of large families begins from two. Wages are paid out of the rates. *J. C.*

All able-bodied labourers, having more than 2 children, receive allowance. *C. E.*

25.—According to the number in the family, and the price of bread. *C. E.*

29.—Yes, when employed by the parish. *J. C.*

Little difference when in regular employment. When employed by the parish, more is given to the married. *C. E.*

37.—Supposed to be diminishing. *C. E.*

38.—I do not think they do. *C. E.*

53.—Wherever the commencement of riots was met with energy, they were suppressed without difficulty. Riots were contagious; they may be traced with geographical precision. *C. E.*

HURLEY.

*East George Clayton East,
J. P. and Churchwarden.*

(A.)—1,150.

(C.)—13s. 1d.

4.—

5.—About 260 belonging to the parish, but many strangers are hired.

7.—About 50. No Irish or Scotch.

24.—None. Those who apply for relief are allotted according to acreage, at wages fixed by the select vestry; and consequently those who, before this plan was adopted, preferred receiving relief, seek work elsewhere.

25.—No.

29.—None; especially if hired by the week.

37.—Supposed to be diminishing. The labourers do not take so much pains as formerly to please their employers. Under this head may be mentioned the evil effects of the beer shops; the labourers find them pleasanter than doing nothing at home. Those who have good-sized gardens and neat cottages are seldom found there.

38.—Yes. I think this has originated in a desire, on the farmer's part, to avoid settlements by hiring and service.

53.—The fires that occurred in this neighbourhood, were generally attributed to the spite of individuals. General dissatisfaction as to wages could not have been the case.

KINTBURY.

G. H. Cherry, J. P.

(A.)—1,781.

(C.)—11s. 3d.

4.—

5.—By census of 1831, 181 men above 20 years of age; perhaps 70 males between 10 and 20.

7.—Very few. No Scotch or Irish.

24.—Generally every labourer with more than 3 children has an allowance from the parish on account of his family. An allowance begins upon the birth of the fourth child. Work done for individuals is partly paid for by the parish, under 22 Geo. 3. c. 83, s. 32.

25.—According to the price of bread; and a computation of 2 gallon loaves to the father, 1 to the wife, and 1 to each child, per week, when more than 3 children incapable of work.

29.—Still a difference in some places, but not so great as it was, nor so frequent. In general, no distinction when employed by individuals.

37.—Diminishing.

38.—No. The indisposition or inability to employ them has increased within these two years.

53.—I consider the proximate causes of the riots in this county to have been a prejudice against machinery, and the contagious example of neighbouring districts. A consequence of the then rise of wages has been, increased reluctance on the part of the farmer to employ so many hands, and a conviction on the minds of the labourers that their wages would be received without exertion, and that the magistrate can enforce them.

LAMBOURNE.

Henry Hippisley, Lamborne Place.

(A.)—2,386.

(C.)—17. 3s. 10d.

4.—It is difficult to say what is proper cultivation. The land is, generally speaking, less highly cultivated than in former times. I do not consider that there is any superabundant population, though many are unemployed, for want of money to pay them.

5.—About 300 men; besides thatchers, shepherds, ploughboys, supposed 150 more. Total, 450.

7.—About 75. None relieved by the parish. No Scotch or Irish.

24.—Many able-bodied labourers receive allowance, but not on their own account, nor for a wife and 2 children; but all receive relief who have more than 2 children. For each child above 2, the allowance is the value of 1 gallon loaf of bread per week.

25.—Relief is usually given at the rate of 1 gallon loaf per head for every child beyond 2 children. The man is considered entitled to 2 loaves, the wife and children to 1 each.

29.—The general rate of wages is the same now. The general rate 9s. Last year, 10s. to married men, and 8s. to single men.

37.—Decreasing. In task-work, upon advantageous terms, not otherwise, they work hard; but these extra earnings are generally spent at the beer houses. The allotment of land appears to encourage industrious habits, and will probably make better workmen. Few of the young labourers are, either in understanding, or execution, or industry, equal to the older.

38.—Certainly. Causes: Loss attachment between master and servant; more unsettled habits in the servant; indifference to being in regular service; looking to parish relief. On the master's side, less interest in the services of any particular labourer, as their places are easily supplied; less inclination and means to indulge them; and the different style of a farmer's table.

53.—Actual distress in labourers and mechanics; the low rate of wages; the idea that threshing-machines kept them out of employ, and lowered wages; beer houses; violent tracts and seditious preachers; political feeling; the example of France: they were encouraged by many *who were not in any distress* themselves. Consequences: A temporary increase of wages; the discontinuance of machines; wages again lowered; an impression that rioting will not succeed.

LETCOMBE REGIS.

Thomas Goodlake, J. P.

(A.)—393.

(C.)—12s. 3d.

4.—

5.—

7.—

24.—Almost all who have families. Every labourer, with more than 2 children unable to work, receives allowance. The dear time, when wheat was 40l. per load, brought every family to the parish; and now they have not wages sufficient to supply their necessities.

25.—A scale of allowances, according to the price of bread, was made out, and became pretty generally adopted in the dear times, about the year 1800, and the same continues now to be partially practised; but I do not conform to it myself, but vary the relief

29.—The farmers most employ the married men at 9s. a week, and the few unmarried ones employed by them, receive from 5s. to 7s. per week. Men employed by the parish, in the winter on the roads and in the gravel-pits, receive a bare subsistence; the married ones

37.—Diminished; but I do not consider them worse workmen.

about 6s., and 14d. or 18d. for each child; and the single ones, though able and willing to do double the work of a married man, 4s. or 4s. 6d.

38.—Young and unmarried servants in husbandry do; which is partly owing to a fear of giving a settlement, and frequently from the caprice of such young and unmarried men. The older married farming servants, whose settlements are in the same parish, do

53.—Low wages and real distress amidst a too abundant population; and the village beer houses offered the opportunity for introducing to one another their thoughts and feelings, and enabled them to act in concert in the riots.

LONG WITTENHAM.

James Clutterbuck, Vicar.

(A.)—547.

(C.)—18s. 1d.

4.—

5.—141.

7.—5 or 6; but difficult to ascertain the exact number.

24.—Many able-bodied labourers receive relief on account of their families. When any labourer has a family of more than 3 children unable to work, he is allowed, for every child above that number, the price of a gallon of bread, and 3d. per week.

25.—Relief is given according to a scale regulated by the price of bread; except in some instances, when the old, &c. receive a regular fixed money payment.

according to circumstances and the character of the applicant.

29.—There is a difference made by some employers; and married men, when employed by the parish on the roads, are paid according to their families.

37.—The labourers have the character of worse workmen.

38.—More frequently; owing to the farmers not receiving labourers into their houses, and to their wishing to prevent settlements.

do not change their service oftener than formerly.

53.—The general mal-administration of the poor laws, which in most of the disturbed districts made the labourers totally dependent on the parish, and not on their own exertions. In this place, there was no riot or burning, which I attribute to the kindness with which the poor are treated by the farmers in general.

MILTON.

Thomas Robinson, Rector.
Thomas Bowles, J. P.
R. H. Betteridge, Overseer.

(A.)—413.

(C.)—16s. 5d.

4.—

5.—107.

R. H. B.

7.—None.

R. H. B.

24.—We have.

Not many. They receive a sort of compulsory employment, and are paid by the day, on the roads, but their labour is not worth what they receive for it.

There is an allowance on account of the number of the family, beginning at 4 children. Wages are paid out of the poor rate.

T. R.

T. B.

R. H. B.

25.—In the year of scarcity, 1795, the magistrates fixed a bread allowance, which has been acted upon ever since; *e. g.* assuming the peck loaf to be 3s., a family of 6 would receive, the man 3s.; wife, 2s. 3d.; children, 1s. 6d. each; together, 11s. 3d.

T. R.

29.—Wages are rather in favour of a married man; the difference is from 1s. to 1s. 6d. The married men are paid partly by the parish if they have families. Wages of single men vary from 5s. to 9s. per week.

T. B.

More wages to married than single men.

R. H. B.

37.—I do not think that there is much difference in the capability, however much there may be in the inclination. In piece-work I have never found the labourer idle, but the day-labourer is inferior to what he was formerly.

T. B.

Diminished.

T. R.

38.—The settlement law, lower wages, dissatisfaction on the part of the labourer, and deterioration of character, may account for the change in question, which certainly is more frequent than formerly.

T. B.

They do. The certain provision under the poor laws has generated a spirit of independence which renders them indifferent to please their employers.

T. R.

53.—The causes appear to me an insufficiency of wages, and consequent deterioration of character, much aided by mere example. The fires and riots have happened in this immediate neighbourhood in the most populous parishes. Consequences: rather better wages and more extensive employment of the poor.

T. B.

It may be observed that incendiarism first began in Kent, a county notorious for smuggling, and of course presenting great facility to the lower classes of procuring spirits. I know not whether inadequacy of wages was the primary cause of offence, but I know for certain that cheap spirits will always produce abundance of crime.

T. R.

SHOTTESBROOK.

J. W. Aldridge, Overseer.

(A.)—138.

(C.)—8s. 9d.

4.—About 50 labourers.

5.—31 labourers.

7.—8 to 10 residing in the parish.

24.—Not any allowance. Almost all our married men work by the task, and they earn by piece from 12s. to 18s. a week. Wages not paid out of the rates.

25.—2s. 6d. per week, generally, to old people past work.

29.—Not any distinction.

37.—I think worse workmen.

38.—No.

53.—Want of remunerating employment.

SHRIVENHAM.

J. Hughes, Assistant Overseer.
W. Addison, Overseer.
Viscount Barrington, J. P. E. Berens, J. P. and Vicar.

(A.)—779.

(C.)—17. 1s. 10d.

4.—

5.—135.

7.—Two English.

24.—Yes, in case of families over 3 children.

V. B. E. B.

Yes, in families of above 3 children, unless one or two of them are in constant work.

W. A.

Wages paid out of the rates in case of large families.

J. H.

Yes, at 4 children.

J. H.

25.—According to the price of bread; 2 loaves to the father, 1½ to the mother, 1s. 6d. to a working boy, and 1s. to each of the rest.

V. B. E. B.

Yes, on the scale of 2 gallon loaves to the father, 1½ to the mother, 1s. 6d. to a boy at work, and 1s. to every other.

W. A.

29.—None.

V. B. E. B.

None.

W. A.

None.

J. H.

37.—Diminishing, as this mode of parish relief does away with industry.

W. A.

They are much in the same state as they have been for many years past.

V. B. E. B.

38.—Yes; the farmer wishing to avoid giving a settlement.

W. A.

Yes; from the farmer not allowing the labourer to gain a settlement.

V. B. E. B.

53.—The low wages, and mischievous men who had sufficient wages, talking and advising others to riot, that they might have an increase of wages.

W. A.

The great depression of wages, and mischievous men taking advantage of that to excite the people to riot, in order to obtain an increase of wages, which they succeeded in getting.

V. B. E. B.

C 2

ST. MARY, READING. <i>T. W. Hall.</i>	SPEEN. <i>Frederick Page, Deputy Lieutenant.</i>
(A.)—6,798.	(A.)—3,044.
(C.)—10s. 9d.	(C.)—14s. 1d.
4.—Cannot say.	4.—
5.—Cannot say.	5.—264.
7.—See Town Queries.	7.—About 10. No Scotch or Irish. (I suppose this applies to agricultural labourers only.)
24.—We have; the numbers I am not acquainted with. The bread table regulates this. Application is always made the moment the second child is born.	24.—During the Overseers' year ending March, 1832, there were from 50 to 11, average 27, employed by the parish for 33 weeks; for 19 weeks none.
25.—The bread table; all understand it too well.	25.—Yes, according to the table adopted by the Magistrates in Berkshire.
29.—Yes; from 2s. to 3s. per week, and in many instances more.	29.—To all families having above two children, one gallon loaf weekly for each child when employed by the parish, but the farmers make no difference. The parish pays from 50 to 25 per cent. less than the farmers.
37.—I think from the many beer shops now opened, and allowing tippling on the premises, the labourers do not perform so good a day's work as formerly.	37.—Supposed to be diminishing; but when the labourers can procure task-work, they work very well.
38.—I am of opinion they do not.	38.—Yes, owing to the agreement among the farmers to engage their servants for a less period than a year.
53.—From the best information I could procure, it is my belief that the riotous proceedings of 1830 and 1831 were the acts of a peasantry bowed down to the lowest possible amount of wages on which they could exist, enjoying few comforts, and lacking some things considered (by common consent) the necessities of life.	53.—The causes were,—1. General excitement by the example of successful insurrection in France and Belgium; 2. Wages too low; 3. A misconception of the effects of machinery. The consequences: 1. Increase of wages; 2. Disuse of machinery. There were no riots or burnings here, though 42 were taken, and 27 convicted in the adjoining parish.

SUTTON WICK. <i>W. Dewe, Overseer.</i>	THATCHAM. <i>Edward Hunt, Overseer. J. Adnams, Surveyor of Roads and Member of Select Vestry. W. Harris, Farmer.</i>
(A.)—271.	(A.)—2,502.
(C.)—17. 14s. 6d.	(C.)—14s. 10d.
4.—	4.—About the number now in the parish.
5.—91.	5.—According to the census of 1831, about 269.
7.—None.	7.—Very few; no Irish or Scotch.
21.—Yes, several. The allowance on account of the family begins at 3 children. Wages are not paid out of the poor rate.	24.—About 34 able-bodied labourers receiving allowance. There is a difference in the allowance, according to the price of bread. Work done for individuals is not partly paid for by the parish.
25.—All above 3 children, 1 loaf each.	25.—Two gallon loaves to the man, 2 to the woman, and 1 to each child.
29.—2s. per week.	29.—None, if both are equally competent; but it is usual with some to employ youths, from 15 to 20 years of age, at low wages.
37.—Diminishing.	37.—Not increasing; but there is a willingness to work when employment can be found at a remunerating price.
38.—Yes; partly on account of settlement.	38.—Not oftener in proportion to the increase of population, there being a greater choice of men than formerly.
53.—Riots, by reading newspapers; burning, by ranting; for they all say, do what they will it is no sin.	53.—The first symptoms of riot shown in the county of Berks were, we believe, in this parish; and as far as our observation goes, the causes appear to be,—the example of the Kentish labourers; the excitement of the labourers' minds, caused by reading certain violent publications in the beer shops. We have had no burnings in this parish.

UFFINGTON.

John Hughes, Acting Magistrate and Surveyor of Parish Roads.

(A.)—564.

(C.)—17s. 10d.

4.—

5.—

7.—

24.—No able-bodied man or youth is paid for doing nothing: when out of work, I employ them, as Road Surveyor, at a price less than farmers' wages. But the case is very common at all times of the year, save harvest and hay time, of able-bodied men receiving a portion of relief to eke out their earnings; when, for instance, there are 3 or 4 children at an unproductive age, it is almost impossible for a man of but ordinary strength and skill to support such a family with decency, assisted by an industrious wife.

25.—The maximum granted by Magistrates near us is, what, added to the earnings of a family, will afford to the man the price of 2 half-peck loaves a week, 1½ to the wife, and 1 to each child not working, and if working, 1½; and this is but a bare subsistence.

29.—No difference at task-work or harvest; but when business is dull, the farmer gives the advantage to the married man for the sake of his family. A first-rate man, however, if single, is sure of the best wages; it is the second rates who suffer, to the advantage of the married.

37.—I cannot say, from personal experience, that it has not diminished for the last 20 years. There is, perhaps, less subordination, but not less skill and perseverance in availing themselves of every opportunity to better their condition. It is true that the more casual market for labour, caused by the increase of population, has dispirited and unsettled many of the second-rate workmen; but even these have made great efforts in cultivating their recent allotments of ground at half or quarter acre portions. We have hitherto found Lord Braybrooke and Mr. Demainbray right as to the moral and fiscal effect produced by these allotments, which we do not extend so as to interfere with farm labourers.

38.—I think they do; partly from the farmer's fear of making fresh parishioners, partly from the want of the bond of union maintained by house service.

53.—The immediate exciting cause, the bad example of Hants and Sussex. The tumult was not serious with us, and easily put down. The burnings were perpetrated, it seems clear, by labourers without concert, seeing how practicable and difficult of detection they had proved in other cases. The consequences have been, I think, to direct the attention of landlords and farmers to the physical and moral improvement of the labourer. In some instances higher wages were promised than the real market price, on the spur of the occasion. This has led to distrust and discontent where the agreement was afterwards broken, and to a ruinous outlay on the part of the farmer where it was adhered to; but on the whole, all bad effects seem to be wearing out, and the thing forgotten.

UFTON NERVET.

W. Bishop, Rector.

(A.)—357.

(C.)—17. 5s. 9d.

4.—

5.—98.

7.—23. No Irish or Scotch.

24.—A few are occasionally relieved, but none of this description receive constant relief. Allowance granted when the children exceed 5. Wages not paid out of the rates.

25.—According to his earnings and family. The measure of computing maintenance, is to allow 2 gallon loaves per week for a man, 1 for a woman, and 1 for a child.

29.—None in general.

37.—About the same as formerly.

38.—Generally to avoid a settlement.

53.—It has been suggested, that the new beer shops may have had some share in producing these riots, by giving greater facility to disorderly meetings.

WARGRAVE.

*M. A'Court, J. P.
James Eisdell, Assistant Overseer.*

(A.)—1,423.

(C.)—10s. 10d.

4.—About 420 are employed; but more are required, if the agriculturist could afford to pay them.
J. E.

5.—About 250 above 20 years of age; 200 under ditto; total 450.
J. E.

7.—About 37 families of the labouring classes.
J. E.

24.—There have been as many as 30 at a time requiring work from the parish.
M. A' C.
To families having above 4 children, and the father not earning above 10s. a week, relief is given at the rate of 1s. 6d. to 2s. for all above 4 children, a week; extra allowance where there is illness. About 5 receive parish relief, besides their earnings.
J. E.

25.—The general scale of relief is 2 gallon loaves to a man, and 1 gallon loaf to each woman and child.
M. A' C.

29.—A steady, sober, and efficient labourer will earn the same, whether married or unmarried.
M. A' C.
J. E.
No distinction in wages.

37.—There seems to be less want of disposition to work than of opportunity for working.
M. A' C.

38.—There is generally much precaution exercised against conferring a right of settlement by hiring and service, which must necessarily occasion more frequent change of service; which may also have had its effect in removing the labourers from their employer's roof.
M. A' C.

53.—We had no commotions in this parish. The causes and consequences will be best known where they were experienced. I should suppose that want of employ, and extreme low rate of wages, occasioned by the pressure of the tithe system, must have influenced those unhappy proceedings.
M. A' C.

