PUBLISHED BY DIRECTION OF HER MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT.

4

POOR LAWS—IRELAND.

SECOND REPORT

OF

GEORGE NICHOLLS, ESQ.,

TO

HER MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR CHARLES KNIGHT AND CO.,
22, LUDGATE STREET.

1838.

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POOR LAWS—(IRELAND).

TO GEORGE NICHOLLS, ESQ., &c. &c. &c.

Whitehall, August 12*th*, 1837.

SIR,

I AM desirous that you should take advantage of the interval previous to the assembling of Parliament to revisit Ireland, and to renew your inquiries with reference to the Irish Poor Law Question. My Letter of Instructions, addressed to you on the 22d of August of last year, will sufficiently explain the objects to which your attention should be chiefly directed: and the discussions which occurred in the late Session of Parliament, on the introduction and during the progress of the Poor Law Bill, will afford you many valuable suggestions which you will of course keep in view.

I think it desirable that you should visit the North of Ireland, and those districts generally, which a want of time prevented your inspecting last year; after which I shall be glad to receive your Report, as to whether the circumstances of these districts, or any new matter which you may now be able to observe or collect, shall have caused you to alter, or in any way to modify, the opinions and recommendations set forth in your last Report.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient, faithful servant,

J. RUSSELL.

REPORT.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD JOHN RUSSELL,
&c. &c. &c.

London, November 3d, 1837.

My Lord,

1. In obedience to the directions conveyed to me in your Lordship's Letter of the 12th of August last, I have again visited Ireland, and renewed my inquiries with reference to the Irish Poor Law Question, directing my attention more especially to those parts of the country which I was unable to examine last year. In doing this, I have endeavoured to divest my mind of all preconceived impressions, and to judge of the facts and circumstances which came under my notice without regard to my former conclusions. I dare not hope that I have altogether succeeded in this endeavour; but if I had in any instance seen reason to doubt the correctness of those conclusions, or if whilst extending my inquiries new facts had been elicited, requiring the abandonment of any recommendation or the modification of any opinion which I had previously maintained, I trust it will be believed that I would now frankly and without the least reserve, lay the whole circumstances before your Lordship.

2. The investigation which I have just concluded has not however afforded grounds for any material change of opinion. I may now probably form a somewhat higher estimate of the difficulty of establishing Poor Laws in Ireland than I did before, but of the necessity of the measure, I am if possible more fully convinced; and I am now with increased confidence arising out of a fuller consideration and more extended inquiry, both in England and in Ireland, enabled substantially to confirm the statements in my Report of last year—to which I can at present add but little in the way of practical recommendation, although it may be desirable to give explanations on certain points which were then perhaps too briefly handled.

Some cautionary remarks and additional illustrations may be also desirable; and it will be necessary to notice certain objections which have been made to portions of the Report, and to some of the provisions of the Bill of last Session, with a view of showing how far such objections are well or ill founded.

3. It may be useful at the outset to guard the public against exaggerated anticipations, by explaining the real object of a Poor Law, there being obviously danger to be apprehended from an over estimate of its effects in Ireland. The immediate object of a Poor Law then, is *to provide relief for the destitute.* This purpose may be accomplished in various ways, so as to be productive of much collateral evil, or of great collateral good, according to the mode in which it is sought to be attained; but the object remains the same—that is, to provide relief for the actually destitute at the common charge.

4. As to the benefit of such a law to the destitute individuals relieved under it, there can be no question; and the benefit conferred by it upon the community, will be in proportion to the extent of the destitution with which that community is afflicted. In Ireland the amount of destitution is confessedly large, and the amount of poverty beyond all ordinary proportion larger still; but, which is yet perhaps in its consequences a greater evil, the burthen of relieving that destitution falls principally upon the poor,—upon individuals all but destitute themselves; and who, by the addition of this burthen, are brought down to the lowest level of independent subsistence. This whole class would be relieved by a legal provision for the destitute, which would therefore benefit the whole labouring population of Ireland. To this extent the intended Irish Poor Law measure may be confidently relied upon for working direct good. There are other important benefits which I believe will result from it, some of which will be hereafter noticed; but the relief of destitution at the common charge, and the consequent emancipation of the poor, and the labouring classes generally, from the necessity which now presses exclusively upon them of supporting the destitute — a necessity growing in part out of a feeling that they may speedily stand in need of such support themselves—will confer a direct benefit upon a large portion of the Irish people, and be productive of good to the whole community.

5. Whether this will satisfy all the advocates of a Poor Law, may be doubted. Many sanguine persons appear to consider it

as the purpose of a Poor Law, not only to relieve destitution, but to eradicate poverty; and it has been proposed to tax property for the purpose of giving or ensuring to every individual in Ireland, a given portion of the comforts and conveniences of life,—forgetting that these can only be obtained by the industry and forethought of the individuals themselves. It is true that the developement of these faculties in large masses of the population, and their consequent elevation in the social scale, and their acquisition of an adequate share of those comforts and conveniences, may be greatly facilitated by legislative and fiscal arrangements; but these do not come directly within the province of a Poor Law, although without the aid of a Poor Law to take off the pressure of destitution, they would probably be ineffective, however well devised in other respects.

6. The necessity of a legislative provision in Ireland for the relief of the destitute, is, I think, as obvious and as urgent as it was last year. The minds of the people appear moreover to be generally better prepared for its reception; and as no material change in the Bill appears to be called for, it is to be presumed that Government will again proceed with the Poor Law measure essentially as then proposed. That measure is based upon the English Workhouse System, and as notwithstanding the facts and reasonings which were adduced in proof of its applicability to Ireland, doubts were still expressed both in and out of Parliament upon this vital point, it seemed of the utmost importance to ascertain as correctly as possible in the first instance, whether any real grounds for such doubts existed. With this view I visited Bristol, Liverpool, Manchester, and Birmingham, through the first two of which places nearly the whole of the Irish migrants pass and repass, and in all of which there is a large resident Irish population, and where therefore the habits of the Irish are familiarly known. All the persons whom I consulted in these places united in declaring their belief, that nothing short of absolute inability to provide for himself, would induce an Irishman to enter the workhouse. With the aged and infirm, especially females, the case might be somewhat different; but even to these, the workhouse was not considered to be more attractive than to the English of the same class; and as regards the able-bodied Irish, the master of St. Peter's Hospital, in Bristol, declared that he had never known an instance of one of them remaining in the house a week, during the fourteen years that he had held his present situation. All the other testimony which I obtained was of similar purport.

7. At Bristol I examined Mr. Morgan, the deputy governor of St. Peter's Hospital, and Mr. Downing the master of that establishment; also Mr. George Chick, the assistant overseer of the parish of St. Philip and St. Jacob, who has had much experience in the management of the poor in Bristol. From all these persons I obtained written statements of opinion, copies of which, numbered 1, 2, and 3, are appended to this Report. I also consulted the clerk of the Clifton Union, and the master of the Union Workhouse, who perfectly concurred with the others; and from Mr. Weale, the Assistant Commissioner, who has had great and varied experience of Poor Law administration, I obtained a statement as to the applicability of the workhouse system to Ireland: his letter is inserted in the Appendix, No. 4.

8. At Liverpool I examined the governor and clerk of the workhouse, as to the effect of the workhouse upon the great body of Irish resident in that town; and the result of their experience confirms the opinions obtained at Bristol. I put this case to the governor of the Liverpool Workhouse: "Suppose a hundred able-bodied English, and a hundred able-bodied Irish labourers to be in precisely the same circumstances,—judging from your experience of the habits of the people of the two countries, which do you think would be likely to resort in the greatest number to the workhouse for relief?" He instantly answered,—"More English would come; the Irish would endure more, and strive harder before they applied for relief." A copy of the written testimony sent me by Mr. Dowdall, the governor, and Mr. Barker, the clerk of the Liverpool Workhouse, will be found in the Appendix, numbered 5 and 6.

9. At Manchester, the workhouse principle has not yet been brought into operation. Their poor-house is altogether inefficient as a test of destitution, and indeed it is not used as such, being appropriated to the reception of the aged and infirm, and children. The parish officers endeavour to supply the want of a workhouse test by individual vigilance, and have provided a sort of subsidiary test by means of a stone-yard, where the able-bodied are employed; and they have thus doubtless prevented much abuse, although it is evident that the total prevention of abuse must be sought for in the employment of other measures. Under these circumstances, the experience of Manchester can hardly be cited in proof of the applicability of the workhouse to the Irish, although the results which I noticed there, as far as they went, were confirmatory of the informa-

tion which I obtained on this point at the other places mentioned.

10. At Birmingham the result of my inquiries was altogether satisfactory. Mr. Alcock, the governor of the workhouse, and Mr. Welch, the treasurer and clerk to the Guardians, both possessing great experience, each declared their conviction that the workhouse would be found at least as efficient as a test of destitution, when applied to the Irish, as it had proved to be in its application to the English. Copies of their written testimony to this effect are inserted in the Appendix, Nos. 7 and 8.

11. My investigations at *Bristol, Liverpool, Manchester,* and *Birmingham,* have thus been confirmatory of the view embodied in the Bill of last Session, establishing the workhouse as a means of relief in Ireland. The experience acquired in those places, proves that the workhouse system is not less applicable to the Irish than to the English. Such moreover has been the result of my inquiries in every other instance. The answer has been always essentially similar to that given by Mr. Barnett, the master of the Nottingham Workhouse, when under examination before the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Poor Laws, as printed in the Minutes of Evidence of the 28th June 1837:—

> "Question 19,850, by the Chairman:—
> Judging from your experience, do you think the Irish are more apt to stick to the workhouse than the English?
>
> "Answer, Mr. Barnett:—
> No, by no means; far from it. I should say the contrary, speaking of them as a whole."

12. It may possibly be objected, that although this disinclination "to stick to the workhouse" is the characteristic of the Irish when in England, such would not be the case if the system were established in Ireland. This objection does not admit of an answer directly founded upon experience; but reasoning from analogy, and making due allowance for the different circumstances of the two countries, there seems no reason to doubt a similarity of result in each. The Irishman is, perhaps, by habit and temperament, somewhat more roving and migratory than the Englishman, but this distinction is assuredly not calculated to reconcile him sooner to the restraints of a workhouse, or lead him to resort thither more readily. In this view nearly all the individuals with whom I have conversed in Ireland, concurred; and I made it my business to inquire,

and to court objections from all classes of persons: and with scarcely an exception, it was affirmed that an Irishman would never go into the workhouse, if he could in any way keep out of it. The result of my investigations in the several Houses of Industry and Mendicity Establishments has been to the same purport, all tending to show that if the workhouse is properly regulated, it will be resorted to only by the actually destitute. It is not less important to state however, that I found the same individuals unanimously and decidedly opposed to any thing in the shape of out-door relief. I have not met with an individual conversant with the subject, either in England or in Ireland, who did not at once declare against the giving of any out-door relief. "Confine relief to the workhouse," was the general reply, "and you will be safe; but if you once grant out-door relief, your control is gone, and the whole Irish population will become a mass of paupers."

13. Doubts have been expressed whether it would be practicable to establish a dietary in the Irish workhouses, that would not be superior to the ordinary mode of living of the peasantry in the South and West of Ireland, and that consequently some danger might arise from this source. Every such objection is of great value, and affords a proof that the workhouse principle is appreciated; and here it may be remarked, that the discussions on the Poor Law Question during the last year or two in Parliament, and in Reports and pamphlets and through the medium of the public press, have diffused much information on the subject throughout Ireland. I found a considerable advance in this respect since my visit last year, a circumstance not a little encouraging, as it shows the readiness with which the principle is received, and strengthens the belief that whenever the law shall be established, competent individuals will be found for conducting the business of the Unions.

14. It is doubtless important that the workhouse dietary should not be of better quality, nor exceed in amount the ordinary subsistence of individuals supporting themselves by their own exertions; but although this is important as a matter of principle, our experience in England proves that it is not absolutely essential in practice. The diet in the English workhouses is very generally superior to that which can be obtained by the independent exertions of the English labourer, and yet this class is not found to resort to the workhouse. In

fact, the dietary forms only a small portion of the workhouse discipline, of which the classification of the inmates, the confinement, and the order and regularity of the whole establishment, constitute the chief elements. Still the dietary is a matter of very considerable importance in workhouse management, and although it may be found difficult to adjust it in strict accordance with correct principle in every case, it will yet probably, in Ireland, be freed from some of those disturbing circumstances, which have on many occasions, caused the Commissioners to sanction a dietary notoriously too high in the English Unions.

15. It has been argued that the workhouses will eventually fail in Ireland, as they have failed in France, at Munich, and at Hamburgh; but there is no analogy between the two cases. The workhouse principle was never recognised in these last-named establishments, which were all either poor-houses for the maintenance of the aged and infirm, or manufactories for setting to work vagrants, mendicants, and such other persons as could not readily find the means of support by their own exertions. All these institutions were established under the notion that profitable labour could be always found, and that pauper labour could be made profitable to the community: and their management and arrangements had all reference to these objects. There were certain variations in practice to suit local circumstances, but this was the view under which the institutions were founded, by Count Rumford, at Munich, by the Imperial Government in France, and by Baron de Voght, at Hamburgh. I need scarcely say that this view is essentially different from the workhouse system as now established in England, and as it is proposed to establish it in Ireland. Experience has proved that pauper labour can never be profitable. The workhouse is here used merely as a medium of *relief;* and in order that the destitute only may be relieved, the relief is administered in such a way, and on such conditions, that none but the destitute will accept it. Subsistence in the workhouse is made less desirable than that to be obtained by independent exertion, and it follows, that none will resort thither who can support themselves by their own industry; it follows also, that forethought and temperance in early life, will be relied upon rather than the workhouse, as a means of providing against sickness and old age. This is the workhouse principle, as first established in the two parishes of Bingham and South-

well eighteen or twenty years ago, and as it has recently been established in the Unions formed under the Poor Law Amendment Act; and we have the experience of these two Nottinghamshire parishes, and the more varied, though less prolonged experience in the English Unions, in proof of the efficiency of the system, which has worked hitherto without a single instance of failure. It is not therefore upon mere hypothesis, that it is proposed to proceed with reference to the Irish Poor Law, but upon the sure ground of experience.

16. It has been urged however, that there is always a tendency to deterioration in such institutions,—that after a time they fall away from the principles on which they were originally established,—that this was the case in France, at Munich, and at Hamburgh; and that this will also be the case in Ireland. To this it may be answered, that no such deterioration occurred at Bingham, or at Southwell; on the contrary, the workhouse principle continued to operate in these parishes in all its simplicity and efficiency, up to the day when they were each constituted the centre of a Union. The two workhouses remained as effective as when they were first formed, after they had been in operation for eighteen or twenty years. May it not be inferred, therefore, that if established as a test of destitution and a medium of relief, and not with a view to profitable labour, or any other object, the workhouse will continue to operate effectively, and that the workhouse principle will protect itself by its own simple energy from the asserted tendency to deterioration, as it did in the two cases named above?—But the proposed measure does not depend on this inference alone; a safeguard is provided, which never seems to have been thought of until it was proposed in the Poor Law Report of 1834. Commissioners are appointed under the control of the executive, and the supervision of Parliament, specially to superintend the working of the measure, and to apply from time to time such correctives as may be called for, whether local or general. There is little resemblance then between the workhouses established in England, and proposed for Ireland, and those which have failed in France and Germany; and it cannot reasonably be inferred, that because insulated establishments, originally founded on a false principle, unchecked and undirected, have fallen into decay on the Continent, therefore institutions founded here on different principles, with different objects, and under different management, will also fail.

17. The documents inserted in the Appendix, and the facts and reasonings here adduced, will I trust serve to remove whatever doubts may have existed on either side of the channel, as to the sufficiency of the workhouse system to afford needful relief to the destitute, as well as to protect the ratepayers from the charge of supporting those who are not really destitute; and I feel it to be my duty to express to your Lordship my conviction, not only that this system is applicable to Ireland, but that it is the only mode in which relief can be safely administered to the destitute classes in that country.

18. Having thus cleared the question of a difficulty, which, as it involved the very principle of the workhouse, applied to the whole measure,—I will now proceed to notice such other objections as have been made to the Bill generally, or to certain of its provisions, or to the proposed mode of carrying it into effect. In doing this, I propose to introduce such illustrations as may seem to be necessary, and such further information as I have been able to collect since my last Report, and more especially during my recent investigations in Ireland, —in the progress of which, I visited Dublin, Waterford, Carrick-on-Suir, Wexford, Monaghan, Armagh, Belfast, Coleraine, Londonderry, and the counties of Donegal, Fermanagh, Cavan, and Meath. The chief objections which have been made to the measure, as proposed by Government, may be enumerated as follows:—

I. It is not applicable to the North of Ireland.
II. There ought to have been a Law of Settlement.
III. A right to relief should have been given.
IV. Out-door relief should have been provided for.
V. Emigration should have been provided for.
VI. The estimate of the number of destitute is erroneous, the actual amount of destitution in Ireland greatly exceeding the number assumed.
VII. The mode of rating and collecting the rate is wrong.
VIII. The Unions as intended are too large, and their number is consequently too small.
IX. The clauses for the suppression of mendicancy are objected to.
X. The measure should be established simultaneously throughout the whole of Ireland.
XI. Objections are made to cumulative votes in the elec-

tions of guardians, to voting by proxy, and to the admission of magistrates as *ex officio* Members of the Board.

XII. The constitution of the Commission and the powers of the Commissioners are objected to.

These several objections I now propose to consider in the order in which they are here placed.

I. First,—*As to the applicability of the measure to the North of Ireland.*

19. It has frequently been asserted, both in and out of Parliament, that the condition of the people in the north of Ireland differs so essentially from the condition of those in the south, that a system of Poor Laws which might be applicable in the one case, would be totally inapplicable in the other; and it was urged by some as a ground of objection to the measure proposed by Government last session, that it had been framed exclusively with reference to the circumstances existing in the southern and western districts. Objections of this general nature are readily advanced, and always attract some attention when used in debate. In this instance, the objection appears to have been made mainly on the ground, that no specific information had been obtained as to the north of Ireland; whereas in fact, a large mass of information had been collected by the late Commissioners of Irish Poor Inquiry, with respect to the north, as well as the other parts of the country; and this information, coupled with what I had obtained from other sources, and supported by my own observation in those of the northern counties which I had visited, seemed to be sufficient, without entering into a more minute and extended examination of the northern districts.

