

See Mr. Buchanan's Letter

26 Aug. 37.

(Private Letters)

Extracts from Mr. Buchanan's Letters and Reports, as to State Prisons, Crime, Poor Laws, Democracy, Universal Suffrage, Education, Reformation of Criminals in the State of New York, with a proposition to provide for the surplus Working population of England, Plan and Estimate:—to which is added, Suggestions for upholding the property of the Church, preserving Vested rights, exonerating Dissenters from contributing thereto, and applying the Tythes for the support of the Poor.—*New York, August 1834.*

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Houses of the Oireachtas

FACTS AND OBSERVATIONS
IN
RELATION TO THE EXTENSION
OF
STATE PRISONS IN ENGLAND:

ALSO BEARING ON
POVERTY AND CRIME.

BY
JAMES BUCHANAN, ESQ.

HIS MAJESTY'S CONSUL FOR THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

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Houses of the Oireachtas

TO THE
HONL. JAMES KENT,

Late Chancellor of the State of New York.

SIR,

I beg leave to inscribe to you the following Facts and Observations, as an expression of the gratitude, esteem and respect, for the unwearied kindness and friendship with which you have honored,

Your Obedient

Humble Servant,

J. BUCHANAN.

New York, 1st August, 1834.

TO THE
HON. JAMES KENT,

Chief Justice of the State of New York.

SIR,

I beg leave to inscribe to you the following Facts
and Observations, as an expression of the gratitude,
esteem and respect, for the unvaried kindness
and friendship with which you have honored,

Your Obedient

Humble Servant,

J. BUCHANAN.

New York, 14 April, 1834.

P R E F A C E .

HAVING been honored with numerous applications for information relative to the causes of poverty and crime, and to the measures adopted in the United States for the repression of those evils, subjects with which long and continued investigation had made me conversant. I am led to make the following selection from my various letters and reports, which I trust will be acceptable to those who may take an interest in such matters.

PREFACE.

Having been informed with numerous applications for information relative to the causes of poverty and crime, and to the measures adopted in the United States for the repression of those evils, subjects with which I have long been conversant, I am led to make the following selection from my various letters and reports, which I trust will be acceptable to those who may take an interest in such matters.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY

SIR JOHN COLBORNE,

K. C. B. &c.

SIR,

SEEING that an appropriation has been made for a State Prison by the Legislature of the Province, I beg leave to offer some observations in relation to that measure which I am constrained to do from a deep interest in the Province, having adopted it as the country of my children, and from having just concluded an investigation on the police and prison discipline in this state, made by order of His Majesty's government. Also having reported thereon in the year 1818, to the late Marquis of Londonderry. Such investigations have been made under the responsibility which my official situation imposes, I alone oppose myself to the sentiments of men whose characters I esteem and respect, under the clearest conviction that the introduction of this system will prove a great evil to the Province ; a continually absorbing gulf of ex-

penditure ; that the funds it will require, independent of the crime it will generate would be sufficient to carry railroads from one end of the Province to the other. I beg leave thus to record my testimony against the introduction of this system, and to warn my fellow subjects and all possessors of property that they are laying an egg which will produce a monster, that will absorb the taxes which we or our children must pay.

My investigation in the United States has been of fourteen years continuance (not that I went to seek for proof in favor of what I had in view) for until I had gained by long experience and got a thorough knowledge of the subject, I lauded it as others do ; nor did I confine my researches to those who were connected with prisons, either as agents, contractors, commissioners or superintendants, who derive their support or some little patronage from them. Aware that I could sustain monopolies, and every other public measure, no matter how prejudicial to the general interests, did I confine myself in the course of examination to those conducting such institutions, I always resorted to facts, and those facts I examined apart, aided by the experience of men conversant with the system, and I found the following result, the conclusion even of the warmest advocates of the

measure, namely, that to render the Penitentiary system effective as to reformation, separation of the convicts by day as well as by night ; at work as well as when idle, is deemed essential ; so that all prisons must be so arranged, or they will continue to be what they are now termed, " Schools of Vice," to furnish inmates for the State Colleges of Crime, where villainy attains its highest degree. I find that all reports in relation to prisons are uniform in their call for increased accommodation, as it is found felons multiply faster than they can build dwellings for them ; so that it becomes a subject of grave consideration ; where the providing of workshops for the accommodation of the vicious and abandoned will end, as well as to keep in view the effects which must arise to the honest mechanic, depending on his own labor to sustain his family, backed as the felon is by the state. The honest man, working in his own hired house, with tools which he has to provide out of his own earnings, to work materials of his own procuring, as also to provide his food and clothing, cannot compete with the culprit furnished with all these at the public expense. Yet this is the system so much admired, and because criminals have supported themselves in three prisons in the United States,

after many failures, above twenty years outlay and experience, where a combination of circumstances have tended to such result, the system is to prove equally profitable elsewhere. The very same argument may be adduced in favor of buying lottery tickets ; a few have gained prizes, and of these we hear, but certain train of evils follow the adventurer, even if a prize is drawn, and so is it with states prisons.

I have from a long and intimate acquaintance with the system, and all measures for bettering the condition of the poor, come to the conclusion that for whatever class of people provision is made, such will abound, whether poor, sick, insane, dishonest, or otherwise. This avowal will subject me to the charge of being divested of the common feelings of humanity, but God forbid that I should quench one kindly feeling on behalf of the miserable, the wretched or those sons and daughters of affliction, the fruit of crime. My great anxiety is to endeavor to arrest the misdirection of public funds, and the exertions of the benevolent from making provision for criminals, to measures having in view the prevention of crime, and awaken sympathy on behalf of those on the edge of the pit, instead of such liberal provisions for those who have already fallen into it. The

sympathy for rogues and thieves of late, has worked an awful misapplication of humane exertions, whereby plans are constantly afloat to render prisons more comfortable ; look at the palaces, food, and clothing provided for thieves, and where are the dwellings for the heart-broken and the unfortunate ? so that few of those who have partaken of the comforts of a prison that do not return thither again. I appeal to the vast number sentenced a second, third, fourth, aye and a fifth time to the state prisons in New York and elsewhere.

Among the various considerations which militate against the Penitentiary or state prison system, to which I earnestly invite your Excellency's attention is, that though the convicts acquire a trade and many may be educated therein, yet they never get clear of the degradation of having been once in a state prison. As a tradesman the convict never will be admitted among reputable mechanics, and as to admission among respectable people, it is out of the question. Escaping from the gallows, having been guilty of arson, abduction, rape, or killing his fellow man, all these may be overlooked, but having been in a state prison or penitentiary is a degree of degradation not to be purged, and clings to the third and fourth generation. I do not presume to say cases may not have arisen, nor do I question

the persausion which prevails in the minds of those who have stated cases of reformation the effect of prison discipline ; but I have not found yet a clear decided case of amendment and restoration to society, while my inquiries have been incessant among the advocates of the system. The principle holds good in both hemispheres, that all advocates for, gainers by, and officers connected with an institution, cheerfully award praise where a portion is sure to reflect on themselves, or that upholds an institution which affords patronage or gain ; hence the various officers, agents and directors of public institutions, whether charitable or for other public purposes, cheer the contributors with a view of the best side of the picture ; and that too, I admit, may and has been done with purity of intention. However such statements should be received with considerable allowance for justifiable partiality, by those who have to decide for the public good, and who are guardians of the public purse. It may be very fine to say ‘ Crime supports itself’ by means of state prisons, but the truly benevolent will not rejoice at the discovery, nor at their increase. Were we able to calculate the evils generated by the state enabling and encouraging felons to work cheap, and how such state workshops stand in the way of industrious mechanics,

as before adverted to, the admiration of the system would be abated.

I beg to add the testimony of a gentleman who may be called one of the fathers of the system at Philadelphia : whose opinion should have great weight, (Dr. Mease,) “ That no instance was known of any man ever following the trade he learned in a State Prison.” Indeed, so complete is the failure of deterring from crime, that many of the most intelligent advocates of the system in the United States are looking for some place to transport those convicted of second offences ; and unless the legislatures are led to return to the system which the Great Creator saw suitable and necessary for our fallen and depraved state, we may gain the applause of the unthinking multitude and increase crime, but we shall not pursue the course which will be productive of the greatest source of human happiness to the community.

The philosophy of the present day derides the laws of God—that “ the man who sheds blood, by man shall his blood be shed”—that “ stripes shall be laid on the back of the disobedient.” The wisdom of Solomon is exploded as to the correction of children, hence that want of respect for the aged, in youth insubordination, and the abounding crime of riper years ; yet the present is call-

ed the time when "the school-master is abroad."
The "March of intellect."

The great error as to corporeal punishment has been, that it was public, whereby the subject of it was degraded instead of reformed and deterred. But it is as true now as it was three thousand years ago, "He that spareth the rod hateth the child;" and were first offences in youth punished, second would not be perpetrated. Let all bear in mind the fable of the thief and his mother, who preside in criminal courts.

I beg on this occasion to add my testimony in favor of Sunday Schools training up the rising generation in a regard for the Lord's day, an acquaintance with the Holy Scriptures, and an habitual attendance upon the public institutions of religion, as I have invariably found it a mark of depravity, whether in rich or in poor, high or low, that the Sabbath was not regarded. I speak from the knowledge of accumulated facts, that I have found no genuine reformation of character, pure morality, or support under adversity, which was not the fruit of the bible.