WARGRAVE. <i>Edward Green.</i>	WARGRAVE. <i>Sir Moris Ximines, J. P. for Berks, Wilts, and Devon.</i>
(A.)—1,423. (C.)—10s. 10d.	(A.)—1,423. (C.)—10s. 10d.
4.—	4.—
5.—	5.—
7.—	7.—
24.—Many at this time, and they are paid according to their families, allowing 1s. 6d. per head for the women and children, and 3s. for the man; and if a single man, 6s. per week.	24.—About 5 or 6.
25.— <i>See last answer.</i>	25.—Certainly; a family consisting of <i>above</i> a man, his wife, and 4 children, and earning only 10s. a week, is allowed about 1s. 6d. or 2s. a head, for every child above 4, per week; more, if bread were dearer.
29.—To the married men we are giving 10s. per week; but the unmarried, if they apply to the parish, have only 6s.	29.—No. Decidedly worse, owing to beer being drunk in beer houses, where they congregate, read the violent speeches, seditious and infamous publications, which together debauch their heretofore honest minds, make them dissatisfied with their station in life, and destroy the link between the employer and the workman; spending the money they would otherwise take home to their families; particularly as most beer shops are chandlers' shops, where the poor purchase their provisions, and are tempted to drink. Another cause, the facility of selling game, which has made a very great addition to the idle and dissolute. I convicted a man yesterday for killing a hare at this season, and many lately were.
37.—I am sorry to say industry is lost in this place generally; and from that loss, they are in a worse condition, and are very much worse workmen than formerly.	37.—
38.—There is no change in this respect, but this: they are now generally engaged for 51 weeks, instead of 52, as the former period, as the law now stands, will not make them parishioners; and this is studiously avoided.	38.—No; good labourers seldom want good encouragement.
53.—I think I can account for this in a great measure, for in the west of England the agricultural labourers were paid so badly, that the whole income of a man and his wife, with 3 children, was but 8s. per week, and in many instances only 7s. which drove them to desperation.	53.—Yes; the violent language of many public speakers, the seditious publications read in every ale and beer house, the facility of concealed drinking in beer houses, the facility of selling game, have undermined the former honest thoughts of the lower orders, made them dissatisfied with the situation Providence has placed them in, and brought all above them into contempt, and engendered a hope of plunder by a convulsion of the State.

WASING. <i>William Mount, Overseer and J. P.</i>	WHITE WALTHAM. <i>J. Sawyer, J. P. Thomas Grove, Assistant Overseer.</i>
(A.)—79. (C.)—14s. 2d.	(A.)—902. (C.)—5s. 9d.
4.—Between 15 and 18.	4.—
5.—About 20, including the lads; but several parishioners live in the adjoining parishes.	5.—225 above 20 years of age. <i>T. G.</i>
7.—None.	7.—12. No Irish or Scotch. <i>T. G.</i>
24.—Three receiving regular relief on account of their families. The parish allowance begins with the third or fourth child, according to the price of the gallon loaf. Work done for individuals is not partly paid for by the parish.	24.—No relief is given to the labourer in increase of wages; but relief is given in case of sickness, where there is a large family, and frequently some linen. <i>J. S.</i> No allowance on account of the size of family. No wages paid out of the poor rates. <i>T. G.</i>
25.—The scale of relief is framed according to the baneful Berks bread-table system: 2 gallon loaves to a man, 1½ to a woman, and to each child above a month old.	25.—
29.—Much more than there should be. As young unmarried men offer their labour at lower prices than married men with families can afford to do, a difference exists in their wages.	29.—No difference. <i>J. S.</i> No. <i>T. G.</i>
37.—The industry of the labourers does not increase. There certainly are fewer 'handy' and trustworthy labourers than formerly. The majority of labourers seem very indifferent whether they give satisfaction to their employers or not; knowing that, if discharged by their masters, the overseer must eventually find them money or work, and that they will receive nearly the same wages, and work much less for them.	37.—Much as it has been. The labourers are generally less respectful to their masters. <i>J. S.</i>
38.—I think they do not.	38.—There are but few hired servants. The labourers are mostly employed by the week. The farmers think they keep down the rates by not hiring them. <i>J. S.</i>
53.—Causes; evil-disposed persons worked upon an ill-paid discontented peasantry, who, for want of regular employment during the winter months, were in the habit of spending their time in those rural pests, the beer shops. Consequences: great destruction of property, heavy pecuniary charges on counties, parishes, and individuals; and, for a time, unprecedented misery in the families of the rioters. The best and steadiest labourers were unsettled, mutual confidence destroyed, and alarm prevailed through this and the six adjoining counties. The wages of a labourer with a family, were, in most instances, raised from 9s. to 10s. per week, and of a single man in proportion.	53.—No riots or burnings in my parish. <i>J. S.</i>

WINKFIELD.	ADSTOCK.
<i>W. L. Rham, Vicar.</i> <i>J. Cross, jun., Assistant Overseer.</i>	<i>Adam Baynes.</i> <i>Anonymous.</i>
(A.)—2,009.	(A.)—415.
(C.)—7s. 11d.	(C.)—17. 4s. 9d.
4.—	4.—50 men and boys. <i>Anon.</i>
5.—Above 20 years of age, 265; under 20, 264: total, 529.	5.—107 men and boys. <i>Anon.</i>
7.—About 20 families of labourers. No Irish or Scotch, except in harvest and hay-making. <i>J. C.</i>	7.—
24.—None, except for work on the roads. <i>W. L. R.</i> No regular allowance, but occa- sional assistance when there are more than 5 children. No wages paid out of the poor rate. <i>J. C.</i>	24.—It is a very prevailing practice in this parish and neighbouring parishes, to allot the surplus labourers amongst the different occupiers and to pay them part of their wages out of the poor rate. <i>A. B.</i> Yes, from two children. <i>Anon.</i>
25.—Generally at the rate of 2 quartern loaves per week. <i>W. L. R.</i>	25.—The price of 3 half-peck loaves for a man and his wife, and 1 half-peck loaf for each child. <i>A. B.</i> A scale from the magistrates. <i>Anon.</i>
29.—None. <i>W. L. R.</i> No. <i>J. C.</i>	29.—5s. at most for single men, unless in a constant place; the half-peck per child, in addition, for married men with families. <i>A. B.</i> Yes. <i>Anon.</i>
37.—The labourers work well when well paid, and very badly when let to work by the parish on reduced wages. <i>W. L. R.</i>	37.—I think they are not so good workmen as formerly. <i>A. B.</i> Diminishing. <i>Anon.</i>
38.—The fear of making parishion- ers causes frequent changes; also the unsteadiness of farm ser- vants. <i>W. L. R.</i>	38.—One third of the labourers are in the habit of abiding with the same master. But a majority are distri- buted among employers by a vestry arrangement. <i>A. B.</i> Yes, not being so good labourers. <i>Anon.</i>
53.—The effect of evil-minded per- sons exciting the poor, who suffered from extremely reduced wages, especially the unmarried. <i>W. L. R.</i>	53.—Only one case of burning occurred in this neighbour- hood, connected with the discontent then supposed to exist among the poor; and the disposition to riot which then showed itself was very transient. The cause is manifestly the distress which want of employment occasions in an abundant population, aggravated in the mind of the suf- ferers by a knowledge that acts of violence, in other dis- tricts, had occasioned an immediate rise of wages. <i>A. B.</i>

AMERSHAM.	BEACONSFIELD.
<i>Charles White Fowler, Churchwarden.</i>	<i>James Du Pré, J. P.</i> <i>William M. Bradford, J. P.</i>
(A.)—2,816.	(A.)—1,763.
(C.)—13s. 11d.	(C.)—9s. 9d.
4.—4 labourers for a farm of 100 acres, chiefly arable.	4.—4 men and 2 boys for 100 acres, exclusive of hay and harvest.
5.—Males upwards of 20 years, 244.	5.—178.
7.—A few families and single persons. No Irish or Scotch.	7.—One fourth. No Irish or Scotch.
24.—6, who have larger families than they can support by their labour. Allowance on account of large families begins with 5 children, and is 1s.; if 6 children, 1s. 6d., and in like proportion for a greater number; and it is in this manner that the 6 families are re- lieved.	24.—Only one instance, in which the man has a very large family, more than the mar- ket value of his labour can support. When any allowance is made on account of large families, it begins at 4 children. In no case is work done for individuals paid for partly by the parish.
25.—Relief is given as near the scale at Ayles- bury, as ordered by the magistrates, as possible. Man and wife, 6s. per week; with 1 child, 7s.; with 2, 8s.; and so on in propor- tion.	25.—Yes, according to the number in the fa- mily, and the price of bread.
29.—None.	29.—No.
37.—They are getting worse, from the circum- stance of many of them being frequently out of regular employ.	37.—The labourers are industrious while in work, but less careful than formerly in managing their earnings, arising from a greater dependence on parochial relief.
38.—Much as usual.	38.—Yes; from the farmers being unable to give the same regular employment as formerly.
53.—We had not the least disposition to riot, but every one came forward to preserve the peace, should it be broken. We attribute this good feeling to the wants of the poor being well attended to by the subscriptions of bene- volent individuals; and in the distribution of this relief, the higher and trading classes have much greater intercourse with the poor than generally happens.	53.—There were none in this parish.

<p>BLEDLOW.</p> <p><i>William Stephen, M.A. Vicar.</i> <i>Joseph James Harper, Chairman of Select Vestry.</i></p>	<p>BURNHAM.</p> <p><i>George Bethell, Vicar.</i></p>
(A.)—1,135. (C.)—1 <i>l.</i> 4 <i>s.</i> 10 <i>d.</i>	(A.)—1,930. (C.)—13 <i>s.</i>
4.—3 men and 1 boy for each 100 acres. <i>J. J. H.</i>	4.—
5.—About 130 above 21 years of age. <i>J. J. H.</i>	5.—
7.—About 16. No Irish or Scotch, <i>J. J. H.</i>	7.—
24.—1 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> per week for each child above 3. For labour many, as the farmers cannot employ them, nor even pay the poor rates. <i>J. J. H.</i> The wages are regularly made up by parish allowance to the rate of a half-peck loaf to each man, wife, and child under 10 years of age. <i>W. S.</i>	24.—A very few with very large families.
25.—According to their families. <i>J. J. H.</i> The number of a labourer's family. <i>W. S.</i>	25.—No particular scale.
29.—The difference is from 8 <i>d.</i> to 1 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> and higher in proportion to family; if large, 1 <i>s.</i> per head above 3. <i>J. J. H.</i> The single men not more than 6 <i>s.</i> ; the married generally 9 <i>s.</i> <i>W. S.</i>	29.—None; it would be an encouragement to improvident marriages. Wages are a reward for labour, and should be proportioned to the skill and exertions of the labourer, not to the extent of his family.
37.—I do not know that they retrograde in point of skill; but I believe there is less energy at work, and less time given to it; but then there is less pay. Boys are allowed to grow up in idleness, comparatively speaking. <i>W. S.</i> Much worse, in every possible way of taking the question. <i>J. J. H.</i>	37.—I should think that there is no very great difference.
38.—I believe they do. The farmers wish to discourage the obtaining settlements. The men have no fear of want by leaving a place; and there is more insubordination. <i>W. S.</i> They certainly do, as most of them prefer idleness to industry, and the parish must provide. <i>J. J. H.</i>	38.—I do not think that the respectable labourers change their services frequently; many have continued to work for years on the same farm.
53.—I have no means of doing so. <i>W. S.</i> Want of employment at a remunerating price, and sending on the roads in <i>gangs</i> the vilest characters, who communicate their knowledge of crime to others, who are led away by bad example. The increase of beer shops in obscure corners has greatly promoted every species of crime. <i>J. J. H.</i>	53.—We have had no agricultural riots in this parish; and only 1 burning, which took place in December, 1831. With regard to it, no certain information could be obtained.

<p>CHENIES.</p> <p><i>Thomas Pratt, Overseer.</i> <i>Samuel Clark, Assistant Overseer.</i></p>	<p>CHOLESBURY.</p> <p><i>Henry P. Jeston, Perpetual Curate.</i></p>
(A.)—649. (C.)—12 <i>s.</i> 3 <i>d.</i>	(A.)—127. (C.)—1 <i>l.</i> 3 <i>s.</i> 7 <i>d.</i>
4.—50. <i>T. P.</i>	4.—8 able-bodied men quite sufficient.
5.—69 upwards of 20 years old. <i>T. P.</i>	5.—9 married able-bodied labourers; 8 single ditto, upwards of 18 years of age.
7.—From 10 to 15. No Scotch or Irish. <i>T. P.</i>	7.—33, all paupers; none Irish or Scotch.
24.—We have 9 able-bodied labourers receiving relief on account of their great families. <i>S. C.</i> Very seldom is any allowance given under 5 children, when 1 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> per week is allowed. No work done for individuals paid for by the parish. <i>T. P.</i>	24.—None. Labour only is paid for.
25.—According to number of family. <i>S. C.</i>	25.—Scale of allowance:—married men, with 4 children, 9 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> ; married men, with 2 children, 8 <i>s.</i> ; married men, with 1 child, 7 <i>s.</i> ; single men, 4 <i>s.</i> ; boys, 2 <i>s.</i>
29.—Not any to able-bodied men. <i>T. P.</i> Not any, if an able-bodied man and a good labourer. <i>S. C.</i>	29.—The unmarried were not employed by individuals, on account of the surplus married able-bodied labourers being sufficient when there was employment.
37.—Diminishing. <i>S. C.</i>	37.—The tendency of the present unprofitable employment on the parish account, and of the labourers being necessarily kept together, is most prejudicial to the labourers in every respect.
38.—Yes; chiefly because the farmers, who formerly boarded their servants in their houses, now generally hire them to board themselves. <i>S. C.</i>	38.—No.
53.—No. <i>S. C.</i>	53.—There was not any riot in this parish, and only 1 incendiary fire in its immediate neighbourhood; the only motive to which appeared to be ill-will, occasioned by the supposed incendiary having been forbidden to sleep in a barn near the rick that was burnt.

STEEPLE CLAYDON. <i>Sir Harry Verney, Bart. J. P.</i>	DENHAM. <i>John Drummond.</i>	FARNHAM ROYAL. <i>John Grover, Rector. J. Cecil, A. Stuart, Ch. Robt. P. Mason, Overs.</i>
(A.)—881.	(A.)—1,169.	(A.)—777.
(C.)—1 <i>l.</i> 9 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>	(C.)—16 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>	(C.)—12 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>
4.—	4.—Yes.	4.—
5.—	5.—130.	5.—
7.—	7.—Very few. No Scotch or Irish.	7.—
24.—30 men and 20 boys.	24.—No.	24.—Only in the winter.
25.—Yes; labourers with families are always paid according to the number of their children.	25.—When on work for the parish, 6 <i>s.</i> man and wife, and 1 <i>s.</i> for each child under 10 years of age.	25.—According to the number in the family.
29.—Unmarried man, 4 <i>s.</i> weekly; married man and wife, 6 <i>s.</i> ; married man, wife, and one child, 7 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>	29.—None when the employment is regular; but when the farmers occasionally agree among themselves to take men off the parish, the single are paid less than the married.	29.—No difference in good workmen.
37.—Diminishing; because, 1 <i>st.</i> round system prevails in this neighbourhood; 2 <i>d.</i> low wages, and consequently bad food, which does not give the requisite strength; 3 <i>d.</i> want of constant employment. A labourer has said to me, 'I had much rather have parish work; which does not exhaust my strength, than farmers' work and another shilling a week.' 4 <i>th.</i> Food is worse now than formerly, owing to the labourer's not living in his employer's house.	37.—They work as well, but they drink more.	37.—Rather increasing.
38.—Yes: because when tired of their places, they know that the parish gives them as much for doing nothing as for working hard, which gives them time for working in their garden, wood-stealing, poaching, &c.	38.—Yes; probably from not being boarded, which for some years has been objected to on their part.	38.—The change is more frequent, in consequence of board not being allowed in the house, and no hiring for the year.
53.—Causes: discontent, disturbance in France, private revenge, idleness. Consequences have been, raising the unmarried man's pay from 3 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> to 5 <i>s.</i> weekly, which made the farmer far more angry and discontented than the labourer had been.	53.—No case occurred in this parish, but we apprehend the primary cause to have been low wages.	53.—

FAWLEY. <i>Daniel Tubb, Overseer.</i>	LECKHAMPSTEAD. <i>John Brickwell, Farmer.</i>
(A.)—254.	(A.)—499.
(C.)—1 <i>l.</i> 7 <i>s.</i> 11 <i>d.</i>	(C.)—17 <i>s.</i> 10 <i>d.</i>
4.—	4.—
5.—Number above 20 years of age, 51; below 20 years of age, 18; total 69.	5.—
7.—2 widows.	7.—
24.—No.	24.—None, because all the children they are not able to maintain are taken and kept in the poor-house, where they are constantly employed. 14 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> per week is considered sufficient to maintain man, wife and 3 children; but many keep 4, rather than send them to the poor-house, which is a proof that it can be done.
25.—Ten shillings a week is supposed to keep a man, his wife and 3 children.	25.—No general scale, I believe, to regulate the relief given.
29.—None.	29.—There is a difference when they are employed by the overseer; but not at piece-work and when they are employed in the summer.
37.—Diminishing in this parish, since a beer shop was opened.	37.—In parishes where there is a system of paying an allowance according to the number in the family, and the labourers are sent on the roads, they are more prone to habits of idleness than where a different system is pursued, viz. by requiring all to work for whatever they receive from the overseers, if they are able; consequently the labourers are not so good as they formerly were in those parishes.
38.—No. Now as formerly, they change yearly, to avoid the settlement.	38.—They do not, in the parish of Leckhampstead. All the most worthy labourers are constantly employed all the year round, at the same place.
53.—We had no riots, no burnings in our parish, as our men were all well employed, and our magistrates active.	53.—I attribute the agricultural riots and burnings principally to the non-employment of the surplus labourers in the winter months; or, what is the same thing, congregating them in numbers, to be <i>nominally employed</i> on the roads, without a superintendent to look after them, thereby giving a few mischievous characters an opportunity of corrupting all the others, and making arrangements for meeting at the beer shops, to join worse company in the evening. And when, under the influence and excitement of their too often adulterated and deleterious beverage, they turn out at midnight to consummate the mischief they had been plotting in the day.

GREAT MISSENDEN.		OVING.
<i>G. Carrington, J. P. Richard Marks, Vicar. Thomas Hailey, Overseer.</i>		<i>Thomas Thorpe, Churchwarden.</i>
(A.)—1,827.		(A.)—384.
(C.)—16s. 4d.		(C.)—2l. 13s. 4d.
4.—		4.—Cannot determine, as it depends on dif- ferent systems adopted.
5.—Above 20,339; under 20, and above 10, 220; total, 559. <i>T. H.</i>		5.—About 100.
7.—30. No Irish or Scotch. <i>T. H.</i>		7.—About 6 families. No Irish or Scotch.
24.—No wages paid out of the rates. Allowance if there are 4 small children. <i>T. H.</i> From 30 to 40 labourers for 9 months in the year are employed and paid by the parish, because unable or unwilling to find work for them- selves; and they in fact are receiving regular relief from the parish. <i>G. C.</i> Many are frequently out of regular work, and are employed on the roads, &c. at reduced wages, by the parish. <i>R. M.</i>		24.—From 15 to 20. 1s. is allowed for every child above 2. No work done for indi- viduals is paid for by the parish, except in a few trifling instances.
25.—Yes. <i>G. C.</i> According to the age of the applicant. <i>R. M.</i>		25.—A scale issued by the magistrates.
29.—There is, when employed by the parish. <i>T. H.</i> But not when employed by individuals. <i>G. C.</i> There is some difference. <i>R. M.</i>		29.—About 2s. per week more to the married.
37.—The great mass of our labourers are certainly industrious, and ready to do a good week's work for the regular pay. An in- creasing evil is, a surplus number of men, compared to our means of employing them. <i>R. M.</i> By inquiry of old people, and by the inference which may be drawn from the increase of the poor-rates, the industry of the labourers is diminishing. <i>G. C.</i>		37.—Diminishing.
38.—They do. Causes: domestic education and control by the opera- tion of the poor laws (as of late years administered) superseded at a very early age; habits of subordination weakened, and dissolute habits acquired. Above all, their having the parish to look to. <i>G. C.</i> They do. Cause: yearly fairs. <i>R. M.</i>		38.—Yes; in conse- quence of a superabundance of la- bourers. An impression 53.—among labourers that machines were injurious to their inte- rests, we think, was one great cause of the riots. The employers have manifested a desire to do what was in their power for the distressed poor, and the poor generally have behaved well. I cannot say what has caused the riots in other places. <i>R. M.</i>

SHERRINGTON.