20. An opportunity for such examination having however been afforded by the postponement of the Poor Law Bill, and your Lordship having requested me to avail myself of it,—I have now visited most of the northern counties, and carefully examined the condition and habits of the people, with special reference to the contemplated measure; and I can with entire confidence state it as my opinion, not only that a Poor Law is necessary for the north of Ireland, but that the provisions of the Bill of last session are even more adapted to the circumstances existing there, than to those which prevail in the south. Whatever difficulties may occur in carrying the proposed law

into effect in the south and the west of Ireland, from ignorance or misapprehension on the part of the people, or from want of the necessary elements for creating a local machinery, fewer comparatively of such difficulties will be found in the north. The habits of the people are there fitted for its reception, and they are already familiar with its provisions. The necessity of some established relief for the destitute is there admitted and acted upon, for in most of the northern towns of any note, there is now a kind of voluntary Poor Law established. In Monaghan, in Armagh, at Newry, Belfast, Coleraine, Londonderry, I found provision made for relieving destitution, and the principle virtually admitted, that it is the duty of a civilized community to protect its members from perishing by want. The means by which this end is sought to be attained in the several places named, are sufficiently various, but they all tend to the same object, and it may not be without use to notice them here in detail.

21. At Monaghan, since 1818, a kind of voluntary rate has been annually raised, by subscription among the inhabitants, which is distributed in small weekly allowances to infirm and destitute persons, at the discretion of a committee of subscribers; and to guard against the influx of the needy from the surrounding districts, and other places not provided with such means of relief, a beadle is appointed by the local authorities, to prevent as far as possible any foreign mendicants from entering Monaghan. Great complaint was made however, of the refusal of some, and the backwardness of others, to subscribe to the mendicity fund. This, indeed, I have found to be invariably the case in other places. The liberal and the benevolent give freely of their time and their money, but there are always many persons who give neither, and this inequality becomes of course a constant source of bickering and dissension.

22. At Armagh, voluntary subscriptions are also raised, but religious and political differences seem of late to have imparted a somewhat exclusive character to the distribution of the funds. I cannot believe however, that in such a community, the claims of the destitute will long be suffered to depend in any way upon the party or profession of the individual, or class of individuals, needing relief.

23. At Newry there is a mendicity establishment, supported by voluntary contributions, which has been efficiently managed, and contributed materially to the relief of destitution in that town and neighbourhood.

24. At Belfast there is an establishment called "The Poor House," very similar in its objects and management to the Dublin House of Industry. It contained, when I visited it, 244 adults, and 217 children. It is supported at an annual cost of about 2,300*l.*, raised by voluntary contributions and donations, with the exception of certain rents from lands and houses with which it has been endowed, and the sum of 700*l.* which is annually paid to the "Poor House" fund, out of a rate upon the inhabitants for supplying the town with spring water. There is also in Belfast a kind of mendicity establishment, called the "House of Industry," supported entirely by voluntary contributions, at an expense of about 1,500*l.* per annum, of which one-half is raised among the subscribers, and the other half by donations, charity sermons, and casual bequests. This institution is now in debt, and its subscriptions appear to be declining. It was established in 1809 expressly for the suppression of mendicancy, and it has strong rooms, to which persons found begging are committed, under sanction of the local authorities. Individuals are not maintained in the "House of Industry," but the committee of management purchase flax, which they deliver out to be spun at a fixed rate by such aged and other females as the committee deem proper: the committee also employ men in stone breaking, in both cases paying for the work performed at a certain rate, and supplying the individuals with rations from the house. The committee also distribute daily, at the "House of Industry," bread and soup to such poor persons as apply for them, and are deemed fit objects for this relief; and it is worthy of note, that bread is here given as being less acceptable to applicants, and as a kind of test of actual want, the potato being generally preferred by the people.

25. At Coleraine there is a poor-house and mendicity establishment combined, supported by voluntary contribution, at an expense of about 350*l.* per annum. The institution is in debt, and the contributions are said to be falling off. There were 38 aged and infirm persons supported in the house when I visited it; and relief, varying from 5*d.* to 1*s.* per week, was afforded to 110 poor persons out of the house.

26. At Londonderry there is a "Mendicity Association," which was established in 1825, with the express object of suppressing mendicancy. It is supported entirely by voluntary contributions, which here, as elsewhere, press heavily upon some, whilst others altogether avoid the burthen. The proverb

of "the willing horse" has been often quoted to me, and a wish frequently expressed, that a rate for the relief of the destitute, to which all should be compelled to contribute in fair proportion, was substituted for the partial and unsatisfactory mode in which the funds for this purpose are now raised. "The Mendicity Association" in Londonderry is managed by a committee of subscribers, and three beadles are employed to apprehend mendicant strangers, who when detected begging are locked up for 24 hours in a strong room provided for the purpose, and the master afterwards sends them away "over the bridge,"—on which bridge there is a toll of a penny, which seems to prevent their re-entering the town, at least for a time. The expenditure is about 750*l.* per annum; but there has been of late great difficulty in collecting this amount. On the 19th of September there were 248 on the books, of whom 48 adults and 35 children were in the house, and 121 adults and 44 children were relieved out of the house.

27. I have given this detail of the means resorted to for relieving the destitute in these northern towns, in order to show that the necessity for some established relief is there at present recognised and acted upon—imperfectly acted upon, it is true, but yet perhaps on the whole with as much steadiness and efficiency as could reasonably be expected, in the absence of any legislative provision for this object. Indeed, if any doubt existed as to the expediency of establishing Poor Laws in Ireland, an inspection of the northern counties would I think remove the doubt, and show the necessity of such a measure. The extent of poverty is there less than in the south and in the west; but the amount of destitution is perhaps to the full as great. There is this important difference however,—in the *south* and *west* the destitute depend for support upon the class immediately above them, namely, the small cottiers and cultivators: but in the *north,* the sympathy existing between the different ranks of society—between the opulent and the needy—has stimulated the former to make efforts for providing some kind of permanent and general relief, with the view of preventing the extremity of suffering in the latter class.

28. If the charge of this provision was equally spread over the whole community—if the relief afforded was sufficient, and permanent, and equally distributed, it would be equivalent to a Poor Law: but the charge is unequal; the provision uncertain; and the relief partial and inefficient. To apply the pro-

posed measure of Poor Laws to the north of Ireland, is little more than carrying out in an equal and effective manner, that which has been long but ineffectually attempted by the several communities themselves. The North of Ireland is better prepared for the reception of the measure than the South; and competent individuals for carrying out the law, and for conducting the business of the Unions, will there be more readily found. In saying this, I do not imply any doubt of the successful establishment of the measure in the South and the West. There may be difficulties to contend with there, which do not exist to the same extent in the North: but I have seen no reason to doubt of success in establishing the law, nor of the necessity of its application, over the whole of Ireland.

29. In speaking of the North of Ireland, I ought to except the county of *Donegal*, the inhabitants of which differ materially in character and circumstances from those of the other northern counties, and approximate more nearly to those of the extreme West and South. Small holdings, and minute subdivisions of land, prevail in Donegal to a greater extent than I have found in any other part of Ireland; and the consequent growth of population has been there so great, as to press hard upon the productive powers of the soil, and to depress the condition of the people to nearly the lowest point in the social scale,—exposing them, under the not unfrequent contingency of an unfavourable season, or a partial failure of the potato crop, to the most dreadful privations. This has unhappily been the case during the last four years, in each of which, and especially in the last, there has been a general failure of the crops in Donegal. In May, June, and July last, nearly the whole of the population along the northern and western coasts of the county, were reduced to a state bordering on starvation; and had not Government sent a supply of meal and medical aid, numbers of the people would probably have fallen victims to famine and disease.

30. The northern and southern parts of Donegal are chiefly of slate formation, with frequent alternations of limestone. The central part is mostly granite. The surface is generally covered with bog, susceptible of profitable cultivation wherever lime, or sea-sand, or sea-weed is obtainable; and the people have in consequence congregated wherever these elements of fertility abound,—along the coasts, and on the shores of the numerous bays and inlets opening upon the Atlantic, along the banks of

the rivers, and up the narrow valleys and ravines with which the country is intersected—everywhere, in short, where the soil is most easily reclaimed by individual exertion ; but wherever combined effort, or an outlay of capital is necessary for draining, fencing, and reclaiming, there nothing has been done, and the surface is permitted to lie waste and unproductive. The process of reclamation in such circumstances, is above the limited means of the people, each of whom just manages to cultivate a patch of land to raise potatoes, on which his family may subsist—a patch of oats to supply them mostly, I fear, with whiskey—and then as to rent (for they all pay rent), they rely for raising that, upon a few cattle or sheep running wild on the mountains.

31. Nothing can exceed the miserable appearance of the cottages in Donegal, or the desolate aspect of a cluster of these hovels, always teeming with an excessive population. Yet if you enter their cabins, and converse with them frankly and kindly, you will find the people intelligent and communicative, quick to comprehend, and ready to impart what they know. They admitted that they were too numerous, "too thick upon the land," and that, as one of them declared, "they were eating each other's heads off,"—but what could they do? There was no employment for the young people, nor relief for the aged, nor means nor opportunity for removing their surplus numbers to some more eligible spot. They could only therefore live on, "hoping," as they said, "that times might mend, and that their landlords would sooner or later do something for them." Yet, with all this suffering, no disturbance or act of violence has occurred in Donegal. During the severe privations of the last summer, when numbers were actually in want of sustenance, there was no dishonesty, no plundering,—the people starved, but they would not steal; and although their little stock of cattle and moveables have been notoriously lessening these last four years, and especially in the last year, which seems to have swallowed up nearly all their visible means, they have yet paid their rents—the occupier's share of the produce has been insufficient for his own support, yet the landlord's share has generally been paid in full; and I was assured by the agent of one of the largest proprietors, that he had no arrears worth noticing.

32. To improve the condition of such a people would immediately increase the productive powers of the country, which

is a point well deserving the attention of the great landowners, with whom it will mainly rest. But no material or lasting improvement can be effected, so long as the present division of the land into small holdings is permitted. This practice, wherever it prevails, inevitably forces the whole population down to the lowest level of subsistence—to that point, where subdivision is arrested by the dread or by the actual occurrence of starvation. It will I think be admitted, that it is alike the duty and the interest of the landowner, so to exercise the right of property which the law secures to him, as to guard his tenantry from such a depression: or if, from ignorance or neglect, on the part of himself or others, the people should have unhappily been permitted to sink to this level, as is now the case in Donegal, then it becomes the landlord's duty to make the necessary efforts for improving their condition, and for leading them back to a higher level in the social scale. Such efforts may be beset with difficulty, and may require sacrifices of time and capital, but public duty and individual interest alike combine to influence every landowner to make the effort; and the longer it is delayed, the greater will be the danger, and the greater the difficulty in attaining the object.

33. In the case of Donegal, a twofold remedy seems to be necessary—namely, emigration and extended cultivation. The former requires no explanation, and as regards the latter, I will only remark, that capital can perhaps be in no way more profitably employed in Ireland than in draining, reclaiming, and improving the land. There is abundant room for this in the county of Donegal, and if undertaken with spirit and intelligence, and on a sufficiently extensive scale, either by the owner of the soil, or by individual capitalists, to whom the owner might sell or let tracts of land on such terms as would form an adequate inducement for the outlay, it will not only ensure an ample return on the capital expended, but also afford employment, and provide suitable locations for a part of the surplus population. If a portion of this surplus were removed by emigration, and another portion placed on new grounds, effectually drained, fenced, and reclaimed, a consolidation of the present small holdings might be effected. This would be a great point gained, where the average of such holdings does not probably exceed £2, and numbers are under £1 per annum. Consolidation must continue to be followed up as means and opportunity serve, until the holdings

generally become of a size to afford room for the investment of capital, in stocking and working them with a view to surplus production, instead of occupying the soil as at present, with a view to mere subsistence upon what it yields.

34. A Poor Law would tend to facilitate this change, which is so necessary for the landowners as well as for the great mass of the people of Donegal. The principle of a Poor Law is to make the property of a district answerable for the relief of destitution within the district; and the application of this principle will serve to connect the several orders of society, and teach them to act together—it will show them that they have reciprocal duties to perform—that each is necessary to the other—that their interests are in fact identified, and that the cordial co-operation of *all* is necessary to the well-being of the whole. I augur great good therefore, under circumstances similar to those which now prevail in Donegal, from the establishment of a Poor Law; and I believe that such a law, whilst it provides for the relief of the destitute, will be a safeguard to property, and facilitate the introduction of those other ameliorations which the condition of the people requires.

35. In what is here stated, I must be understood as speaking of the northern and the western portions of Donegal, and not of the eastern or midland parts of the county. I wish also to be understood, when speaking of the consolidation of small holdings, as not recommending that all farms should be large, or of equal extent. Gradation in the size of farms is necessary, to meet the gradations of capital and capacity in the cultivators, and also for enabling the humble industrious man to ascend in life; but if the grade be set too low, as is now generally the case in Ireland, especially in the western districts, the occupation of land becomes not the means of advancement in life, but on the contrary, leads to the depression and impoverishment of the whole labouring population.

II. Secondly,—*As to the question of Settlement.*

36. There was no part of the subject to which I gave more earnest attention last year, than to the question of Settlement. Of the evils which had arisen from settlement in England, there can be no doubt; but the way at first did not appear clear for establishing a Poor Law in Ireland without settlement. The grounds on which, after much inquiry and consideration, I at length adopted this conclusion, I endeavoured to

explain in my former Report: but it appears that the reasons there given have not been altogether satisfactory, and that many persons still consider some Law of Settlement necessary,—for securing local co-operation based upon local interests—for the protection of particular Unions—and for guarding the large commercial towns on the eastern coast from being unduly burthened with the destitute who may flock thither, or be sent thither from England or Scotland, on their becoming chargeable—or with the wives and children of the large body of migrants who annually proceed to Great Britain in the harvest season, and return at its conclusion.

37. I readily admit that if there were danger of any material degree of undue pressure from all or any of these sources, it would be right to make provision against it in the Bill; but I am satisfied that in carrying out the measure as now proposed, none of these inconveniences will arise, beyond what the Commissioners may meet by special regulations, without recurring to a Settlement Law; and I will now state the grounds for this opinion, with reference to each of the four points adverted to above, namely:—1. as to the sufficiency of local interest for ensuring local co-operation: 2. as to the protection of particular Unions from undue pressure: 3. as to protecting the eastern ports from being burthened with destitute persons sent thither from England and Scotland: 4. as to the migration of Irish Labourers, and its tendency to burthen the eastern ports.

38. First, *as to Local Interest.*—It is true that a law establishing a Union Settlement (which is the mode of settlement contended for) would give to the rate-payers of the Union a direct interest in repressing pauperism, and also in keeping down the number of settled individuals within their particular Union; indeed, it would be their interest to do without settled labourers at all, and to have all the work performed by labourers belonging to other Unions, on which the onus of relief might be cast whenever the labourer became disabled and destitute. This was not an uncommon practice in English parishes, the property in which was thus raised in value at their neighbours' expense; and I have known it to be a matter of boast that a parish was without a settled labourer. A Law of Settlement would certainly afford some inducement for this practice in Ireland, although it might not possibly be there carried to the same extent that it was in England; but it is obviously open to chicanery, abuse, and oppression of various kinds.

39. In addition to the other reasons against Settlement, there is this primary objection, namely, that it interferes with the free distribution of labour, and virtually compels individuals to sell their labour in a particular district for whatever they can there obtain for it, instead of disposing of it to the best advantage wherever a demand for it exists. Settlement thus destroys the fair and open competition, which is alike necessary for protecting the employer and the labourer, and by which an equalization of supply and demand in the labour market can alone be maintained. Its direct tendency therefore, is to depress the character of the people; for by narrowing the field of labour and binding individuals to a particular locality not perhaps favourable to the developement, or to the most profitable employment of their faculties—improvement is checked—independence is destroyed, and the working classes are left without resource or elasticity of spirit, in helpless dependence upon their place of settlement in every contingency. If, therefore, settlement should be unnecessary for imparting a requisite degree of local interest—if the Bill as now proposed, by requiring the rate to be levied upon the Union, for relief of the actually destitute within the Union, is sufficient, as I believe it to be, for securing attention to the business of the Union—there can be no necessity to establish a Law of Settlement for that purpose; and nothing short of absolute necessity could justify the introduction of a principle, of which the direct tendency is to depress the condition and character of the people.

40. It is to be remarked too, that the arguments by which a settlement is defended, would not be satisfied by a Union Settlement. In order to give its full effect to individual interest, each property, each estate must be rated separately, and separately support its own poor. This would be a perfect settlement; but a Union Settlement would be imperfect, as the Union would necessarily comprise a great number of such estates. The interest which it would impart would be too general, to operate with any decided effect in the several portions of which the Union would be composed. There would be a general or Union interest in the repression of pauperism, but the individual interest would be slight. It is true that, independently of their direct interest as rate-payers, the common interest which would be felt by all persons within a Union to keep down the charge of pauperism, to encourage industry, and to elevate the population in the moral and social scale, would

constitute a powerful incentive to individual exertion; but this motive would operate without a Settlement Law. It would not, I admit, be as powerful as that which would stimulate a landlord to exertions directed exclusively to improve the condition of his own tenants and dependents: but since we cannot obtain the aid of this motive, since we cannot make as many settlements as there are properties, but are forced to require the landowners to make exertions and even sacrifices for the benefit of the estates and tenants of their neighbours,—it surely will not be worth while to incur the evils of a Settlement Law, for the purpose of somewhat narrowing a field of action, which after all must remain a very wide one.