I beg to conclude these observations by stating, that the respect I have for the gentlemen named in the commission, who have recommended the introduction of the system into the province, for-

bids me for one moment to impugn their motives, their integrity, or their zeal to do what they have done for the public good ; while I again bear my humble testimony against the growing sympathy for criminals, and against the entailment of supporting the abandoned and vicious as a tax upon our lands and children. As a tax payer, I also beg leave to bear my testimony against expending the present sum, (if it must be so applied) in any situation, save where the convicts may be employed in making brick, and where a market may be attainable for that article. Near the City of Toronto would be the best market for clay and consumption. I trust the allegation, that the money and the location have been acceded to as a matter of compromise is unfounded : a spirit so destructive of patriotism, and a due regard to the character of the Legislature, that I cannot admit the charge. There is one advantage as to location at Kingston held forth, namely, that there is plenty of stone there, this is undoubtedly desirable, as future buildings will unquestionably be required to an extent the advocates of the measure, and those who have to bear the expense little dream of.—Witness Boston, Philadelphia, Auburn, Mount Pleasant, and all other places where establishments of the kind have been admitted ; but the convicts will not be

able to turn those stones into bread. While clay may be so changed, and a good tread mill would prepare the clay for brick, so that every class could take part in the work ; and by making brick, outlay would be avoided in providing TOOLS, MATERIALS, master mechanics for other kinds of employment for the convicts.

I beg that in thus condemning the system I may not be regarded as casting any reflection on the agents, or others who conduct the State Prisons in the United States just named. On the contrary, the arrangements, and carrying the same into execution at Auburn and Mount Pleasant, and from what I have heard from various visitors who witnessed the management at Wethersfield, Boston, and Baltimore, have brought the system to a degree of perfection which reflects great credit on their superintendence ; and I feel confident superior to any other prisons in the world in working the convicts to profit ; but such results are not to be expected in Canada. In coming to a conclusion, it has occurred to me to mention, my approval of the house of refuge, for youthful delinquents, or those who are destitute—set on foot by a number of humane and truly benevolent characters in this city a few years ago, wherein the children are clothed, educated and instructed, in some useful

mechanic's trade, and afterwards apprenticed out. This institution has called forth such general approval, that the Legislature has made liberal appropriation: but I regret to find they have authorised the Governor to transfer from the States Prisons any youthful criminals under seventeen years of age. Should this continue, the institution will be destroyed; as infamy will attach to all who are removed thither. "A States Prison convict" is a term more vile than any which our language furnishes. I deem it proper to hold up the conduct of the Corporation of New York as deserving of great praise, (though it is the fashion to abuse all corporate bodies) for their having purchased a farm near the city, of 200 acres, where they purpose to employ their paupers, and convicts for minor offences, whereby they will contribute to earn their support, and I doubt not, but as soon as all lazy, idle and disorderly persons are forced to work for their daily bread, the city of New York will not be desired by these characters; and I earnestly recommend to my fellow subjects in Canada, to pursue a more severe discipline towards the vicious and immoral, as the best means of leading such characters to *seek some other quarter*. Convicts could be well employed, where there is

a cut stone quarry and a demand for the stone; and where there are streets or roads to be macadamized by the broken stone; but all the occupations, save brick-making, and such as have reference to food or clothing for the prisoners should be avoided. These observations are submitted to Your Excellency, well aware that the true interests of the Province, is the governing principal which regulates your approval of public measures.

I have the honor to be. &c. &c.

J. BUCHANAN.

New York, 4th March, 1833.

EXTRACTS.

The following Extracts are taken from a letter addressed by Mr. Buchanan to Sir Robert Peel, in the year 1828, in relation to the same subject. The pamphlet was printed by Black, Young and Young, Tavistock street, London.

If it be conceded that the reformation of the criminal, and the prevention of the recurrence of crime, has not been effected, either by the too severe and sanguinary laws enacted, and but too partially and imperfectly enforced, in Great Britain and Ireland, or the milder and still more inefficient system adopted in the United States, it may not be deemed presumption to offer a few observations as to the prevention of crime and the reformation of criminals, derived from a particular examination of the subject, before and since I arrived in America, collected, not alone from what I have witnessed, but from inquiry and conversation with the most enlightened characters in the United States on this important subject.

Reformation, I conceive, can arise only from the understanding, and the heart being influenced—while punishment bears on the body alone, and debases the mind ; I am therefore led to lay down the following principles, bearing on reformation.

First,—That those who are the subjects of reformation should be impressed with the idea, that not only the recovery of reputation and full liberty, but also their support, are dependent on their own exertions, and that such are within their reach.

Second.—That the circumstances in which they are placed, are the best adapted for such their restoration, that could prudently be afforded, with a due regard to enconomy, and the well-being of society.

Third.—That they should be impressed with the idea that their own interest is connected with all that is required of them.

And *lastly*,—That no restraint be enforced, save so far as such has reference to prevent them from injuring others—and that the continuance of severity, and of punishment, should be regulated by the progress manifested by the prisoners in industry and strict propriety of behaviour. In these particulars the penitentiary system, as generally conducted is deficient.

In another point of view the penitentiary system

is necessarily deficient—in that, while the sober, intelligent, and industrious convicts are steadily pursuing their trade for the benefit of the institution, the incorrigible and idle are partakers of the same comforts and indulgence, and in the equal hope of discharge; they are on the same footing, and thus the lazy and vicious being sure of accommodation equally good as the hard-working convict, and the latter, assured that he has nothing to hope for by (reason of the certainty of punishment)—reputation blasted—debarred of any hope for many years of a change—consigned to the same punishment as the most reckless victim of crime—the natural result is, just such as has arisen, viz. That the *penitentiary system has not produced reformation*, while on the contrary, the documents forwarded, and the records of every prison, show that a great many of the convicts in prisons are those who had on *former occasions experienced its accommodations*, and that sanguinary punishments do not deter from crime.*

* About thirty-eight years ago, I was present at the execution of one William Mc Ilhinny, (at Omagh county Tyrone) convicted of a burglary: this man both in prison and at the place of execution, appeared truly penitent, and was attended by the Rev. Mr. Cochran, the Episcopal clergyman. After his devotions he ascended the ladder higher than usual, under the idea that by the greater fall his sufferings would be shortened: when the ladder was

I feel that I am borne out in the conclusion at which I have arrived, and in which I am supported by the concurrence of those who have watched over the system with anxious solicitude—that the penitentiary system is not calculated for any country with a dense population; and that it has failed in the United States, as to all its great prominent and expected results, and must ultimately be abandoned, as population increases in the States; since the uniform experience of mankind has shewn, that, as the manufacturing population of any country becomes numerous, the crime of that country is augmented in more than a proportionate ratio.

It may prove an interesting subject of inquiry.

turned by the executioner, he fell with such violence, that Mr. Mc Reynolds, the Sheriff, and all near the gallows, concluded his neck was broken, and from such conviction, when he had hung six or seven minutes, the Sheriff gave directions to have him cut down: a Dr. Mc M., (I believe still alive at Omagh) having felt his pulse, and anxious to try an experiment, had him secretly removed to the churchyard, distant about a furlong, when after great exertions Mc Ilhinney was restored, and removed privately away. Three years afterwards the same man was committed to the same jaol for a similar offence, was tried, convicted, and again hanged on the same gallows, from whence he had so escaped. He did not appear to me, neither was he believed by others, to be a character reckless of life, or desperate of purpose.

Whence does it arise, that as institutions for supplying or supporting any species of calamity, or any of the wants of man, are multiplied, the objects for which they are intended, increase in a still greater proportion ?

Aware of such consequences, I have been for many years disposed to question the policy of rendering assistance, through the medium of public institutions, to any *save the sick and the wholly destitute*. The working community are safer when they have no such resource to look to: and as the Almighty Ruler of the universe has ordained, that by the sweat of his brow man is to eat bread—also, that the poor are always with us, so I am disposed to think that all who are able should be led to work, and provision alone made for the sick, aged, and imbecile in mind or body as I have stated; and above all, **THAT THE VICIOUS AND LAWLESS SHOULD NOT BE PLACED WHERE THEY HAVE TO BE SUSTAINED BY THE SOBER AND INDUSTRIOUS.**

I repeat it, Why sustain them in idleness, and at an enormous expense at home ? But to return from this short digression, believing as I do, and as I hope to prove, though distant from the means of accurate information, from whence I could draw a correct estimate, that the money already expended, and to be employed in the building of,

and supporting penitentiaries in the United Kingdom, would be amply sufficient to form a fund for the purpose of lessening the commission of crime—producing reformation—and preserving to the empire those unhappy characters, the management of whom forms the most difficult, yet so important a part of political economy.

These desirable results I look for, from a well regulated arrangement of transportation to his majesty's colonies, instead of the various punishments now resorted to. And, first, as it respects saving of expense, the prevention of crime, and reformation of the criminal.