John Pretyma, Rector and J. P.

(A.)—804.

(C.)—13s. 3d.

4.—

5.—

7.—

24.—Almost all the labourers receive either occasional or permanent relief from the parish.

25.—Relief is given according to this scale: the father of a family receives the value of a
peck wheaten loaf, and each remaining member half a peck, per week.

[53.—continued.]

29.—There is a great difference between the wages of the
married and unmarried labourers; I have known
unmarried men work for 4s. a week, and they seldom re-
ceive more than 6s., except during hay time and harvest.
Married men have generally 9s. or 10s. a week, either in
wages or allowance. I have known 1l. 3s. 6d. ordered by
a magistrate, per week,
to a labourer with a
family.

37.—Generally admitted to be
diminishing.

Farmers' servants now change their places very fre-
quently. They are hired so as not to make them
parishioners. 2dly, Servants are in general very in-
different about keeping their places, as they con-
stantly bear it in mind that they must be supported
38.—by the parish; and their conduct is such as may be
expected under such circumstances. 3dly, If a far-
mer had labourers whom he might be disposed to employ
permanently, others of a worse character would, in many
parishes, be sent to him by the overseers. I attribute the
frequent change to the poor laws.

53.—I consider the burnings and riots of 1830 and 1831 to
have been caused by the poor laws; they create a
hostile and malignant spirit between the workmen and their
employers; they depress wages, cause idleness and discon-
tent, and destroy all feelings of reciprocal dependence and
good will between the richer and the poorer classes. The
latter, under the sanction of these laws, claim an exemp-
tion from all the consequences of their own misconduct

and imprudence, and they know of
no limit to their legal exactions
upon the farmer. The stacks of
corn they almost consider as their
property, and wages or allowance
as their right; and if they do not
receive what they think fit to de-
mand, they burn the stacks and
terrify the farmer, as the most ef-
fectual method of asserting and
securing their rights. Among the
consequences, I observe an increase
of wages, and a further depression
of rent, a higher amount of poor
rate, a great feeling of insecurity
and uneasiness in the farmers.
The paupers are more determined
in their manner, and more threat-
ening in their language. I have
noticed also an universal reluctance
to the investment of capital in agri-
culture, and a withdrawal of it
where practicable. My opinion that
these outrages were the consequences
of the poor laws is strongly con-
firmed by the fact, that they were
almost exclusively confined to those
counties where the rates are highest,
and where the tendencies of the poor
laws have been most fully developed.
D

TAPLOW. <i>William Norrington, Overseer. Robert Bird.</i>	THORNTON. <i>Sir T. C. Sheppard.</i>
(A.)—647.	(A.)—94.
(C.)—13s. 4d.	(C.)—17. 12s. 4d.
4.—	4.—
5.—About 50. <i>W. N.</i>	5.—8 or 10.
7.—18. <i>W. N.</i>	7.—
24.—No; work done for individuals not paid for by the parish. <i>W. N.</i>	24.—The rate of allowance varies according to the number of children. If a man earns from 8s. to 10s. per week, and has a family, all above is paid by the parish.
25.—	25. According to the number of the family.
29.—No. <i>W. N. R. B.</i>	29.—A difference is made, particularly in winter; and a most impolitic system it is, as it is sure to drive the unmarried into an early, and, generally speaking, a most thoughtless marriage. The married men are paid according to the size of their families.
37.—Much the same. <i>W. N.</i> I hear from the farmers and millers that their men are not so controllable as formerly, and are generally worse workmen. <i>R. B.</i>	37.—The industry and respectability of the labourers, generally, in this county are decreasing, owing to the illegal and demoralizing system pursued of paying the able-bodied labourers partly by the employer, and partly from the book, according to the size of his family; for let him be ever so idle, he knows he is sure of having a certain sum made up to him one way or the other.
38.—Much the same. <i>W. N.</i> I do not think our labourers change their neighbourhood often. I fear they oftener change their masters, which I believe to arise from the general excitement now instilling into men's minds, and the increase of drunkenness. <i>R. B.</i>	38.—They do not.
53.—The riots in 1830—1831, in this neighbourhood, were almost all planned in the remote beer houses. <i>R. B.</i>	53.—The riots may be accounted for in a manner similar to the following: a barn of mine was burnt down in this parish from the spite of a worthless pauper towards the overseer, for attempting to perform his duty.

TURVILLE. <i>R. Allnatt, Overseer.</i>	UPTON-CUM-CHALVEY. <i>J. Pocock, Churchwarden.</i>	WEXHAM. <i>Henry Dyson, Rector.</i>
(A.)—442.	(A.)—1,502.	(A.)—181.
(C.)—16s.	(C.)—8s. 8d.	(C.)—17. 1s. 9d.
4.—	4.—	4.—
5.—Above 20 years age, 60; under 20 and above 10, 40. Total, 100.	5.—	5.—
7.—	7.—	7.—
24.—Many, considering the extent of our parish, with large families. No wages paid out of the poor rates. Allowance begins at 4 children.	24.—Some at times, who come from various employments, and of little use or worth to agriculture, especially in winter.	24.—Several; from 9 to 15 in number.
25.—A scale is fixed by the magistrates at petty or quarter sessions.	25.—Not exactly; capacity, constitution, and age having to do with it.	25.—According to family; by the scale recommended by the magistrates at quarter sessions.
29.—A difference only in winter, when the labourers are abundant.	29.—Best single men are as well paid as married ones; but feeling masters allow married men to do more of the hardest work by the piece, and therefore they have more money.	29.—No difference.
37.—Much worse than formerly.	37.—They know how to do work as well, but more artful.	37.—The same remissness, with occasional exceptions, is observable here, as in other parts.
38.—More frequently; and the causes are dissatisfaction from low wages, &c.	38.—Yes; I and many hiring none for a year, on account of not making them parishioners.	38.—They do so, probably from love of change.
53.—There can be but one opinion of the causes of the riots; namely, distress of so severe a character that drove the rioters to desperation.	53.—Revenge; by which they certainly in general got much benefited.	53.—A bad spirit amongst the more disorderly class of labourers, and in some instances a wish to plunder amidst the confusion and mobbing during fires.

WOOLSTON MAGNA ET PARVA.

Henry Tattam, Rector.

(A.)—214.

(C.)—17s.

4.—

5.—12 men, who are constantly employed.

7.—2.

24.—It is the constant practice for large families to receive relief from the parish: where the man's wages will not provide a loaf for each of his children, the amount is made up from the poor's rate. Work done for individuals is not paid for out of the rates in this parish; but the system is practised extensively in Ashendon hundred, and some other districts of the county.

25.—Yes, generally.

29.—Yes; in most parishes unmarried men are only employed as roundsmen, paid by the parish, and at the lowest rate; and in many instances are not employed at all, but driven out to seek employment. This system induces boys to marry at 17, 18, and 19, that they may have a claim upon the parish for support and employment. The population of parishes is greatly increased in this county in this way.

37.—Decidedly diminishing; the labourers are very different from those twenty years ago, and without a great change the rising generation will be worth little or nothing. In the parishes of Oving and Whitchurch the superfluous boys and men, to the number of 40 or 50, are congregated together in stone-pits, where they earn not 3d. per diem each, and where the better are soon corrupted by the bad, all receiving their weekly allowance from the overseers. Other parishes employ their surplus poor on the roads, and with the same effects. The poor prefer being paid by the overseer, and employed on the roads or on the rounds system, to constant work; for in the former case they are nearly or quite their own masters.

38.—Decidedly. I account for it partly from the increase of population, the depreciation of the agricultural interest, and the injurious effects of the poor laws as now administered; which circumstances have materially contributed to destroy the character of the English peasantry.

53.—No. It is a remarkable fact, that the persons whose property has been burnt in this county are principally dissenters.

ST. ANDREW THE LESS,
CAMBRIDGE.*Alexander Watford, Overseer.*

(A.)—6,651.

(C.)—3s. 8d.

4.—10.

5.—60.

7.—Three parts of the parish.
There may be 20 Irish and
5 Scotch families.

21.—There is no such instance;
there are no very large fam-
ilies that are troublesome; and
the highest relief is about 3s. to
their wages.

25.—

29.—None in this parish, but in
most remote villages the
married men are favoured in all
employments.

37.—

38.—

53.—

BASSINGBOURNE.

*Charles Beldam.
Thomas Prime, Overseer.*

(A.)—1,255.

(C.)—11s. 6d.

4.—4 men, 1 lad, and 2 boys, were considered sufficient
for every 100 acres. *T. P.*

5.—Referring to census in May 1831, number of families
185, and 304 males above 20 years of age, princi-
pally labourers. About 500 acres are held by non-resi-
dents, who employ scarcely any labourers belonging to
this parish. *T. P.*

7.—Very few. *T. P.*

21.—No regular relief. Large families obtain occasional
relief. *C. B.*
The children in large families are set to work, and paid
from the poor rate. No work done for individuals is
partly paid for by the parish. *T. P.*

25.—No. *C. B.*

29.—2s. per week.
From 1s. to 2s. per week. *C. B.*
T. P.

37.—Diminishing. *C. B.*

38.—No; except the surplus part of them.

53.—It is probable that distress and want of employment
may have had some influence in causing them.

BOTTISHAM.

*T. Newman, Churchwarden.
G. Jenyns, Bottisham Hall.*

(A.)—1,302.

(C.)—16s. 10d.

4.—150.

T. N.

5.—179.

T. N.

7.—About 30.

T. N.

24.—Where the families are large some small addition is given to their weekly pay, where there are children unable to earn any thing. The precise number I cannot say, it being uncertain. No work done for individuals is partly paid for by the parish. No allowance from the poor rate on account of large families.

T. N. G. J.

25.—Relief is given on the scale of two quartern loaves per head, or money equivalent.

G. J.

29.—The pay to both the same on common agricultural labour. In some instances there is a distinction.

G. J. T. N.

37.—Certainly not so industrious as formerly, nor so good workmen. They are glad of any excuse to throw themselves upon the parish if they can. A case occurred from this parish, at the last county sessions, on Friday last, where a pauper went for his weekly parish allowance of 15s. to the overseer, having been paid 23s. for labour three days previously, and was indicted by the parish, and sentenced to three months' hard labour in the house of correction.

G. J.

38.—The labourers in this parish seldom change masters; not more frequently than formerly. I allude to horsekeepers and yard-men.

53.—I believe that in a great many cases the burnings have arisen out of revenge, by unemployed labourers, against overseers who, perhaps, may have treated them rather harshly when they have applied for labour or money.

BOURNE.

Thomas Whittet.

(A.)—767.

(C.)—11s. 6d.

4.—About 100.

5.—About 130.

7.—Generally about 10; no Scotch or Irish.

24.—Not any now, but there have been, and of course will be again, if the means of employment are not increased. I believe not any work done for individuals is paid for by the parish.

25.—A scale of bread allowance was fixed some years ago; and, although not now acted upon by the magistrates, does, in point of fact, regulate parochial relief.

29.—Frequently, from 1s. to 2s. per week.

37.—Much the same.

38.—Yes; from a want of means to employ them.

53.—The poverty which compelled the farmer to use the threshing-machine bore down the labourer to unprecedented distress, and drove him to desperation.

CHATTERIS (ISLE OF ELY.)

*J. Seward, Overseer.
Robert Hemington, Assistant Overseer.*

(A.)—4,177.

(C.)—9s. 7d.

4.—About 500.

5.—About 550.

7.—150, of whom 50 are Irish.

24.—A few families receive some weekly relief in winter only, at the rate, in general, of 2s. per head, if above 5 in number. No work done for individuals paid for by the parish.

25.—No.

29.—None; if they are able-bodied men, except during a few weeks in winter, when work is scarce, and then but trifling, say about 1s. 6d. per week.

37.—Fast decreasing.

38.—Yes; for want of unity between master and man. The labourers used to think it a disgrace to have parish relief, but now it is made quite a trade.

53.—Riots in our agricultural district were caused in a great measure through want of employment.

FOULMIRE.

William Metcalfe.
William Wedd, Overseer.

(A.)—547.

(C.)—15s. 2d.

4.—60.

W. W.

5.—85.

W. W.

7.—Very few. No Irish or Scotch.

W. W.

24.—Many with large families have an allowance for the younger children.

W. M.

No. No work done for individuals partly paid for by the parish.

W. W.

The scale issued by the magistrates, Dec. 15, 1821, and acted upon for years, was the following:—A single woman 3 quartern loaves per week; single man, 4; man and wife, 7; man, wife, and 1 child, 8; do. with 2 children, 9; do. with 3 children, 11; man, wife, and 4 children and upwards, 2 quartern loaves per head, per week: paid according to the price of the best bread. Though now formally rejected by the justices, it is virtually recognised as the scale of relief.
By a scale recommended by magistrates.

W. M.

W. W.

29.—1s. per week less to single men.

W. W.

There has been a very considerable difference; from 3s. to 4s. per week. I hope the system is discontinued. The fires have enlightened the policy of many of the farmers; instances, however, are still to be found.

W. M.

37.—There is general, and, I believe, well founded complaint that the labourers are not so industrious as formerly. It is the necessary effect of putting men into the gravel-pits, paid so low that work is not even expected. I have known able-bodied men paid 2s. 8d. a week for digging gravel, or standing in or about the gravel-pit for so many hours in the day. Such an education can never produce good labourers.

W. M.

Certainly worse.

W. W.

38.—Yes, which necessarily arises from the state to which the agricultural labourers are reduced. The bond of good feeling between master and servant is burst asunder. The great farms have too generally swallowed up the little occupations which formerly stimulated the servant to industry, obedience, and economy.
No, because their employers know they would become chargeable immediately.

W. M.

W. W.

53.—I conceive they are chiefly attributable to a long course of bad execution of the poor laws. Scales of allowance had reduced wages, by enabling the farmer to know exactly how far he might press upon the labourers. I cannot better illustrate what I mean than by stating the conduct of the farmers in a populous parish in my own neighbourhood in 1829. All the married men, amounting to more than 40, were put upon the parish rates, and the single able-bodied men were taken by the farmers, and paid

[53.—continued.]

5s. or 6s. a week instead of 10s. The labourers were discontented, and ready to commit every act of insubordination and revenge. In almost every parish in this county wherein riots or fires have taken place, I think the cause was chiefly the cruel policy of paying the single men much below the fair rate of wages. I visited most of the parishes at the time, and found the labourers generally sadly oppressed. The object of the riots and fires was the same; not the wanton destruction of property, but to obtain higher wages, which was too generally the result. Wherever such means of intimidation have been used, a consequent amelioration of the condition of the poor has taken place. Immediately after the fire at Guilden Morden, in 1831, I went to the parish, and found the farmers assembled in vestry the very morning after the fire, consulting what they could do to put their labourers in a better state, by raising their wages. I remonstrated with them upon the impolicy of doing it then, as it would be a bonus for such wickedness.
No.

W. W.

FORDHAM.

R. D. Fyson and John Minett, Overseers.
George Dennis, Churchwarden.

(A.)—1,325.

(C.)—12s. 3d.

4.—It depends entirely on the price of corn, which affects the farming of the land.

5.—About 197 families.

7.—35, including mechanics and labourers. No Irish nor Scotch.

24.—No; we have not more than 6 or 7, who have no regular allowance, but are obliged to apply when their children are out of employment; but they have little or nothing when their children have work. No work done for individuals paid for by the parish.

25.—Yes; half stone of flour per head, and 6d. per head extra.

29.—No difference, except when work is scarce, when the single men will work for a trifle less than the married; the married men with families prefer working the gravel-pit, with the overseer's assistance.

37.—Certainly decreasing, and more careless workmen than formerly. The poor laws are taken advantage of; they know they must be maintained whether they work or not; and the clerical magistrates have encouraged the poor in this respect.

38.—We think they do. The reason is, if a man has a wife and 5 children, the eldest not more than 7, he cannot in the winter maintain them, therefore he applies to the overseer for assistance.

53.—No doubt done to intimidate employers, by such base means to obtain higher wages. The independent feeling which was once cherished by the labourers is completely lost, and they think it now no disgrace to throw themselves on the parish for support; and if they cannot obtain just what they think they ought, they have recourse to abuse, threats, and at last foul means.

FOXTON.

Swann Hurrell, Overseer.

(A.)—408.

(C.)—17. 0s. 11d.

4.—

5.—

7.—

24.—No able-bodied labourers receiving relief.

25.—According to the price of bread.

29.—Single men here have 8s. per week; married 10s.

37.—Certainly the labourers are infinitely less desirous of giving satisfaction to their employers than formerly, from the circumstance of being able to demand employment or relief from the overseers, thereby obtaining sufficient income with little labour for it.

38.—

53.—I think the want of regular employment among the agricultural labourers was one main cause of the riots, &c. as it appears to have prevailed most in the most populous districts.

HISTON, ST. ANDREW WITH ST. ETHEDEED. <i>T. P. Michell, Vicar.</i>	LINTON. <i>John Adcock, Assistant Overseer. L. Fisher, Linton Court.</i>	LITTLEPORT. (ISLE OF ELY.) <i>M. Waddelow, Assist. Overseer.</i>
(A.)—784. (C.)—17s. 11d.	(A.)—1,678. (C.)—17. 1s. 7d.	(A.)—2,644. (C.)—16s. 3d.
4.—66.	4.—	4.—280 to 320.
5.—About 90.	5.—138, according to the last census. <i>J. A.</i>	5.—320.
7.—About 20 families.	7.—About 20. No Irish or Scotch. <i>J. A.</i>	7.—Some Irish in summer; from 10 to 20.
24.—5 receive relief on account of their families; none for themselves. An allowance is made from the poor rates when the family amounts to 4 small children and upwards. No work done for individuals paid for by the parish.	24.—Occasional, to large families, beginning at 4. The surveyors take digging of individuals for the employment of extra labourers, which is put out at per rod, and two-thirds paid by the parish. <i>J. A.</i> Large families are occasionally relieved. <i>E. F.</i>	24.—Able-bodied labourers are always paid 10s. a week in winter. Wages are never made up to them, unless their family is unemployed, or too large to be maintained upon their wages. Allowance begins at 4 children.
25.—In some measure, according to a bread scale drawn up by the magistrates in 1821.	25.—2s. 6d. to 3s. to widows; 3s. 6d. to 4s. to old and infirm men. <i>E. F.</i>	25.—Upon a scale; man and wife 5s. per week; 1s. 6d. per child for two; if more, 4s. to the man and wife, and 1s. 6d. to each child.
29.—Very trifling, if any.	29.—No. Not to men of the same ability. <i>J. A.</i> <i>E. F.</i>	29.—No difference in wages. When work is scarce, the married men are employed in preference.
37.—Decreasing, from the circumstance of their being partially employed in the gravel-pits, where they do little or nothing, and consequently are less able and less willing to work when other employment can be had.	37.—The labourers generally are good, and as good as formerly, excepting those who are deteriorated by the operation of the poor laws. <i>E. F.</i>	37.—It is, rapidly. Labourers are more indifferent to their own characters and the interest of their employers.
38.—No.	38.—The good ones seldom do; nor does it occur more frequently than formerly.	38.—Labourers are constantly changing their places, being independent of their masters from the operation of the poor laws.
53.—No agricultural riots took place in this neighbourhood, and the burnings, I think, took place from individual malice.	53.—Discontent, generated by the maladministration of the poor laws.	53.—None.