41. If we regard the whole of Ireland as one great Union, the numerous Sub-Unions into which it is proposed to divide it for the convenience of local administration, will bear about the same proportion to the whole island, which the estates of individuals bear to each separate Union which they collectively constitute; and the inhabitants of each Union, as a whole, will have the same kind of moral inducement to promote industry and to repress pauperism, that would be felt by any individual owner, with reference to his own estate. There will be a separate interest in each Union, but there will also be the corrective of a general interest; and these will operate in the same direction, and alike stimulate to exertion, under the guidance of those high motives which have influenced, and will always influence individuals to labour for the promotion of the general weal. On the score of *local interest,* a Settlement Law does not, therefore, I think, appear to be necessary in Ireland.

42. Secondly, *as to the protection of particular Unions from undue pressure.*—It has been asserted that, without a Law of Settlement, particular Unions will be liable to be inundated with paupers, whilst others may be comparatively free from the pressure. This is certainly possible, but not I think very probable. Why should an excessive number of paupers congregate in one particular Union, when all the Unions are equally accessible, and are governed by the same regulations? —it is difficult to imagine a reason for their so doing; and I believe there will be no such gatherings of paupers under the Union System as proposed. The pauper classes will then, in all likelihood, be spread pretty equally over the country, as they are now. There is an inherent love of home existing

among the Irish, which notwithstanding their migratory habits, will generally attract them towards their native districts, especially when age, sickness, or suffering press heavily upon them. There may be, and of course there will be, many exceptions; but the exceptions will apply to every part of Ireland alike, so that the effect will, I think, be pretty equal in the several Unions. Should it be otherwise, however, and an undue accumulation of paupers press into any particular Union, the Guardians will have the remedy in their own hands; for as no right to relief will be imparted, they will be at liberty to exercise their discretion in its administration. The Commissioners will moreover be armed with sufficient powers for correcting such inequality should it occur, and generally for applying a special remedy to whatever inconvenience may arise, or be apprehended, in carrying out the measure, as soon as the nature and extent of the danger or the evil becomes apparent.

43. The period at which there will be the greatest danger of an excessive influx of paupers, will be whilst the Unions are in progress of formation; and during this interval, it might be useful in certain cases for the Union authorities to have a Settlement Law to fall back upon. The object may however I think be accomplished without the inconvenience of a Law of Settlement, as the Commissioners' general power to prescribe the conditions on which relief shall be administered, would enable them to issue regulations specially adapted to the evil, either existing or apprehended. The possible occurrence of the partial pressure here adverted to, whilst the Unions are being formed, affords a strong argument for hastening their formation, and carrying forward the measure with as much celerity as may be found compatible with their complete organization; for when the whole country shall have been formed into Unions, there will be comparatively little danger of undue pressure upon any particular Union.

44. If a right to relief was given, it would certainly strengthen the argument in favour of Settlement. An absolute right to relief, would seem to require a Law of Settlement to define the boundaries within which the right is to be available. A right to demand, implies an obligation to pay; and this must be imposed on some individual, or some locality—it can hardly be unlimited: but if no right to relief is given, the call for set-

tlement on this ground ceases. Destitution will then constitute the only claim for relief,—there will be no other condition; and the administering to this claim will be in the discretion of the Union authorities, to whom the relief of the destitute is proposed to be confided, under the superintendence of the Central Board.

45. This condition—namely, the fact of destitution—is simple and complete; but, if settlement be superadded, another element is involved. The question will then no longer be, "Is the applicant really destitute?" but, "To what Union does he belong—where is he settled?" and this will open the whole array of Settlement subtleties,—birth, infancy, adult age, residence, parentage, marriage, remarriage, death, relationship,—all presenting endless sources of litigation, chicanery, and incertitude; and, pending the adjustment of these, is the destitute individual to be permitted to perish when the means of relieving him exist?—where the power exists, relief will generally be administered; and thus the principle of settlement will be departed from, and casual relief to the unsettled, on the ground of destitution, will practically be admitted. This will open out another question: Is the casual relief, so afforded, to be repaid by the Union to which the pauper belongs, or to which he may, possibly after years of litigation, be adjudged to belong?—if it is not to be repaid, a principle of justice seems to be violated; but that it should be repaid, is inconsistent with the principle of the measure, that relief shall not be matter of right, but discretionary with the Guardians. In the exercise of their discretion, they may think it right to relieve out of their own funds, but have they a right to apply the funds of another Union?—might not that Union reply, "You have thought fit to grant relief under circumstances in which we should have refused it"?—and supposing this objection overcome, yet accounts lengthy and intricate would have to be often kept between the several Unions; nor is it likely that the Union authorities would exercise the same vigilance in administering relief to the unsettled casual applicant, the amount of which relief was to be repaid to them by some other Union, which they would exercise when acting for their own Union; and thus a lax and partial action might be introduced, instead of one steady and uniform system.

46. It may here be noticed, incidentally, that a Settlement Law would operate to impede, if not to prevent, the suppression of mendicancy. Every vagrant would say that he was travelling

to his place of settlement, where alone he would be entitled to relief; and as the districts through which he passed would have to incur the expense of forwarding him to his destination, or else to connive at his mendicancy, there can be little doubt that a large toleration would be extended to the vagrant classes, and their existence be perpetuated, to the injury and demoralization of the community. A Law of Settlement, therefore, seems to be unnecessary "*for the protection of particular Unions,*" whilst it would probably prove a source of much evil to all.

47. Thirdly, *as to protecting the Eastern Ports from being burthened with the Destitute persons sent thither from England and Scotland.*—The necessity of a Law of Settlement for this purpose, has been strongly urged by individuals, whose opinions are entitled to the most respectful consideration; and I made it my especial business to inquire carefully into the present extent of the burthen, with the view of ascertaining the extent of inconvenience that may be likely to arise from it, under the measure as now proposed. The result of my inquiries was that, with the exception of Dublin, no material inconvenience has hitherto been experienced in any of the ports on the coast, from the influx or accumulation of destitute individuals of this description. When sent over from Great Britain on their becoming chargeable there, these poor persons generally find their way to the part of the country of which they are natives, and which they consider as their natural home. At Wexford, Newry, Belfast, Coleraine, Londonderry, no inconvenience of the kind had occurred, and none seemed to be apprehended. At Waterford some alarm had been felt, and representations from the Town authorities had been forwarded during the progress of the Bill last Session, urging the necessity of some protection in this respect; but on inquiry, I found that the number of individuals who had arrived there from England during the preceding twelve months, and who had applied to the corporation for assistance to enable them to join their friends, was only *ten;* and that these, on receiving some trifling aid, went onward to their destination. It is worthy of note however, that although *ten* only had so arrived, *sixty-eight* individuals (many of them English) had been passed to England, at the expense of the corporation, within the eleven months preceding. After discussing this subject with the mayor of Waterford, he became convinced that there existed no real grounds for alarm

and that a Settlement Law was not necessary for the protection of Waterford. This opinion he gave me in writing, together with a return of the individuals passed to England, copies of which documents I have inserted in the Appendix, No. 9.

48. The case of Dublin, with reference to this question, is somewhat different from that of the other great towns. Its superior wealth and population, ensure for the mendicant classes, and for the needy, a richer harvest there than is obtainable in any other town. This harvest is augmented by the donations of casual visitors, whom business or pleasure call to Dublin, and who are generally more open to the importunities of beggars than the permanent residents. The numerous charities also, which exist in Dublin, and the known benevolence of its inhabitants, all serve as lures to the mendicant classes. If these circumstances be taken into consideration, combined with the fact that, with only a few exceptions in some of the large towns, no charitable institutions, or other means of relief for the destitute, exist throughout all the rest of Ireland, —that there is no other place where the needy, or the famishing, will be sustained,—but that nearly the whole tide of wretchedness and want must of necessity pour in upon Dublin, —the wonder, I think, is, not that there are so many, but that there is not a greater number of the destitute and mendicant classes congregated there.

49. Whatever may have been the amount of these classes in Dublin up to the present time, or however they may have been led thither—whether settled denizens, or voluntary migrants from other parts of Ireland, or sent compulsorily from Great Britain—it seems quite certain that there is nothing in the intended Poor Law calculated to increase their numbers. The object of that law is, not to create pauperism, but to suppress mendicancy, by making provision in every district throughout the country, for the relief of the destitute within the district; which will be the means of retaining at or near their source, those numerous streams of vagrancy that now flow with an unrestricted current into the capital, as the general reservoir.

50. Much of the reasoning, however, in favour of a Law of Settlement for the protection of Dublin, is founded on the assumption that Dublin at present only supports its own poor, —that the various classes of destitute and needy persons now relieved there, actually belong to, or are natives of that city, or

its immediate neighbourhood. How far this is from being the case, may be inferred from Returns which I have obtained from the "House of Industry" and the "Dublin Mendicity Institution," showing the several counties in which the inmates of these establishments were respectively born, and to which they may be said therefore, naturally to belong. In the "House of Industry," out of 888 inmates in the aged department, 389 only are natives of the county or city of Dublin. The remaining 499 belong to other Irish counties, excepting 22 who are not natives of Ireland. I give a copy of this Return in the Appendix, No. 10. In March of the present year there were 2,409 individuals on the books of the "Mendicity Institution," and of these 1,555 only were natives of the city or county of Dublin, leaving 854 for the rest of Ireland, excepting 45 who belonged to other countries. A copy of this Return is also given in the Appendix, No. 11.

51. It appears therefore, that no inconsiderable portion of the destitute individuals now supported in Dublin, are not natives of the county or city of Dublin, not "settled" there, in the mode contended for, but belong to different and distant parts of the country, and are drawn thither in search of support. This was to be expected, for there is nothing to prevent the influx of mendicants into Dublin; and when there, and actually or apparently in a state of destitution, they of course meet with relief in some way: if not admitted into the charitable institutions, begging, at least, is always open to them; and thus a mode of relief, the most expensive and the most demoralising, is perpetuated. This is the present state of Dublin, and if a Poor Law were established without a Law of Settlement, there seems to be no reason for supposing that it would then be worse—on the contrary, if the poor persons who resort to Dublin in search of charity, or who are sent thither from Great Britain, instead of being relieved as they now are by street begging and private donations, or by the intervention of the Mendicity and other charitable institutions, —if, instead of this, mendicancy were forbidden, and they were subjected to the test of a workhouse, where the absolutely and unavoidably necessitous would be adequately provided for, but where, also, the simulators of that necessity would be subjected to restraint, and be compelled to labour,—if this were done, the labour and the restraint being alike at variance with their indolent and vagrant habits, may it not reasonably be inferred that

the number of such individuals in Dublin would speedily decrease?

52. The result of my inquiries on this subject is, that a Law of Settlement is unnecessary for the protection of Dublin and the other towns: and I feel assured moreover, that the measure as now proposed will be productive of great benefit to those places, by providing in every district throughout Ireland adequate means for relief of the destitute, who will then be no longer compelled to resort to Dublin and the other great towns for obtaining the means of subsistence.

53. Fourthly, *as to the Migration of Irish Labourers, and its tendency to burthen the Eastern Ports.*—It has been asserted that the labourers who every year migrate to Great Britain would, in numerous instances, leave their wives and families at the place of their debarkation; and that the ports on the Eastern Coast would thus be subjected to a heavy charge, unless a Law of Settlement were established for their protection.

54. The cheapness and facility of communication between Great Britain and Ireland, by the application of steam-power, is now carried to an extent that would not have been thought possible twenty years ago. The ocean has become the medium for connecting the two countries more closely, as regards the time and expense of communication, than if it had not intervened between them. The effects of this approximation are important, and must daily become more so. To pass from Waterford or Dublin or Belfast, to Bristol or Liverpool or Glasgow, is now easier and cheaper than to pass from those places to London or Nottingham or York. The sea, therefore, no longer *separates* England and Ireland. The application of steam-power has converted it into a means of the most intimate communication—it, in fact, *unites* the two countries into one. Under these circumstances, the labour market in each will be open to both alike. If there is a demand for labourers in England, the unemployed in Ireland will avail themselves of it, and *vice versâ.* There has long been a great influx of Irish labourers into Scotland and England, at certain seasons; and it appears to be every year increasing. Many of the individuals who so migrate do not return, but remain dispersed through the great towns in England and Scotland, where certain branches of labour, of the coarser and harder descriptions, are performed almost exclusively by the Irish. In the

manufacturing districts, too, the children of these labourers, and other children brought directly from Ireland, are employed in the factories; so that there is now actually a large and rapidly increasing Irish population, permanently resident in England and Scotland.

55. These settlers are distinct from the regular migratory tide of agricultural labourers, who annually pass and repass between Ireland and Great Britain, at the commencement and termination of harvest; and to these, the reasons which have been urged for a settlement law, chiefly apply. The season during which the migration of these "harvesters" takes place, comprises the months of May, June, July, and August. They belong, almost exclusively, to the western parts of Ireland, and the greater portion of them to the province of Connaught. They nearly all occupy small portions of land, and as soon as their own little crop is planted, set off for the eastern ports, to embark for England or Scotland, generally leaving their wives and families at home; but in some instances these accompany them, either to the sea-ports or across the channel, in which cases they too commonly resort to begging as a means of support. For the most part, however, the families remain at home. Many young unmarried men, who do not occupy land, are found among the migrants; but the far greater portion of them are as above described.

56. During the hay and corn harvests in England and Scotland, the services of these Irish labourers are very important, and in many districts the harvest could hardly be saved without their aid. They are generally sober, well-conducted, and inoffensive,—living hard, and labouring hard. They mostly resort year after year to the same districts, where they become known; and the English farmer not unfrequently engages during the current harvest, the labourers who are to come from Connaught to assist him in getting in his crops in the next. As the harvest season draws towards a close on this side of the channel, these migrants are seen travelling westward to embark for Ireland; and on their landing, they immediately commence their journey homewards, where their own potato crop has ripened during their absence, and now requires their care. With the harvest money obtained in England, they are enabled to pay their rent, and to provide clothing and a few other necessaries; and on the produce of their bit of land they subsist during the winter, to commence the same migratory round the following summer.

This is the course ordinarily pursued by the great mass of itinerant labourers, who annually pass and repass between Ireland and Great Britain, according to the best information which I could collect. Mr. Richardson, a gentleman of much practical experience both in England and Ireland, also undertook to investigate the subject for me, which his residence in Dublin enabled him readily to do. The result of his inquiries, agreeing in all respects with what I have detailed above, he stated to me in a letter, a copy of which, No. 12, is given in the Appendix.

57. It does not appear, from the information obtained by Mr. Richardson, or from that which I collected, that any new or material charge would be likely to be cast upon the Eastern Ports under the proposed law, by the efflux and influx of these agricultural migrants; who merely pass through, but never stop, in either case. Their families may, in some instances, become chargeable at first, as they are now, in fact, chargeable by their begging; but this is not of frequent occurrence even now, and it would eventually be stopped altogether under the provisions of the Bill: for when the only relief to be obtained would be in the workhouse, and when also it became known, that the relief so afforded would be recoverable from the husband, on his return from harvesting, it may be concluded that the charge now cast upon Dublin and the other Eastern Ports, by these agricultural migrants or their families, will become less under the operation of the proposed law than it is at present.

58. Finally, then, as to Settlement,—it seems apparent, from the facts and reasonings here adduced, that whilst a Law of Settlement is open to most weighty objections,—its establishment is not necessary in Ireland for securing adequate local co-operation, based upon local interests,—nor for the protection of particular Unions from undue pressure,—nor for guarding the large commercial towns from being unfairly burthened with the mendicant classes who may flock thither, or with the destitute who may be sent back from England or Scotland,—nor for protecting the ports on the eastern coast from the charge of supporting the wives and children of the agricultural migrants absent at harvest work in England or Scotland. I cannot, therefore, hesitate in expressing my decided opinion, that Settlement should not be made a substantive part of the Irish Poor Law Bill,—and I urge this with

the greater confidence, because, if from change of circumstances or other cause, it should hereafter be deemed necessary to enact a Law of Settlement, it may at any time be done, without disturbing the other portions of the measure; whereas if we begin with Settlement, it will afterwards be difficult, if not impossible, to put an end to it, however unnecessary or mischievous it may prove.

III. Thirdly,—*As to giving a Right to Relief.*

59. It has been contended that a right to relief must be given, in order to ensure the suppression of mendicancy; and that if you prevent a destitute individual from begging, you ought to relieve him. Thus put, the case is strong; for if the question lies between begging and starvation, there can be no doubt as to the alternative to be preferred. It may be said that this is an extreme case, and that mendicancy is in general the result not of want, but of idleness or misconduct: still the supposed case, namely, that of a person having to choose between begging and starvation, is possible in every country, and I fear not unfrequent in Ireland; and it must be admitted that a destitute individual ought not to be prevented from begging, unless provision be made for relieving his actual necessities,—the community, of course, reserving to itself the right of *testing* the existence of such necessities.

60. The Irish Poor Law Bill proceeds upon this principle. It proposes to suppress mendicancy, but it first provides the means of relief for the destitute; and it provides also, through the Union authorities, and the operation of the workhouse, the means of testing the existence of such destitution in every instance. It may I think be safely assumed that under the operation of the proposed law, as soon as the Unions are formed, and the workhouses established, no person really destitute will be permitted to perish from want in any part of Ireland, or be compelled to resort to begging to obtain needful sustentation; and thus the community will have acquired the right of suppressing mendicancy. It is practically the same in England. Under the old law, relief was administered under the joint though not always concurrent discretion of justices and parish-officers. Under the new law, relief is administered at the sole discretion of the Boards of Guardians, of which justices are *ex-officio* members. The discretion in both cases is, of course, presumed to be a sound and legal discretion; and if

it be corruptly exercised, the individuals who abuse it would be subjected to legal penalties. If, however, the discretion be exercised in good faith, and with a right intention, the law will protect the public functionary from the consequences, should mischief unwittingly ensue.

61. When the proposed Poor Law measure shall have received the sanction of the Legislature, and when the Unions are formed, and the workhouses established, the right as well as the means will exist for suppressing mendicancy, which has always been regarded as injurious to the community. Many severe laws have been enacted for its prevention; but these have proved altogether ineffectual, and are now in fact a dead letter, the alternative of relief for the destitute, which could alone ensure their efficiency, not having been provided. Should this alternative ever fail,—if from any unforeseen circumstance the workhouse should be full, so that a destitute person is of necessity refused relief therein,—it is provided in such a case, that the destitute individual so refused relief, should be exonerated from the penalties provided against begging; and thus the principle, that to be entitled to suppress mendicancy, the alternative of relief for the destitute must be first provided, is strictly adhered to.