To render this part of my plan effectual, I would propose for consideration, that in London, and all the great cities of the empire, the trial of all offences, save such as affected life, should immediately follow apprehension, and if convicted, the criminal to be forthwith sent on shipboard for transportation. The advantages to the community of immediate trial, are many and obvious. The witnesses to the transactions are all at hand—the circumstances are recent—plans to suborn witnesses, or evade justice, could not have time to ripen, nor the ends of justice be defeated, inasmuch as strangers and others, at present, are unwilling to give testimony, as they are thereupon bound

over to prosecute at a period when it might be very inconvenient, and to many, impossible to attend. Moreover, the usual apology for deferring a trial, on the part of the prisoner, for want of witnesses, could not be made ; for in case of the trial being immediate, all who witnessed the transactions could be procured with much less inconvenience (even to themselves) than at a remote period. I would likewise propose that a grand jury should be always in session. and give attendance every morning at eight o'clock, so as to decide on all cases occurring during the preceding day. By this means the business would not occupy the most valuable time of the grand jury ; but should a new jury be empannelled every two weeks, the duty would not be so inconvenient as at present.

The highly objectionable measure of imprisoning the young, in crime and profligacy, would be thus wholly avoided ;* and inasmuch as transportation is the only punishment suggested for all of-

*The commitments in Middlesex of untried persons, between the 1st of January, 1826, and the 1st of April, 1827, amounted to 3,306 ; of whom, for want of sureties, were 2, 472. For want of bail to appear at the sessions, 620. For want of sureties for good behaviour, and keep the peace, 207.

fences, save murder, arson, and forcible abduction, if accompanied by violation of females, it is proposed that the delinquent should at once be removed to the ship, as hereafter set forth; the terms of transportation to vary, according to the degree of delinquency of the culprit, and to be fixed by the court.

In the mildest cases the convict should be sent to the Cape of Good Hope, a free settler, and should have all privileges as such, *as soon as* the expense of transport and trial should be paid, by himself, or his relative at home; but in no instance should any be permitted to return, save in conformity to their sentence, and upon a certificate from the proper authorities of the colony, of their uniform unimpeachable conduct. Punishments for other and greater offences should extend to Botany Bay; but in all cases before admitting return, the expense of transport should be refunded, and certificates of good conduct required.*

Surely this return is awful! such a number thus punished—reputation destroyed before trial; a stranger may be improperly charged with a bailable offence—he is imprisoned without redress, and ruined. Immediate trial obviates this sacrifice of the innocent, as well as the corruption of youth.

* Supplying Planters in the West Indies with convicts to

As a stimulus in the way of reformation, unless specially forming part of the sentence, they should be at liberty to pursue whatever trade or occupation was permitted to free settlers in the colony, provided, if married, they should take their wives and children with them, his majesty's government giving to such, as to other settlers, grants of land and implements of husbandry to be a charge, as well as expense of their transport, upon their lands.

The most certain way of getting rid of a large portion of our vicious surplus population, it is believed, is by the removal of the women and children referred to, as none are more likely to become the victims of crime and vice at home than the families of transported convicts.

It is surely more wise to send them away before they commit crime, than to wait that event; besides, if the convict be accompanied by his family, his desire of regaining his lost character will be more certain, and he will be less disposed to co-operate in any scheme that would tend to disorganize the prosperity of the colony.

These observations are in accordance with my try the experiment of free labor, under certain limitations has been suggested, but much difficulty appears in the way; the idea is thrown out.

proposition of throwing the support of the convict on his own efforts, and by removing his family, preventing crime at home, and in the colonies.

Before I come to the financial part of my plan, I would beg leave to glance at some of the fruitful causes of crime. The first to which I advert is sustained at a great expense, but so many interests are intervoven with the system, that I fear it must be suffered to remain, I mean the parochial work-house schools in London (with those of the country I am unacquainted,) and the charter schools in Ireland.

The whole arrangement is bad, and idleness is their bane. I would here bear my testimony, **THAT EVERY SCHEME, WHICH HAS NOT IN VIEW, TRAINING UP, AND RENDERING THE SUBJECTS OF IT FIT TO LABOR FOR THEIR SUPPORT, IS AN ABUSE OF CHARITY, AND RUINOUS IN ITS EFFECTS.**

On my being carried by a leading and highly respectable character, who is devoted to humane institutions, to view some of the youth in these houses in London, and minutely investigating the exercises in which the children were engaged, I could not but lament the gross misapplication of such liberality as is extended to these schools, as the education is confined to the head instead of the hands ; it is an error of the day in the education

of the poor to lead them to look for independence and respectability to other sources than by the industry and labor of the hands.

The following is an outline of my suggestions, drawn up and submitted to the gentleman referred to (but he felt that the present system was so interwoven with the interests of numbers in the parishes connected with the workhouses, that he viewed reformation hopeless unless the strong arm of government should be wielded). That the several establishments in the city should be sold, and with the funds arising therefrom, purchase lands as convenient to the city as could prudently be procured. Thereon erect suitable plain buildings, if not found ready built,—and in connexion with education, train up the children to horticultural labor, in raising vegetables for the supply of the market, whereby health, employment, education, and industrious habits, would be combined, to render the children useful members of society, as well as to contribute to their own support, thus removing from their minds the degradation arising from the terms—“poor children,” “charity children”—terms which destroy self respect, and sink that independence of character, which should be cherished in every British heart.

The detail of such establishments extends to

their cooking, and performing all the work connected with it, making their own shoes, clothes, &c. &c.* The next and most glaring cause of crime to which I solicit attention is the vast number of wretched females whose appearance is a reproach to our national character—yet though the evil appears to be increasing, the subject is so momentous, that it is passed over by the legislator and philanthropist as hopeless and without remedy.

Of all the victims of vice I freely admit these wretched outcasts have ever excited in my mind the deepest commiseration. Man commits many offences, yet holds his rank in society! Man by his perfidy draws from the parental roof, and the paths of virtue, the young, unsuspecting, warm-hearted female—plunges a whole family (nay, per-

* At the suggestion of a friend, long resident in London, I add a few further observations as to the detail.—The children should be divided into classes, distributing to each class a portion of intelligence and bodily strength, to aid the younger branches ; to each class should be assigned a piece of ground which they should till, and receive the price of the vegetables, fruits, or flowers, produced by their labor in clothes. The females to raise and prepare the grass, wherewith to make the fine straw plat, to kint, and sew, bind hats, shoes, &c., allowing them to receive the fruit of their labour : the full detail, I shall feel great pleasure in furnishing ; but what is set forth may suffice to show the outline of the plan suggested.

haps several) into the deepest abyss of woe—con-signs and abandons the victim of his deception and his crimes to despair, disease, and hopeless misery, while he continues to hold his station, and is valued, among not a few, for the extent of his successful efforts in destroying female virtue, whilst woman, by yielding at an unguarded moment, is for ever cast from the pity and protection of those who think themselves humane, benevolent, and forgiving, especially by those of her own sex.

The cruelty of parents, as generally exercised towards their seduced, and deluded child (to which by their education and indulgence they themselves may have contributed), exhibits more hardness of heart, relentlessness of disposition, and total destitution of pity in the British character, than all the other features we exhibit. As a parent, should such an afflicting calamity befall me (and none can be greater), I would seek out my lost betrayed one, and should make it the business of my prayers and life to pour balm and consolation into the wounded, afflicted, and forlorn heart of my child.*

* To bring back to my fire side, and place the penitent in her former situation in the family would, not be tenderness to her, nor in accordance with that high state of purity in the female character which our national morality I hope ever shall exact. The 11th verse of the 8th chap. of St.

We boast of humanity, yet who can say that he possesses it, and turn from his repentant child? why embrace our repentant sons and exclude our repentant daughters? As these outcasts are from necessity promoters of crime, and believing that there are thousands of miserable creatures, (particularly the young) who would readily embrace any opportunity to escape from their infamous and loathsome way of life, I would propose to provide *for such characters* asylums in his majesty's colonies, to be placed under the superintendence of the Moravian Society, or other human characters, who would *voluntarily engage in the undertaking*. I have ventured to name this denomination without intending any reflection on others, because their missions have been more successfully conducted, and more free from that fanaticism and ignorance of the human character, which have often appeared among humane and zealous communities.

I am not aware that I have any personal acquaintance with an individual of that denomination of Christians, save one or two by name, therefore I trust that I shall not be charged with sectarian partiality, in having thus mentioned them, being

John's Gospel, is a guide for those who are governed by Christian principles. While we condemn, let us pity and spare, *but not punish*, and abandon to destruction.

guided solely by the uniform wisdom which marks the government of their institutions, so adapted for the characters I have in view. I speak of them also more readily, as their services would, I presume, be gratuitous, and at once effective, from the organization of their system ; not that I believe they would require of those females to submit to their peculiar religious maxims, but that their government would be so organized as to render them useful, and restore them to society. Females are much wanted in many of the colonies, vice both at home and abroad would be diminished by the transfer, and the population of the colonies increased ; but above all, these unhappy females would be removed, from the infamy and vice in which they continue, to a place of safety, where surrounded by sympathy and kindness, they would find relief, and without which removal, they must perish the victims of disease, despair, and wretchedness, without hope.