ST. MARY, (ISLE OF ELY.) <i>Henry Lawrence, Churchwarden.</i>	MELBOURN. <i>William C. Carver, Overseer.</i>
(A.)—1,796. (C.)—12s. 1d.	(A.)—1,474. (C.)—9s. 2d.
4.—About 200.	4.—About 180.
5.—200 by the last population return; there are some farms which employ very few labourers belonging to the parish.	5.—Of all sorts, from 10 years and upwards, about 260.
7.—None.	7.—Very few. No Scotch or Irish.
24.—About 12 receive relief the whole year, on account of large families. No number can be stated at which such allowance commences; they are paid a sum to make their earnings sufficient to support the family. No work done for individuals is paid for by the parish.	24.—No allowance is made on account of large families. Occasionally, when no work could be found, men have been set to dig, the farmer paying 10s. per acre, the value of ploughing.
25.—No; it is left to the discretion of the officers. The magistrates once laid down a scale, which was the worst thing they ever did. The able-bodied pauper comes boldly forward, and demands his money as a matter of right, which I am ready to prove has occurred in 50 different instances.	25.—According to necessity.
29.—No; each person is paid according to the work he performs.	29.—Some farmers make a little difference; others make none.
37.—Considerably worse, and still decreasing, owing to the reason given in the 38th answer, and their placing too much dependence on parochial relief.	37.—Rather diminishing.
38.—Much more frequently, because, at present, an able-bodied man obtains as much money when out of work as he can by labouring. A man out of work, with a wife and 6 children, gets from the parish 13s. or 14s. If he works the whole week, he gets 10s., and then goes to the parish for the remainder.	38.—No perceptible difference.
53.—We have not had any.	53.—We have had none here, and can form no opinion of the causes in other places.

MELDRETH. <i>John Burr, Churchwarden.</i>	OVER. <i>Frederick Robinson, Overseer for 4 years.</i>
(A.)—643. (C.)—10s. 5d.	(A.)—989. (C.)—17s. 1d.
4.—115 labourers, with a labour rate, would occupy all the land in this parish.	4.—
5.—About 120.	5.—
7.—None.	7.—
24.—None, except that children are sent to school, and allowed 1s. each, to large families.	24.—None at this time.
25.—No relief but to those who are unable to work.	25.—No; as overseer I give what appears to me right, keeping in mind the views of the magistrates.
29.—Yes; single men are paid from 6s. to 9s.; married from 9s. to 10s.	29.—2s. per week more to the married man.
37.—Worse, on account of land being let out of the parish, and they will not take the labourers. A good labour rate is very much wanted; there would then be no poor.	37.—Certainly decreasing, and must, I think, continue to do so, while able-bodied men are allowed to apply to a parish for work, and the overseer is compelled to employ them. Where the parish has 40 or 50 employed, it is quite impossible they can all be attended to. They receive their money without any adequate equivalent in the shape of labour. Hence habits of idleness are formed, and we find they do not want to leave the parish, except in the busy seasons of the year, when large wages are given.
38.—No change at all.	38.—Money from a parish was formerly considered a degradation; but now, in the busy seasons of the year, if a labourer can go into an adjoining parish, and earn 1s. per week more, he will leave his old master, well knowing the magistrates will compel the parish to maintain him when he returns.
53.—Keep up the price of labour, or there will be always cause to fear.	53.—I consider it arose from the feeling of hatred on the part of the poor man, brought on by the present poor laws. The poor look upon the farmer as their oppressor, and the magistrate as their benefactor.

PAPWORTH SAINT AGNES. <i>H. J. Spurling, Rector.</i>	ROYSTON. <i>Gamaliel Docwra, Vestry Clerk and Assistant Overseer.</i>
(A.)—106. (C.)—15s. 1d.	(A.)—1,757. (C.)—10s. 10d.
4.—	4.—About 12.
5.—Above 20 years, 17; under 20, and above 10, 9; total 26, besides farmers' servants and out-residents, who come for work occasionally.	5.—50.
7.—No non-parishioners.	7.—About 20 labourers. Two Irish, and no Scotch.
24.—None; but in this respect we are rather an exception. Formerly work done for individuals was partly paid for by the parish in the shape of allowance on account of large families, but it is not so now.	24.—The magistrates require an allowance to be made according to the number in their families, which the parishioners resist. Not any receive allowance; and the system of paying for work from the poor rates is objected to by this parish.
25.—I should say, yes; but only on the authority of others.	25.—According to the price of the best bread; half a peck to each person in the family is mostly the scale.
29.—None with us; but a most distressing difference in some of the neighbouring parishes.	29.—Not any in money, though, from the preference shown to the married, there is a difference in reality.
37.—Farmers sometimes complain of diminishing industry, but are unable to substantiate their complaints. I imagine that the labourer works more unwillingly, but not less skilfully, and, as might be expected, feels little interest in his employer.	37.—Labourers are employed now, not because the work is wanted, but because the occupiers of land are compelled by the poor laws to employ them. Consequently the skill of the labourer does not influence his being employed, as he must certainly be if ever so unskilful; and when skill is not rewarded it ceases to be acquired.
38.—The labourer, or, as in this district, shepherd or horse-keeper, changes his place through the law of hiring and service, which where it is not evaded (probably at the expense of a future law-suit) totally prevents his retaining his place.	38.—The situation of the labourer is considerably deteriorated by the increase of population among the poor, which the poor laws have aggravated. The labourers have now, from the excess of their numbers, less the choice of services than heretofore. Compulsion is now requisite to oblige the rate-payers to give employment to the labourers, and not to oblige them to work.
53.—The first cause was undoubtedly distress, and consequent dissatisfaction stirred up by bad men. That the assemblages at the beer shops brought the evil elements to a focus is the opinion of many clergymen and magistrates. But personally I know nothing of this, having had no discontent in my own parish.	53.—Dissatisfaction at the decreased parish allowance tended to produce these acts of insubordination.

GREAT SHELFORD. <i>Peter Grain.</i>	LITTLE SHELFORD. <i>Charles Beales.</i>
(A.)—812. (C.)—17s. 6d.	(A.)—483. (C.)—14s. 9d.
4.—	4.—We have 35 married men, 27 single, and 21 boys, which are not too many to cultivate the land properly.
5.—	5.— <i>Vide</i> previous answer.
7.—	7.—Not more than 6. No Irish or Scotch.
24.—About 6 able-bodied labourers in the employment of individuals, who generally receive allowance on account of their large families; and there would be more if we did not employ men with large families as much as we can at piece work.	24.—The children of those who have large families are sent to the gravel-pit, and are allowed 1s. 6d. to 2s. per week for idleness. No work done for individuals paid for by the parish.
25.—Generally according to the price of bread, at the rate of two quartern loaves per head weekly through the family; which plan was adopted by the district magistrates some time since, but, I believe, is now generally disapproved of by them.	25.—
29.—Generally 1s. per week difference.	29.—2s. per week.
37.—Certainly decreasing; and they are not better workmen, but I think the contrary, for this reason: that they receive as much for doing comparatively nothing on the parish account as they do from the farmers for working hard for perhaps 12 hours, which, in my opinion, destroys the industry and independence of the labourers.	37.—Not increasing, in consequence of their being thrown so frequently on the parish.
38.—I think they do, particularly men with large families, for the reason stated in answer 37.	38.—Our labourers are hired by the week.
53.—The pretence for rioting in my neighbourhood was for an increase of wages, which, although in most instances granted, was, in my opinion, unnecessary, as the labourers were then paid as much as they have been at any time during the last 30 years, when provisions were equally cheap. The burnings were generally supposed to be the acts of the lower orders in the immediate neighbourhood.	53.—Distress in many instances.

STETCHWORTH. <i>Richard Eaton, J. P., Principal Owner and Occupier.</i>	SUTTON (Isle of Ely.) <i>James Curlance, Churchwarden.</i>
(A.)—545. (C.)—18s. 2d.	(A.)—1,362. (C.)—16s. 2d.
4.—About 100 generally.	4.—165, according to the system here of farming.
5.—All are agricultural; for numbers refer to the population return.	5.—165.
7.—	7.—None, except the Irish in harvest.
24.—Quite uncertain. Allowance begins when the aggregate earnings of the whole family are not sufficient to purchase half a stone of flour, and 6d. per head for other necessities. Fuel is in general supplied gratis in the winter. Work done for individuals not partly paid for by the parish.	24.—Beginning at the sixth child when the father is in regular employment; not more than one or two instances. No work for individuals paid for by the parish.
25.—According to the earnings and number of the family.	25.—Yes; out of employment, 5s. man and wife, 1s. 3d. children each.
29.—No difference.	29.—No.
37.—No difference.	37.—Not much difference.
38.—No.	38.—No material difference in this respect.
53.—There were none in this immediate neighbourhood.	53.—

THORNEY ABBEY, (ISLE OF ELY.) <i>William Hurry, Overseer. T. Wing, Thorney Abbey.</i>	HOLY TRINITY, (ISLE OF ELY.) <i>C. Mosely, } Overseers. E. Stevens, }</i>
(A.)—2,055. (C.)—1 <i>l.</i> 2 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>	(A.)—4,325. (C.)—13 <i>s.</i> 2 <i>d.</i>
4.—	4.—
5.—Above 20 years of age, 630; under 20 and above 10, 65. Total, 695. <i>W. H.</i>	5.—170, besides a considerable number of watermen and porters.
7.—The number of non-resident parishioners is very inconsiderable; there is an influx of Irish and English labourers in the summer, to the amount of some hundreds. <i>W. H.</i>	7.—Very few.
24.—None, at any period of the year, except on occasions of sickness, or what may be given voluntarily by the parishioners in cases of large families. <i>T. W.</i> 1 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> a week in winter for each child a labourer may have above 3, unable to earn any thing, provided he pays his own rent, and is guilty of no misdemeanour. <i>W. H.</i>	24.—The average number of able-bodied labourers receiving relief in the winter season is 50. Work done for individuals is not partly paid for by the parish.
25.—In cases of sickness, relief is given in proportion to the number of persons in a family, at the rate of about 5 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> or 6 <i>s.</i> for a man and his wife, with an increase of 1 <i>s.</i> or 1 <i>s.</i> 2 <i>d.</i> , according to the price of flour, and circumstances, for each of his children. <i>T. W.</i>	25.—A man and wife unemployed get 5 <i>s.</i> of the parish, and 1 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> each child; where there are 3 children, the man and wife only 4 <i>s.</i> Widows from 2 <i>s.</i> to 3 <i>s.</i> each.
29.—None. <i>T. W.</i> None. <i>W. H.</i>	29.—No difference is made between single and married men when their labour is equal.
37.—I apprehend there is no material change going on in this respect. <i>T. W.</i>	37.—We consider, generally speaking, they are not so industrious in the winter season. We attribute it mainly to the operation of the allowance system, which enables the labourers, particularly those with families, to obtain from the overseers a larger sum than their earnings would amount to if fully employed. In the summer season we perceive no material difference.
38.—I do not know that they do.	38.—They certainly do; to be attributed to the cause mentioned in the preceding answer.
53.—I have no doubt that they were caused in many places by the want of employment, by inadequate wages, mal-administration of the poor laws, and neglect of the moral culture of the poor.	53.—No riots or burnings took place in this neighbourhood.

TRUMPINGTON. <i>George Cuming, late Assistant Overseer.</i>	WATERBEACH. ⁷ <i>John Denson, Labouring Gardener.</i>
(A.)—722. (C.)—10 <i>s.</i> 3 <i>d.</i>	(A.)—1,146. (C.)—9 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>
4.—	4.—
5.—Number above 20, 82; under 20 and above 10, 50 and upwards: total 132.	5.—Above 20 years of age, 120; under 20 and above 10, 55; total 175.
7.—15. No Irish or Scotch.	7.—At least one-third; but neither Irish nor Scotch.
24.—At some seasons a great many able-bodied labourers receive allowance.	24.—In some few cases allowance is made on account of large families, but the system has recently been checked by the magistrates. It commences when their united earnings do not amount to the magistrates' scale.
25.—A single man, 6 <i>s.</i> ; man and wife, 7 <i>s.</i> ; man, wife, and child, 9 <i>s.</i> ; if they perform any labour under the direction of the overseer.	25.—Yes, by the scale of the magistrates; and by it the farmers seem to regulate the price of labour.
29.—None, unless paid from parish funds.	29.—No difference, except when working for the parish.
37.—In this parish the great proportion of labourers are eminently industrious. The desire to be so, I believe, is increasing. Better workmen cannot be. But the delinquent poor are the reverse; knowing what demand they can weekly make upon the parish funds, they rapidly descend in the scale, and will so long as a reference to magistrates is allowed.	37.—In part, but not generally so.
38.—They do not hesitate to change, because character is of no consequence, as they know what they can demand of the overseers. This is very bad.	38.—Yes; and I attribute it principally to the pride of their employers.
I presume that they may, in some measure, be accounted for by the sudden transition from high to low wages, and the present surplus of labourers causing a suspension of piece-work, and less of the necessities of life for the same money. Agricultural labourers would all be apportioned among the farmers, except in parishes where tythes are taken in kind: for the quiet of the country a commutation should, at all hazards, be immediately entered into by Act of Parliament; there is no danger in a rural population if they have labour given them.	53.—Distress on the part of the labourers, occasioned by want of sympathy on the part of the magistrates and farmers. There are other causes, which I have enumerated in the 'Peasant's Voice.'

UPWELL, (Isle of Ely.) <i>W. Hopkins, Overseer.</i>	WIMBLINGTON, (Isle of Ely.) <i>Thomas Grant.</i>
(A.)—1,248.	(A.)—965.
(C.)—18s. 5d.	(C.)—18s. 2d.
4.—	4.—3 to 100 acres, besides women and children.
5.—	5.—222, according to the census.
7.—	7.—From 20 to 30 Irish; in harvest a greater number.
24.—But few, except where there are large families and young children; but as soon as 1 or 2 of the children are old enough to work, and the eldest can mind the others, and the wife go out to work, they then want no more relief while they have employment.	24.—A few with large young families occasionally receive relief in winter. Work done for individuals is not partly paid for by the parish.
25.—The scale is at the rate of half a stone of flour per head; 4d. per head for shop things, and 1s. for firing. Flour being 3s. per stone, 6 in a family would require 9s. 2s. 1s.—total 12s.	25.—No.
29.—No.	29.—None.
37.—I have no reason to complain of their habits of industry. There is, unfortunately, more often a want of work than there should be, owing to the confined means possessed by farmers to employ them. The occupation of the labourer is of so uniform a nature, that there can be but little alteration in his skill for better or worse; some are, as in all other cases, more expert than others.	37.—They are certainly not so good labourers as they were formerly.
38.—Very few changes. Men of good character are always respected by their masters; and mutual satisfaction produces no change.	38.—I think they do not.
53.—I can account for it but as a contagious moral disease among the lowest and most ignorant part of society. We had nothing of it with us. It no doubt arose, in a great degree, from the labourers not having constant and profitable employment, and among the worst of the bad, such as few farmers care to have on their premises. Such scenes cannot be prevented being circulated when done; but it is a misfortune that it should have been so generally known. It put the invention into the heads of bad men, who perhaps would have never thought of it alone. Nothing but regular employment can keep that class of people out of mischief.	53.—I think the principal part has been caused by imitation.

WIMPOLE. <i>Robert Withers, Land Agent.</i>	WISBECH, (Isle of Ely.) <i>J. Isley and J. Hardmeat, jun., Overseers. A. Mills and T. Clarke, Distributing and Collecting Overseers.</i>
(A.)—583.	(A.)—
(C.)—11s. 11d.	(C.)—
4.—If the land be in proportion of one-third grass and two-thirds arable, every 50 acres of clay land may be well and sufficiently cultivated by 1 man, 1 lad, and 1 boy.	4.—
5.—82 married men; 56 single men, or lads of 16 and upwards; 25 boys; making in all 163.	5.—
7.—None.	7.—
24.—None. All are employed among the farmers and proprietors by agreement, each occupier taking his proportion according to the extent of his occupation.	24.—None.
25.—The scale is one peck of bread to a man weekly, three-fourths to a woman, one-half to a child.	25.—As the case may require, and by no particular scale.
29.—From 2s. to 3s. a week. The married men have 9s. a week; the single men and lads 6s. to 7s.	29.—No difference, if the labour is equal.
37.—Diminished. They place too great dependence on the poor rates.	37.—Diminishing.
38.—Yes. Few farmers make settlements; every parish seeks to reduce its numbers, to avoid poor rates.	38.—The best sort of labourers do not; but some will not keep employment when they might.
53.—The fires were lighted up by malice in the breasts of the labourers, because the farmers pinched them in their wages: the riots may be called an effort to recover their former rate of wages, and answered their object.	53.—No burnings in this parish, but some very near us. We have had a great many depredations, arising, in a great measure, as we believe, from want of more bodily employment, instead of which most part of their time is occupied in lawless pursuits, and regularly frequenting the new beer shops, of which we have a great many, which have proved the greatest nursery of vice and immorality the country has experienced for a long time past.

AUDLEM TOWNSHIP. <i>George Clarke, Overseer.</i>	BOSTOCK TOWNSHIP. <i>James F. France, J. P.</i>
(A.)—1,558.	(A.)—218.
(C.)—8s. 9d.	(C.)—16s. 6d.
4.—90.	4.—
5.—About 165.	5.—
7.—None. There being no manufacture carried on in the township, we have no employment for them, nor for a number of the poor of the township.	7.—
24.—No allowance on account of large families. Families are relieved when unemployed or in want, by order of select vestry or the overseer. No work done for individuals paid for by the parish.	24.—None receiving regular relief except in the payment of house-rent.
25.—	25.—1s. 6d. a head, if the family is small; and if it amounts to 6, 1s. each.
29.—No.	29.—No difference.
37.—	37.—The beer bill has been the greatest curse upon the neighbourhood; a shop for its sale is established close to every salt-work, frequently kept by the overlooker of the pans and boilers; and the men having to pass much time in the boiling-houses and in steam are naturally thirsty, and spend a great part of their earnings in the beer shop, instead of taking them to their families.
38.—	38.—No. The farmers almost wholly employ young unmarried men, who live and eat in their houses; and when these marry, they find employment in the salt-works.
53.—	53.—Nothing of the kind has occurred in this county.