IV. Fourthly,—*As to Out-door Relief.*

62. Much has been said as to the necessity of providing out-door relief in Ireland; but most of the arguments in favour of an extension of relief beyond the workhouse appear to me to be founded either upon a misapprehension of the objects of a poor-law, or upon an exaggerated estimate of the number of actually destitute persons who would require relief under it.

63. The object of a Poor Law is to relieve the destitute,—that is, to relieve those individuals who, from sickness, accident, mental or bodily incapacity, failure of employment, or other immediate cause, may be unable to obtain the common necessaries of life by their own exertions. Under such circumstances, the destitute individual, if not relieved, might be driven to beg or to steal; and a Poor Law, by providing for the relief of destitution, prevents the necessity or the excuse for resorting to either: and in this sense it may be regarded as a measure of police, as well as of humanity. There are other high and more general considerations, arising out of the application of the law, and its ultimate effects upon the condition of the people,

to which I need not now advert.—The above is the immediate and legitimate object of a Poor Law, and to this its operations are proposed to be limited in the Bill of last Session. But if, disregarding this limitation, it be attempted to provide relief for all who are needy, but not destitute,—for all who are poor, and whose means of living are inferior to what it may be desirable that they should possess,—if property is to be taxed, not for the relief of the destitute only, but for ensuring a given amount of income, or such a portion of the comforts or conveniences of life as shall be assumed to be necessary, for the whole or any part of the labouring population,—the consequence of any such attempt must be in Ireland, as it notoriously was in England, not only to diminish the value and destroy the security of property, but also to demoralize the whole labouring population, by leading them to look to the rates, instead of their own exertions, to make up every deficiency of earnings, from whatever cause arising.

64. The evidence collected by the late Commissioners of Poor Law Inquiry in England, establishes the conclusion that out-door or domiciliary relief is inevitably open to gross abuses, and that its administration entails consequences prejudicial to the labouring classes, and to the whole community; and in short, that there is no security for the prevention of abuse, nor any mode of ensuring a due administration of relief to the individuals really in need of it, but by restricting it to the workhouse. The facts and reasonings contained in the English Poor Law Inquiry Reports on this subject, have been confirmed by the experience of the present Poor Law Commission; and although the Commissioners, in the exercise of the powers with which they are entrusted, have not yet, in any of the English Unions, totally prohibited out-door relief, there can be no doubt that the intention of the Poor Law Amendment Act points to the workhouse as the sole medium of relief eventually, and requires that it should be so restricted at as early a period as the circumstances which had grown up under the old system may permit.

65. To establish out-door relief in Ireland would, therefore, be to act in direct contradiction to English experience, and to the spirit of the English law. It would introduce a practice in the one country, under the prejudicial effects of which the other has long been suffering, and from which it has not yet completely recovered. It would be establishing different and

opposing principles of action in the two countries; for out-door relief is at present only tolerated in England, as an evil unavoidable for a time, and which is to be gotten rid of as speedily as possible: but if now established in Ireland, it will either be the means of preventing its extinction in England, or else the practice in this essential particular, will be directly at variance in the two countries.

66. It has been recommended by some advocates for out-door relief in Ireland, that its administration should be restricted to the aged, sick, and infirm; but even with this limitation, how is abuse to be prevented, and how is the precise amount to be defined of that age, or sickness, or infirmity, which shall entitle an individual to be relieved out of the workhouse? I believe it to be impossible so to define the conditions, as to prevent partiality and jobbing, and the occurrence of gross abuses, which would not only be a source of demoralization, but would also serve to engender strifes, jealousies, and ill-will in every locality.

67. On this subject, the opinion of the managers of the Dublin Mendicity Institution, founded upon the large experience obtained in the working of that establishment, is peculiarly entitled to attention. In the Report of a Sub-committee, "specially appointed to consider the provisions of the Irish Poor Law Bill," it is stated—"Your Committee conceive that the cautious spirit which pervades the Bill, is peculiarly suited to the introduction of a measure which is expected to produce a considerable change in the social condition of the poorer classes in Ireland, the proposed system of relief admitting of enlargement should its principles be eventually deemed too narrow, and avoiding the danger of sanctioning those modes of administering relief which have confessedly produced great mischiefs elsewhere, and from which, if once adopted, it is found difficult to retreat." And in a letter addressed to me on the 3d of March, by the two Honorary Secretaries of the Institution, forwarding a copy of the Sub-committee's Report, they state further, that—"Some persons, and certainly men of some experience and sagacity, are desirous of having introduced into the Bill some discretionary authority of giving out-door relief; but it is at the same time greatly to be feared, that out-door relief would soon become the rule and workhouse relief the exception; and that this plan would soon degenerate into the allowance system, in a country where

the wages of labour are in many parts so very low. The Union would soon come to pay half, and the employers the other half."

68. After the best consideration which I have been able to give the subject, in all its bearings, I still retain the opinion which I originally submitted to your Lordship, that in Ireland relief should be restricted to the workhouse, or in other words, that no out-door relief should be permitted.

69. With respect to the number of individuals who would need relief, and which has been variously estimated at from one to six millions,—and for the whole of whom, therefore, it would, as has been stated, be impossible to provide the means of relief within the workhouse—this point will be considered under the 6th head; and I will merely remark here, that in those estimates, the distinction between *poverty* and *destitution* appears to have been overlooked—every poor person has been assumed to be destitute, although in possession of the ordinary means of living—and hence the exaggerated statements adverted to.

V. Fifthly,—*Emigration should have been provided for.*

70. I am very sensible of the difficulties which beset the question of emigration, in principle as well as in its details. Having stated these pretty fully in my former Report, I will not now enter into a general consideration of the subject, but confine my observations to the specific point—as to whether any and what provision should be made in the Irish Poor Law Bill for the purposes of emigration.

71. Without attempting to decide the question whether Ireland, as a whole, is over populous,—whether there are such means of employment as to afford, if properly developed, adequate support for all,—it is yet, I think, quite apparent, that in certain parts of the country there is an actual excess of population beyond the existing means of employment; and wherever this excess exists, it must operate to lower the price of labour, and to increase the competition for land; and thus to force down the mode of living to a lower level, and to depress the whole population in the moral and social scale. These are universally admitted to be the inevitable consequences of an excess of population in any district; and an examination of the country must, I think, convince any impartial observer that such excess does actually exist in certain districts in

Ireland, producing there all the consequences above indicated. In parts of Donegal, for instance, the people are so crowded together, and so impoverished by competition, in their struggles to obtain the common necessaries of life, that unless some step be taken in the first instance for lessening this competition, either by removing the surplus hands, or by increasing the amount of employment, or by both measures combined, it will, I fear, be impossible to effect any very material change in their condition.

72. The means of employment may, no doubt, be very generally and profitably increased, by the intervention of the landlords, the application of capital, and an extended cultivation of the soil; but this alone, in the present condition of many districts in Ireland, will not be sufficient; the remedy from these sources, although good in itself, and absolutely essential to the final attainment of the object, will yet necessarily be slow in its general application. But the evil is present and pressing, and emigration appears to be the only immediate remedy, or rather palliative of the state of things existing in Donegal, and which exist likewise in other parts of the west and south of Ireland. It seems to me, under such circumstances, that it is only by emigrating one part of the surplus population, and providing employment for another part, that the excessive competition adverted to, and its attendant evils, can be remedied. Of the means for effecting an increase of employment I need not here speak. Several measures have been submitted to Parliament with this avowed object, and I understand it to be the intention of Government to take the whole subject into its early consideration.

73. With respect to emigration, the opinion expressed in my last Report, that it should be provided for in the Bill, has been confirmed by what has recently come under my notice; and I now recommend the insertion of a clause essentially similar to that in the English Poor Law Bill, authorizing Boards of Guardians, under the direction of the Commissioners, to defray out of the poor-rates the expense of emigrating the surplus population of any Union. To ensure the proper application of the funds, and a judicious and impartial selection of the individuals, it will be necessary to place all the details of the measure under the immediate control of the Commissioners. With regard to the expense, I suggested last year, that one-half should be borne by the Union whence the

emigrants removed, and the other half by Government. Without urging this suggestion at present, it may be sufficient to point out that an agency by which emigration might be conducted already exists. There are emigration agents at the ports of Dublin, Belfast, Cork, Londonderry, Sligo, and Limerick, who might superintend the embarkation of the emigrants. There is an agent at Quebec who might afford them protection and assistance on landing; and agents with similar duties might be appointed in the other colonies to which emigrants proceed. The expense of the officers who would thus superintend the embarkation is now defrayed by the British Government, and the expense of the colonial agents might be borne by the colonies. A portion of the cost of conveying the emigrants to their destination might probably be defrayed out of the fund derived from the sale of waste lands in the colonies; and if from this or any other source, a moiety of the cost of conveyance was obtained, the Unions from which the emigrants proceeded would be benefited, and the colonies would reap the advantage of an increased supply of labour.

74. It has been said, that if any such provision were made, the spontaneous emigration which now takes place would be immediately stopped. To a certain extent, perhaps, this would be the case; and I am disposed to think it would not be altogether an evil. The individuals who now spontaneously emigrate are, for the most part, possessed of more means, and more mental and physical energy than their neighbours. They are, in fact, forced out by the growth of a lower class at home. The best go—the worst remain. An active, thrifty, provident individual, who by the exercise of these qualities has acquired some little capital, seeing no room for employing it at home, embarks with it for the United States or the Canadas, and thus the country sustains a double loss: but if means were adopted for emigrating the actual surplus population of a district, room would be made for such individuals, and they would probably remain at home, at least a portion of them would; and thus, instead of the best of the people only leaving the country, as at present, the emigrants would consist of persons possessing the average qualifications of their class, and the mass of the people would be preserved from deterioration as far as it may be connected with this circumstance.

75. A legislative provision for the purposes of emigration, does not therefore seem open to any serious objection, on the

ground of its tendency to prevent spontaneous emigration; whilst in other respects it would, I think, in the present condition of Ireland, be productive of immediate and important benefits, and facilitate the introduction of those improvements in the condition and habits of the people, which are so greatly to be desired.

VI. Sixthly,—*As to the number of Destitute Persons in Ireland, and the adequacy of the proposed Workhouse accommodation.*

76. The estimate inserted in a Memorandum at the end of my last Report, of the number of individuals whom it might probably be necessary to relieve on the score of destitution, has given rise to much comment. Your Lordship will do me the justice to remember, that I never attached much importance to that estimate,—that I always declared my belief, that no sufficient data existed for framing an accurate estimate,—and that I merely regarded the paper, as showing a kind of approximation to what I thought would probably be found to be the amount of actual destitution in Ireland. This indeed is stated in the paper itself, which seemed too loose and vague to be inserted in the Report, and I therefore placed it at the end, in the shape of a Memorandum, thus marking the slight importance which I attached to it.

77. Although the data on which that estimate was founded were meagre, they were not however so very slight as seems to have been supposed. It was not altogether because one per cent. of the population were domiciled in the workhouses of Kent, Sussex, Oxford, and Berks, that I ventured to infer that such would be the proportion of the destitute in Ireland; but because the presumption which this fact afforded, was borne out by my own observations, and the rough estimate which I had formed during my examination of the country. I may possibly be wrong on this point, and indeed the variety of estimates which have been framed, prove how easy it is to err on such a subject; but whatever may be the actual number of really destitute persons in Ireland, there can, I apprehend, be no doubt that they should be relieved, and this the Poor Law Bill makes the necessary provision for accomplishing.

78. It has also been made a ground of charge, that I omitted to state in the Memorandum adverted to, that in addition to

the one per cent. of destitute individuals in the workhouses of Kent, Sussex, Oxford, and Berks, out-door relief was administered to a great number of poor persons, amounting to four or five per cent. of the population; and that, consequently, instead of one per cent. or 80,000, at least five per cent. or 400,000, ought, by analogy, to have been assumed as the probable number of destitute persons for whom means of relief should be provided in Ireland.

79. A charge of this kind, as it implies a want of accuracy or of fairness, ought not perhaps to be left altogether unnoticed. I was of course aware that a considerable number, amounting to something above three per cent. of the population of the above-named four counties, were in receipt of out-door relief at the time to which the estimate refers; but I regarded these annuitants as the residuum of the old system, which would gradually pass away; and I considered that the in-door poor alone exhibited the amount of what may be called the natural pauperism then existing, and which alone therefore could be taken as affording a criterion applicable to Ireland; and I have seen no reason to alter my view in this respect.

80. Very different estimates, it is true, have been formed; but these, as before observed, appear to have been framed in total disregard of the distinction between the *poor* and the *destitute*. There is more poverty in Ireland, in proportion to its population, than there is in England; but I doubt whether there is more, if so much, destitution. There is this great difference, however, between the two countries—in England, the destitute are relieved at the common charge; in Ireland, the destitute are, for the most part, supported at the charge of the *poor*, of those persons who are only elevated one step above the destitute in the social scale, and who, by the custom (amounting in practice to a necessity) of affording such support, are themselves reduced to the very verge of destitution. Under such circumstances, to confound poverty with destitution is a mistake easily made, and hence the discrepancies adverted to: but I am relieved from the necessity of entering more at large into the consideration of this point, by a statement which has been drawn up at my request by Mr. William Stanley, of Dublin, the author of an able pamphlet on the Poor Law measure. Mr. Stanley's local knowledge and position, and his intimate acquaintance with Irish statistics, peculiarly fitted him for the task, and I solicit your Lordship's attention to

the important document which he has produced, a copy of which is inserted in the Appendix, No. 13.

VII. Seventhly,—*As to the mode of Rating and Collecting the Rate.*

81. The question of rating, is obviously open to much contrariety of opinion. The mode of valuation, of assessment, of collection, and the proportions in which the rate shall be paid by the several parties interested, are all questions on which different conclusions would probably be formed by different persons; and accordingly the views taken upon these points, have been various and conflicting. On the whole, however, the mode proposed in the Bill, of dividing the rate equally between the owner and occupier, seems to have met with pretty general concurrence, not as being altogether free from objection, but as being less open to objection and possessing greater advantages than any other mode.

82. Among the different opinions to which I have adverted, one is that the whole of the rate should in every instance be charged directly upon the owner, on the ground that the tenant derives little profit, often no profit whatever, from the occupation, and ought not therefore to be called on to pay any part of the rate. Those who take this view of the question, appear to overlook the fact, that the destitute classes in Ireland are now supported almost entirely by the occupiers, and that the occupiers will be relieved from this charge when the proposed measure shall have come into operation. To require them to pay half the rate is not therefore to impose on them a new charge, but a portion only of an old charge, to which they had been long subjected. The occupiers too have a direct interest in the property,—not permanent, indeed, like the owners' interest, but more immediate, and extending to the limit of their tenancy, whether covenanted or implied; and on this further ground they are therefore justly chargeable with a portion of the rate. If the rate be charged directly upon the owners, the occupiers, as they do not contribute, will not of course be entitled to take a part in the distribution of the funds raised by it, or in the management of the business of the Union—they will have no interest in common with their landlords—there will be nothing in which they can meet and act together—they will be separated more entirely from the owners of property than they are at present, and in truth,

to a certain extent, be arrayed against them; for their interest and their sympathies would too probably lead them to increase the amount of the burthen upon the landlords, rather than to lessen it. Even if there were a sufficient number of resident owners, it would seem inexpedient to place the whole control of the Unions in their hands, thus constituting them a separate class, and at the same time lowering the position of the occupiers; but in the present state of Ireland, and with the generally small number of resident proprietors, such a proposition seems especially open to objection.

83. The proposed exemption in favour of occupiers of 5*l.* value and under, and the charging the owners of such property with the payment of the entire rate, forms an exception to the above reasoning, and will probably be disapproved by those whose interests may appear to be burthened by it. But if rightly considered, this arrangement ought not to excite opposition in any quarter, for it is certain that every charge is eventually borne by the property; and in the long run, therefore, it is not very material to the owner, whether the rate is paid directly by himself, or by the occupier, it being in fact a portion of the rent. This arrangement is proposed, partly as a matter of convenience, on account of the difficulty and expense of collecting a rate from the vast number of small occupiers of 5*l.* value and under, which exist in Ireland, and partly also with a view of relieving this description of occupiers, who are for the most part in a state of poverty bordering upon destitution, from directly bearing a portion of the burthen: and it is gratifying to observe, that this proposition seems to be more generally approved than any other part of the rating clauses.

84. The extension to Ireland of the principle of the English Parochial Assessment Act, making all real property liable for the relief of the destitute, according to its actual market value, has also I think, as a matter of principle, been very generally approved: but notwithstanding this, when it became necessary to carry out the principle, and to arrange the details requisite for its application, difficulties and objections were immediately raised. The principle of taking the fair average annual value of property as the basis of assessment is so convenient, and so obviously just, that no one can well object to it on general grounds,—the objections must all be local or particular, and this was precisely the case with respect to Ireland. The mode of assessment provided by the Bill has not been objected to on

account of its unfairness, but solely because there were circumstances existing in Ireland, with which it was apprehended that it would not harmonise, and these circumstances it is here necessary to explain.

85. A great charge has already been incurred, for the purpose of making a general survey, and a general valuation of property throughout Ireland. Both these measures are still in progress, and they have been undertaken with the avowed intention of making the valuation, when completed, the basis of assessment for all purposes, whether local or general. Nothing could well be more unequal than the old mode of applotting and collecting the County cess; and this at length came to be felt as so great an evil, that Government was compelled to interfere, and it was determined to have the whole of Ireland surveyed and mapped, and then also to have every part of it valued by scientific valuators, under the direction of the Public Survey Department. Considerable progress has been made in effecting each of these objects, but it is estimated that eight or possibly ten years may yet elapse, before the whole will be completed. Wherever the new survey and valuation have been completed, and the County cess collected upon the data thus provided, it is of course a vast improvement upon the old unequal mode of applotment, and affords proportionate satisfaction to the cess payers.