Is the proposal to be abandoned on account of the expense ? What, are the public funds to flow freely to erect palaces for felons, and persons old in crime, or to transport the abandoned and veterans in vice, and shall we not extend relief to these outcasts who continue in, and promote crime for

want of a place of refuge ? Are these wretched females to be the only exceptions, for whose reformation expenditure is to be withheld ? Far be this from the British nation, which proudly stands pre-eminent among the nations of the earth for charitable institutions, extended to all without respect to nation, creed, color, or cause of distress—such alone being in accordance with that general philanthropy inculcated by our divine Redeemer.*

* Theatrical exhibitions, and the use of ardent spirits, are a never-failing topic of declamation, as fruitful sources of crime. If Sunday Schools, Bible Societies, public feeling and the labours of faithful, zealous ministers, do not counteract the effect of all such sources of crime, to suppress them by legislative enactment, is out of the question, without doing violence to the liberty of the subject ; we look too much to laws to restrain vice. In some of the states in America, the court removes from the drunkard the control of his property—in my view a very questionable interference, as affecting our liberty in our acquired rights.

EXTRACTS

From a report in relation to the Police of the State of New York, &c. &c.—January 1834.

The cause of crime has been generally attributed to “poverty and ignorance ;” this is not correct as applicable to this state or Canada. Employment for all who will work, and education for all who will be instructed, is liberally afforded. However a large class of wellintentioned Reformers in England look to this country as a model to govern their new state of things. Believing as I do, that the working of those institutions which they regard with so much approbation lead to crime, and if introduced into England, would be productive of great evils, I deem it my duty to state my reasons, though did I court popularity here or in England, I should avoid the subject, but I fearlessly and openly from a long residence in the United States, and intimate acquaintance with the institutions, declare my sentiments without fear of refutation. At the

same time I must state, that I do not consider any man however intelligent, capable of judging of the institutions of this varied continent, from a six weeks gallop, or even one or two years running residence in the United States: yet how many confidently write and speak of them; whose ignorance subject their observations to ridicule and contempt.

The brief view I have given of the institutions of this state, I believe never came before the people of other countries: detached parts may incidentally have been adverted to, but the general government claims the chief attention, while that of the states seldom is regarded.

Did time allow to bring together a full view of the working of the wheels of the twenty four states, the advocates for democratic institutions, would behold a picture they little imagine, alone suitable to the United States: while from the peculiar circumstances of the country, great prosperity has been attained, yet a dense population, such as England and Ireland, where general intelligence is not so equally spread among the people, the most greivous tyranny would be the result; other circumstances peculiar to the vast capabilities of the United States have produced prosperity in spite of the evils consequent upon universal suffrage. That I may not be regarded as a reckless tyrant, I

would give all men who paid direct taxes a vote in the enactment of them.

The theory of a republic, and the working of all which have yet appeared, are truly dissimilar, the reckless tyranny of democracy is as distinct from genuine republicanism, as a theocracy is to demonism : this may be called ultra toryism, but as I do not belong to the established church, I am exonerated from the bias which would be charged as flowing from that quarter. Extraordinary and unexpected as it may appear, I am constrained to say, much crime in this state arises from those very institutions and measures which are lauded and trumpeted forth by many in England, as the proudest feature of this country, namely, Government by the People.

All jurists will agree, that a well regulated community is one where laws are obeyed, where each citizen performs cheerfully the duties not only public but private, connected with his station : that offices are filled for the public good : that men conversant with the duties of office are retained therein, so long as they act faithfully and are amply remunerated for the devotion of their talents and time to the service of the public ; so that the public pays as liberally for services as private employers would pay for the same.

In my report it appears that above 26,000 officers are annually elected in this state for the preservation of persons and property, and democracy not only says all men are equal, but considers all men fit for office : and as rotation of office is a leading maxim with democracy, and the bar room and tavern, the theatres where office seekers and thier backers cheifly hold forth, the vast number of misdemeanors, nay crimes, known to arise from dissipation and intemperance, so prevalent, may easily be accounted for. Were the wives of hundreds of the electors to be appealed to, I have little doubt universal suffrage and voting by ballot would be banished.

It is impossible to convey to people at a distance the constant agitation kept up in a community from annual elections. Possession and fitness for office are no guards against numerous aspirants, looking to the next election : and as all deem themselves eligible, and having a right to office, a constant canvass is going on : so that with truth it may be stated, that canvassing and electioneering are in operation the whole year, and were it not that the consequence of voting by ballot is defeated by "caucus meetings,"* the fair fabric

* An organized secret meeting of the heads of the party, who select the persons to be put in nomination for office.

that this State exhibits, would be prostrate under an irresponsible body, whose claim to office would be sustained by clamour, and jealousy of the wealthy.

The ill founded sentiment held forth, that a government by the people, is a cheap government, is equally fallacious. I shall only adduce the municipal government of this city, in which, (without a shade of dissimulation I state my conviction, that as individuals, they are as honorable and as efficient a body of men as any country could furnish,) the expenditure exceeds that of any city in Europe, and entirely paid by the wealthy; while the imposts of the general government falls equally on the rich and poor. While on the subject, I quote an expression of the late Governor, Dewitt Clinton, a man who has shed honor on not only the State, but upon the Republic, whose character will be held in reverence, and more highly honored as the period of his death recedes. When I had the honor of conversing with his Excellency on this very subject, he stated, "our civil government is more expensive than yours."

As voting by ballot does not come under the head of Police, I should not mention it, but from its bearing on the characters of a community; as engendering dissimulation and hypocrisy, and

destructive of that independence of character, which, if not possessed and acted upon, freedom is a mere name, and bait to catch the many ; yet, the voting by ballot is as completely defeated by “ King Caucus,” as any attempt of the independent freeholders in Cumberland heretofore, to oppose the Earl of Lonsdale, or in Yorkshire to oppose a union between the noble houses of Harewood and Fitzwilliam. No man in this State can vote for whom he pleases, or for those he deems most eligible, with any hope of success. He must vote for the whole ticket agreed on by the heads of the party in secret ; or as it is called, “ go the whole hog.”

Among the many glaring evils, which every day's experience demonstrate, as the fruit of the recent alteration in the Constitution of the State, granting universal suffrage, none more appears than the casting off parental authority, and the want of respect for old age. Also the baneful influence annual elections have on a faithful discharge of the duties of all departments which are elective. The servants of His Majesty's household, the various clerks in any public department in London, do not feel themselves as dependent on His Majesty, or on the heads of their respective departments, as the elective Magistrates, Judges

and municipal officers of this city do upon the very people, whose actions they are required to restrain and whose disobedience they are appointed to punish. It is impossible to convey an idea of the baneful influence of the avowed principle of rotation of office, a sentiment which is applauded by all who are out, and abhorred by all who are in ; which removes men when they are becoming conversant with the duties they are appointed to perform.

In reflecting upon the extension of crime, I should not pass over the cheapness of spirituous liquors, an evil of the first magnitude. A gallon of whiskey can be procured for 15*d.* sterling. Licence to keep a Tavern, for a few shillings. In the midst of such general apparent national prosperity,(the extracts below*) as to the number

* The great evil which this law is intended to remedy, whether it shall prove effectual or not, is the incarceration, according to the best estimates we are able to make, of 10,000 persons annually ;—incarceration too, not according to the common form ;—but with no provision by law of bedding, fuel or food, to protect the subjects of it from cold and hunger ;—and this in a multitude of cases, for very small sums, as proved by the following facts from authentic documents :—

Mr. S. Mott, the jailer of the county of Cayuga, states in a letter to Mr Oliphant, the editor of the free press pub-

of persons imprisoned for small sums, exhibits an appalling picture, even in the country parts of

lished in the village of Auburn, that the number of debtors committed to the prison under his care, during the year ending January 8th, 1831, was four hundred and eighty eight. Of these two hundred and five were for less than five dollars each : four hundred and forty six, i. e. all except forty two, for less than twenty five dollars each ; and not one for a sum exceeding fifty dollars.

Thirty nine were committed to the jail in Auburn, in the year above mentioned, for sums not exceeding one dollar each. Twenty five were committed to the same prison, whose debts together amounted to fourteen dollars and ninety nine cents. Of the last mentioned twenty five persons, two were committed to prison for six cents each. In one of the cases of imprisonment in the jail in Auburn, in which the debt was six cents, the costs were five dollars and twenty five cents ; the expense of the county, eight dollars and thirty eight cents ; the loss of time to the debtor, sixty days, thirty five of which were in close confinement.

In the City of New York, the society for the relief of debtors confined for small debts, procured the release of fifteen persons, whose debts together amounted to \$132 only.

In the county of Columbia, the keeper of the prison, Mr. Holly, examined the records with the secretary, by which it appeared that there had been committed to the jail in Hudson, during one year ending September 29, 1830, one hundred and sixty five persons ; of whom one hundred and twenty six were for debts of less than twenty dollars each. The jailer not only stated the sums for which they were committed, but the proportion of rum debts. Of thirty nine committed for more than twenty and less than one

this state previous to the passing of the act in 1831 abolishing imprisonment for debt, and will astonish those in England who are ignorant of the working of democracy.

The great body of the people are yet sound, moral and exemplary, but look into taverns and bar rooms not only in the cities but all over the country, and there is to be found a class of people which in Europe would be ashamed at being found at such places. But canvassing, seeking office, and making friends against the election, leads to this great evil, which all judges, magistrates, and ministers of religion denounce, as the foundation of the domestic misery and crime of

hundred dollars, four were rum debts; of forty two committed for more than ten and less than twenty dollars each, ten were rum debts; of forty eight committed for more than five and less than ten dollars, twenty were rum debts, of twenty one committed for more than one and less than five dollars, six were rum debts; of fifteen committed for less than one dollar each, eight were rum debts. Out of the whole number of cases, i. e. one hundred and sixty five, *forty nine were rum debts.*

In the county of Monroe, and in the town of Rochester, seventy seven persons were committed to prison in 1830, whose whole amount of debts was one hundred and twenty six dollars and thirty six cents.