CHILDER THORNTON TOWNSHIP. <i>Croxton Johnson, Overseer.</i>	EASTHAM & HOOTON TOWNSHIPS. <i>Eastham, J. Pickering } Overseers. Hooton, J. Bedson }</i>	HANDFORTH-CUM-BOSDEN. <i>Daniel Shaw, Overseer.</i>
(A.)—296.	(A.)—350 and 103.	(A.)—1,980.
(C.)—4s. 1d.	(C.)—4s. 4d. and 17s. 10d.	(C.)—7s. 5d.
4.—	4.—	4.—Upwards of 80, exclusive of the occupying families.
5.—Above 20, 11; under 20, 8: total, 19.	5.—E. 59; H. 18.	5.—Not so many employed as ought to be. Such is the depression of the farming interest, that they cannot pay their wages.
7.—2 Irish families.	7.—None.	7.—Few, except those employed in weaving.
24.—No allowance.	24.—None regularly.	24.—Allowance is only to paupers, and according to circumstances. In some cases at 3 children. Work done for individuals not partly paid for by the parish.
25.—According to circumstances.	25.—No scale.	25.—
29.—None.	29.—None.	29.—No distinction in general.
37.—Labour diminishing; men as good as ever.	37.—No difference of importance.	37.—
38.—No.	38.—No; we hire from year to year.	38.—
53.—None in this part.	53.—No, none here.	53.—

LEFTWICH TOWNSHIP. <i>John Brassey, Overseer.</i>	OVERPOOL TOWNSHIP, (EASTHAM PARISH.) <i>R. Jones, Overseer.</i>
(A.)—1,799.	(A.)—93.
(C.)—2s. 7d.	(C.)—5d.
4.—26.	4.—
5.—15. The labourers are chiefly employed at the salt-works, and in the navigation of vessels on the Weaver, with salt to Liverpool.	5.—22.
7.—22. No Irish nor Scotch.	7.—5. No Irish nor Scotch.
24.—None. Now and then a labourer's child clothed when going out to service. No work done for individuals is paid for by the parish.	24.—None. No allowance.
25.—	25.—Generally 2s. a week a head.
29.—No difference.	29.—No difference whatever.
37.—The establishing of beer shops has a most injurious effect upon the lower classes, who are often induced to spend a part of their earnings in them. Within half a mile from a certain point in this parish there were 3 old public houses; since the Act passed, there have been 14 new beer shops opened.	37.—Some are certainly much more sober and industrious than others, as I conceive has always been the case; workmen much the same.
38.—They do; in consequence of the advanced wages given at the salt-works, whereby the servant men are induced to leave their services, and go to labour at the salt-works, before they have properly learned husbandry work.	38.—Upon the whole, I think they do. An increase of the labourers.
53.—No burnings or riots in this neighbourhood.	53.—None whatever.

ROSTHERNE TOWNSHIP. <i>W. Carter, Tatton Park.</i>	GREAT SUTTON. <i>Joseph Oakes, Overseer.</i>
(A.)—376.	(A.)—162.
(C.)—14s. 5d.	(C.)—4s. 11d.
4.—	4.—
5.—	5.—25.
7.—	7.—30. No Irish; no Scotch.
24.—None in the employment of individuals. 11, who receive relief on account of their families.	24.—None whatever. No allowance made.
25.—No regular scale. Allowance is given to make up a subsistence for the families.	25.—Generally 2s. a week a head.
29.—No difference.	29.—No difference whatever.
37.—There is no difference, excepting when a man is disposed to be idle. He now knows better than formerly that the parish must keep him, and may be more inclined to indulge himself.	37.—Some more sober and industrious than others, as has always been the case. Workmen much the same.
38.—Not more frequently.	38.—Upon the whole I think they do. An increase of the labourers.
53.—Such as have occurred in this part of the county appear to have been caused by private malice.	53.—None whatever.

LITTLE SUTTON. <i>Richard Amery, Assistant Overseer.</i>	THELWALL TOWNSHIP. (RUNCORN PARISH.) <i>P. Hedgcock, Overseer.</i>	WHITBY TOWNSHIP. (EASTHAM PARISH.) <i>Joseph Carler.</i>
(A.)—387. (C.)—5s. 2d.	(A.)—332. (C.)—7s. 1d.	(A.)—234. (C.)—9s. 4d.
4.	4.—	4.—
5.—80.	5.—	5.—Above 20 years of age; 20; under 20, and above 10 years of age, 16: total 36.
7.—60. No Irish; no Scotch.	7.—	7.—50 at present; 6 Scotch; 4 Irish.
24.—None whatever. No allowance made.	24.—No.	24.—None. No allowance.
25.—Generally 2s. a week a head.	25.—Relief is given according to their circumstances.	25.—No scale.
29.—No difference whatever.	29.—No.	29.—No difference.
37.—Some more sober and industrious than others.	37.—Diminishing; and (with few exceptions) worse workmen, by reason of idleness and drunkenness.	37.—As usual.
38.—They do; which I attribute to, an increase in the labourers, giving the masters a larger selection.	38.—No; because most of the labourers are idle and drunken, and therefore do not obtain settlement out of the township.	38.—No.
53.—None whatever.	53.—No; we have not experienced any.	53.—Not had any riots or burnings.

ST. AGNES. <i>Thomas Bulson.</i>	ST. ANTONY IN THE EAST. <i>Reginald Pole Carew, Member Select Vestry.</i>
(A.)—6,642. (C.)—4s. 6d.	(A.)—3,099. (C.)—5s. 10d.
4.—Say 100.	4.—
5.—About 30.	5.—
7.—The labouring miners move from parish to parish as the mines improve; but we have no Irish nor Scotch.	7.—
24.—If an able-bodied labourer is unable to support his family, he and his children are employed on the parish roads by way of relief. No able-bodied labourer is allowed any relief from the poor fund since 1818. If in want of work, he is sent to the deputy waywarden, where he and his children are employed by piece-work.	24.—None, when in full work and perfect health.
25.—Not since 1818.	25.—The following scale; a single man 4s. per week; a man and wife, 5s.; ditto and child, 6s.; ditto and 2 children, 7s.; ditto and 3 children, 8s.; and so on.
29.—Not any.	29.—None.
37.—The labourers who occupy the cottages and small portions of land, are very industrious, particularly so since 1818, as the rates on their cottages and land are greatly reduced since that period, prior to which the truck system was practised by the overseers.	37.—The labourers of this parish appear to be less able-bodied men than those of former days; attributable, perhaps, to a want of food sufficiently nutritious in the early part of their lives, and especially to too great a use of that anti-nutritious herb called tea.
38.—Our labourers are generally hired by the day.	38.—
53.—The beer shops have been, in our opinion, the principal cause. They are a pest to civil society.	53.—No riots or burnings have taken place in this neighbourhood; and we are, fortunately, ignorant of their causes and consequences elsewhere.

BOTUSFLEMING. <i>William May, Overseer.</i>	BURYAN DEANERY, Comprising the Parishes of BURYAN, SEN- NEN, and ST. LEVAN. <i>John Paynter.</i>
(A.)—279. (C.)—13s. 4d.	(A.)—1,707. (C.)—2s. 11d.
4.—If the land was properly cultivated we should not have labourers sufficient, and the land would produce at least one-third more. Short leases are ruinous to the land and farmer also.	4.—
5.—15.	5.—270 above 20 years of age; 220 above 10 and not exceeding 20.
7.—None.	7.—Not many; no Irish or Scotch.
24.—No, unless they are sick. No work done for individuals is partly paid for by the parish.	24.—Such a practice may be said to be unknown here.
25.—According to their need.	25.—
29.—From 1s. to 2s. per week.	29.—None.
37.—The labourers that have small families and good masters are as industrious as ever, but the opposite class have lost their independence, through extreme poverty.	37.—Their industry is increasing, and they are, on the whole, better workmen than formerly.
38.—I do not think they do.	38.—They do. This may be owing to decreasing simplicity of manners, to a greater facility of moving over the country, to the relaxation of the once existing ties between masters and servants, and also to the increased number of persons seeking service.
53.—Want of food and clothing.	53.—This neighbourhood happily escaped any such visitation.

CALSTOCK. <i>William Crocker, Acting Overseer.</i>	ST. COLUMB MINOR. <i>John Nicholls.</i>
(A.)—2,328. (C.)—10s. 9d.	(A.)—1,406. (C.)—9s. 9d.
4.—Cannot tell.	4.—
5.—About 500.	5.—60 above 20 years of age; 70 above 10 and not exceeding 20.
7.—Not many, except in the quarry, and there according to the demand for stones; sometimes twice as many as at other times. No Scotch or Irish.	7.—Two or three years ago there were none, but now there are a great many, as there is a new pier being built at New Quay.
24.—They are sometimes relieved when in distress, but not constantly; none at present. A poor man with 5 children gets about 1s. 6d. a head per week. No work done for individuals is paid for by the parish.	24.—No. One shilling a week has been allowed to families of 4 children.
25.—About 1s. 6d. per week for children; 2s. 6d. per week for aged persons; some as high as 3s.	25.—
29.—I think individuals pay the labourers according to the work they do; good labourers get more than poor.	29.—Only when employed by the rate, and then not to any great extent.
37.—I think the industry of the labourers very different; some continue to be industrious, while others are very idle. Those who have land attached to their cottages are the most industrious.	37.—The greater part are very industrious. I should think they are at least not worse than they were 30 years since; but certainly they are better than they were 5 years since, when they found their employ from the overseer.
38.—I do not think they do.	38.—Yes; wages were reduced, and then the servant did not feel the interest he should to keep his place.
53.—We have had no riots or fires in this neighbourhood.	53.—

FALMOUTH. <i>Jacob Hamblin, Overseer.</i>	ST. GLUVIAS. <i>George Rowe, } Overseers. Richard Rogers, }</i>
(A.)—7,284.	(A.)—969.
(C.)—1s. 6d.	(C.)—9s. 2d.
4.—The cultivation is chiefly performed by the tenants.	4.—About 300, including men and their families.
5.—10 in number.	5.—About 200.
7.—1.	7.—Scarcely any.
24.—None. A family of a woman with 5 children is allowed 6s. a week, beginning from 9 years downwards. Work done for individuals is never paid for by the parish partly.	24.—None. No allowance (nor work paid for out of the rates) for labourers, as such.
25.—The general scale is 2s. a week for each individual.	25.—The scales are according to age and family; 1s. 9d. a week under 60; old age, 2s. 6d. to 3s.
29.—No difference that I am aware of.	29.—None.
37.—The industry of labourers is certainly increasing rather than diminishing; but their labour is not confined to agricultural pursuits, but to portorage on the quays and wharfs, and as fishermen.	37.—Not much difference, but if any thing rather worse.
38.—This does not apply to this parish.	38.—Not more frequently than formerly.
53.—Nothing of the kind ever took place here, and therefore I cannot say any thing on this head.	53.—No; having had no riots.

GWENNAP. <i>William Marsh, Vicar.</i>	ST. IVE. <i>John Dunn, Curate.</i>
(A.)—8,539.	(A.)—656.
(C.)—7s. 1d.	(C.)—10s. 5d.
4.—	4.—A diversity of opinion exists on this point; a respectable farmer thinks two-thirds of the roundsmen might be dispensed with. The remaining labourers would be 47. Were the times better there would perhaps be more employment.
5.—	5.—53.
7.—	7.—None.
24.—No able-bodied labourer ever receives relief, unless he is broken down by a series of 'bad speed,' and then only by way of loan to the amount perhaps of two or three weeks' wages. We find employment for able-bodied applicants on the parish roads.	24.—There is one able-bodied labourer who receives relief on account of his family regularly, and a few others occasionally. The rule is, that allowance begins when the number of children is 3. When a labourer is not able to earn full wages, the employer pays him what he actually earns, and the parish allow him additionally what will make his income sufficient for him to subsist on.
25.—Allowance is regulated by the circumstances of the applicant.	25.—Not according to any particular scale, but according to circumstances.
29.—No difference.	29.—None, except in respect of inferiority of labour.
37.—In this mining district, owing to the low price of copper, the industry of the miner is increased of necessity. He is a more skilful workman than formerly.	37.—Diminishing. Many can work well still, but perhaps the stimulus is not so great as it was during the war.
38.—Our farm servants do not often change their services.	38.—No.
53.—None occurred in this district.	53.—The superabundant labourers were sent to work on the highways, where they corrupted each other, and acquired habits of idleness and insubordination.

KEA. <i>John Dunstan, } Assistant Overseers. William Crago, }</i>	ST. KEW. <i>J. Glencroft, Officiating Minister. And a Special Vestry.</i>
(A.)—3,837. (C.)—4s. 9d.	(A.)—1,316. (C.)—11s. 5d.
4.—About 90.	4.—About 200 men and 90 boys.
5.—About 80.	5.—About 222 men, 100 women, and 100 boys.
7.—None.	7.—From 10 to 20.
24.—No. A few miners only receive relief.	24.—None. Occasional relief is given where there are more than 3 children. Work done for individuals is not partly paid for by the parish.
25.—According to their necessities; from 1s. 6d. to 2s. per week.	25.—
29.—None.	29.—None.
37.—We have reason to believe the labourers are less industrious than formerly; and we attribute this change to the very pernicious beer shops so prevalent around us.	37.—They are not so industrious.
38.—They do not change frequently.	38.—No.
53.—Our parish and neighbourhood have been free from riots and burnings.	53.—

LANDEWEDNACK, or LIZARD. <i>H. T. Colson, Rector.</i>	LANREATH. <i>William Scarle, Surveyor. Richard Buller, Rector.</i>
(A.)—406. (C.)—5s. 4d.	(A.)—651. (C.)—10s. 10d.
4.—	4.—50 day labourers, in addition to farmers' servants and apprentices. <i>W. S.</i>
5.—About 15 hired labourers. The farmers themselves and their sons chiefly cultivate the small estates which they occupy.—There are 19 young men and boys above 10 and under 20.	5.—60. <i>W. S.</i>
7.—No Irish or Scotch. 3 coast guardsmen, 3 cottagers, not legally settled, and 2 light-keepers at the Lizard. Total of the families of the above, and others not legally settled here, 69.	7.—None. <i>W. S.</i>
24.—No; nothing but employment is ever asked for or given; and no allowance on account of families to able-bodied men. Upwards of 10 years ago, for 1 year, wages were paid out of the poor rates, but not since.	24.—Relief of 1s. per week for each child after 3 is frequently granted. No work done for individuals has of late been paid for by the parish. <i>W. S.</i> We have 4 labourers receiving parish allowance, having 4 children under 9 years. <i>R. B.</i>
25.—	25.—Aged and infirm, 3s. per week; a widow in support of her family, 2s. each per week; in families exceeding 3 children, each, after the third, 1s. <i>R. B.</i>
29.—No difference.	29.—Young men, and married men without children, applying for work, are allowed 1s. 2d. per diem; others from 16d. to 18d. per day. <i>W. S.</i> Single 1s.; married 1s. 2d.; two children, 1s. 4d.; three, 1s. 6d. <i>R. B.</i>
37.—As good workmen as they have ever been.	37.—Certainly diminishing, from the unfortunate effects of the poor laws, which have superseded any necessity for extra exertion on the part of the pauper to provide for old age or sickness. It is well known that paupers now demand as a right that support from the parish which they formerly begged as a boon. <i>R. B.</i>
38.—They do not change their services more frequently than formerly.	38.—They do not, except non-parishioners. <i>R. B.</i>
53.—No riots have occurred here within the memory of man. The miners last year visited some neighbouring parishes in great numbers, and in an alarming manner, but did no mischief, and seem to have been excited only by the intelligence that riots were taking place in other parts of the kingdom, and with the belief that the authority of the laws was at an end.	53.—

BOROUGH OF WEST LOOE. <i>Nathaniel Hearle.</i>	MAWNAN. <i>J. Rogers, Rector and J. P.</i>
(A.)—593. (C.)—3s. 5d.	(A.)—578. (C.)—7s. 10d.
4.—	4.—
5.—5 above 20 years of age; about 20 between 10 and 20.	5.—
7.—No Irish or Scotch.	7.—
24.—No; we have no male person whatever chargeable to the poor rates.	24.—None.
25.—No.	25.—No; but according to the circumstances of each case.
29.—None.	29.—None.
37.—I do not think that labourers in general do so much work in a day as formerly.	37.—I do not think the industry of the labourers in general materially diminished, which I attribute to the principle on which we have generally acted, of giving relief through the medium of labour, and setting piece-work as much as possible.
38.—	38.—I apprehend they do; and I can only attribute it to a growing indisposition to submit to restraint.
53.—No.	53.—I can give no information as to the riots, except the impression on my mind, that they prevailed most where the abuse of paying able-bodied labourers from the poor rates chiefly prevailed. That practice tends to dishearten the labourer, and to break the bonds of amity between him and his employer.

ST. MERRYIN. <i>William Peter, J. P.</i>	NEWLYN EAST. <i>G. G. Bulmor, Farmer, Deputed to answer by R. G. Bennett, J. P.</i>
(A.)—576. (C.)—12s. 4d.	(A.)—1,218. (C.)—5s. 11d.
4.—	4.—About 1 to every 30 acres of arable land.
5.—85 above 20 years of age; 60 young men and boys between 10 and 20.	5.—More than the above proportion; suppose about one to every 25 acres.
7.—None.	7.—Not more than 20: neither Irish or Scotch.
24.—None. House-rent is frequently paid when there are more than 4 children.	24.—Two at present, whose children are idiots; the one a boy, who is clothed by the parish; the other a girl, for whom the father receives 1s. 6d. per week. When labourers have more children than they can support, we have always bound them as apprentices, but the magistrates have declared that they will bind no more. No work done for individuals is paid for by the parish.
25.—4s. and house-rent for an old man and his wife.	25.—
29.—None.	29.—No, unless men are burdensome, then young men receive less wages than married ones.
37.—I believe there is very little difference, except in sheep-shearing and ploughing, in which there can be no doubt but that the present race of labourers greatly excel their progenitors.	37.—No: but they are able to perform a much greater variety of work.
38.—Yes, where the servant does not belong to the same parish as his master; in that case the latter hires him for a shorter period than a year, to prevent his gaining a settlement.	38.—Not that I am aware of.
53.—Nothing of the kind has ever occurred in this parish or neighbourhood.	53.—Hitherto we have had no incendiarism in this county. The reason is plain: we have had good crops for the last 3 years, with abundance of fish and potatoes, which last form a great proportion of labourers' food during winter. Hence there has been no want of employment or food.

NORTHHILL. <i>John Davy, Overseer. F. H. Rodd, J. P. and Churchwarden.</i>	PENZANCE. <i>Martin Williams, Assistant Overseer.</i>
(A.)—1,155. (C.)—8s. 9d.	(A.)—6,563. (C.)—1s. 9d.
4.—No more labourers in the parish than are sufficient for the proper cultivation of the land, if each person employed his proper proportion. <i>J. D.</i>	4.—
5.—	5.—
7.—Very few; no Scotch or Irish. <i>J. D.</i>	7.—
24.—Very seldom, as their children are usually taken to service as soon as they are capable of earning anything. Others are bound apprentices if the masters choose. Should a labourer have more than four children under 10 years of age, and apply to the parish, some assistance is granted to him. No work done for individuals is paid for by the parish, it being considered unjust. <i>J. D. & F. H. R.</i>	24.—None.
25.—Entirely according to the circumstances of the case. <i>F. H. R.</i>	25.—It depends on circumstances. We have only a few on permanent relief out of the house, at about 2s. per head. Occasional relief is granted of 1s. or 1s. 6d. per week to those out of work; but where there is no chance of their supporting themselves, temporary relief is withdrawn, and they are taken into the workhouse.
29.—A little difference; but generally young men are hired at service by the year. <i>J. D.</i> I am sorry to say that there is in some instances about 2d., 3d., and 4d. per day difference. <i>F. H. R.</i>	29.—No difference.
37.—I should say rather increasing. A man may be a good workman, and not at all an industrious one. If you mean whether the work is better put out of hand, I should say it is. <i>F. H. R.</i>	37.—We have scarcely any labourers in husbandry; but those employed in handicraft trades are certainly more skilful than formerly.
38.—Daily labourers are constantly employed on the same service for many years; some work with different employers as they may be wanted. Servants who are hired by the year, and live in their masters' houses, frequently change, but not more now than heretofore. <i>F. H. R.</i>	38.—They have been generally casual; and we observe no alteration in their periods of service.
53.—Thank God we know nothing as yet of those horrible scenes.	53.—Thank God we had none here.