86. The new valuation is nevertheless open to three weighty objections: *first,* it does not include all real property, many kinds properly as subject to be rated as any of those which it includes, being omitted: *secondly,* it does not specify the value of particular properties as occupied separately, but values the property in each townland collectively. And, *lastly,* it omits to make provision for correcting the valuation from time to time, as circumstances alter the value of property. None of these objections apply to the very able manner in which the valuation has been made, as far as it has been proceeded with; but they seriously affect its sufficiency for Poor Law purposes.

87. It certainly is important that a poor-rate should be levied equally upon all real property alike,—that is, upon all property in land, or profits arising in any way out of its occupation. Personal property is necessarily excepted, as, independently of other considerations, its changeable nature, and the impossibility of tracing its changes, without an inquisitorial power of investigating private affairs that would in practice be found in-

tolerable, totally unfit it for becoming an object of assessment. Real property, on the contrary, is open and tangible, its changes can readily be traced, and its value easily ascertained. The equable pressure of the rate would in every case be necessary to reconcile people to the burthen. If any inequality were permitted—if some descriptions of rateable property were omitted whilst others were charged—it would not only be unjust in itself, but it would also be a constant source of dissatisfaction, and possibly of resistance; and this would be the case if the present valuation for County cess were used in an assessment for the poor-rate. Tithes, mines, roads, canals, tolls, mills, water-power, and all tenements under 5*l.* value (which in fact exceeds 7*l.* value according to the mode of valuation adopted) are totally omitted: and it would therefore be necessary to add these and any other kinds of property not now included; so that the valuation now in progress, even where just completed, would have to be amended before it could be taken as the basis of a poor-rate.

88. The omitting to distinguish individual properties in the valuation, also unfits it in a great measure for poor-rate purposes. The town-land is valued *as a whole*, and according to the value affixed upon it will have, *as a whole*, to pay its portion of contribution to the County cess. The proportions of this charge, which each individual occupying property within the town-land will have to pay, is still to be ascertained, and this is left to certain applotters to determine. The present valuators moreover, in valuing the town-lands, do not proceed upon the principle of fair average annual value, as now established in England, but they fix the valuation according to a certain scale, contingent upon the price of corn and other produce, and the particular qualities of the soil; so that the intervention of scientific persons will be as necessary for correcting the valuation, as it has been for its formation. This raises a formidable difficulty as regards the future, for it seems essential that the rate-book should be readily adaptable to every change of value in the properties rated; and this, I apprehend, can only be secured by enabling the several localities to correct it from time to time, as is now practised in England.

89. Notwithstanding these objections, it has been contended that the present valuation, wherever it has been completed, should be taken as the basis for the poor-rate; and that progressively, as the measure is completed in every county, it

shall form the sole ground of assessment for local and general purposes. Now if the valuation had comprised every description of rateable property, or even if, in its present shape, it had been carried throughout the whole of Ireland, it might be a question whether it would not be better to take a valuation so prepared, although imperfect, rather than incur the labour and the expense of constructing a totally new one:—but the valuation has been completed in eight counties only out of thirty-two, and several years must elapse before it will be finished in all,—it does *not* comprise every description of property, but omits several very important particulars. It also omits to specify the value of the several holdings of the individuals to be rated, and it is unprovided with any means for correcting the valuations from time to time, according to the change of circumstances which may take place;—so that even now, or certainly long before the whole of the valuations can be completed, the districts first valued either have become or will become, in numerous instances, unequally assessed.

90. On these grounds therefore, I have always considered that the valuation for the County cess now in progress in Ireland, would be insufficient for the purposes of the poor-rate: but although insufficient, the valuation will yet be a most useful auxiliary; for, wherever the survey and valuation have been completed, the difficulty of framing a rate under the provisions of the Poor Law Bill will be comparatively light, the principal part of the labour being already accomplished, and that too in a very superior manner. The survey and maps are of course distinct from the valuation, and will be of permanent utility, fixing boundaries, distances, and elevations, and giving an accurate delineation of the surface of the country. The valuation also will always be useful, for although it will be affected by the changes which are constantly taking place, it will yet be a statistical document of great interest and importance, and will serve to refer to as a corrective in adjusting future assessments.

91. Your Lordship is aware of all that took place with reference to this part of the subject, during the progress of the Bill last Session, to which, therefore, I need not now advert. But I made it my business, whilst in Ireland, to discuss the question of rating with a great number of individuals conversant with and interested in its details; and there has rarely been an instance in which, after such discussion, it has not

been admitted that the mode of rating proposed in the Bill, is preferable to that now in use for the County cess. In Dublin, I had several meetings with the heads of the departments connected with the subject, and on the last occasion, after carefully considering the question in all its bearings, it was the unanimous opinion that the principle of real average annual value, as established in England, and as proposed in the Bill, was the correct principle on which to found an assessment of property for the purpose of a poor-rate, and that it ought to be established in Ireland. The value of an opinion thus deliberately expressed, after the fullest consideration, by individuals competent, from their position and acquirements, to form a correct judgment, your Lordship will appreciate; and presuming that the clauses as they now stand in the Bill, and as thus approved, will continue unchanged, it may be useful to explain how the mode of rating proposed will be carried into operation.

92. Wherever the survey and valuation are completed, the difficulty in the first instance of establishing a poor-rate, will be comparatively trifling. The several kinds of property omitted from the valuation must be added; the value of each being affixed according to the principle on which the existing valuation is founded.—The several holdings or occupancies must then be entered in a rate-book, to be provided for every town-land, with the value of each holding, and the name of the owner and occupier; and for this the applotment of the County cess will afford most of the information necessary. A rate-book for each town-land will thus be formed, comprising the whole of the property within it, and having a certain value affixed to each holding, with the names of the occupier and owner. This will be all that is absolutely necessary as a first step, and rates may thus, for a time, be levied essentially upon the basis of the present valuation, without being open to material objection. It is true the principle of actual value will not have been applied, but the present valuation is, on the whole, so well and equally done, that it may safely be adopted as the basis of assessment in the first instance; and this will give the Board of Guardians time to attend to other matters.

93. It will still, however, be desirable in all cases to apply the principle of actual market value as early as it may be found convenient; and for doing this, provision was made by

the 62d, 63d, and 64th clauses of the Bill of last Session. The Guardians may avail themselves of all existing surveys and valuations, or under the direction of the Commissioners they may make a new survey or valuation, for which purpose a committee of rate-payers may be named as valuators, or a professional valuator may be appointed to complete the valuation, or, which will probably be found in most cases to be the most convenient mode of proceeding, to assist the committee in completing it. These powers are general, and may be used at all times during the progress of the Union, as well as at its commencement; and thus every contingency seems to be provided for, as far as concerns the making of the rate, and the necessary correction of the valuation from time to time.

94. In cases where the Government survey and valuation have not been completed, the difficulty of framing the first assessment for a poor-rate, will of course be greater. There will be no general valuation of any kind to fall back upon, since the old applotment of the County cess is too unequal to be of much use. Still, however, whatever surveys or valuations exist, whether public or private, may all be made available; and the valuation recently made under the Tithe Composition Act will at the outset be found extremely useful. With such helps, a committee of rate-payers will, I think, be able, either with or without the aid of a professional valuator, to frame an assessment of the property within a Union, on the intelligible principle of fair marketable average annual value, even where the survey and valuation have not been completed; and as the necessity for a rate will not immediately arise on the declaration of a Union, the money requisite for providing the workhouse being obtainable by loan from Government, there will be ample time to make the necessary valuation, and prepare the requisite machinery, before a rate is actually called for; and any error or inequality which may exist in the assessment as first made, or which may arise afterwards, will be always open to subsequent adjustment.

95. As regards the collection of the rate, all that is necessary seems to be provided for by the 68th clause of the Bill, which sanctions the appointment of the collector of County cess, to collect the poor-rates,—giving him the same powers for this purpose, which he exercises in the collection of the Grand Jury cess. A unity of operation will thus be secured in the collection of these two rates, which is certainly of great prac-

tical importance, and will, probably, ensure the more orderly and efficient collection of both. I trust that these explanations will serve to show, not only that the mode of rating proposed in the Bill ought to be adhered to, but also that it may be carried into effect without very material difficulty.

VIII. Eighthly,—*As to the Size and proposed Number of Unions.*

96. In almost every discussion during the progress of the Bill last Session, some reference was made to the proposed size and number of the Unions, and frequently in terms of disapprobation. But there was nothing in the Bill itself to excite any such objections. The discretion of the Commissioners is unfettered, and they are left at liberty so to form the Unions, as may be best adapted to the circumstances of each district. This discretion has been confided to the Commissioners in England, and it seems to be equally necessary that they should possess it in Ireland. The observations as to the intended size of the Unions applied, therefore, not to the Bill, but to certain portions of my First Report, and particularly to the 46th paragraph, in which it is stated that, "If the surface of Ireland be divided into squares of twenty miles each, so that a workhouse placed in the centre would be about ten miles from the extremities in all directions, this would give about eighty workhouses for the whole of Ireland. A diameter of twenty miles was the limit prescribed for the size of Unions by Gilbert's Act, but it was often exceeded in practice; it may, however, be assumed as a convenient size on the present occasion."

97. Instead of eighty workhouses, however, I assumed that a hundred might be required, and I calculated the probable expense accordingly. Now this was mere assumption, for it must obviously be impossible to arrive at any precise conclusion as to the number of Unions which it may be necessary to form in Ireland, until some progress has been made in the work of formation. The Commissioners are bound, on every principle of public duty, to form the Unions in the best manner, according to the best of their judgment; and they can have no possible inducement to act otherwise. Their credit as public functionaries and as individuals would alike be compromised by any failure in this respect. It is almost impossible for men to be called upon to act under purer impulses, or to be

more entirely freed by the nature of their duties, from local or personal bias. It may be presumed, therefore, that in forming the Irish Unions, the Commissioners will use due vigilance and impartiality, and that they will avail themselves of the corrective which the experience of England affords.

98. The generality of the English Unions are of less dimensions, many of them considerably less, than twenty miles diameter; but there are also many that equal, some that exceed, that extent. I insert in the Appendix, No. 14, a Table of Unions in England and Wales, in which the radius from a workhouse in the centre would exceed ten miles, and these have not been found more difficult to manage, or less effective, than the smaller Unions. On the whole, after again considering the subject, I find no reason for materially altering the view expressed in my former Report. What is there stated is of course matter of opinion merely, and will be no further attended to in carrying the measure into effect, than as it is found to accord with the actual circumstances of the several districts.

IX. Ninthly,—*As to the Repression of Mendicancy.*

99. Objections have been made to the insertion of the vagrancy clauses (55 to 58 inclusive) in the Irish Poor Law Bill; and it has been contended that, if such provisions were necessary, they should be established by a separate Act. Practically it seems immaterial whether the suppression of mendicancy is provided for in the Poor Law Bill, or by a separate Bill; but it is most important that the provision should be made concurrently with the Poor Law measure. To establish a Poor Law, without at the same time suppressing mendicancy, would be very imperfect legislation, especially with reference to the present condition of the Irish people. It is true there are now Vagrancy Laws in Ireland, which enact whipping, imprisonment, and transportation as the punishments of mendicancy; but these laws are inoperative, partly from their severity, and partly from other causes. Ireland wants a Vagrancy Law that shall operate in unison with the Poor Law, for without such a harmony of action, both laws would be in a great measure ineffective.

100. The suppression of mendicancy is necessary for the protection of the cultivators of the soil in Ireland. No Irish cottier, however poor, closes his door whilst partaking of his

humble meal. The mendicant has free access, and is never refused a share, even although the mess provided be insufficient for the cottier's family. There is a superstitious dread of bringing down the beggar's curse, and no one dares reject the application; and thus mendicancy is sustained in the midst of extreme poverty, perpetuating itself amongst its victims. Much of the feeling out of which this state of things has arisen, may I think be traced to the absence of any provision for relieving the destitute. A mendicant applies for aid on the plea of destitution.—His plea must be admitted, for it cannot be disproved; and, if not relieved, he may possibly perish for want of sustenance. To refuse relief, therefore, may occasion the death of a fellow creature, which would, of course, be regarded as a crime of great magnitude, both in a religious and moral sense. Hence the tacit admission of the mendicant's claim, which is now regarded by the Irish peasantry as a kind of right, having priority over every other. To make provision for relieving such mendicants at the public charge, without at the same time preventing the practice of begging, would leave the Irish cottier exposed to much of the pressure which he now sustains from this source; for the mendicant classes generally, if permitted, would probably prefer the vagrant life to which they are accustomed, to the order, cleanliness, and restraint of a workhouse. To suppress mendicancy, therefore, not only constitutes an essential part of the proposed system of Poor Laws, but it is moreover necessary for the protection of the Irish cottier, and the labouring classes generally.

101. The evils resulting from the practice of mendicancy are strikingly pointed out in a Report from a sub-committee specially appointed at Aberdeen to inquire into the subject; and I have thought it useful to insert in the Appendix (No. 15) an extract from this interesting document, containing its summary and conclusions. It is extremely valuable, as showing the conclusions arrived at by intelligent and impartial men, after a careful inquiry, not with reference to mendicancy only, but also as to workhouse relief, the principle of which they fully recognize. The sub-committee observe, that—

"The great evil of begging is its tendency to idleness and irreligion. Every person who can work, commits an injustice when his fellow-citizens are taxed for his support; and the chance is, or rather it is a certainty, that he will do mischief rather than leave his mind and hands entirely unemployed. In a poor's-house, the question whether parties

are willing and able to work can best be tried. Begging habits may thus be justly controlled. The large class of persons who so often are found in the streets pleading inability and want, will not, unless in real need, be bold enough to incur the risk of such a trial. Of this class may be reckoned the young persons who parade the streets, many of whom can work to some extent, and all of whom may at least be learning something useful, in place of following that most evil of professions, vagrancy, with all its mischiefs. Another benefit to be derived from a poor's-house is, that there, if a proper management and superintendence be adopted, nothing can be misapplied; and, while there is every reason to believe that, in many cases, out-door pensions are made the means of temporary dissipation, and, in some cases, grabbed at by petty usurers, while the recipients for whom they are destined are left in misery,—by the poor's-house system these evils will be prevented. And, if begging be suppressed, the inhabitants of Aberdeen will be able to afford a large sum, which is now often unprofitably employed on vagrants."

102. The above extract completely accords with the views embodied in the Irish Poor Law Bill; and it is highly satisfactory to find this concurrence of opinion in a distant part of the country, where the people differ in many respects from their fellow-subjects of Ireland and England; but where, nevertheless, mendicancy and destitution similar in character, although it may be different in degree, prevail as in other parts of the empire. For these evils of mendicancy and destitution, the Irish Poor Law measure has been devised, as a palliative at least, if not as a final remedy; and, on a subject of such vast importance to the community, as well as of general difficulty, it is not a little encouraging to find that a totally independent and extensive range of inquiry, has led to the same or very similar conclusions to those which have been adopted by Government, and submitted to the Legislature.

103. In England, the organization of the Unions has, in many instances, been made available for the suppression of mendicancy. The Boards of Guardians have, in several districts, issued tickets to the rate-payers, containing a recommendation that the bearer should be received into the workhouse and relieved as a casual pauper, being at the same time, of course, set to work; and one of these tickets the rate-payer (having first signed it) gives to any beggar applying to him for relief. The result has been, almost totally to extinguish mendicancy within the Unions where this plan has been adopted; for the beggars, finding no relief to be obtained

except in the workhouse, and that labour would there be exacted in return, speedily quitted the district, and sought for contributions where they might be obtainable on easier terms. Some plan of this kind may possibly be found practicable in Ireland; but the evil of mendicancy is there so inveterate, that without special enactment, and the co-operation of the civil power, it will be impracticable to effect its suppression.

104. The moral effects of mendicancy upon the character and habits of the people, deserve particular notice. The mendicant is never stationary—he is constantly moving about, entering every cottage, mixing with every community, joining every assemblage. He is the newsman, the chronicler, the talebearer of the district; and many of the broils and party feuds which exist in Ireland, may, I believe, be traced to this source. The gossip and tattle to which the mendicant gives currency, divert the people from what ought to be their ordinary pursuits, and hurry them away to fairs, markets, funerals, and other places of resort; and many acts of violence and breaches of the law probably originate in the tales, true or false, which the mendicant classes circulate. The suppression of mendicancy would therefore, it may be presumed, tend to the peace, as well as to the moral and social improvement, of the Irish people.

105. On these grounds, as well as on the grounds stated in my former Report, I feel it to be my duty strenuously to urge the adoption of measures for suppressing mendicancy in Ireland, either by retaining the vagrancy clauses as they originally stood in the Bill, or else by introducing a separate Bill for the purpose, to be carried through simultaneously with the Poor Law measure. The latter plan would afford an opportunity for giving a complete vagrancy law to Ireland, if that should be deemed desirable.

X. Tenthly,—*As to the mode of introducing the Measure.*

106. This presents a very important subject for consideration, the early if not the final success of the measure, depending greatly upon the mode in which it may be established. Some persons consider that it should be introduced gradually and experimentally, whilst others are of opinion that it should, as nearly as possible, be established simultaneously; and it is important to ascertain which of these modes is entitled to the preference.

107. On a question of this nature, the opinion of the managers of the Dublin Mendicity Institution seems entitled to especial regard, their local knowledge and experience affording them the best means of forming a correct judgment of the temper and habits of the people, as likely to affect the introduction of the measure. In the Report on the Irish Poor Law Bill, to which I have already referred, under the fourth head, it is stated—"Your Committee have learned with regret, that it is not intended at once to carry into effect the erection of the proposed workhouses generally through the country, yet your Committee conceive that any other course will be productive of great inconvenience, causing unequal pressure in places such as Dublin and other great towns, where it may be supposed the first establishments will be opened; whereas by a general, and as far as may be found possible, simultaneous opening of the workhouses, not only will such inconvenience be avoided, but the poorer classes will be impressed with a much more favourable opinion of the determination of Government to carry the measure seriously into effect." This opinion of the Committee was subsequently confirmed by the whole body of managers of the Mendicity Institution, whose sentiments it must, therefore, be considered as expressing.