Besides these, there were one hundred and forty eight more, whose debts, though they exceeded two dollars each, none of them exceeded five dollars.

the country. But democracy says, "I am as good a man as you, I'll do as I please." I do not probe these evils with ill will; with any pleasure, in exposing them, but to warn my fellow subjects in England, if I could but be heard, against the consequences of aniversal suffrage, for which they seem to clamour so loudly.

It will not be believed, the baneful effect democracy has accasioned, arising from giving up discipline in schools. Who does not reflect with pleasure on the many blessings which have flowed from the parish schools of Scotland. Whence arises the marked difference which is apparent to every observer, between the humble scots lad who "doffs his bonnet to a' he meets," whose complexion is not wan with the early use of tobacco, and whose reverence for his teacher and parents has been preserved by wholesome discipline; and what so generally prevails in this country? View the two systems, the common schools in this State and those of Scotland. Here democracy renders the teacher a candidate for office, as by his ability to support his party, he obtains a school: but he does not stop here, as it is only regarded as a step to higher office. Let it not be alledged that I wish to heighten the picture,—many exceptions there are, but my knowledge of the facts, and informa-

tion is extensive: and though splendid buildings appear in every part of the City, and a princely appropriation made, yet the poorest individual endeavors to send his child to any other school in preference, even when he has to pay, than to many of the schools in this City.

I should not presume to offer any observations as to reformation, but merely observe in passing, that until a class of men are educated for teachers, and amply rewarded, so as to regard it as a permanent situation, the citizen will have fine houses, fine reports, but a disobedient and ill educated community. Look again at the Scots school,—there the scholars are storing their minds with the first rudiments of education, as well as with lessons from the Bible, and their little heads are not calculating about becoming presidents, senators, judges or squires; democracy has not crossed the threshold, nor aspiring to office, addled the brain of the educated and humble “Domine.” His duties he performs among a people from whom he seeks not to separate, and where his admonitions fail, the good old doctrine taught by Solomon, he prefers, rather than to follow the mode which the “March of Intellect,” lauds to the skies.

I dwell more than I fear will be acceptable on this most awful effect of democracy, but it cankers

youth, and overturns parental authority, and so prevalent is the outcry against the wholesome discipline of the birch, that a man may be forgiven for beating his wife, but to beat a boy that may become president, why, one of the sons of a king might be whipped with more impunity!

Could I be heard by parents, I would intreat them to bear in mind, the memory of an indulgent parent never was held in reverence after death, by the subject of such indulgence, while the recollection of restraint always produces gratitude to the memory of our parents when we come to have children of our own ; but did I enumerate all the evils arising from democracy, universal suffrage, and annual elections, I should far outstep the bounds of my present labors. I have witnessed much folly here and in England, of parents, who could not afford it, without any particular development of talent, leading their children to regard education as the sure road to riches and honor. The vast numbers which I have witnessed who had received an expensive education in England and Ireland, as the means of fitting them to get forward in life, resorting here pennyless, as if there was neither talent nor education in the United States, has been and still is truly distressing : and could I speak with the voice of a trumpet to my

fellow subjects in England and Ireland, I would urge them to impress upon their sons to prefer independence with hard hands and plain clothing, to the degradation and misery they entail upon them, in looking for support from the use of a pen or their literary acquirements, in this country. An acquaintance with agricultural labor, or with some mechanical business, with but a small portion of what was expended on the higher branches of their education at home, would in this new country, or Canada, be the sure means to lead to independence and respectability. In Canada, working with the axe is reputable, many young men, the sons of respectable families, have of late come out to the fine fertile regions of Upper Canada, and laid down their hands to work. I know many of them, and bear testimony with pleasure to the contentment and happiness they possess in the prospect of independence, from the sweat of their brow.

EXTRACTS, &c.

The following Extracts are taken from a letter addressed to the Right Honorable Edward G. S. Stanley, in December 1833.

I am led to submit to you, sir, as his Majesty's principal, Secretary of State for the Colonies, a measure which has relation to his Majesty's Province of Upper Canada, and has engaged my attention for sixteen years.

With untiring solicitude I have sought information from the actual working of institutions upon a smaller scale, conducted by the most reflecting and calculating people on earth, whose success has regulated my conclusions, and enables me without risk to propose the instituting in the first instance an experiment in a systematic way, for the purpose of proving that emigration and colonization will effectually relieve England from the oppression of the poor-law system, and prepare the way so as to place the rising generation of

the working people in the sure road to independence. A variety of concurring circumstances renders the present hour peculiarly adapted for the success of the measure.

In the year 1816, I had the honor to represent to the late Marquis of Londonderry, then his Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, that vast numbers of loyal and industrious subjects of his Majesty's, were anxious to remove from the United States to Upper Canada. In consequence of which, his Lordship directed that such should be aided, not exceeding ten dollars each, for the purpose of being forwarded to that destination, and that every family so forwarded should receive also a grant of land.

In the course of this duty, I soon became convinced, that those who had not energy to make their way by their own resources, would be ill adapted to encounter the difficulties which are the inevitable lot of all in entering on a new settlement; and although I was empowered to afford aid to the extent already mentioned, I rarely did so. Yet previous to 1821, I had forwarded above seven thousand persons to Upper Canada, and that without expending in aid as many shillings; and finally, except in extreme cases, as unforeseen sickness, or

great want, I discontinued affording any pecuniary assistance, having had abundant evidence, that *just in proportion as people, able to work, where labor is to be had, are aided, so in proportion are their efforts paralyzed, and their prosperity retarded.*

I can confidently state, that all able to work found employment, and in less than six years, were not only delivered from the fear of want, but that five out of seven were living on their own lands, and had barns, oxen, cows, pigs, and many of them horses. I have, therefore, from the knowledge thus gained, become fully impressed, that Canada is capable of taking off, not only *the surplus population of the empire, but the pauper poor of England* ; and indeed, as far back as 1828, in a letter I had the honor to address to Sir Robert Peel, I imparted the same idea.*

* While this work was in press, I received the message delivered by the Lieut. Governor to the Parliament of Upper Canada, now convened, and in reference to the capabilities of the Province, his Excellency says, "I am persuaded that you will concur with me in the opinion, that were they sufficiently known and appreciated, the parent state would be encouraged to regard this fertile country as an asylum for a large proportion of her present redundant population, and to adopt an extensive system of emigration ; which, with prudent regulation, could not fail to ameliorate the condition of the laboring classes, promote the welfare of the Province, and increase her own commercial prosperity."

The *experiment* may be made either on national grounds, or on behalf of any one country disposed to enter upon the same. But it is evident, from the immense responsibility it will entail, and the important mischiefs which failure would occasion, that it would be highly desirable that even the arrangements of the voyage should be made under a well-appointed and judicious supervision. The physical condition and moral habits of the emigrant paupers, being capable of being materially affected by it.

As the principle of free agency and self-dependence lies at the foundation of energy of character, and systematic exertion, and the consequent prosperity of the individual, where there is any scope of action, it would be sedulously enjoined by the superintendents, and be materially consulted in the various regulations of the establishment. The following outline is submitted, in which, if some repetition appears, it will doubtless be pardoned, from the difficulty of being full and explicit without falling into this error.

1. None shall be fed in idleness, who are able to work.

2. Every measure calculated suitably to raise the character of each individual in his own estimation, will be adopted.

3. A steady and cheerful attention to religious duties to be promoted without infringing on the rights of conscience.

4. Recreative exercises allowed as the reward of good conduct.

5. Marriage of the young encouraged.*

6. Punishments, where the necessity of such is indicated, to be adjudged by a jury of the emi-

* I confess (as the father of seventeen children,) I have ever been opposed to the Malthusian system, and I am supported in such opposition by the highest of all authority: "Increase and multiply." Cold must be the current of that man's blood, and wretched is the state of that people, whose prosperity is dependent on, and sacrificed to, the avoidance of marriage.

As Upper Canada can furnish employment and food for millions, is it not lamentable, that a system of not only violence to the dearest affections of our nature, but the most direful consequences promoted thereby, should be contended for as assential to England's prosperity.

Could I arrive at the expense of supporting bastardy in all its bearings, I do not think I hazard too much in saying, that for a less sum, husbands could be provided for the surplus female population of England, and render them the happy mothers of legitimate children, by granting to each female on her marriage twenty-five acres of land in Canada, the right to be vested unalienably in her and her issue.

This assertion may be tested by bearing in mind, that 5%. would purchase the twenty-five acres, and by making these grants in England on their marriage, what vast numbers would get married and proceed out to Canada, thus relieving England, and increasing Canada,

grants, chosen out of their own body, as herein after set forth.

The establishment to be named after the county under whose auspices formed ; or if national, to have a national appellation.

The land should consist of at least one thousand acres, on which a saw-mill should be first erected, buildings for the married and the single, of both sexes, dining-hall, school, infant school, workshops, houses for superintendent, for two assistants, for doctor and schoolmaster, an hospital, barns, cattle sheds, &c. &c. The school rooms to be fitted up with sliding partitions, so as to answer for a place of worship.*

All would be at liberty to depart as soon as employment offered.