SOUTH PETHERWIN. <i>John Wills, Churchwarden.</i>	ROCHE. <i>Joseph Lawry, Overseer.</i>
(A.)—988. (C.)—11s. 7d.	(A.)—1,630. (C.)—6s. 4d.
4.—90 are little enough, if the occupiers had the means of paying them.	4.—
5.—88.	5.—There are about 300 labourers above 20 years of age; and about 200 young men and boys above 10, and not exceeding 20.
7.—Two Irish.	7.—No Irish or Scotch, and not more than 5 families from other places.
24.—We expect every man to take care of three children; all above that number are provided for by the parish; if under 9 years of age, at 1s. per week for each; if above, they are placed out as servants. No work done for individuals is paid for by the parish.	24.—No; and no allowance is made to supply a defect of wages.
25.—No; our old and infirm poor have their regular pay. Relief is granted to those applicants whose case appears to require it.	25.—According to the number in a family.
29.—None is made with the best labourers; but if a man with a small or no family will rely on the parish for work, his wages will be less: this description of persons gives the most trouble.	29.—None.
37.—Here and there a good workman may be found; but certainly, as a body, that industry and interesting feeling for the master that existed formerly is fast passing away.	37.—In many cases the labourers are less industrious and worse workmen than formerly, dependence on the parish having weakened the stimulus to exertion.
38.—More frequently. Partly owing to the more frequent change of occupiers.	38.—The fear of giving a settlement has rather increased the tendency to change.
53.—The distress of the farmers, and consequently the still greater distress of the labourers, whose minds were poisoned by the enemies of peace and order, combined with political feeling. Every quarter of foreign corn imported (more than is wanted) is so much taken from the farmer, and those dependent upon him.	53.—We have had nothing of the kind.

ST. STEPHEN BY SALTASH. <i>John Edwards, Churchwarden.</i>	TALLAND. <i>George Richards.</i>
(A.)—1,455. (C.)—9s. 7d.	(A.)—841. (C.)—12s. 2d.
4.—	4.—
5.—	5.—55 above 20 years of age; about 60 between 10 and 20.
7.—	7.—5 Irish and 5 Scotch.
24.—Very few cases.	24.—No. Allowance is made if more than 4 children. If a labourer is employed, nothing is now paid from the parish to make up the wages.
25.—No scale, but according to necessity.	25.—Governed by circumstances.
29.—No difference.	29.—None.
37.—Just the same as ever.	37.—I do not think that labourers generally do so much work in a day as formerly.
38.—Just as formerly.	38.—More frequently than formerly, but I cannot say why.
53.—There have been no cases of rioting or incendiarism in this parish.	53.—No.

ST. WINNOW. <i>Robert Walker, Vicar.</i>	AIKTON. <i>Robert Hind, } John Hodgson, } Overseers.</i>
(A.)—1,048. (C.)—9s. 2d.	(A.)—755. (C.)—4s.
4.—	4.—We cannot ascertain.
5.—240 above 20 years of age.	5.—We are all labourers.
7.—Our non-parishioners are miners. There are no Irish or Scotch.	7.—None.
24.—None. During the pressure some allowance was made on account of large families, but not so as to come under any general rate.	24.—None.
25.—No specified scale, but every case is examined individually at a vestry.	25.—We have no scale.
29.—During the pressure occasioned by an abundance of labourers, and a deficiency of employment, there was but as little as possible; and under such circumstances a difference must happen, whether under a system of poor laws or not, for the single men will always underbid the married.	29.—None.
37.—Strictly speaking, perhaps rather diminished; but they have more knowledge and are much better workmen than formerly.	37.—Little alteration.
38.—Without doubt all servants are more inclined to change their services than formerly, whether belonging to gentlemen or farmers, town or country. I attribute this to the increase of general knowledge, and the advanced and advancing state of communication.	38.—No.
53.—I have no doubt that the riots and burnings in other parts of the kingdom were caused by the distress of the agricultural labourers. In Cornwall we had no burnings, and but a few riots, which were directed against threshing machines, and the payment of tithes.	53.—We cannot.

AINSTABLE. <i>Thomas Bowman, } Overseers. John Goulding, }</i>	ALSTON, <i>John White, Overseer.</i>
(A.)—580.	(A.)—6,858.
(C.)—3s. 2d.	(C.)—6s. 10d.
4.—	4.—
5.—	5.—The population has been so rapidly dispersing, that it is not possible to say what number of labourers there are above 20 years of age, or what may be the number of young men and boys above 10 and not exceeding 20.
7.—	7.—This question can hardly be answered, as the population are obliged to disperse in all directions, on account of the want of profitable employment, arising from the ruinous state of the lead market.
24.—Several receiving small allowances from the parish.	24.—Some whose families are large. No wages paid out of the poor rates.
25.—Relief is given according to the distress of the applicant.	25.—If it appears that each individual in a family has 1s. 3d. a week no relief is given.
29.—No difference.	29.—None.
37.—	37.—The labourers here are obliged to use much greater exertions than formerly, and indeed much more than is consistent with health; but in doing this, they are quite unable to provide for their families; and they seem altogether in a most deplorable state.
38.—Changes are more frequent on account of employment being less.	38.—The lead mines alone have always furnished the only means of employment.
53.—	53.—No.

ARTHURET. <i>Thomas Plenderleath, Assistant Overseer.</i>	BEWCASTLE. <i>John Dodgson,</i>
(A.)—2,963.	(A.)—1,336.
(C.)—6s. 5d.	(C.)—5s. 8d.
4.—Cannot tell.	4.—
5.—I believe about 120.	5.—
7.—36 families of Scotch, and 11 of Irish.	7.—
24.—None on their own account; 12 able-bodied labourers have received relief on account of their families during the present year. No work done for individuals partly paid for by the parish.	24.—Our poor are supported by contract. The contractor says there are 3 able-bodied labourers, with families, receiving constant relief; and he gives relief to many widows and old and infirm people, both in and out of the parish.
25.—Relief is given according to circumstances; say from 3s. or 4s. to 3/ or 4/.	25.—No.
29.—None.	29.—No.
37.—Not increasing; and suppose the workmen to be better labourers.	37.—They wish to be employed, but as the farmers often cannot employ them in the winter, some try smuggling and poaching.
38.—They do not.	38.—Our labourers, in general, are cottagers, who seldom go out of the parish, except in harvest, leaving their wives and children to assist in our harvest.
53.—I cannot,	53.—There was no machinery destroyed in Cumberland; only 2 or 3 stacks burned near Carlisle. Can give no reason.

<p>BOOTLE.</p> <p><i>Isaac Shaw, J. P.</i></p>	<p>BORROWDAILE.</p> <p><i>John Dickson, Overseer.</i></p>
(A.)—737. (C.)—7s. 11d.	(A.)—356. (C.)—8s. 5d.
4.—The parish is entirely agricultural, having no manufactures properly so called; and therefore the population consists of those only, or very nearly so, who are necessary for the	4.—I do not know. cultivation of the land.
5.—32 agricultural labourers, besides the domestic servants hired for the cultivation of the land upon the several estates.	5.—60. Part of the time of these labourers is taken up in tending sheep, which is the principal part of the capital in this neighbourhood.
7.—There are 19 non-parishioners; that is, this number of labourers live in the parish, but have not settlements in it. No Scotch or Irish, except in harvest.	7.—86; none of which are either Irish or Scotch.
24.—Some labourers, with large families, have the rent of their cottages paid by the parish; at what point it shall commence rests with the select vestry. There is no labourer in the employ of any individual receiving relief from the parish, except the rent of some cottages, as stated above; yet there are some labourers who do get occasional relief to keep	24.—Not any.
25.—Relief is given according to the number of the family and other circumstances.	25.—We give relief according to the sum we can get them maintained for in the parish poorhouse; that is, 1s. 3d. per week each individual.
29.—No difference.	29.—Not any.
37.—The labourers are supposed to be better workmen now than formerly.	37.—I consider the labourers in this neighbourhood to be equally industrious as formerly, if not more so, and as good workmen.
38.—It does not appear that they do.	38.—I never heard any observation made, whether labourers change their services more frequently now than formerly. No person of common sense will leave a good master if he be allowed average wages; neither will a labourer stay with a bad master longer than
53.—There have been neither riots nor burnings in this neighbourhood. These answers relate chiefly to the parish of Bootle; and they are generally applicable to the lordship of Millom, the southern district of the county of Cumberland.	53.—I cannot. till he can get a better.

<p>BOWNESS.</p> <p><i>Nicholas Barnes, Assistant Overseer.</i></p>	<p>BRAMPTON.</p> <p><i>Thomas Ramshay, Vicar and J. P.</i></p>
(A.)—388. (C.)—10s.	(A.)—3,345. (C.)—3s. 4d.
4.—Reckon 4 labourers to 100 acres of cultivated land.	4.—
5.—About 212.	5.—
7.—1, an Irishman.	7.—
24.—The allowance to large families depends upon what the father earns. Two able-bodied men, in the employment of individuals, receive relief on account of their families. No work done by individuals partly paid for by the parish.	24.—I am not aware of any able-bodied labourers receiving relief, either on their own account, or that of their families, in this parish.
25.—According to the circumstances of the applicant.	25.—No answer required in reference to labourers.
29.—Not any.	29.—There is generally no difference.
37.—The labourers are increasing, and, upon the whole, are better workmen.	37.—The industry of the labourers here is, as far as I can say, quite as good as at any former period.
38.—They keep their situations the same as usual.	38.—I am not aware of any more frequent change here in the service.
53.—No.	53.—I can give no other cause for the riots and burnings in 1830 and 1831, than what may be collected from the annual register or newspapers attached to those years.

BURTHOLME. <i>Wm. Haugh Hougill.</i>	CALDBECK. <i>William Robinson, Overseer.</i>
(A.)—239.	(A.)—1,578.
(C.)—12s. 2d.	(C.)—6s. 11d.
4.—No definite answer can be given,	4.—60 may be considered sufficient,
5.—Between 50 and 60.	5.—About 100.
7.—No Irish, and few Scotch; about 20 non-parishioners.	7.—270 non-parishioners, of whom 9 are Irish and 13 Scotch.
24.—Allowance is sometimes made on account of large families, and it begins at 2 or 3, according to circumstances. No work that is done for individuals is partly paid for by the parish.	24.—No allowance is made to large families, except during sickness. No work is done for individuals, and partly paid for by the parish.
25.—1s. per week is the usual scale for an adult.	25.—
29.—None.	29.—None.
37.—We conceive they are better workmen than formerly.	37.—The industry of our labourers may be considered as increasing, as they are, in general, better workmen than formerly.
38.—They do not.	38.—They do not appear to do so.
53.—We have had no riots here.	53.—Nothing of the kind occurred here.

CUMREW. <i>John Watson, Minister.</i>	DACRE. <i>W. Pollock, Chairman of Select Vestry. E. W. Hassell.</i>
(A.)—216.	(A.)—995.
(C.)—3s. 7d.	(C.)—8s. 5d.
4.—The land is, in a great measure, cultivated by the farmers and their families, including servants.	4.—
5.—7.	5.—31 above 20 years of age. The young men and boys under 20 are chiefly hired as servants into farmers' families, or put apprentices. <i>W. P.</i>
7.—No non-parishioners receiving relief, but there are 8 or 10 families residing in the parish which do not belong to it.	7.—22 labourers above 20 years of age are non-parishioners; but no Irish or Scotch. <i>W. P.</i>
24.—None.	24.—No allowance is made on account of large families to able-bodied labourers. <i>W. P.</i> We have no able-bodied labourers receiving regular relief. In a few instances, in the depth of winter, when work is difficult to be met with, temporary relief is given to labourers whilst out of employ, which is immediately withheld as soon as work can be found. <i>E. W. H.</i>
25.—	25.—As able-bodied labourers are not considered entitled to relief, no scale is applied to them; but the families of sick or infirm labourers are relieved according to the number of helpless members they contain. <i>E. W. H.</i>
29.—None.	25.—No difference. <i>W. P.</i> <i>E. W. H.</i>
37.—No change.	37.—As the rates of the parish have not materially increased for several years, with a greatly increasing population, it is but fair to infer that the industry of the labourers has not diminished. Labourers, under the improved system of agriculture, are undoubtedly more skilful than they used to be. <i>E. W. H.</i>
33.—No.	38.—They change very frequently, but I cannot say more so than formerly. It has always been the custom in this country to hire by the half year, and that gives opportunity for frequent changes. <i>E. W. H.</i>
53.—We had nothing of the kind.	53.—We had no agricultural riots and burnings in this parish and neighbourhood, or anything at all approaching to them. <i>E. W. H.</i>

NETHER DENTON. <i>John Topping.</i>	EDENHALL. <i>William Hodgson, Overseer.</i>	FARLAM. <i>John Teasdale, Assistant Overseer.</i>
(A.)—290. (C.)—10s. 4d.	(A.)—544. (C.)—4s. 3d.	(A.)—816. (C.)—3s. 6d.
4.—61.	4.—	4.—52.
5.—33.	5.—21 above the age of 20; 14 men and boys above 10 and not exceeding 20.	5.—52.
7.—About 17. No Irish or Scotch.	7.—8 non-parishioners, including 1 Scotchman and 1 Irishman.	7.—233 non-parishioners, including few, if any, Scotch and Irish.
24.—In some cases an allowance is made of 1s. for each child under 9 years. No work is done for individuals and partly paid for by the parish.	24.—None; and no cases occur in which allowance is so made. No wages paid out of the poor rates.	24.—None.
25.—1s. per week to each ex-pauper,	25.—According to the necessities of the applicant in every respect,	25.—According to circumstances,
29.—No distinction,	29.—No difference.	29.—None.
37.—Increasing; they are better workmen than formerly.	37.—There is no perceptible difference as to their habits of industry.	37.—I think little difference.
38.—They do not.	38.—No.	38.—Not much difference.
53.—We cannot.	53.—Inflammatory speeches and writings.	53.—Cannot.

GAMBLESBY. <i>John Jackson, Minister.</i>	GLASSONBY. <i>John Jackson, Minister.</i>	HAYTON. <i>T. W. Graham, Edmond Castle. Anonymous.</i>
(A.)—301. (C.)—5s. 11d.	(A.)—167. (C.)—8s. 6d.	(A.)—1,291. (C.)—6s. 4d.
4.—About 2 to every 100 acres.	4.—About 2 to every 100 acres.	4.—
5.—9.	5.—15.	5.—
7.—7. Neither Irish nor Scotch.	7.—8. Neither Irish nor Scotch.	7.—About 100; chiefly Irish, employed on the railroad. <i>Anon.</i>
24.—No allowance of that kind made. No work done for individuals is paid for by the parish.	24.—No allowance made, nor work done for individuals paid for by the parish.	24.—None. <i>T. W. G.</i> The allowance given on account of families varies from 2l. 10s. to 5l. No work done for individuals is paid for by the parish. <i>Anon.</i>
25.—Relief is always given according to the necessities of the applicants.	25.—Relief is always applied according to the necessities of the applicants.	25.—
29.—Not any.	29.—Not any.	29.—None.
37.—Increasing, if any thing.	37.—Increasing.	37.—The labourers appear to work as well as formerly; but the taking of piece-work, which they are always ready to do, certainly gives a greater stimulus to their industry. <i>T. W. G.</i> Not better workmen. <i>Anon.</i>
38.—There is no difference whatever in this respect.	38.—No difference whatever in this respect.	38.—No. <i>Anon.</i>
53.—No.	53.—We are glad to say there has been nothing of the kind here.	53.—

HESKET. <i>Thomas Dixon.</i>	HOLME CULTRAM. The Parish Officers, and <i>D. Pape, Assistant Overseer.</i>
(A.)—2,107.	(A.)—861.
(C.)—5s. 8d.	(C.)—
4.—	4.—
5.—	5.—About 83 above 20 years of age. About 50 above 10, and not exceeding 20.
7.—	7.—No non-parishioners that we are relieving.
24.—There are 15, but the number of course fluctuates.	24.—None at present; but allowance is given occasionally when any of the family are in bad health. No wages paid out of the rates.
25.—Generally so much per week, according to the circumstances of the case, paying due regard to the largeness of their families; but it is seldom permanent, except as to old and infirm people.	25.—No scale. Relief governed by circumstances. <i>D. P.</i>
29.—Certainly more to a married man; an unmarried man is constantly in his place of service, being hired for half a year to plough and husbandry work; whereas the married labourer can be obtained at any time, when particularly wanted, on giving him a short notice, and this enhances his value.	29.—No difference.
37.—The industry of the labourers is certainly not improved; and the great increase of houses for the sale of beer has not tended to improve their morals or good conduct.	37.—They are generally superior workmen to what they were formerly. <i>D. P.</i>
38.—They do. During the war more were employed by the agriculturists at higher wages. A labourer is, in many instances, only wanted for the harvest; he must, therefore, seek for a different situation in winter, and it often happens that he is in three or four places in one week.	38.—We are of opinion they do not. <i>D. P.</i>
53.—No agricultural burnings took place in this parish.	53.—We cannot. <i>D. P.</i>

HUNSONBY AND WINSKILL. <i>John Jackson, Minister.</i>	HUTTON IN THE FOREST. <i>Sir F. F. Vane, Bart.</i> <i>David Richardson, Assistant Overseer.</i>
(A.)—146.	(A.)—273.
(C.)—1s. 6d.	(C.)—10s. 10d.
4.—About 2 labourers to 100 acres.	4.—44 men, 44 women, and 22 boys. <i>F. F. V.</i>
5.—3.	5.—As above. <i>F. F. V.</i>
7.—5. Neither Irish nor Scotch.	7.—None. <i>F. F. V.</i>
24.—No.	24.—None. <i>F. F. V.</i> <i>D. R.</i>
25.—Relief is always given according to the necessities of the applicant.	25.—From 1s. to 3s. 6d. per week; and on occasions of sickness, &c. 7s. a week. <i>F. F. V.</i> From 1s. to 6s. a week, according to the number in a family, and their incapacity of making any thing. <i>D. R.</i>
29.—Not any.	29.—None. Unmarried men are generally employed by the half-year, with meat, washing, and lodging; married men generally by the day. <i>F. F. V.</i> Married men find their own meat; the unmarried live with their masters, otherwise their wages would be the same. <i>D. R.</i>
37.—Increasing.	37.—Much the same. <i>F. F. V.</i> Little, if any, alteration for the last 30 years. <i>D. R.</i>
38.—There is no difference in this respect.	38.—No alteration. <i>F. F. V.</i> No.—Good servants remain many years in a place, and bad ones are changing every half year. <i>D. R.</i>
53.—We are happy to say that there has been nothing of the kind here.	53.—There were none in this neighbourhood; but more immediately about Carlisle the weavers committed a few such acts. <i>F. F. V.</i> We are peaceable and quiet, and, upon the whole, contented. Wherever ardent spirits are much used, I perceive discontent, poverty, and a rebellious spirit prevail. <i>D. R.</i>

<p>IRTON. <i>S. Lutwidge, J. P.</i></p>	<p>KIRKANDREWS UPON EDEN. <i>John Norman, Overseer.</i></p>
(A.)—531. (C.)—6s. 10d.	(A.)—107. (C.)—6s. 10d.
4.—About 65 able-bodied labourers, with the additional labour of the master, the farms being small.	4.—About 20.
5.—49 labourers; in summer many more servants will be hired.	5.—About 20.
7.—3 or 4.	7.—4 or 5; but no Irish or Scotch.
24.—None.	24.—No. Work done for individuals not partly paid for by the parish.
25.—No scale used.	25.—
29.—No distinction.	29.—No.
37.—Better ploughmen; worse as mowers and reapers.	37.—Much the same.
38.—No alteration in this respect.	38.—Much as formerly.
53.—No riots or burnings took place in this neighbourhood.	53.—No.