108. It is certain that most of the difficulties which may arise from dispensing with a law of settlement, will be peculiarly liable to occur whilst the measure is in progress of introduction; but when the Unions are all formed, there will comparatively be little inconvenience to be apprehended, and this constitutes a strong argument for proceeding with celerity in their formation. Another argument in favour of proceeding vigorously in establishing the measure, is adverted to by the managers of the Dublin Mendicity, namely, that it would show the people that the Legislature was in earnest; that there was no halting between two opinions; and that Government was determined to carry out the measure with promptitude and effect. A manifestation of this kind would tend to prevent opposition or difficulty, and to remove them if they occurred. Such an impression, moreover, would go far to reconcile the people to arrangements, which might perhaps be distasteful to them, only because they were new; whereas to proceed slowly with the measure—to establish one or any given number of Unions, and then to wait for the results to be developed before proceeding farther—thus evidently showing that the step was taken as a matter of experiment, and that Government was as

ready to go back as to advance—this would certainly strip the measure of the moral influence which it would acquire under the opposite course, and greatly add to the difficulties of its introduction.

109. Referring to the experience of England, I am warranted in saying, that if the Commissioners had not at the outset proceeded with celerity in establishing the English Unions—if they had hesitated in carrying the new law into effect—if they had paused for the developement of results, or waited for the impulse of local opinion, their progress would have been comparatively insignificant; and, instead of the efforts which are now making in every Union throughout England and Wales, for restoring the independence, bettering the condition, and renovating the moral character of the labouring classes, the evils and abuses of the old Poor Law system, with its long train of demoralising consequences, would still have remained, lessened perhaps in bulk, and curtailed of some of its powers of mischief, but still instinct with life, and pregnant with future evil.

110. Reasoning then from the experience of England combined with the other circumstances before adverted to, it seems difficult to resist the conclusion that the Poor Law measure, when sanctioned by the Legislature, should be carried into operation in Ireland with as little delay as possible; and that it should, moreover, be carried out as a whole, with a view to the final result, and not by piecemeal or experimentally. Some delays of course there unavoidably will be in the creation of so large a machinery, and some portions of the country must of necessity be placed in Union before others; for, however desirable it may be to have "a simultaneous opening of the workhouses" throughout the whole of Ireland, as recommended in the Dublin Mendicity Report,—this will be found impracticable, although its desirableness may be kept in view. After the Unions are formed, time will be required for providing the necessary workhouse accommodation, and this will be more readily done in some cases than in others. In many instances, barracks and other large buildings capable of being converted into workhouses, will probably be obtainable, which will facilitate the commencement of operations, as well as lessen the expense. In the cases where an entirely new workhouse will have to be provided, twelve or eighteen months will probably elapse before it will be in a state to be used: and it is only when the workhouse can be brought into operation, as a medium of relief, that the Union will become effective.

111. There is a subject adverted to in the extract above given from the Report of the Dublin Mendicity Institution, which requires some notice. The managers assume that the Unions will be first formed, and the workhouses first opened, in Dublin and the other great towns; but this is a point on which the Commissioners will have to decide after full inquiry and investigation, and I am desirous of keeping the question clear for their discretion. In some cases it may be expedient to begin with the great towns; in others, not: and it is important to prevent Dublin, Cork, Belfast, and such places, from supposing, as a matter of course, that they will first be dealt with. Mendicancy now flows into these towns from the neighbouring and distant districts, and every workhouse established in those districts would serve to lessen the influx, by providing relief for the destitute in their own locality. On this account it might seem advisable that the country districts should be first united, and provided with workhouse accommodation, in order to keep back the tide of mendicancy, and prevent its undue pressure upon the towns at the outset. In Dublin and the other great towns, moreover, a machinery now exists for providing for the destitute, and it is extremely important that the several houses of industry, and the mendicity and other charitable establishments, should be kept up and managed as at present, until the arrangements under the new law are completed. Any failure in this respect, might be attended with serious inconvenience, and would certainly bring a vast amount of suffering upon those who have been accustomed to rely upon these charitable institutions for support.

112. After the most careful consideration of the question in all its bearings, it is my duty to state to your Lordship my opinion, that no time should be lost in giving legislative effect to the Irish Poor Law Bill, and that the measure should then be carried into operation with the least possible delay. If there be danger of failure in any respect, it will be in the period which intervenes between the establishment of the first Union, and the formation of the last. When the whole country is in Union, and the several local executives formed and in operation, there will then, I believe, be no undue pressure in any quarter that may not be dealt with under the powers vested in the Commissioners; but, in the interim, whilst the Unions are in progress of formation, I am sensible that some inconvenience may arise, and it is to lessen the chance of its occurrence that I wish to shorten the period, and push forward the formation of

the Unions with as much celerity as may be consistent with the safe and orderly completion of so important a measure. If I venture to press this point with unusual earnestness, it is not from any doubt of the sufficiency of the workhouse principle in Ireland when brought fairly and fully into operation; but in order to guard it from an unfair or partial exposure, and to prevent as far as possible its being subjected, under adverse circumstances, to a pressure that may possibly (I say *possibly*) be thrown upon some one part, instead of being spread over the whole of the machinery—for then, if this part, possibly too a weak or defective part, should fail under such an unequal pressure, there will not be wanting persons to impugn the whole system; and thus its moral influence may be lessened, if its very existence be not endangered.

XI. Eleventhly,—*As to cumulative Voting, Voting by Proxy, and constituting Magistrates* ex officio *Guardians.*

113. All these provisions have been objected to. It might perhaps be sufficient to say, in answer to such objections, that the Irish Poor Law Bill follows in these respects the example of the Poor Law Amendment Act, and thus only proposes to assimilate the law in the two countries. There are, however, weighty reasons in favour of each of these provisions, some of which it may not be without use to notice.

114. With respect to cumulative votes, it should be borne in mind, that the raising and disbursing of a poor-rate involves no question of political rights. It is to be regarded rather in the light of a mutual assurance, under which certain members of a community unite together, for the common purpose of protecting each other from the effects of pauperism, each member being required to contribute according to his visible means, and each having an interest according to the amount of his actual contributions. If therefore the amount contributed be the measure of each rate-payer's interest, it ought in justice also, within certain convenient limitations, to be the measure of his influence; and these limitations the Bill provides, by fixing a scale according to which every rate-payer is to vote. The principle of voting according to the direct interest of the individual, has always been recognised in the great commercial companies, such as the Bank of England, the East India Company, &c., and is now, I believe, invariably acted upon in every joint stock company in the metropolis, for whatever purpose established.

This principle is indeed so obviously equitable, as to make it almost a matter of surprise that it should ever be objected to; but, if the objections be examined, it will be found that they originate in certain notions, confounding political rights with the question of raising and disbursing the poor-rate; whereas, in fact, there is little or no analogy between them.

115. As regards the right of voting by proxy given to owners by the Bill, it may be observed, that such a power is necessary for enabling the owner to protect his property, his interest in which is permanent, although he is not always present to represent it by his personal vote; and the Bill therefore provides for his doing so by proxy. The occupier is always present and may vote in person; not so the ownert He would very rarely be present, and his interest would be unprotected without this power of voting by proxy. That the owner's interest ought to be represented, I presume will not be denied. The rate must be regarded as a charge upon the property, and as such it becomes a portion of the rent, which in the average of years would be increased by the amount of the rate, if this was not levied for Poor Law purposes; so that in reality it is the landlord, the permanent owner of the property, who finally bears the burthen of the rate, and not the tenant or temporary occupier; although this last is, as a matter of convenience, required to pay the rate in the first instance. It seems consonant with justice, therefoe, that every facility should be afforded to the owner for protecting his interest by his vote.

116. There are many reasons why magistrates should form a portion of every Board of Guardians. The elected Guardians will probably, for the most part, consist of occupiers, or renters, not the owners of property; and their interest will consequently be temporary, and may end with the current or any future year; but the interest of the owner is permanent, and embraces all times. Some union of these two interests seems necessary, towards the complete organization of a Board of Guardians; and as the magistrates collectively, may fairly be regarded as comprising the great landed proprietors of the country, the Bill proposes to accomplish this object by creating them *ex officio* members of the Board. The elected Guardians, moreover, are subject to be changed every year, and it is not improbable that their proceedings might be changeable, and perhaps contradictory, and mischief and confusion might be caused by the opposite views of successive Boards. The *ex*

officio Guardians will serve as a corrective to this evil. Their position as magistrates, their information and general character, and their large stake as owners of property, will necessarily give them much weight; whilst the proposed limitation of their number to that of one-third of the elected Guardians, will prevent their having an undue preponderance. The elected and the *ex officio* members of the Board will probably each improve the other, and important benefits may be expected to ensue from their frequent mingling, and from the necessity for mutual concession and forbearance which such mingling cannot fail to teach. Each individual member will feel that his influence depends upon the opinion which his colleagues entertain of him, or upon the respect or regard which they feel towards him; and hence will arise an interchange of good offices, and a cultivation of mutual good will, beginning with the members of the Board of Guardians, but extending to every class throughout the Union, and eventually it may be hoped throughout the country: and thus the Union system may become the means of healing dissensions, and reconciling jarring interests in Ireland.

117. On these grounds, I consider that the establishment of *ex officio* Guardians, voting by proxy, and cumulative voting, as provided in the Bill, should be adhered to.

XII. Twelfthly,—*As to the constitution of the Commission, and the powers to be confided to the Commissioners.*

118. In course of the debates upon the Bill in the last Session, allusion was frequently made to both of these points. With respect to the first, I need only state that I have seen no reason to change the opinion expressed in my former Report, that the existing Poor Law Commissioners are competent to perform the duty in Ireland, as well as in England; and that the advantage of this consolidation would more than counterbalance the inconvenience, if any, as far as Ireland is concerned, of not having a separate commission. With respect to the second point, it has been universally admitted that large powers are necessary for enabling the Commissioners to meet the difficulties with which they will have to deal: but still there appeared in the last Parliament an indisposition to confer such powers, however necessary, founded, seemingly, on an apprehension that they would be abused, and that the abuse might become permanent under the provisions of the Bill.

119. Such jealous caution can, of course, in no way be objected to; but its exercise in this instance should be in subordination to the great object of rendering the Poor Law measure really effective; and if for this end large powers are necessary, every motive of prudence and policy require that they should be conferred. That they are necessary, appears to be admitted by all parties, and it must be presumed, therefore, that they will be granted: but whether permanently, or for a limited time, may be worthy of consideration. The duration of the powers conferred by the Poor Law Amendment Act was restricted to five years; this forms a precedent, and if limiting the powers of the Commissioners under the Irish Poor Law Bill to a similar period would remove objections to the measure in any quarter, it might be well to adopt the limitation.

120. As regards the probability that the Commissioners might abuse the powers confided to them, it may be remarked, that it is impossible to point out any adequate motive for wilful abuse, even if the opportunity for it existed, which, generally speaking, it will not; for the powers of the Commissioners, after the Unions are formed, are in a great measure restrictive. They can interfere to prevent abuse, and to correct faulty action,—to punish delinquency, or to remedy error,—but they have no power to interfere in the individual ordering of relief, and no money or property of any kind is brought within their reach. Their powers are altogether general, and are guarded by the strongest motives for their impartial exercise, without any motive whatever for their partial or faulty application. It seems not too much therefore, under such circumstances, to assume that the powers proposed to be confided to the Commissioners will not be abused.

121. The difficulties attendant upon the introduction of the measure, will of course depend in some degree upon the state of the country at the time; but however modified, these difficulties will certainly be of a nature and extent requiring the exercise of large powers, and much vigilance and discretion in their application. Of the amount of difficulty I now form a somewhat higher estimate than I did last year. I may probably have then underestimated it; but however that may be, the difficulty has certainly been increased by what has since taken place in England. The outcry here raised against the new Poor Law, the misrepresentations of the public press, and the currency which has been given to unfounded or exag-

gerated statements both in and out of Parliament, have all tended to augment the difficulty of establishing the proposed measure in Ireland. These statements and misrepresentations have been copied into the Irish papers, and read and commented upon throughout Ireland. The workhouse, instead of a place of refuge for the destitute, is described as a Bastile. The benevolent intentions of the law, in its present guarded form, are questioned—and the administering of relief in the shape of out-door allowances to the poor, instead of needful sustentation to the destitute within the workhouse, is contended for; and thus the partial clamour which has been raised in England, for a return to the abuses of the old system, has not altogether failed of producing some effect in Ireland: I do not think that it has been considerable, but still some effect has been produced; and to that extent will the difficulty of establishing the measure be increased.

122. That some such change would, after a time, take place in England, with reference to the new Poor Law, was perhaps to be expected. The long train of abuses which had previously existed in almost every English parish, could not all be swept away, without the numerous individuals who were benefited, or who believed that they were benefited, by the existence of such abuses, making strenuous efforts for their perpetuation; and it was therefore probable that sooner or later these efforts would produce a certain amount of reaction. The effect however is temporary. The present ebullition will subside, and the character and tendency of the new law, in its spirit and in its details, will be generally appreciated as they become better understood. I have the same confidence with respect to Ireland. The difficulties of carrying out the proposed measure in that country, may have been increased by what has recently taken place in England; but these difficulties will also subside; and they afford no ground for delay in proceeding with the measure, nor for doubt as to its results,—provided only that adequate powers be imparted to the authorities on whom the duty of establishing it will be devolved.

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123. Many measures, local as well as general, have been proposed, either for removing existing restrictions to the application of capital, or for giving direct encouragement to its application in Ireland; and some of these measures I understand

it to be the intention of Government to take into its early consideration, with a view to giving them effect. Of the measures necessary for calling into activity the vast natural resources of the country, your Lordship possesses the best means of forming a correct judgment. In the limited survey which I have been able to take of the state of Ireland, and of the condition of the Irish people, it has appeared to me that quiet, and the absence of exciting and disturbing causes, is one of the objects chiefly to be desired. With repose would come security, and with security the investment of capital, and thence would arise employment, and the diffusion of wealth, and the developement of the latent energies of the country. The proposed Poor Law, will not of itself accomplish these objects, but it will be found a valuable accessory; and with the progress of education, and that orderly submission to lawful authority which is at once the cause and the consequence of peace and prosperity, all those other objects will be eventually secured for Ireland.

I have the honour to be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's obedient and faithful servant,

GEO. NICHOLLS.

APPENDIX.

No. 1.—*Extract of a Letter from* Mr. Morgan, *Deputy-Governor of St. Peter's Hospital, Bristol.*

St. Peter's Hospital, 28*th August* 1837.

Sir,—In compliance with your request that I would furnish you with my opinion on the probable effect of the workhouse system in Ireland, I will do so as succinctly as I can. That opinion is formed from personal observation of the Irish paupers that have been brought under my notice weekly at the relief table during the last four years.

From what I have seen of the lower classes of Irish, they seem to be attached to a life of vagrancy—satisfied with a bare subsistence—accompanied by a great want of forethought—and disposed to rely much on eleemosynary aid. Vast numbers that apply for relief make a trade of begging, and will not accept the offer of being sent home, preferring to remain, although apparently in a state of destitution. Perhaps the numerous charities here may have a share in producing this result, for I firmly believe these charities operate as a bounty on the importation of Irish vagrants, and are the cause of engendering pauperism to no small extent among our own population. The certain knowledge that no such resources existed to fall back upon, would stimulate the poor to habits of exertion and providence.

I do not think that out-door relief, in the shape of employment at a low rate of wages, will do for the Irish, as all attempts of this kind have proved abortive with them here. Even to the aged I doubt the policy of giving out-door relief, on the introduction of poor-laws into a country for the first time. Any system of relief to work well should be *complete*, not *partial;* that is, a due provision of food and raiment with lodgings, and this should be in the workhouse, where the public, in return for their maintenance, should receive the benefit of whatever labour the recipients are capable of bestowing. Any system of out-door relief is necessarily liable to imposition, and has a tendency to relax self-exertion, and almost inevitably leads the recipient to seek for charitable aids, and even furnishes him with leisure to prosecute his objects.

Upon the whole, looking at the habits and propensities of the lower classes of Irish visiting this country, I am of opinion that the workhouse system is the best adapted to Ireland; but the framing a suitable dietary will require great care.

I have the honour to remain, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
Samuel Morgan, Deputy-Governor.

To George Nicholls, Esq.,
Poor Law Commissioner.

No 2.—*Letter from* Mr. Downing, *Governor of St. Peter's Hospital, Bristol.*

St. Peter's Hospital, Bristol, 28*th August* 1837.

Sir,—In compliance with your request, I submit to your notice a few remarks on the Irish poor who have come under my notice in Bristol, during

the last 12 or 13 years that I have held the situation, first of Clerk, and then as Master, of St. Peter's Hospital in this city. During this period I have had great numbers of Irish paupers constantly under my notice, and I am decidedly of opinion that the introduction of out-door relief in Ireland would increase the number of paupers there, for instead of begging they would then throw themselves on the poor-rates. The able-bodied, I am well assured, would very readily accept out-door relief in the shape of work. Under the old law, when great numbers of Irish paupers were constantly being passed to Bristol from London and other places to be sent to Ireland, it was our practice to send home the aged and infirm immediately on their arrival; but the able-bodied were set to breaking stones. The wages paid them were very low, even lower than those paid to our own paupers, yet they found themselves so well off when compared with what they had been accustomed to in Ireland, and they remained so long on our hands, that we were frequently obliged to threaten to send them home in order to get rid of them. If there had been a workhouse into which we could have sent them, I believe none of them would have remained, or at least none for any length of time.

I think the workhouse system the only one that would work well in Ireland. There might be some difficulty in framing a suitable dietary, but I have always found among those who apply to us for relief, even among the aged and infirm, the greatest reluctance, under almost any circumstances, to come into our workhouse, or in most cases to be sent back to Ireland.

Feigning sickness is one of the means by which the Irish try to obtain out-door relief from us—frequently women will apply to the committee of relief and say their husbands are ill, and confined to their beds, or unable to leave their houses; the committee offer to take the husbands in and cure them, and then send them and their families to Ireland, but in 9 cases out of 10 they refuse to accept relief in the house.

In Bristol there are a great many public charities, and the poor Irish avail themselves of them to a very great extent; indeed Mr. Hemmons, our visitor and inspector, who is also one of the visitors of the "Stranger's Friend Society," says, that full two-thirds of the applicants to that charity are Irish. The "Stranger's Friend Society" visit and relieve persons at their own houses or lodgings.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your obedient humble servant,
JOSIAS DOWNING,
Master of St. Peter's Hospital.