In the selection of officers, practical qualifications would be considered of paramount importance ; but in regard to the principal, capacity being indispensable, would be specially regarded ;

* The establishment should throughout bear evidence of its intrinsic character, and in its *exterior* have the appearance of what it really was, the humble residence of humble persons. Perhaps it might also with propriety be rendered so plain, as to remind the inhabitants that their social rank was yet not so deservedly high as that of the occupants of surrounding habitations, the fruits of the industry of their framers.

one inefficient person, imposed through favoritism, would mar the success of the experiment.

From the demand for labor of all descriptions, existing in Upper Canada, already mentioned, this would of course refer to every class of the community ; but it seems necessary for a moment to advert more especially to females and boys. Of these, numbers, to an almost indefinite extent could be absorbed by Upper Canada, while these descriptions of the pauper population in England, tax the public most seriously, in providing suitable employment for them, where they are so employed and apprenticed out ; and there are thousands who are an entire dead weight, contributing nothing to their own support. Emigration having been hitherto chiefly confined to the male paupers, it is somewhat essential to state further, that the demand for female assistants and servants in Upper Canada is very great, and cannot easily be satisfied ; and the same may be observed respecting, boys capable of being apprenticed ; it may be added, that so essential are females to a new agricultural country, that marriage is regarded as necessary to prosperity, and few can retain their maid servants, as they soon become the wives of farmers and mechanics.

But, over two thousand persons should not be under one management, although several depots

might be profitably and successfully placed under one supervision. A division of responsibility might not only strike at the success, but at the very existence of the experiment ; unity of plan, and promptitude in action, so necessary in the management of large bodies of people, should be strictly regarded in the proposed measure. In case, however, of apprenticing out the young, and in regard to all measures affecting the future disposal of the inhabitants of the depot, it would be highly desirable that this should be effected through the medium of benevolent associations in different parts of the province, for that special purpose, and one of such vast advantage to the province.

STATE OF THE POOR IN NEW YORK.

The following abstract forms a part of my report as to the poor laws, &c., of the State of New York, addressed to Viscount Palmerston. Dated 1833.

5th Query. “ The practical working and effect of the actual system, upon the comfort, character, and condition of the inhabitants ?”

This embraces a wide field, and did I not fear to encumber this report with matter which your Lordship might deem irrelevant, I should go at large into the subject, in the hope of rendering it more intelligible to those at a distance ; but I am constrained to say, the *working is bad and the effect bad*, and so considered by every reflecting man conversant with the system ; save the contractors and disbursers of the money, and by many of them also condemned. Such a sweeping charge requires explanation, in which I shall be as brief as possible.

The primary causes are :—

First. That the support is compulsory.

Second. The dissolute, the idle, and abandoned,

partake equally with the unfortunate and the destitute.

Third. The number of persons composing the administration, in all its bearings instead of the responsibility being limited to individuals at the head of each department.

Fourth. The frequent change of the persons having the direct management of the poor, arising out of *universal suffrage, annual elections, and rotation in office.*

After many years reflection on the working of our charitable institutions, I have been led to question, whether the mis-application and abuse of benevolence or charity, has not entailed on mankind, (where employment is to be had,) greater evils than the abuse of power? Let this seemingly hazardous assertion be well examined before condemned. I am upheld by the facts in this state, where labor is dear, and provisions cheap, that for whatever class we provide, that class will increase; provide for bastardy it will abound; provide great state workshops, food and raiment for criminals, and occupants will not be wanting; so with charitable institutions and poor houses.

No other city in any country has more ample accommodations, more splendored buildings, or

abounds more in a generous disposition towards the poor. I should be unjust did I not bear this testimony, in fact, their liberality is not meted out by country or creed, and hence thousands crowd the city, to partake of the liberal provisions made, and as liberally distributed,* while it cannot be too often repeated, all aid, save to *the imbecile in body and mind, or on sudden and unforeseen calamities*, in a country like this, where all who will work are sure of employment, and where two day's wages are sufficient to buy necessaries for a week's sustenance, is to be deprecated.

* I do not hazard too much when I venture to say, above 25,000 persons received aid from pauper and benevolent institutions within the city, during the winter,—equal to one tenth of the population.

AS TO THE MANAGEMENT OF THE POOR IN CONNECTICUT.

The state of Connecticut was first settled in 1634, and peopled from England,—contains four thousand six hundred and seventy-four square miles, and contained in 1820, two hundred and seventy-five thousand eight hundred and sixty-eight inhabitants.

The statutes relating to the poor, are comprised in five pages of an octavo volume, which contains the laws of the state, and is well worthy of consideration by all, legislating on the subject, although such could not be followed in England, at the same time, all concur in condemning one feature, viz :—the want of classification between the vicious and the indigent, the existence of which I witnessed in all the establishments which I visited. Another questionable clause is, that the support is compulsory, and what seems highly so, there is a penalty attached to the refusal to afford it. A further peculiar feature of the law is, that any inhabitant who should entertain a stranger for fourteen

days, unless notice be given to the select men of the town, the person so entertaining, should be liable to support such stranger, if reduced to want by sickness or otherwise, within a period of six years after arriving in the state ; and another feature of the law in relation to the poor, is, that the select men of each town are empowered to remove any stranger, coming to reside in the state, at any time within six years, if likely to become a charge on the poor fund.*

The poor in this state are placed in two classes as to the source of support, viz :—Those having claims on the town† by birth or from having gained settlement (which requires six years residence) ; the other, those who had no such claim on the towns, are chargeable to the state.

The following facts I obtained from General Nathan Johnson, who has been one of the selectmen of Hartford, annually elected, for many years, who has also filled various departments in the Legislature, and is regarded by all, as among the most faithful and intelligent public men in the state, and to whom I had the honor to be introduced by the

* This feature of their laws serve as an index to the character of the community, and deserving of particular notice by all who speak of this sagacious people.

† Town refers to lands, and embraces villages and cities corresponding to our parishes.

Hon. Judge Williams, the Mayor of Hartford, as also to Mr. Phelps, the Comptroller of the state : to those gentlemen I beg leave publicly to acknowledge my thanks for the kindness manifested to aid me in all my inquiries, I alone take the liberty of naming those gentlemen, as giving weight to my observations.

Previous to 1820 the select men of the state were permitted to grant support upon such terms, and to an extent alone regulated by their discretion.

But the expense became so great, that the subject was taken up in the legislature and submitted to a committee, of whom General Johnson, already named, was an active member, and a law passed limiting the discretion of the select men, and subjecting the state alone to a charge not to exceed one dollar, or 4s. 2d. a week, for support of any paupers, and such alone to be extended to persons *not born in the state, or in a bordering state.* The annual charge to the state previous to this law, varied from twelve to fifteen thousand dollars, £3,375. 0. 0. a law was also passed, authorizing the comptroller of the state to contract for the support of the poor, to which the state should be chargeable ; but no contract to be made for a longer time than five years, and by public offers or bidding.

Such has been the working of the measures, that the last contract has been taken at one thousand eight hundred dollars £405. a year ; while such diminution does not arise from an improved condition of the hitherto pauper community, but from the wholesome effect of *causing them to work*, and the consequence is, that the newly peopled regions of the west, of the shores of Lakes Superior and Michigan, and the valleys of the Mississippi and Missouri, afford support and independence for those who would otherwise have still constituted the poor of the state of Connecticut, but for the change of system, and thus the wisdom and firmness of the legislature, has driven the poor of the state thousands of miles, unaided, into the wilds of the West, and thereby forced independence upon them.*

* And such has been the effect of the times in England, that many families have been forced to leave the land of their fathers, for Canada, to obtain that support which they could not obtain in England, where they are now independent and free from want. Why then should not England withhold support from the paupers, unless they in like manner remove ? There is no pity for the industrious farmer and mechanic, who is forced to emigrate, but a great outcry would be raised, were it attempted to feed, support and maintain the poor, by removing them, not to the wilds or woods, but to establishments amply provided for their wants, where a sure opening of employment, and a certain

The present contractor for the support of the state paupers, resides at Windsor, near the centre of the state, the more distant parts not exceeding much more than one hundred miles. He again contracts with the contractor for the support of the poor of the border towns, to allow them a fixed sum for supporting such poor as come under the class he is bound to relieve, without limitation as to numbers, the inland towns not being exposed to claims of many poor from distant states, or countries, (the law authorizing the removal of all such) but any such who may get in, and claim aid, the contractor has arrangements made for their support, or being conveyed to his establishment, where they may remain at his expense until the termination of his contract; but in as much as the contractor is authorized by the legislature to make all paupers perform such work as they are capable of, it is evident all who can, will make their way out of the state, or seek labor where they will be paid.

The working of this system is obvious : the contractor having a limited sum, for supporting unlimited numbers, his gain depends on, not only his vigilance to guard, that not one man belonging to any town in the state, nor of a bordering state shall, prospect of bettering their condition, would be the consequence.

be supported at his expense, and like a consummate general, he guards the avenues by which the enemy may approach, he therefore contracts with the frontier towns of the state, and allows them also a limited sum annually for supporting all paupers, without limit as to numbers, who would have a claim on him, as therefore their gain in like manner arises from their not admitting any, who do not come within the limitation, from all which arrangements, it is evident, Connecticut is not the country where idle or dissipated characters will seek shelter. The foregoing refers to the provision for the paupers claiming support from the state.