<p>KIRKANDREWS UPON ESK. <i>Andrew Armstrong, Assistant Overseer.</i></p>	<p>KIRKLAND. <i>J. Chapelhow, Curate.</i></p>
(A.)—491. (C.)—6s. 7d.	(A.)—212. (C.)—5s. 4d.
4.—From 70 to 80 males, and from 80 to 90 females, except in time of harvest.	4.—
5.—From 40 to 50 males.	5.—
7.—31; Irish 2, Scotch 16, English 13 families.	7.—
24.—No allowance is made except in particular cases of bad health, or otherwise. No work is done for individuals and partly paid for by the parish.	24.—Not any.
25.—No scale; the nature of the case determines the amount of relief given.	25.—
29.—None that we are aware of.	29.—No difference.
37.—We think our labourers fully as industrious as at any former period; and perhaps better workmen than they formerly were.	37.—The labourers are supposed to be less toilsome than formerly, which may arise from their mode of living, which is less substantial now than formerly.
38.—We know of no difference in this respect.	38.—They frequently change, but I cannot say oftener now than formerly. We have no hiring for a year, and that may be a reason for frequent change.
53.—We had no riots in this part of the country in 1830; and in 1831 one case of fire only, which might have been accidental. All classes here are tolerably well educated in the endowed schools of the Netherby estate; and this is considered one great cause of the country remaining undisturbed.	53.—

KIRKOSWALD. <i>C. S. Featherstonhaugh, J. P. G. G. Lawson, Vicar. John Little.</i>	LANGWATHBY. <i>Robert Powley.</i>
(A.)—768.	(A.)—250.
(C.)—8s. 1d.	(C.)—5s. 1d.
4.—About 2 men and a boy to 100 acres.	4.—
5.—About 40.	5.—15 above 20 years of age, and 28 men and boys above 10, and not exceeding 20.
7.—About 24; 2 of whom are Irish, and 1 Scotch.	7.—Four. No Irish or Scotch.
24.—Allowance is not made for any number, but given according to necessity. No work done for individuals is partly paid for by the parish. None. <i>J. L.</i>	24.—Not any receiving regular relief. Allowance is made where there is a large family, according to age and necessity, but there is no settled plan. No wages are paid out of the poor rates.
25.—No. Relief is given according to absolute necessity. <i>J. L.</i>	25.—According to the necessity of the case.
29.—No. The difference is generally in favour of the married man. <i>J. L.</i>	29.—There is no difference.
37.—Much as usual. Our labourers continue to be good labourers. <i>J. L.</i>	37.—No great difference.
38.—Much as usual. We think not. <i>J. L.</i>	38.—No particular difference.
53.—No.	53.—I cannot, except seditious writings and speeches exciting to opposition to law and established authority.

LOWESWATER. <i>John Jackson, Overseer.</i>	NICHOLFOREST. <i>Robert Forster, Assistant Overseer.</i>
(A.)—454.	(A.)—907.
(C.)—12s. 5d.	(C.)—4s.
4.—200.	4.—I can form no idea.
5.—30.	5.—I can form no idea.
7.—About 20.	7.—I can form no idea.
24.—None.	24.—None.
25.—Relief is afforded according to circumstances respecting age and infirmities.	25.—No fixed scale.
29.—No distinction.	29.—No distinction.
37.—The industry of the labourers for the last 40 years is much the same; we think them better workmen.	37.—They are much the same within these 20 years.
38.—We do not observe any material alteration.	38.—I do not think they change more frequently now than formerly.
53.—We can give no information.	53.—I can give no information whatever.

<p>PLUMBLAND And Neighbourhood. <i>Edward Stanley, Rector and J. P.</i></p>	<p>PONSONBY. <i>Edward Stanley, J. P.</i></p>
(A.)—524.	(A.)—180.
(C.)—3s. 9d.	(C.)—3s. 5d.
4.—	4.—50.
5.—	5.—About 50 engaged as half-yearly servants, excepting 3 or 4 from the neighbouring parishes.
7.—	7.—2 resident, exclusive of servants. No Irish or Scotch.
24.—None receiving regular relief on their own account or that their of families, but in case of sickness or casualty.	24.—No, nor is work done for individuals paid for by the parish.
25.—Where relief is required, owing to the death or sickness of the father of a family, 1s. 6d. a week to each child under the age of 10, and something in sickness to the father himself, proportionate to his wants.	25.—
29.—There is no difference.	29.—No.
37.—The labourers in general are not so frugal, and much more addicted to drinking, which the sale of beer to be consumed in the now licensed houses gives facility to.	37.—Better workmen.
38.—Labourers were formerly hired by the year, now never exceeding 6 months, often by the week, sometimes by the bargain.	38.—Less so than formerly.
53.—We had no cases of riot or arson in our agricultural districts.	53.—Nothing of the sort has happened in this neighbourhood.

<p>RENWICK. <i>Joseph Watson, Assistant Overseer.</i></p>	<p>GREAT SALKELD. <i>John Rebanks, Overseer.</i></p>
(A.)—375.	(A.)—447.
(C.)—7s. 4d.	(C.)—7s. 7d.
4.—	4.—100.
5.—	5.—20.
7.—	7.—Not many; and Scotch and Irish are not employed in this parish.
24.—Not regular relief, some get their rents paid when their families are large, or work is scarce, or in sickness; and in such cases a little relief is granted occasionally.	24.—None. Allowances have been made from the poor rates on account of large families, such as paying rent, and occasional relief in winter, but no fixed number of children at which it begins.
25.—We presume this refers to a system never prevalent in this neighbourhood.	25.—From 1s. 6d. to 2s. a week to infirm men; and to families according to their situation.
29.—No.	29.—No difference; every labourer is paid ^d according to his workmanship.
37.—Not much perceptible difference.	37.—Better workmen than they formerly were.
38.—Not much perceptible difference.	38.—Not more so than formerly in this neighbourhood.
53.—Nothing of the kind occurred near us.	53.—We know nothing of the burnings in this neighbourhood. You will get the best information in the neighbourhood they happened to take place.

LITTLE SALKELD.

John Jackson, Minister.

(A.)—105.

(C.)—7s. 7d.

4.—About 2 to every 100 acres.

5.—2.

7.—3; neither Irish nor Scotch.

24.—No allowance of that kind made here.
No work done for individuals is paid for by the parish.

25.—Relief is always given according to the necessities of the applicant.

29.—Not any.

37.—Increasing, if any thing.

38.—There is no difference whatever in this respect.

53.—There has been nothing of the kind here.

STAFFIELD.

Joseph Pearson, Vestry Clerk.

(A.)—265.

(C.)—12s. 3d.

4.—

5.—

7.—

24.—None.

25.—Relief is given according to the necessity of the case.

29.—The wages are in favour of the married man.

37.—Our labourers continue to be good workmen.

38.—We think not more frequently.

53.—No.

WALTON.

William Steele, Vestry Clerk.

(A.)—481.

(C.)—5s. 11d.

4.—To this question no proper answer can be given. Only a small proportion of the occupiers of land employing day-labourers; half-yearly farm servants generally preferred.

5.—28, exclusive of hired farm servants.

7.—12 families non-parishioners, exclusive of farm servants. No Irish; few Scotch.

24.—No permanent allowance. In seasons of difficulty partial relief sometimes afforded, averaging 6 to 10 cases.
No work done for individuals is paid for by the parish.

25.—According to circumstances.

29.—

37.—Better workmen in general, and equally, if not more industrious; but owing to the hazard of missing employment, and the scanty wages they receive, compared with the advanced price of provisions, and not being allowed victuals as formerly by their employers, their hilarity of mind is exchanged for distrust and gloom. Their appearance and conduct are nearly the very reverse of what a few years ago they were: while the distance at which they are held by their employers has nearly, or perhaps wholly, broken the tie of attachment which once existed between the farmer and his labourer.

38.—Not more than formerly.

53.—In this parish we had no burning nor riots. A callous and embarrassed administration of public affairs, added to the still wretched internal feelings of the agricultural affairs, producing real want and suffering to the friendless and unemployed labourers, is generally considered as the cause of such *un-English* proceedings.

WATERHEAD. <i>D. Ferguson, Assistant Overseer.</i>	WAVERTON. <i>J. Palmer, Overseer. Charles Ray, Churchwarden.</i>
(A.)—177. (C.)—19s. 5d.	(A.)—487. (C.)—5s. 10d.
4.—We cannot tell; but every farm house has a servant or two, exclusive of day-labourers.	4.—
5.—We cannot give a proper account, having day-labourers out of different townships.	5.—Of labourers above 20 years of age, 59 living under their employers' roofs; 17 in cottages. Very few young men and boys. <i>J. P. C. R.</i>
7.—None.	7.—Few or none. <i>J. P. C. R.</i>
24.—No.	24.—Not many. No rule of allowance according to the number of children; and no wages paid out of the poor rates. <i>J. P. C. R.</i>
25.—From 1s. to 2s. is paid out of the poor-house.	25.—By no scale, but according to the merits. <i>C. R.</i>
29.—None.	29.—None. <i>J. P. C. R.</i>
37.—They are better labourers than formerly.	37.—The industry of the working classes is not improving; but they are better workmen. <i>C. R.</i>
38.—No.	38.—We cannot perceive any difference. <i>C. R.</i>
53.—No, as we were happily exempt from such riots during that period.	53.—None; having no cases in this quarter. <i>C. R.</i>

WETHERAL. <i>E. Stanger, P. Curate, the Overseers and Principal Inhabitants.</i>	WIGTON. <i>Joseph Studholme, Sol. and Chairman, S.V. W. Battery, Assistant Overseer.</i>
(A.)—4,149. (C.)—2s. 6d.	(A.)—4,885. (C.)—2s. 6d.
4.—About 400.	4.—
5.—About 460.	5.—
7.—Difficult to answer at present, on account of the public works going forward in the parish, in which a great number of Irish and Scotch are employed.	7.—
24.—Only 1 instance, a man with 9 children. Allowance on account of large families does not frequently occur, but when it does occur, attention is paid to the number of children, their age and employment. No work done for individuals is paid for by the parish.	24.—Not one at present. Allowance is occasionally made on account of large families, but no fixed rule, depending on the number of children, is observed. No wages are paid out of the poor rates.
25.—According to the circumstances of the applicant.	25.—Not according to any fixed scale, but according to the peculiar merits of each case.
29.—None at all.	29.—None whatever.
37.—Generally improved.	37.—We cannot perceive any change in these respects.
38.—No alteration.	38.—They do; and we are of opinion that this may be attributed to the uncertain rate of wages for some years back. The servant hopes to get more, and the master to pay less, by the change.
53. There were none in this parish.	53.—We had no riots or burnings.

PARISHES, TOWNSHIPS, &c.

Names of Counties.	Under 10.	From 10 to 20.	From 20 to 50.	From 50 to 100.	From 100 to 300.	From 300 to 500.	From 500 to 800.	From 800 to 1000.
BEDFORD . . .	..	1	2	5	28	37	40	12
BERKS . . .	3	3	8	10	64	56	38	10
BUCKINGHAM . . .	1	3	6	14	68	58	31	13
CAMBRIDGE . . .	..	..	2	3	41	37	33	14
CHESTER . . .	1	15	33	60	173	103	42	15
CORNWALL . . .	..	..	1	2	33	30	43	14
CUMBERLAND . . .	..	..	4	17	122	84	39	9
DERBY . . .	..	..	11	26	89	67	67	13
DEVON . . .	..	2	3	15	99	101	92	40
DORSET . . .	..	4	9	35	92	75	41	14
DURHAM . . .	1	7	16	37	106	40	27	11
ESSEX . . .	..	..	5	18	97	107	81	40
GLOUCESTER . . .	..	2	7	25	140	95	50	30
HEREFORD . . .	..	1	8	42	112	48	38	13
HERTFORD . . .	1	1	1	2	28	25	29	15
HUNTINGDON . . .	..	..	4	7	35	32	13	6
KENT . . .	3	3	14	23	94	76	73	34
LANCASTER . . .	..	..	2	10	65	61	94	30
LEICESTER . . .	6	16	18	37	107	63	36	12
LINCOLN . . .	3	2	34	94	294	133	94	17
MIDDLESEX . . .	..	..	2	3	44	37	31	10
MONMOUTH . . .	..	..	12	14	67	23	16	6
NORFOLK . . .	1	8	28	62	234	180	118	37
NORTHAMPTON . . .	2	5	12	16	119	72	66	22
NORTHUMBERLAND . . .	13	25	73	119	178	49	29	7
NOTTINGHAM . . .	1	4	6	22	87	67	35	15
OXFORD . . .	3	6	16	17	89	74	53	11
RUTLAND . . .	2	1	1	5	24	12	5	4
SALOP . . .	..	1	13	24	96	50	33	11
SOMERSET . . .	..	4	11	28	138	115	71	33
SOUTHAMPTON . . .	2	2	5	21	107	67	68	17
STAFFORD . . .	3	6	24	27	93	48	50	27
SUFFOLK . . .	..	1	5	20	174	143	94	25
SURREY . . .	..	..	1	2	27	21	31	14
SUSSEX . . .	1	..	7	26	84	45	67	29
WARWICK . . .	3	6	6	15	83	60	29	21
WESTMORELAND . . .	..	1	3	13	45	33	10	6
WILTS . . .	1	1	16	15	124	84	58	14
WORCESTER . . .	..	3	5	15	89	48	22	9
York { EAST RIDING . . .	1	5	32	35	161	74	23	7
York { CITY & AINSTEY . . .	..	..	..	6	22	11	12	6
York { NORTH RIDING . . .	1	3	31	81	245	93	44	6
York { WEST RIDING . . .	1	3	23	40	191	99	71	34
ENGLAND . . .	54	145	511	1,117	4,411	2,843	2,042	733
ANGLESEY . . .	..	..	2	3	18	26	13	8
BRECON . . .	..	..	4	6	60	25	9	1
CARDIGAN . . .	..	..	..	1	27	31	26	8
CARMARTHEN . . .	..	1	..	4	23	19	25	12
CARNARVON . . .	..	..	..	4	14	14	18	3
DENBIGH . . .	..	..	4	4	22	18	16	6
FLINT . . .	..	..	3	5	15	16	9	6
GLAMORGAN . . .	1	2	1	13	74	44	21	8
MERIONETH . . .	..	..	..	1	5	8	8	5
MONTGOMERY . . .	..	..	..	5	17	12	12	9
PEMBROKE . . .	1	..	7	5	54	38	25	6
RADNOR . . .	..	..	1	2	34	27	8	1
WALES . . .	2	3	22	53	363	278	190	73
Total of ENGLAND . . .	54	145	511	1,117	4,411	2,843	2,042	733
„ WALES . . .	2	3	22	53	363	278	190	73
ENGLAND & WALES . . .	56	148	533	1,170	4,774	3,121	2,232	806

OF WHICH THE POPULATION IS

From 1000 to 2000.	From 2000 to 3000.	From 3000 to 4000.	From 4000 to 5000.	From 5000 to 10,000.	From 10,000 to 50,000.	From 50,000 upwards.	Total No. of Parishes, &c. in each County.	Names of Counties.
13	2	4	..	..	..	..	144	BEDFORD.
18	4	4	3	3	..	..	224	BERKS.
26	4	5	2	1	..	..	232	BUCKINGHAM.
26	3	1	2	4	..	..	174	CAMBRIDGE.
31	14	6	2	7	3	..	505	CHESTER.
54	21	6	6	9	..	..	219	CORNWALL.
10	3	2	4	4	1	..	299	CUMBERLAND.
38	10	4	2	6	..	..	333	DERBY.
83	20	15	3	7	3	..	483	DEVON.
26	7	1	2	2	..	..	308	DORSET.
28	9	4	3	7	3	..	299	DURHAM.
54	14	7	4	1	1	..	429	ESSEX.
42	16	5	2	12	4	..	430	GLOUCESTER.
14	4	1	1	..	..	..	282	HEREFORD.
30	5	4	3	3	..	..	147	HERTFORD.
6	2	2	..	..	..	..	107	HUNTINGDON.
63	24	6	4	9	7	..	433	KENT.
83	39	13	13	31	17	2	460	LANCASTER.
28	4	5	1	2	2	..	342	LEICESTER.
44	5	3	2	3	1	..	729	LINCOLN.
27	11	13	6	15	25	5	229	MIDDLESEX.
6	2	3	1	3	1	..	159	MONMOUTH.
65	13	4	1	1	1	..	753	NORFOLK.
21	3	2	3	2	..	..	345	NORTHAMPTON.
17	3	1	1	9	3	..	527	NORTHUMBERLAND.
14	6	3	3	7	1	..	271	NOTTINGHAM.
23	5	5	..	..	..	..	302	OXFORD.
2	..	..	..	..	..	..	56	RUTLAND.
32	10	2	3	9	..	..	284	SALOP.
58	19	7	2	7	3	..	496	SOMERSET.
32	13	5	8	4	2	..	353	SOUTHAMPTON.
35	5	4	4	14	7	..	347	STAFFORD.
44	11	3	4	2	..	..	526	SUFFOLK.
36	4	3	5	8	8	1	161	SURREY.
43	14	5	2	1	1	..	325	SUSSEX.
18	5	6	..	5	2	1	260	WARWICK.
8	..	..	..	..	1	..	120	WESTMORELAND.
48	9	2	4	1	1	..	378	WILTS.
28	14	5	..	3	2	..	243	WORCESTER.
12	7	5	2	2	1	..	367	York { EAST RIDING.
10	..	..	..	..	..	..	67	York { CITY & AINSTEY.
28	3	2	..	2	..	..	539	York { NORTH RIDING.
85	35	21	14	33	15	1	666	York { WEST RIDING.
1,409	402	199	122	239	116	10	14,353	ENGLAND.
4	1	..	1	1	..	..	77	ANGLESEY.
9	1	..	1	..	..	..	116	BRECON.
9	2	..	1	..	..	..	105	CARDIGAN.
24	6	..	1	1	..	..	116	CARMARTHEN.
16	3	1	1	1	..	..	75	CARNARVON.
17	6	6	..	..	..	..	99	DENBIGH.
5	3	2	..	2	..	..	66	FLINT.
10	3	1	2	1	2	..	183	GLAMORGAN.
7	2	..	1	..	..	..	37	MERIONETH.
13	6	..	2	..	..	..	76	MONTGOMERY.
18	2	..	1	..	..	..	157	PEMBROKE.
2	..	..	..	..	..	..	75	RADNOR.
134	35	10	11	6	2	..	1,182	WALES.
1,409	402	199	122	239	116	10	14,353	Total of ENGLAND.
134	35	10	11	6	2	..	1,182	Total of WALES.
1,543	437	209	133	245	118	10	15,535	ENGLAND & WALES.