To George Nicholls, Esq.,
&c. &c. &c.

No. 3.—*Letter from* MR. GEORGE CHICK, *Assistant Overseer of the Parish of St. Philip and Jacob, Bristol.*

Bristol, 28th August 1837.

SIR,—I have been assistant overseer of the poor of the parish of St. Philip and Jacob, in the borough of the city of Bristol, between seven and eight years, and, during that period, have had repeated applications from Irish poor for relief, which has been administered to them partly in money, partly in food, and sometimes by taking them into the workhouse of this parish.

In all cases that my memory serves, I found their stay in the workhouse to be much shorter than paupers of our own parish, similarly situated (I mean able-bodied). It is my opinion, from the experience I have had among them, that the Irish poor had a much greater dislike to the workhouse than our

own, even when the discipline of the workhouse could not be so rigidly enforced under the old system of management, as is now so admirably arranged under the new.

I am, Sir,
Your very obedient servant,
GEORGE CHICK,
Assistant Overseer, Parish of St. Philip and Jacob.

To George Nicholls, Esq.,
&c. &c. &c.

No. 4.—*Letter from* ROBERT WEALE, ESQ., *Assistant Poor Law Commissioner. With an Enclosure.*

Bristol, 29*th August* 1837.

MY DEAR SIR,—In pursuance of your request that I would, as far as I could, inquire into the habits of the Irish poor visiting this neighbourhood, and especially as to the fact of their willingness to receive parochial aid through the means of a workhouse, I have taken every means in my power of conversing with persons practically acquainted with the subject; and the universal opinion of such persons appears to be, that the destitution of an Irishman must be extreme before he will surrender his liberty, and subject himself to the restraint and discipline of a workhouse. Under the old system of management in workhouses, where there was an almost total absence of order and discipline, and when they presented strong attractions to persons of idle and slothful habits, relief in this shape was, I find, excepting in cases of sickness, refused by the Irish poor; and it is hardly to be expected that under a more rigid system it will be accepted.

In pursuing my inquiries, I called at the house of a person who lets it out in lodgings to the Irish poor, and entered into conversation with several of the inmates. I found one remarkably intelligent man, and was much struck with the shrewdness of many of his remarks. He seemed to think it a reproach to the national character to suppose that there would be a willingness to enter into workhouses, and his countrywomen, of whom several were present, exclaimed, that half a meal of potatoes with their families would be always preferred to good living and separation in the workhouse. These, of course, were all able-bodied persons.

The poor fellow to whom I have before referred, in answer to an inquiry of mine, if it would be possible to introduce a system of out-relief, replied, "that the difference between England and Ireland was, that there were shoals in the former to pay it and receive it, and that in the latter the shoals were all one side." He had imbibed all the hostile impressions of the English poor against the workhouse system, yet he felt strongly persuaded that no other system was practicable in Ireland.

I remain, my dear Sir,
Yours, very faithfully,
ROBERT WEALE.

To George Nicholls, Esq.,
&c. &c. &c.

[*Further note.*]—15*th October.*

I had a long conversation with Mr. Bynner, the vestry clerk of Birmingham, lately, and I enclose his opinion as to the probability of the Irish poor flocking into a workhouse.

ENCLOSURE.

Letter from Mr. BYNNER, *Vestry Clerk of Birmingham.*

Birmingham Workhouse, 16*th September* 1837.

SIR,—In answer to your inquiries, I beg to say, 1st, from the knowledge

I possess of the Irish character as exhibited by their poor in this country, I am of opinion that the able-bodied would not accept of relief in a well-disciplined workhouse, where they would be constantly kept to work, and subjected to the restraint of rules and orders of such an establishment.

2nd. I think the Irish are less likely to accept of relief in a workhouse than the English; but I attribute this chiefly to the wandering habits of the Irish, who are not so domesticated as the English poor.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

Robert Weale, Esq. W. W. Bynner, Vestry Clerk.

No. 5.—*Letter from* Mr. James Dowdall, *Governor of Liverpool Workhouse.*

Liverpool Workhouse, 3d October 1837.

Sir,—In compliance with your request, I beg leave to offer my opinion (also that of my clerk, Mr. Barker) in reference to the disposition evinced by the Irish to enter workhouses. This opinion is founded on an experience of upwards of nineteen years' service as a parish officer,—nearly four years of that time I have been engaged in the government of this house. I am of opinion that the Irish would not be more, if so much, disposed to enter a workhouse as the English. At this time, I have no able-bodied Irish in the house. It is very seldom they do apply for admission, except in old age, sickness, or infirmity.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

To George Nicholls, Esq., Poor-Law Commissioner. Your most obedient servant, James Dowdall, Governor.

No. 6.—*Letter from* Mr. Thomas Barker, *Clerk of Liverpool Workhouse.*

Liverpool Workhouse, 3d October 1837.

Sir,—I have been employed here as clerk, &c., upwards of twelve years, during which time a great number of Irish persons have been admitted into the house either sick or in a destitute state; but, when fit to go out and able to work, I never found in them any particular disposition or inclination to remain, but rather a wish to get away, and endeavour to obtain their own livelihood. Referring you to the governor for any further information,

To George Nicholls, Esq., Poor-Law Commissioner. I am, Sir, your obedient servant, Thomas Barker.

No. 7.—*Communication from* Mr. Thomas Alcock, *Governor of Birmingham Workhouse.*

Birmingham Workhouse, 5th October 1837.

Sir,—I herewith enclose you the answers to your queries, left with me this morning, relative to the Irish and Scotch poor, which, from observation, I believe to be perfectly correct.

I am your obedient servant,

To George Nicholls, Esq. Thomas Alcock.

ENCLOSURE.

Have you found the Irish generally more or less disposed to enter and remain in the workhouse than the English?

1. I have found, from ten years' experience, that the Irish are less disposed than the English to enter and remain in a well-regulated workhouse in which labour is provided for them. Birmingham, some years ago, was much troubled with the wandering Irish and Scotch; but, since the establishment of corn-mills in the workhouse, I do not recollect an instance of one continuing many days in the workhouse.

The same question with reference to the able-bodied Irish in particular.

2. The above answer applies equally to this question.

Do you consider the test of the workhouse as applicable to, and that it will be as effective with, the Irish as experience proves it to be with the English?

3. Yes; their wandering habits will render the confinement of a workhouse and application to regular employment irksome.

No. 8.—*Letter from* Mr. Welch, *Treasurer, &c., to the Guardians of the Poor of Birmingham.*

Birmingham Workhouse, 5th October 1837.

Sir,—In answer to your inquiries, I beg leave respectfully to inform you that, from my observation of the character of the Irish poor in Birmingham, made during a connexion of nearly sixteen years with the affairs of that parish, I am of opinion that they would be less likely than the English to domicile themselves in workhouses in which labour was provided, and which were, in other respects, well regulated and disciplined.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
J. Y. Welch.

George Nicholls, Esq.

No. 9.—*Letter from* John Harris, Esq., *Mayor of Waterford.*

Waterford, 9th September 1837.

Sir,—In compliance with the wish you expressed at the interview you recently favoured me with, I have the honour to send herewith a statement of the number of paupers passed from Waterford, at the expense of the corporation, to London, Liverpool, and Bristol, since I entered upon the mayoralty, 29th September 1836.

I have not the means of ascertaining with accuracy how many persons were refused passages to England in the same period; but I am disposed to think they do not amount to more than twenty, including men, women, and children. There have not been more than ten applications by paupers arriving from England for assistance to travel to other parts of Ireland; but very few days elapse without demands being made for help by persons wandering from one part of Ireland to another, and very generally upon pretexts the most absurd and even ridiculous.

Since I had the honour of seeing you, I have frequently considered the subject of the "settlement" clause, in any Bill to be introduced for the relief of the poor in Ireland; and I frankly own that, by the point of view in which

you placed the matter, and especially by showing the necessary connexion between a *right to relief* and the clause of *settlement*, my mind has been completely changed. I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

JOHN HARRIS, Mayor.

George Nicholls, Esq.

ENCLOSURE.

RETURN of the Number of Paupers passed at the expense of the Corporation from Waterford to England between the 8th October 1836 and 8th September 1837.

	Men.	Women.	Children.
To London	0	2	1
To Liverpool	12	12	14
To Bristol	9	9	9
Total	21	23	24—68

Mayor's Office,
Waterford, 9th September 1837.

JOHN HARRIS, Mayor.

No. 10.—RETURN showing the Number of Persons in the Aged Department of the HOUSE of INDUSTRY who are Natives of the following Counties in IRELAND, and other places.

Dublin	389	
Meath	39	
Longford	26	
Kildare	51	
Wicklow	56	
Louth	15	
Wexford	25	
Carlow	26	
Queen's County	32	
King's County	22	
Westmeath	34	
Kilkenny	14	
LEINSTER		—729
Cavan	8	
Antrim	8	
Downpatrick	11	
Armagh	10	
Tyrone	6	
Monaghan	6	
Fermanagh	5	
Donegal	1	
ULSTER		— 55
Carried forward		784

Brought forward		784
Kerry	2	
Limerick	12	
Waterford	3	
Cork	16	
Tipperary	10	
Clare	2	
MUNSTER	—	45
Sligo	9	
Roscommon	16	
Galway	11	
Mayo	3	
Leitrim	1	
CONNAUGHT	—	37
IRELAND		866
England	11	
Wales	3	
Scotland	3	
America	2	
East Indies	1	
West Indies	1	
Holland	1	—22
		888

September 15, 1837.

GEORGE ALLEY, Registrar.

Inmates not natives of the City and County of Dublin	499
Inmates who are natives of ditto ditto	389
Total	888

No. 11.—A Return, showing the Number of Persons from the several Counties in Ireland, and also those not belonging to Ireland, in the Dublin Mendicity Institution, in the Month of March 1837 :—

Counties in Ireland.	Males.	Females.	Children.	Total.
Antrim	2	6	4	12
Armagh	1	10	4	15
Carlow	1	41	9	51
Cavan	1	15	5	21
Clare	. .	5	. .	5
Cork	1	19	4	24
Donegal	. .	4	2	6
Down	1	7	1	9
Dublin City	87	1,066	295	1,448 } 1555
Dublin County	6	78	23	107 }
Fermanagh	. .	4	. .	4
Galway	2	20	9	31
Kerry	1	3	1	5
Kildare	4	83	16	103
Kilkenny	. .	28	15	43
King's County	2	18	8	28
Leitrim	. .	1	. .	1
Limerick	2	11	6	19
Londonderry	1	1	. .	2
Longford	1	11	6	18
Louth	1	27	7	35
Mayo	. .	8	4	12
Meath	4	46	18	68
Monaghan	2	10	1	13
Queen's County	4	30	12	46
Roscommon	2	11	5	18
Sligo	. .	6	4	10
Tipperary	4	13	2	19
Tyrone	1	6	1	8
Waterford	1	13	7	21
Westmeath	2	29	9	40
Wexford	2	30	8	40
Wicklow	6	49	27	82
	142	1,709	513	2,364
England	. .	9	2	11
Wales	. .	1	. .	1
Scotland	. .	10	3	13
Island of Jersey	. .	1	3	4
Spain	.	1	2	3
America	. .	4	2	6
East Indies	. .	1	. .	1
West Indies	. .	4	. .	4
At Sea	. .	2	. .	2
Not belonging to Ireland	. .	12	33	45
Belonging to Ireland	142	1,709	513	2,364
Total	142	1,721	546	2,409

In addition to the foregoing, there were orphan children, whose place of birth is not known, 68; adults on the Eastern Sick-list, 195; in Fever Hospital, 12; persons seeking for admission, 100: making, altogether, the total number 2,784.

No. 12.—*Letter from* W. Richardson, Esq., *Dublin.*

Dublin, 29th September 1837.

Dear Sir,—Referring to the conversation which I had the honour of having with you some time since, I am fully confirmed in the opinions I then submitted to you respecting the labouring poor who voluntarily migrate to England for the harvest-work. These people are mostly natives of the province of Connaught, generally holding small parcels of land, from one to twenty acres, with a small tenement. The larger holders frequently subdividing their land among their grown-up children, until a great part of the district is now in very small holdings, namely, the southern part of the county Sligo, Mayo, Roscommon, and the northern part of Galway. Towards the end of May and June, these people, having finished their own farm work, form into parties and proceed to the eastern ports in various directions, but principally to Dublin, from its advantage of daily steam communication with England. I should think the aggregate number in the two months named would exceed twenty thousand from this port alone. Some few of them are accompanied by their wives, but the greater number of their families remain behind, or wander about the country as mendicants until the return of their husbands, which is usually in the latter part of August and September, when it is not uncommon to see six or seven hundred arrive in one vessel, and the moment they land they form into parties and set out for the western country. I would say scarcely in any instance do they ever remain twelve hours in the neighbourhood of Dublin, but proceed direct homeward, and, after passing the bridges over the Shannon, principally the Lanesboro-bridge, they branch off to their various districts with the produce of their labour, amounting to from five to fifteen pounds each. With this they pay their rent; and, by the labour they obtain and the produce of their holdings, they are enabled to exist during the winter season; and, unless in times of partial famine, I should think these persons not likely to become chargeable to the contemplated poor-law funds, as their habits are certainly industrious whenever they can obtain labour.

I have the honour to be, Dear Sir,
Respectfully, your very faithful servant,
W. Richardson.

George Nicholls, Esq., Commissioner of Poor Laws,
&c. &c. &c.

No. 13.—*Communication from* William Stanley, Esq., *Dublin.*

To George Nicholls, Esq., &c. &c.

Sir,—Conformably to your desire, I have reconsidered my views, (communicated when the Relief Bill for the Poor of Ireland was before the last Parliament,) on the extent to which destitution exists among the poorer classes of the Irish population;—and I have now to place before you the statistical data by which I have been guided, accompanied by observations on the deductions they afford.

TABLE 1.—An Analysis of the whole Population.

—	1 Total of Families. Census 1831.	2 Inhabited Houses. Census 1831.	3 Families exceeding the inhabited Houses.	4 Total of Persons. Census 1831.	5 Proportion of Persons to Families.	6 Total of Adult Males. Census 1831.	7 Adult Males exceeding the total of Families.	8 Proportion of Adult Males not charged singly, with Families.
Leinster . . .	344,314	292,729	51,585	1,909,713	Twenty-two in four families.	465,953	121,639	Upwards of one-fourth.
Munster . . .	376,051	330,444	45,607	2,227,152		542,200	166,149	
Ulster	425,314	402,005	23,309	2,286,622		540,479	115,165	
Connaught . .	239,387	224,638	14,749	1,343,914		319,133	79,746	
Ireland . .	1,385,066	1,249,816	135,250	7,767,401		1,867,765	482,699	
England . . .	2,745,336	2,326,022	419,314	13,091,005	Nineteen in four families, exclusive of Army, &c.	3,199,984	454,648	Upwards of one-eighth.
Wales	166,538	155,522	11,016	806,182		194,706	28,168	
Scotland . . .	502,301	369,393	132,908	2,365,114		549,821	47,520	Upwards of one-twelfth.
			Army, Navy, &c. . . .	277,017				
Great Britain .	3,414,175	2,850,937	563,238	16,539,318		3,944,511	530,336	

It appears, by the third column of this Table, that Irish families exceed the number of occupied houses only by *a tenth* of the whole; but that, in England, the excess amounts to nearly *a sixth* of the total number of families; while, in Scotland, it is more than *a fourth.*

This circumstance, notwithstanding the inferior condition of the Irish population, bears importantly on the measure to which your inquiries relate. The possession of a house, by a single family, must lessen the probability of its occupiers abandoning it, to seek relief in an asylum for paupers, while any means exist by which a subsistence can be earned. It is true, indeed, that a large portion of the houses in Ireland are comfortless cabins;—but to these the occupiers are habituated, and on possession of them depend for local employment.

In the province of Ulster, the number of families exceeding the inhabited houses is only *an eighteenth* of the whole, notwithstanding the large number of towns;—in Connaught, the excess of families is but *a sixteenth;*—however, in Munster it is nearly *an eighth,* and in Leinster nearly *a seventh.*

Of the whole excess in Ireland,—135,250 families,—it appears, by the details of the Population Returns, that 50,815 of the families are in Dublin, Drogheda, Newry, Armagh, Belfast, Londonderry, Sligo, Galway, Limerick, Nenagh, Clonmel, Cork, Waterford, and Wexford,—the fourteen largest towns.

The Returns do not enable me to show the proportion of houses to families engaged in agriculture; but, when the number of families exceeding inhabited houses, in fourteen of the largest towns, reduces the total excess to 84,435, it may be safely assumed that nearly the whole of the excess is in towns, and, therefore, that all, save a small portion of the families engaged in agriculture, occupy houses, singly.

According to the fourth and fifth columns of the preceding Table, there are, in *four* Irish families, *twenty-two* persons, and, in the same number of British families, *nineteen* persons. This is the closest approximation which can be made in whole numbers to the exact proportions.

The excess in Ireland appears unfavourable to its poor population until analyzed, and then it proves to consist largely of adults not *singly* burdened with the care of families.

In the sixth and seventh columns it is shown that the adult males exceed the number of families, *in Ireland,* by 482,699; *in England,* by only 454,648; and, *in Scotland,* by only 47,520. Upwards, then, of *one-fourth* of the Irish adult males are not singly charged with families; while, in England, the proportion is little more than *one-eighth* without families; and, in Scotland, it just exceeds *a twelfth.*

Consequently, although the poorer Irish families are larger than the British, they have more able hands to toil for their subsistence.

Lest, however, it should be supposed that the greater excess in Ireland is caused by old persons burdening the industry of the young, I have extracted from the Census Returns of 1821, the last year in which the ages of persons were distinguished, the following totals. (*Board of Trade Tables,* Part III., pages 445 and 448.)