As to the mode adopted by the towns, the same revolution as to expense has also taken place, as in the state expenditure. The numbers supported in the town I could not learn, no return being made; numbers are not regarded, the expenditure alone looked to. The same economical system as adopted by the state has taken place generally in the towns. Happening to be in Southington (at the time of their town meeting, to elect officers for the year ensuing,) which contains about one thousand eight hundred inhabitants, I learned that some years ago, the poor tax on the town, independent of their tax for state poor, amounted to about \$14 00, or £315 0. 0. now it is down to about \$300, or £62 10. 0.

But now contractors take the poor at a limited sum, for the support of all to which the town is liable, and such is the wholesome effect of the contractors working them well, that in a country where labor is dear, and the necessities of life abundant, the demand upon the poor fund has diminished, and continues to diminish in the state of Connecticut, as set forth.

The Mayor of Hartford kindly accompanied me to the poor house, distant about three miles from the city. I was glad to find it was not a palace-looking establishment, as at New York and Albany, yet the rooms were clean, neat, and sufficiently comfortable for the occupants; their food was abundant, and adequate to their wants; not calculated to lead them to prefer the place as affording better living than the daily fare of the hard working laborer or mechanic of their neighborhood, the fruit of their own industry. The females in the house, (save one who was lame, and another imbecile in mind,) were votaries of intemperance in body and mind, hard to manage, yet such as humanity would not spurn from shelter and food. Beyond the work of the house, save a little knitting, spinning, and weaving, some woollen garments, they contributed little to their support, some

occasionally working out in the neighborhood, and thereby helped to clothe themselves.

A system of rigid confinement does not appear to pervade these establishments, and with perfect tact, when a drunken vagrant is taken up, and sent to the workhouse, he is locked up in such a manner that when he awakes and becomes sober, he finds means to escape, whereby the establishment and neighborhood are delivered of his presence.

Few are kept in prison who are not destroyed by it.

I have yet to learn, who was ever reclaimed by imprisonment ; the outside of a prison has terrors, the inside none ; a vicious person enjoys a quiet in prison, he is a stranger to without—no man dreads it less than he who oft frequents it, those who are young in the science of governing the depravity of the human heart, will scoff at this digression.

The funds for the support of the poor of the state of Connecticut, are levied from the real and personal estate of the citizens, which has been observed in my report on the poor of the state of New York, is yearly valued by the assessors of towns, who make their return on oath, so that annually the property of every citizen is known, and published to the world. It is worthy of remark, that the select-men are authorized to sequester the property of drunkards for the support of their families.

RULES AND REGULATIONS.

Peculiar circumstances may require a modification of the following ; but it is deemed proper that the regulations as to the governing principle of the measure should be exhibited, and no doubt, will call forth what all deemed themselves capable of furnishing—*advice* : suffice it to say, they are all drawn from the actual working of various departments, the good effect of which, is so far as they have been acted on, has been proved, and with a special regard to Upper Canada, as a marked distinction must be kept in view between what is suitable for America and for England. It is only an intimate acquaintance with the subject, can convince people who come to the United States or Canada, that they have to unlearn what they regard as their chief merit in England, before they become in any degree efficient either as agriculturists, mechanics, or superintendents. *The religious arrangements will excite the warmest discussion, but without the fear of God and the glorious hope and consolation of the Christian religion, are*

inculcated in the spirit of meekness, kindness and charity, as exemplified in the teaching of the Lord Jesus, I should have no hope of the measure proving a blessing to those to be removed.

1st. The residents shall be put and kept to such labor as they are capable of performing, and as will best promote industry and economy, reference being had to their age, sex, and ability, and no excuse shall be admitted but actual infirmity or disability, to be determined by the attending physician. And if any person shall refuse to perform his task, during the hours prescribed, or shall be refractory or disorderly, or in any way violate the rules of the house, or do any wanton injury to the furniture or other property, he shall be punished by the authorities, and in the manner herein after mentioned.

2d. A rigid system of classification shall pervade the whole establishment, viz: Jurors and Monitors, as hereinafter set forth, (to enforce order and obedience,) the classification to extend to distinction, as to accommodation in dormitories, dining hall, and eligibility to hold office, and other marks of favor.

3d. That the enforcing of the various rules and regulations shall be committed to monitors, elected by the inmates of the depot from among them-

selves, who shall report to the jurors any infraction of the rules ; but such appointment is not to interfere with their usual labor or occupation. The supervision to be as follows, viz :

4th. In each apartment of fifty persons, two monitors to be selected by the residents of such apartment, to hold their office for one month ; such however, to be eligible for re-election with the concurrence of the superintendent. The same principal of election to hold among the single of both sexes, but the adjudication of all punishment to be alone enforced by five persons, to be called jurors, to be chosen monthly by all the monitors, but as to their re-election, such to be sanctioned, as in the case of the monitors, by the superintendent : the proceedings of this court to be open, and to take place in the presence of the superintendent, and on the evening of the day on which the offence comes to be known, and punishment immediately to follow conviction.

5th. That being guilty of disobedience of any rule, disqualifies from holding office, either as monitors or jurors, for such period as the superintendent shall think proper.

6th. The hour for rising shall be at sunrise throughout the year, the bell to be rung, when every person shall immediately arise, comb hair,

wash hands and face, under the inspection of the monitors, and such as are so disposed, repair to the school room, (place of public worship,) where the *ten commandments and the Lord's prayer*, shall be read by a discreet person, selected for the purpose by the superintendent, from thence to breakfast and to their respective occupations, the children to attend school for two hours, after which those capable, to such labor as shall be prescribed ; also two hours at school after dinner. At the appointed hour for retirement, the bell will ring, when all shall retire to their respective dormitories ; half an hour after, the jurors shall in their turn visit each apartment, to see that all lights are out, holding the monitors accountable for any omission, or for permitting any to smoke a segar or pipe in their rooms after the bell rings.

7th. The hours for labor shall be as follows : —In summer, from one hour and one half after sunrise, until eleven in the forenoon, and from one o'clock to one hour before sunset. In winter, the same in the forenoon, and from one to sundown in the afternoon, and from the 20th September to the 20th March, they shall labor in the evening, from six to eight o'clock, except as to the labor of the youth of both sexes, which shall be particularly prescribed.

8th. The hour for meals shall be as follows :—throughout the year, breakfast one hour after sunrise. The bell shall always be rung thirty minutes before each meal, when every person shall cease from work, and immediately be ready, with clean hands and face, for the ringing of the second bell, when they shall repair to the mess rooms, the aged first, and take such seats as shall be assigned by the dining-hall monitors. Dinner at noon, and supper at sundown. Half an hour shall be allowed for meals, when the bell shall be rung, and no person shall leave the table without permission, when all shall rise, and retire to his or her room, or employment, and no one shall take any article from the table. The monitors shall see that the table is immediately cleared, and be careful that the fragments are saved. No person shall be allowed any food except at the regular meals, unless prescribed by the physician.

9th. That the children, when capable, shall be bound out to proper persons, inhabitants of the province, to be approved by a justice of the peace, or any regular placed clergyman residing in the neighborhood of the applicant, who should undertake to act as guardians of such children, or by associations, which should be formed in different parts of the Province for that purpose, who

would undertake the task, the boys to be bound until eighteen years, and the girls until sixteen years, of whose actual state a yearly report to be furnished to the superintendent, that in his annual report a full view should be rendered of all who had been sent to the depot, such report to be forwarded to the Imperial, as also Provincial Parliament, made up to the first of January in each year.

10th. None of the residents shall purchase, or have in his or their possession, any spirituous liquor, and the same shall always be taken by the superintendent, jurors or monitors, whenever found, and it shall not be restored. And the delinquent shall be punished as the jurors shall direct.

11th. That all persons brought to the depot shall be at liberty to leave it when deemed capable of sustaining themselves.

12th. That all who choose to remain after six months should be remunerated, by being paid in cash, on leaving the depot, half of all contract work performed by them, separate from the depot.

13th. That the flute, violin, and other instruments, shall be provided, to afford recreation for such as are disposed to learn.

14th. That a library shall be formed and fur-

nished with Biography, History, Treatises on Physics and Mechanics ; also such works as are acknowledged of a moral tendency, and such periodical works, daily journals, and magazines, admitted, as the jurors should require, under the sanction of the superintendent.

15th. That on the Lord's day, all should be required to respect the day, (however only by persuasion,) when the person selected to read the daily morning service should, in addition, read in regular order a portion of the Scriptures. While such regular ordained clergymen, pastors or ministers, as should be desirous of rendering their services, should be at liberty to officiate, at hours to be arranged by the superintendent, (*the arrangement as to payment, reserved for consideration,*) when all should be at liberty to attend or otherwise, as they might be disposed ; but no interference with the peculiar mode of worship or faith of other denominations of christians, nor any observations of a political nature, on any account to be indulged in by those allowed to officiate ; and in case of any departure from these regulations, such person to be excluded from the depot in future. Psalmody, or singing hymns, to be taught and cherished in the young on the Lord's day.