SUPPLEMENT, No. 3.

AN ACT FOR THE RELIEF OF THE POOR.

ANNO REGNI ELIZABETHÆ Reginæ Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ, quadragesimo tertio. At the Parliament begun and holden at Westminster the seven and twentieth day of October, in the three and fortieth year of the reign of our most gracious Sovereign Lady ELIZABETH, by the grace of God, of England, France, and Ireland, Queen, defender of the faith, &c.; and there continued until the dissolution thereof, being the nineteenth day of December next following, 1601.

Preamble.

Overseers for the poor, their office, &c.

Who shall be taxed towards the relief of the poor.

A convenient stock shall be provided to set the poor on work.

The overseers shall meet once every month, and accompt.

BE it Enacted, by the authority of this present Parliament, That the churchwardens of every parish, and four, three, or two substantial householders there, as shall be thought meet, having respect to the proportion and greatness of the same parish and parishes, to be nominated yearly in Easter week, or within one month after Easter, under the hand and seal of two or more justices of the peace in the same county, whereof one to be of the quorum, dwelling in or near the same parish or division, where the same parish doth lie, shall be called overseers of the poor of the same parish; and they, or the greater part of them, shall take order from time to time, by and with the consent of two or more such justices of the peace as is aforesaid, for setting to work the children of all such, whose parents shall not, by the said churchwardens and overseers, or the greater part of them, be thought able to keep and maintain their children; and also for setting to work all such persons, married or unmarried, having no means to maintain them, and use no ordinary and daily trade of life to get their living by; and also to raise weekly or otherwise (by taxation of every inhabitant, parson, vicar, and other, and of every occupier of lands, houses, tithes impropriate, appropriations of tithes, coal mines, or saleable underwoods in the said parish, in such competent sum and sums of money as they shall think fit) a convenient stock of flax, hemp, wool, thread, iron, and other ware and stuff, to set the poor on work; and also competent sums of money for and towards the necessary relief of the lame, impotent, old, blind, and such other among them being poor and not able to work; and also for the putting out of such children to be apprentices, to be gathered out of the same parish, according to the ability of the same parish, and to do and execute all other things, as well for the disposing of the said stock as otherwise concerning the premises, as to them shall seem convenient; which said churchwardens and overseers so to be nominated, or such of them as shall not be let by sickness or other just excuse, to be allowed by two such justices of peace or more as is aforesaid, shall meet together at the least once

every month, in the church of the said parish, upon the Sunday in the afternoon after divine service, there to consider of some good course to be taken, and of some meet order to be set down in the premises; and shall within four days after the end of their year, and after other overseers nominated as aforesaid, make and yield up to such two justices of peace as is aforesaid, a true and perfect accompt of all sums of money by them received, or rated and sessed and not received, and also of such stock as shall be in their hands, or in the hands of any of the poor to work, and of all other things concerning their said office; and such sum or sums of money as shall be in their hands shall pay and deliver over to the said churchwardens and overseers newly nominated and appointed as aforesaid, upon pain that every one of them absenting themselves without lawful cause as aforesaid from such monthly meeting for the purpose aforesaid, or being negligent in their office or in the execution of the orders aforesaid, being made by and with the assent of the said justices of peace or any two of them before mentioned, to forfeit for every such default of absence or negligence, Twenty shillings.

Penalty 20s.

Clause relating to poor parishes.

And be it also Enacted, That if the said justices of peace do perceive that the inhabitants of any parish are not able to levy among themselves sufficient sums of money for the purposes aforesaid, that then the said two justices shall and may tax, rate, and assess as aforesaid any other of other parishes, or out of any parish within the hundred where the said parish is, to pay such sum and sums of money to the churchwardens and overseers of the said poor parish, for the said purposes, as the said justices shall think fit, according to the intent of this law; and if the said hundred shall not be thought to the said justices able and fit to relieve the said several parishes not able to provide for themselves as aforesaid, then the justices of peace at their general quarter sessions, or the greater number of them, shall rate and assess as aforesaid any other of other parishes, or out of any parish within the said county, for the purposes aforesaid, as in their discretion shall seem fit.

A remedy for levying the money assessed.

Distress for non-payment.

Imprisonment of those that will not work.

Refuses to accompt, imprisoned.

And that it shall be lawful, as well for the present as subsequent churchwardens or overseers, or any of them, by warrant from any two such justices of peace as is aforesaid, to levy as well the said sums of money, and all arrearages, of every one that shall refuse to contribute according as they shall be assessed, by distress and sale of the offender's goods, as the sums of money or stock which shall be behind upon any accompt to be made as aforesaid, rendering to the parties the overplus; and in defect of such distress, it shall be lawful for any such two justices of the peace to commit him or them to the common gaol of the county, there to remain without bail or mainprize until payment of the said sum, arrearages, and stock; and the said justices of peace, or any one of them, to send to the house of correction or common gaol such as shall not employ themselves to work being appointed thereunto as aforesaid; and also any such two justices of peace to commit to the said prison every one of the said churchwardens and overseers which shall refuse to accompt, there to remain without bail or mainprize until he have made a true accompt, and

satisfied and paid so much as upon the said accompt shall be remaining in his hands.

Binding of children apprentices.

And be it further Enacted, That it shall be lawful for the said churchwardens and overseers, or the greater part of them, by the assent of any two justices of the peace aforesaid, to bind any such children as aforesaid to be apprentices, where they shall see convenient, till such man-child shall come to the age of four and twenty years, and such woman-child to the age of one and twenty years, or the time of her marriage; the same to be as effectual to all purposes as if such child were of full age, and by indenture of covenant bound him or herself.

Building of houses on the waste for the poor to inhabit.

And to the intent that necessary places of habitation may more conveniently be provided for such poor impotent people, be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That it shall and may be lawful for the said churchwardens and overseers, or the greater part of them, by the leave of the lord or lords of the manor, whereof any waste or common within their parish is or shall be parcel, and upon agreement before with him or them made in writing, under the hands and seals of the said lord or lords, or otherwise, according to any order to be set down by the justices of peace of the said county at their general quarter sessions, or the greater part of them, by like leave and agreement of the said lord or lords, in writing under his or their hands and seals, to erect, build, and set up, in fit and convenient places of habitation in such waste or common, at the general charges of the parish, or otherwise of the hundred or county, as aforesaid, to be taxed, rated, and gathered in manner before expressed, convenient houses of dwelling for the said impotent poor, and also to place inmates, or more families than one in one cottage or house; one Act made in the thirty-first year of her Majesty's reign, intituled, 'An Act against the erecting and maintaining of Cottages,' or any thing therein contained to the contrary notwithstanding; which cottages and places for inmates shall not at any time after be used or employed to or for any other habitation, but only for impotent and poor of the same parish, that shall be there placed from time to time by the churchwardens and overseers of the poor of the same parish, or the most part of them, upon the pains and forfeitures contained in the said former Act made in the said thirty-first year of her Majesty's reign.

A remedy for them which find themselves grieved with any tax.

Provided always, That if any person or persons shall find themselves grieved with any cess or tax, or other Act done by the said churchwardens, and other persons, or by the said justices of peace; that then it shall be lawful for the justices of peace, at their general quarter sessions, or the greater number of them, to take such order therein as to them shall be thought convenient; and the same to conclude and bind all the said parties.

Poor persons relieved by their parents or children.

And be it further Enacted, That the father and grandfather, and the mother and grandmother, and the children of every poor, old, blind, lame, and impotent person, or other poor person not able to work, being of a sufficient ability, shall at their own charges relieve and maintain every such poor person in that manner, and according to that rate, as by the justices of peace of that county where such sufficient persons dwell, or the

greater number of them, at their general quarter sessions, shall be assessed, upon pain that every one of them shall forfeit twenty shillings for every month which they shall fail therein.

And be it further hereby Enacted, That the mayors, bailiffs, or other head officers of every town or place corporate and city within this realm, being justice or justices of peace, shall have the same authority by virtue of this Act, within the limits and precincts of their jurisdictions as well out of sessions as at their sessions, if they hold any, as is herein limited, prescribed, and appointed to justices of the peace of the county, or any two or more of them, or to the justices of peace in their quarter sessions, to do and execute for all the uses and purposes in this Act prescribed, and no other justice or justices of peace to enter or meddle there: And that every Alderman of the city of London within his ward shall and may do and execute in every respect so much as is appointed and allowed by this Act to be done and executed by one or two justices of peace of any county within this realm.

Officers of corporate towns have the authority of justices of peace.

Aldermen of London.

And be it also Enacted, That if it shall happen any parish to extend itself into more counties than one, or part to lie within the liberties of any city, town or place corporate, and part without, that then as well the justices of peace of every county, as also the head officers of such city, town or place corporate, shall deal and intermeddle only in so much of the said parish as lieth within their liberties, and not any further; and every of them respectively, within their several limits, wards and jurisdictions, to execute the ordinances before mentioned, concerning the nomination of overseers, the consent to binding apprentices, the giving warrant to levy taxations unpaid, the taking accompt of churchwardens and overseers, and the committing to prison such as refuse to accompt, or deny to pay the arrearages due upon their accompts; and yet nevertheless, the said churchwardens and overseers, or the most part of them, of the said parishes, that do extend into such several limits and jurisdictions, shall, without dividing themselves, duly execute their office in all places within the said parish in all things to them belonging; and shall duly exhibit and make one accompt before the said head officer of the town or place corporate, and one other before the said justices of peace, or any such two of them, as is aforesaid.

A parish extending into two counties, or into two liberties.

And further be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if in any place within this realm there happen to be hereafter no such nomination of overseers yearly as is before appointed, that then every justice of peace of the county dwelling within the division where such default of nomination shall happen, and every mayor, alderman, and head officer of city, town, or place corporate, where such default shall happen, shall lose and forfeit for every such default five pounds, to be employed towards the relief of the poor of the said parish or place corporate, and to be levied, as aforesaid, of their goods by warrant from the general sessions of the peace of the said county, or of the same city, town or place corporate, if they keep sessions.

The justices' forfeiture for not naming of overseers.

And be it also enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all penalties and forfeitures, before mentioned in this Act to be

How the forfeitures shall be levied and employed.

forfeited by any person or persons, shall go and be employed to the use of the poor of the same parish, and towards a stock and habitation for them, and other necessary uses and relief, as before in this Act are mentioned and expressed; and shall be levied by the said churchwardens and overseers, or one of them, by warrant from any two such justices of peace, or mayor, alderman, or head officer of city, town, or place corporate respectively, within their several limits, by distress and sale thereof, as aforesaid; or in defect thereof, it shall be lawful for any two such justices of peace, and the said alderman and head officers, within their several limits, to commit the offender to the said prison, there to remain without bail or mainprize till the said forfeitures shall be satisfied and paid.

The justices shall rate every parish to a weekly sum.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the justices of peace of every county or place corporate, or the more part of them, in their general sessions to be holden next after the feast of Easter next, and so yearly, as often as they shall think meet, shall rate every parish to such a weekly sum of money as they shall think convenient, so as no parish be rated above the sum of sixpence, nor under the sum of a halfpenny, weekly to be paid, and so as the total sum of each taxation of the parishes in every county amount not above the rate of twopence for every parish within the said county, which sums so taxed shall be yearly assessed by the agreement of the parishioners within themselves, or, in default thereof, by the churchwardens and petty constables of the same parish, or the more part of them; or, in default of their agreement, by the order of such justice or justices of peace as shall dwell in the same parish, or (if none be there dwelling) in the parts next adjoining; and if any person shall neglect or refuse to pay any such portion of money so taxed, it shall be lawful for the said churchwardens and constables, or any of them, or, in their default, for any justice of peace of the said limit, to levy the same by distress and sale of the goods of the party so refusing or neglecting, rendering to the party the overplus; and in default of such distress, it shall be lawful to any justice of that limit to commit such person to the said prison, there to abide, without bail or mainprize, till he have paid the same.

Relief for the prisoners of the King's Bench, Marshalsea, and hospitals.

And be it also Enacted, That the said justices of the peace, at their general quarter sessions to be holden at the time of such taxation, shall set down what competent sums of money shall be sent quarterly out of every county or place corporate, for the relief of the poor prisoners of the King's Bench and Marshalsea, and also of such hospitals and almshouses as shall be in the said county, and what sums of money shall be sent to every one of the said hospitals and almshouses, so as there be sent out of every county yearly twenty shillings at the least to each of the said prisons of the King's Bench and Marshalsea, which sums, rateably to be assessed upon every parish, the churchwardens of every parish shall truly collect, and pay over to the high constables in whose division such parish shall be situate, from time to time, quarterly, ten days before the end of every quarter; and every such constable, at every such quarter sessions in such county, shall pay over the same to two such treasurers, or to one of them, as shall, by the more

part of the justices of peace of the county, be elected to be the said treasurers, to be chosen by the justices of peace of the said county, city or town, or place corporate, or of others, which were sessed and taxed at five pounds lands or ten pounds goods at the least, at the tax of subsidy next before the time of the said election to be made; and the said treasurers so elected to continue for the space of one whole year in their office, and then to give up their charge, with a due accompt of their receipts and disbursements, at the quarter sessions to be holden next after the feast of Easter in every year, to such others as shall from year to year, in form aforesaid, successively be elected treasurers for the said county, city, town or place corporate, which said treasurers, or one of them, shall pay over the same to the Lord Chief Justice of England, and knight marshal for the time being, equally to be divided to the use aforesaid, taking their acquittance for the same, or, in default of the said chief justice, to the next ancientest justice of the King's Bench as aforesaid; and if any churchwarden or high constable, or his executors or administrators, shall fail to make payment in form above specified, then every churchwarden, his executors or administrators, so offending, shall forfeit for every time the sum of ten shillings, and every high constable, his executors or administrators, shall forfeit for every time the sum of twenty shillings; the same forfeitures, together with the sums behind, to be levied by the said treasurer and treasurers by way of distress and sale of goods as aforesaid, in form aforesaid, and by them to be employed towards the charitable uses comprised in this Act.

Treasurers to be chosen annually.

The money to be paid to the Lord Chief Justice of England and Knight Marshal.

The forfeitures of the churchwardens or high constables offending.

And be it further Enacted, That all the surplusage of money, which shall be remaining in the said stock of any county, shall by discretion of the more part of the justices of peace in their quarter sessions, be ordered, distributed, and bestowed for the relief of the poor hospitals of that county, and of those that shall sustain losses by fire, water, the sea or other casualties, and to such other charitable purposes, for the relief of the poor, as to the more part of the said justices of peace shall seem convenient.

How the surplusage shall be bestowed.

And be it further Enacted, That if any treasurer elected shall wilfully refuse to take upon him the said office of treasurership, or refuse to distribute and give relief, or to accompt, according to such form as shall be appointed by the more part of the said justices of peace; that then it shall be lawful for the justices of peace in their quarter sessions, or, in their default, for the justices of assize, at the assizes to be holden in the same county, to fine the same treasurer by their discretion; the same fine not to be under three pounds, and to be levied by sale of his goods, and to be prosecuted by any two of the said justices of peace, whom they shall authorize.

Penalty for refusing to be treasurer, to give relief, or to accompt.

Provided always, That this Act shall not take effect until the feast of Easter next.

This Act to take effect at Easter.

And be it Enacted, That the statute made in the nine-and-thirtieth year of her Majesty's reign, intituled, 'An Act for the Relief of the Poor,' shall continue and stand in force until the feast of Easter next; and that all taxations heretofore imposed and not paid, nor that shall be paid before the said feast of

For what time and to what purpose the stat. of 39 Eliz. shall be put in execution.

Easter next; and that all taxes hereafter before the said feast to be taxed by virtue of the said former Act, which shall not be paid before the said feast of Easter, shall and may, after the said feast of Easter, be levied by the overseers and other persons in this Act respectively appointed to levy taxations by distress, and by such warrant in every respect as if they had been taxed and imposed by virtue of this Act, and were not paid.

Proviso for the
Island of Fowl-
ness in Essex.

Provided always, That whereas the island of Fowlness in the county of Essex, being environed with the sea, and having a chapel of ease for the inhabitants thereof, and yet the said island is no parish, but the lands in the same are situated within divers parishes far distant from the said island; be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the said justices of peace shall nominate and appoint inhabitants within the said island to be overseers for the poor people dwelling within the said island; and that both they the said justices and the said overseers shall have the same power and authority, to all intents, considerations, and purposes, for the execution of the parts and articles of this Act, and shall be subject to the same pains and forfeitures, and likewise that the inhabitants and occupiers of lands there shall be liable and chargeable to the same payments, charges, expenses, and orders, in such manner and form as if the same island were a parish; in consideration whereof, neither the said inhabitants or occupiers of land within the said island, shall not be compelled to contribute towards the relief of the poor of those parishes wherein their houses or lands which they occupy within the said island are situated, for or by reason of their said habitations or occupings, other than for the relief of the poor people within the said island; neither yet shall the other inhabitants of the parishes wherein such houses or lands are situated, be compelled, by reason of their residency or dwelling, to contribute to the relief of the poor inhabitants within the said island.

The defendant's
plea in a suit com-
menced against
him upon this
statute.

And be it further Enacted, That if any action of trespass or other suit shall happen to be attempted and brought against any person or persons for taking of any distress, making of any sale, or any other thing doing by authority of this present Act, the defendant or defendants in any such action or suit shall and may either plead Not Guilty, or otherwise make avowry, cognizance, or justification for the taking of the said distresses, making of sale, or other thing doing by virtue of this Act; alleging in such avowry, cognizance, or justification, that the said distress, sale, trespass, or other thing whereof the plaintiff or plaintiffs complained was done by authority of this Act, and according to the tenour, purport, and effect of this Act, without any expressing or rehearsal of any other matter or circumstance contained in this present Act; to which avowry, cognizance, or justification, the plaintiff shall be admitted to reply, that the defendant did take the said distress, made the said sale, or did any other act or trespass supposed in his declaration of his own wrong, without any such cause alleged by the said defendant, whereupon the issue in every such action shall be joined, to be tried by verdict of twelve men,

and not otherwise, as is accustomed in other personal actions; and upon trial of that issue, the whole matter to be given on both parties in evidence, according to the very truth of the same, and after such issue tried for by the defendant, or non-suit of the plaintiff after appearance, the same defendant to recover treble damages, by reason of his wrongful vexation in that behalf, with his costs also in that part sustained, and that to be assessed by the same jury, or writ to inquire of the damages, as the same shall require.

Treble damages
for the defendant,
and his costs.

Provided always, That this Act shall endure no longer than to the end of the next Session of Parliament.

Continuance of
this Act.

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