16th. That the Bible, without note or comment,

shall be furnished for the use of all in the depot, and any work of professedly a moral character, sanctioned by the various clergymen or pastors who shall give their occasional attendance, will be received into the library; but on no account shall any of the paupers be permitted to have any books which impugn the christian character.

17th. The only punishment for adults, confinement, and to be fed on bread and water, and for the youth, a firm, yet mild chastisement, *but always in private.*

ESTIMATE.

Estimate of proposed depot in Upper Canada, and removing from England 1000 Paupers annually, including food, clothing, medical advice, and instruction. The accommodation to comprise 1000 acres of land, buildings for males, females married, single, orphans, insane, diseased, or blind.

EXPENSE OF TRANSPORTATION.

First.—Adults can be provided with passage for 2*l.* 10*s.* children under thirteen, half price; provisions for the voyage young and old, can be amply provided for £1. 10*s.* each, making £4. transport to the settlement, say £1. 10*s.* and for contingencies, 10*s.* making £6. until placed at the depot. I see no good cause why the poor who are sent out at the expense of the parish, should be better provided than the poor farmers and working classes, who come out at their own expense, and sure I am, the estimate is not only ample, but abundant and under proper management, would cover removal from the parish to the place of embarkation. Much depends on the masters of the passenger vessels. The timber ships are generally second class, many of them fourth class vessels, and commanded by men ignorant and dissipated. I should, therefore deem it essential, to secure success and the comfort of the poor people, to be particular as to the class of the vessel, and capacity and sobriety of the master. Those directing the measure should take charge of the paupers in England, and thereby avoid the many and certain evils to which emigrants are liable, on their passage to Quebec and New

York: as also upon their arrival there, which proves truly discouraging ; but such errors may be guarded against.

The lands, houses, stock, farming utensils and cattle, should all belong to the county or community making the experiment. The blind, insane, or persons above sixty, not to be sent out, save under the special provision set forth in the estimate.

Purchase of 1000 acres, and buildings for 1000 persons, as set forth, taken at £12,000, in-

interest thereof, - - - - -	£500 0 0
Removing 1000 persons at £6, each, - - -	6000 0 0
One years support, - - - - -	4000 0 0
Head Superintendent, - - - - -	200 0 0
Two working do. £50, each, - - - - -	100 0 0
School Master, - - - - -	50 0 0
Doctor, - - - - -	100 0 0
Matron, - - - - -	50 0 0
Contingences, first year, - - - - -	1000 0 0

The resident officers to have such support as the farm can produce.

Amount, £12,000 0 0

Second year, 1000 removed from England, at

£6, each, - - - - -	£6,000 0 0
Interest on purchase of lands, &c. - - -	500 0 0
Superintendence, &c. - - - - -	500 0 0
Annual allowance for support, &c., second and every future year, independent of the farm and labor of the Paupers, - - - - -	*5000 0 0

£12,000 0 0

*Only £1000 is required for the additional 1000 paupers yearly sent out.

Should any of the persons so sent out become insane or blind, in addition to the above estimate, for all such a charge to be made :

Idiots or insane, 4*d.* a day.

Blind, 3*d.* a day.

Clothing and attendance being included.

N. B.—Births would supply deaths.

Thus in the space of five years, 5000 paupers, would be removed at an expense of the country of £60. 000. The expenditure of the County of Kent for 1832 is stated at £425. 578, at this rate one year's poor rate of Kent would for ever free the county of 35.000 paupers, ten per cent. is a wide estimate for those who would be born, as also for the feeble or blind, making one hundred and fifty persons dead weight on the depot, and admit that 4*d.* per diem should be required from them, this would not at most add in any way £1000 a year at the end of five years, while it is believed from the improved state of the farm, arrangement and management, no such additional charge would be required to the £12,000 a year. It is to be kept in view, that such additional buildings as should be required would be raised by the paupers.

THE CHURCH ESTABLISHMENT IN IRELAND.

The following observations have been forwarded to a highly distinguished Member of Parliament.—July 21st 1834.

The present rent as paid by the actual occupiers of the lands of the See of Derry, exceeds £120,000 a year, added to which, may be reckoned the Glebe Houses and Demesnes, and also the Glebe Lands belonging to the several Rectories within said Diocese, which I believe are not included in the above value. In like manner the Primacy of Ireland or See, exceeds £140,000 yearly, but whether the Rectories and Glebe lands are included, the writer does not recollect; as his attention has not been drawn to the subject for many years, but the real facts may now be ascertained under the commission.

The tenants of the Bishop lands keep up a subsisting interest of twenty-one years, by paying renewal fines yearly, which fines constitute the chief income of the Bishop. The writer purchased church lands which paid a rent and fine to the Dean of Clogher of £30 a year, some years having elapsed previous to his purchase without a renewal, when the then Dean (Lord Lifford) raised the rent and fine to £50 yearly, yet I had a clear £300 a year out of the lands. My interest I sold forthwith, for £3100. upon effecting a renewal. The Dean had £50. and the gentleman who purchased of me had £350. a year. I believe such is far below the proportion of all lands of the Church in Ireland, such however can now also be ascertained.

I have for 30 years thought that, were the Bishops and Deans prohibited from renewing, with those Landlords

standing between them and the occupants of the lands of the Church, a vast fund would arise, fully equal to sustain the Church establishment in England and Ireland, as the Bishops and Deans have but a small portion of the productive income of their lands. See the annexed abstract.

The Glebe lands are next to be considered ; these are held immediately under the Rector, and stand differently from the Bishop lands ; independent of those Glebe lands, there is usually attached to the Rectory a House and Demesne, both independent of Tythes ; some Parishes have no Glebe lands ; the value of these Glebe lands may also be ascertained.

Many instances have occurred where the Bishops and Deans have refused to renew, taking the risk of surviving twenty-one years, or as it is called running their lives against the twenty-one years, and after the expiration of the twenty-one years, renewing, or rather granting a new lease of the lands to some of their children or relatives, at the old rent. In cases where Bishops have done so, yet died before the twenty-one years expired, the succeeding Bishops reaped all the advantage, and either demanded a large fine for arrears and renewal, or persevered in the course adopted by their predecessors, and at the expiration of the lease, renewed to some of their family. The late Earl of Bristol who was Bishop of Derry, by such means left to his favorites and relatives, large estates, which they now enjoy in that See. Similar measures have been followed by other Bishops, as may be discovered by the commission.

The question is, should not his Majesty's Government adopt the method pursued by those Bishops ? Stop the renewals, and allow the leases of the immediate tenants, or rather landlords to expire, and thereupon apply the immense income which would thus be restored to the Crown, in connection with the Glebe lands, and prove equal to uphold the Church of England and Ireland, without bearing on those of a *different faith*, and leave the Tythes for the poor.

I do not pretend to any skill in finance, yet the granting post annuities, to the nominees of Bishops now living, would enable their lordships to provide for their families, and by, the immediate reducing the income of the present Bishops in consequence of such post annuities (payable on the death of the Bishop or at the end of twenty-one years,) to the reduced scale of income to be allowed the Bishops who should be appointed to the Sees upon the death of the present incumbents. An immediate fund would be applicable for the maintenance of the Church ; and at the end of twenty-one years, when the leases would expire, and the whole income become available, such would prove fully adequate to uphold vested rights and preserve those of the Crown in the appropriation of the property so set apart for the support of the Church. Other means, at least feasible occur to me, but I shall not obtrude them on those so much more conversant with such calculations. At the same time, let no member of the Established Church imagine that if the Tythe are removed in Ireland, and like Scotland free, that England will continue to pay it, but apply Tythes to the poor, the church will be sustained and the poor of England and Ireland provided for. Although I am a Dissenter from the Church of England, I have ever considered the lands granted for the support of the Bishops and Clergy in the same point of view as other lands granted by the crown, but with this difference, that the Church lands were granted only for life, reverting to the crown on the death of the grantees, while the lands granted to the Barons continue to be held in fee. With as much justice therefore may Parliament seize on the lands granted to the Barons and now held by their successors, as on those of the Crown, while at the same time it rests with the King in the two fold capacity of temporal Head of the Church, and administrator of the vested interests of the crown, to dispense these lands in such proportion for the advantage of the Church as to his majesty may seem proper, and that too, as free of control as in all grants of lands to others.

The following abstract is added, the correctness of which may be tested; I copied it from a return which I have since the year 1813.

Irish Bishops.	Annual income of the Bishops, apart from the patronage of appointing to Parishes.	Yearly value of the lands.
Arch. Bishop Armagh,	£14,000.	£140,000.
Cashel,	8000.	
Tuam,	9000.	not known.
Dublin,	12,000.	do
Kildare,	7000.	do
Meath,	6000.	do
Derry,	13,000.	£120,000.
Killmore,	6000.	100,000.
Elphir,	10,000.	unknown.
Killaloe,	6000.	do
Raphœ,	9000.	do
Cork,	5000.	do
Ferns,	6000.	do
Downe,	6000.	do
Killalla,	3500.	do
Cloyne,	5000.	do
Clogher,	7000.	£100,000.
Waterford,	6000.	70,000.
Ossery,	3500.	unknown.
Dromore,	5000.	do
Limeric,	6000.	do
Clonfert,	3500.	do

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REMARKS
ON
THE GOVERNMENT MEASURE
FOR ESTABLISHING
POOR-LAWS IN IRELAND.

Houses of the Oireachtas