Ireland.	Males and females aged 60 and upwards, (the sexes not distinguished in the Census Returns for Ireland)	275,170
	Deduct for females; the proportion in the whole population being more than half .	140,170
	Males aged 60 and upwards	135,000
England.	Ditto ditto	351,064
Wales.	Ditto ditto	27,377
Scotland.	Ditto ditto	68,323

These totals show that longevity is much greater in England, Wales, and Scotland than in Ireland,—but do not affect the previous deduction, that the poorer Irish families, containing more persons than the British, have also a larger number of able hands to toil for their subsistence. It appears, however, by Table 2, annexed,—that the excess of adult males is principally in towns, throughout the United Kingdom, but still that in the agricultural population of Ireland there is also an excess.

TABLE 2.—Proportion of Adult Males to Families.

	Agricultural Population.	Town Population.	The whole Population.
Ireland . .	29 in 21 Families	26 in 21 Families	28 in 21 Families
Great Britain	28 „ 21 „	23 „ 21 „	24 „ 21 „
Excess in Ireland	1 „ 21 „	3 „ 21 „	4 „ 21 „

The comparative excess of *persons* in Irish families, (*Table* 1, *col.* 5,) being *three* in *four* families, is equal to 15¾ in *twenty-one* families; and in that number of families, there being an excess of *four* adult males, and, consequently, of at least an equal number of adult females,—the excess of young persons is only about *seven* in *twenty-one* families, or *one* in *three*, over Great Britain.

Much, therefore, that is said on the swarming of Irish families, and consequent pauperism, is to be distrusted.

Only for the improvident marriages, superinduced by numerous small holdings of land, in some Irish counties, the adult males, not singly charged with families, would exceed the proportion of Great Britain as much in the agricultural population as in towns,—in consequence of the great number of farmers' labourers, not holding land, who are unmarried.

TABLE 3.—Analysis of the

—	Families chiefly employed in Agriculture. Census 1831. 1	Landholders. Employers of Labourers. 2	Landholders. Not employing Labourers. 3	Landholders. Total. Census 1831. 4	Families in Agriculture exceeding the total Landholders, therefore wholly dependent on hire for subsistence. 5
Leinster	186,177	20,789	87,819	108,608	77,569
Munster	244,770	33,443	120,268	153,711	91,059
Ulster	268,864	29,301	189,087	218,388	50,476
Connaught . . .	184,528	11,806	167,100	178,906	5,622
Ireland . . .	884,339	95,339	564,274	659,613	224,726
England	761,348	141,460	94,883	236,343	525,005
Wales	73,195	19,728	19,966	39,694	33,501
Scotland	126,591	25,887	53,966	79,853	46,738
Great Britain .	961,134	187,075	168,815	355,890	605,244

The Population Returns do not distinguish families engaged wholly in agriculture, from those partly in that and other branches of industry. It would therefore appear, from the totals in the first column of Table 3, that in Ireland, where the cultivated territory is under *fifteen* millions of acres, there are nearly as many agricultural families as in Great Britain, which possesses a cultivated territory exceeding *thirty-four* millions of acres. However, if the whole cultivated territory were divided among the landholders employing labourers, each in Ireland would have 153 acres, and each in Great Britain only 183 acres,—an excess of but *thirty*, which appears very small when the numerous great parks of England are taken into account.

The apparent disproportion in agricultural families, to territory, is caused by the habit in Ireland of combining agricultural employment with some other pursuit, in consequence of which the Irish landholders, *not employing labourers*, but working for themselves, amounted to 564,274, in 1831, while at the same period there were of the same class in Great Britain only 168,815.

The persons who made the census were bound to set down in the column for landholders all the adult males found in possession of land, otherwise the numbers in that column would be erroneous; and such of these as were also engaged in other pursuits could not be included in the succeeding columns, without causing an excess in the totals. A glance at the Returns will prove this view to be correct. It is corroborated by the terms used in the enumerators' classification,—the agricultural families being described as "families *chiefly* employed in agriculture."

In the Census Returns for Ulster, only 20,919 adult males are set down as wholly employed in manufacturing,—including every branch of manufactures carried on in the province; and of these only 8,859 were engaged in the linen trade. It appears, however, by a Return presented to the House of Commons on the 22d of June 1825, that the value of the unbleached linen,

gricultural Population.

Total abourers in amilies of andholders, nd also in Families holly dependent on hire for ubsistence. 6	Statute Acres of Cultivated Land.					
	Total in use, either for Tillage or Pasture, &c. 7	For each Labourer in Column 6, deducting from the total quantity five acres for each Landholder not employing Labourers. 8	For each Labourer wholly dependent on hire, making the same deduction as in forming the average in the preceding column. 9	For each Family in the whole Population. Col. 1, Table 1. 10	For each Landholder employing Labourers. In the whole cultivated Territory. 11	For each Landholder employing Labourers. Deducting five Acres for each of the other class of Landholders. 12
162,417 212,347 120,795 71,882			See observations following this Table.			
567,441	14,603,473	$20\frac{3}{4}$	38	$10\frac{1}{2}$	153	$123\frac{1}{2}$
744,407 55,468 87,292						
887,167	34,250,000	$37\frac{1}{2}$	$42\frac{1}{3}$	10	183	$178\frac{1}{2}$

sold in 1824, (the last year in which the records were kept,) by weavers, in the markets of Ulster, as computed by the local inspectors and seal officers of the late Linen Board, was £2,109,309;—and the linen thus sold and valued is exclusive of the quantity made by weavers working for regular manufacturers. The quantity thus sold only in the county of Armagh was valued at £568,799;—yet, in the Census Returns for that county, only 1,683 adult males are stated to be employed in *every* branch of manufacturing. In 1831 there were in the province of Ulster 189,087 working landholders, (the highest number in any of the four provinces,) and the county of Armagh contained 15,728. It is from these landholders the hands were supplied which created so much wealth by manufacturing linen in 1824.

The greatest number of working landholders, *in proportion to agricultural families*, is in Connaught, where employments are not much varied; but even there, a large number of them are engaged in other pursuits, not distinguished in the Census Returns. The unbleached linen sold by weavers, in the markets of Mayo, during 1824, was valued at £111,896, and the quantity sold by weavers, in the county of Sligo, was valued at £23,682;—yet, in the Census Returns, only *seven* adult males are set down as solely employed in the several branches of local manufacturing within these two counties; and, for Mayo, only *four* are set down,—while, according to the evidence appended to the *First* Report of the Poor Inquiry Commissioners, there were, in the parish of Burrishoole alone, 486 weavers, all occupying land.

These working landholders are not numerously employed as weavers, except in Ulster, but they have many other pursuits. A portion, however, in each province, will be found to have no other pursuit than agricultural labour, either on their own land or that of employers in Ireland or Great Britain; and this class is largest in Connaught.

Neither the Census Returns, or any other authentic data, enable me to ascertain what portion of the Irish families employed in agriculture must be

wholly dependent on it; or what portion of the families holding land must also have recourse to the employers of labourers, either in Ireland or Great Britain, for means of subsistence.

It is obvious, however, that of the 564,274 working landholders in Ireland, there can only be a small portion *wholly* dependent on agriculture; and, whatever may be the number of these persons, they must be considered exempt from destitution if only holding one acre each. An acre of land in the county of Dublin yields upwards of 15 tons of potatoes,—averaging soils and seasons. If an acre in a less fertile district yield only half the quantity, there would be, for the occupier's family, 40 lbs. of potatoes per day during the whole year, with one ton surplus, for seed, pig, and poultry; and, taking the rent of land and cabin at so much as £3. 10*s*., it would require but a short period of employment at harvest-work to provide means of paying this amount and buying some family requisites. The Irish labourers who go to England annually, commonly return with £5 each, and many earn much more.

Therefore, in the agricultural families of Ireland, *destitution* is only to be looked for among those *wholly dependent on hire* for subsistence;—but this number I cannot accurately ascertain. It is approached, by deducting the number of landholders from the total of families, as I have done in Table 3, column 5.

If the landholders were all charged with families, either as fathers, brothers, &c., the deduction of their number from the total of families would show exactly how many are wholly dependent on hire; but it cannot be assumed that all the landholders are charged with families, because the total number of them in Donegal, Mayo, and Galway, appears to exceed the total of agricultural families in each of these counties, although, in going through the details of the Census, I have found several parishes in which the families exceed the landholders by a small number. Still I believe that the landholders without families must be principally among the 95,339 employers of labourers, and that only a very few of the adult males, included in the Census as landholders working for themselves, are without families. I have consulted several country gentlemen on this view, and found them to concur in it: it is also supported by data in the Census Returns.

According to the proportion of adult males to Irish agricultural families in *Table* 2,—that is, 29 in 21,—there would be 1,221,226 adults in the 884,339 families *chiefly* employed in agriculture. From these deduct the 659,613 landholders, (*Table* 3,) both employers and non-employers, and the residue is only 561,613, which includes the adult sons of country gentlemen and farmers, and of the working landholders, a large portion of whom are also employed as weavers, carpenters, smiths, masons, fishermen, and market-dealers in corn, butter, pigs, coal, salt, &c., in which avocations it is reasonable to assume that their sons are occasionally engaged.

I therefore feel justified in assuming that the residue of 224,726, formed by deducting the total of landholders from the agricultural families, (*Table* 3, *col.* 5,) represents very nearly the total of families *dependent on hire for subsistence.*

I compute the number of *persons* in these families to be 1,235,993,—according to the proportion in the 5th column of *Table* 1;—and I estimate the number of adult males in this total to be 310,336,—according to the proportion for agricultural families in *Table* 2.

If there be only this number of agricultural labourers *wholly dependent on hire for subsistence*, the cultivated land held by employers of labourers is in

the proportion of *thirty-eight* acres for each labourer (*Table* 3, *col.* 9);—and, if all set down as agricultural labourers in the Census Returns were wholly dependent on hire, (which they are not,) there would be still, in the hands of employers, upwards of *twenty* acres of cultivated land for each labourer.

To avert destitution, then, from the agricultural labourers of Ireland, by securing to them the means of acquiring a comfortable subsistence from industry,—it is only necessary that the territory shall be applied, adequately with its capabilities, to the uses for which it was created, and for which the law sanctions its partition.

It has been assumed that, as Great Britain has upwards of *forty* acres of cultivated land for each agricultural labourer, there are too many persons dependent for employment on the agriculture of Ireland: yet it is at the same time admitted that the present extent of tillage could not be maintained in England if the annual migration of Irish labourers were stopped.

However, the tillage in Great Britain is manifestly insufficient to supply the population; and, therefore, the agricultural operations in that part of the kingdom are inaccurately referred to as affording rules of proportions for this; —particularly when the tillage there exceeds the capabilities of local labour in the harvest season.

There is cultivated territory in Great Britain, in the proportion of *ten* acres for each family in the whole population;—and, in Ireland, the cultivated territory gives 10½ acres for every family. If but *one-tenth* of this cultivated land, in both parts of the kingdom, were cropped with wheat, and yielded four quarters (being under *seven* Irish barrels) to the acre,—there would be upwards of five pounds of wheat per day for each family in Great Britain and Ireland. Yet the British people complain of the price of wheat, which is augmented by a demand insufficiently supplied;—and the Irish landholders do not keep foreign corn out of the English markets, notwithstanding the existence of heavy import duties which ensure to them high prices,—and the cheapness of Irish labour, amidst abundant sources of production.

The reason commonly assigned for Ireland's not fully supplying the demand for agricultural produce, which urges her landholders to give more employment to her labourers,—is, that the landholders have not capital;—but this only means that they have each more land than they can profitably use,—and thus pay rent for an excessive quantity, to get produce which might be obtained from less,—therefore wasting in rent a portion of the capital requisite for their operations. It cannot be that they hold a redundancy of land on compulsion. They may not, indeed, be permitted to underlet their holdings, and cover them with persons content with the lowest kind of subsistence; but then they are not bound to remain in possession, wasting their landlords' property, lessening the supply of food for the country, and pauperising the labourers.

A poor-law is the only remedy for this mismanagement. It would enforce adjustments between landlords and tenants, favourable to them and to the community, if the tax *fall directly* on both owners and occupiers of land.

It is postulated, on general principles, that, if holders of land be left to the ordinary influences which stimulate traders and manufacturers, they will, like these, in promoting their own interests to the utmost, necessarily promote the interests of the community. The Irish landholders have not done so;—even those who hold possession under leases for ever have not used the soil beneficially for the community. Therefore, the great body of the Irish people subsist on potatoes,—incapable of increasing the commerce of the empire by purchasing a sufficiency of its manufactures or any of its imports.

The productive capability of good Irish soils may be judged of by the fol-

lowing statement of the extent, outlay, and produce, of a small farm attached to the Female Orphan House, on the Circular Road, Dublin, near the Park, of which the Archbishop of Dublin is a governor and regular visitor. I have obtained the particulars from the accounts of the Institution; and I prefer them to any other indication of the land's productiveness,—as no more than ordinary care has been used, the common system of husbandry only resorted to, and as the locality is at hand.

The farm of the Female Orphan House, held on lease from Viscount Palmerston, contains about *twelve statute acres*, and is charged with the rent and taxes of all the ground occupied by the institution, amounting to £100 a-year. There are from eight to ten cows fed on the produce of the land, except during two months in summer, when they are fed on hired pasture at an expense of about £16. During seven months of the year, they are fed at night with hay and mangel wurtzel, the produce of the farm. The land broken up is used for potatoes, cattle provender, and other esculents;—and there are employed through the year *four* labourers, each at 9*s.* a week,—but one of these is occasionally employed in the business of a porter. There is also a horse for conveying water and manure. The whole yearly outlay for rent, taxes, wages, hired pasture, &c., does not exceed £250. For this outlay, the institution receives a supply of milk, which, if bought, for the 160 girls maintained, would cost, at 2*d.* per quart, £243;—there is also a supply of butter;—there are about 36 tons of potatoes, which, if purchased at 3*d.* per 14 lbs., would cost £72;—there is an abundant supply of vegetables;—and there is offal sufficient to feed from two to five pigs. The *net* gain from the twelve acres thus exceeds £5 an acre per annum; and the resident manager of the institution considers this produce much less than would be obtained if more labour were employed.

It is not ignorance of the soil's capability that represses husbandry in Ireland. The feeder of cattle and sheep is fully aware that tillage would enable him to supply the country with a much larger quantity of beef and mutton than pasture affords. The dairy farmer is also aware that he could supply a much greater quantity of butter by improved husbandry; as now his cows get sufficient food only in summer and autumn, and are half perished during the other seasons; yet he persists in trusting to pasture feeding, notwithstanding its frequent scantiness, occasioned by the prevalence of blighting winds, and the loss of dairy produce in winter and spring, caused by the want of succulent provender for the cattle.

The capability of increased production which Ireland possesses,—the extent of the territory already inclosed or cultivated, as compared with the labour dependent on it for subsistence,—and the unsupplied demand of England for agricultural produce, combine to facilitate the removal of poverty from among the labouring classes. If, however, the population of the country were not principally agricultural, with productive resources existing everywhere only half developed, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to avert lowliness and pauperism, except by removing large bodies of the people to foreign settlements; as it does not appear that any market would exist to sustain their industry, which is not already supplied, almost to redundancy, from other portions of the kingdom.

TABLE 4.—Agricultural Population and Territory in each County of Ireland.

—	Families chiefly employed in Agriculture. Total in 1831, 884,339.	Landholders. Census 1831.			Agricultural Families exceeding the total of Landholders, therefore wholly dependent on hire for subsistence.	Labourers in all the Families employed in Agriculture. — Census 1831. — 567,441.	Total of working Landholders, and of Labourers, in all the Agricultural Families. — 1,131,715.	Statute Acres of Land. (Totals in Board of Trade Tables, Part II., p. 119.)				
		Employers of Labourers. — 95,339.	Not employing Labourers. — 564,274.	Total.				In use, for Tillage, Pasture, &c. — 14,603,473 Acres.	Bog and Mountain still uncultivated. — 5,340,736 Acres.	Proportion in use for each Landholder employing Labourers, Col. 2, deducting five Acres from the Total for each working Landholder.	Proportion held by Employers of Labourers, for each Labourer in all the Families employed in Agriculture. Col. 6.	Proportion in use, of the whole Territory, for each Labourer and working Landholder. Col. 7.
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.
								Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.
Counties on the Coast.												
Dublin (with County of the City)	10,339	1,004	1,962	2,966	7,373	13,475	15,437	237,819	10,812	227	16¾	15⅓
Meath	22,396	2,102	6,894	8,996	13,400	23,045	29,939	561,527	5,600	250⅔	22¾	18¾
Louth (with County of the Town of Drogheda, —the lands of which are nearly all in Louth)	12,446	879	6,147	7,026	5,420	9,036	15,183	191,345	14,916	182¾	17¾	12½
Down	34,447	4,568	20,483	25,051	9,396	19,048	39,531	502,677	108,569	87½	21	12¾
Antrim (with lands of Carrickfergus)	27,682	3,809	18,429	22,238	5,444	13,498	31,927	483,106	225,970	102¾	28¾	15
Londonderry	25,009	2,530	15,530	18,060	6,949	14,717	30,247	372,667	136,038	116½	20	12¼
Donegal	38,178	4,055	34,836	38,891	None.	13,330	48,166	520,736	644,371	85⅓	26	10¾
Leitrim	20,937	1,240	18,639	19,879	1,058	6,203	24,842	266,640	128,167	139¾	27¾	10¾
Sligo	22,750	744	20,889	21,633	1,117	7,764	28,653	257,217	168,711	205⅓	19⅔	9
Mayo	52,668	3,860	50,219	54,079	None.	17,238	67,457	871,984	425,124	160¾	36	12¾
Galway (with lands of the Town)	54,090	4,719	51,505	56,224	None.	22,752	74,257	955,713	476,957	147¾	30½	12¾
Clare	32,580	1,593	24,394	25,987	6,593	22,208	46,602	524,113	259,584	252½	18	11¼
Limerick (with lands of the City)	34,034	4,072	14,132	18,204	15,830	33,326	47,458	582,802	91,981	125¾	15⅓	12¼
Kerry	34,043	2,381	15,719	18,100	15,943	26,116	41,835	581,189	552,862	211	19	13¾
Cork (with lands of the City)	83,590	15,203	36,281	51,484	32,106	77,687	113,968	1,068,803	700,760	58⅓	11¼	9⅓
Waterford " "	15,472	2,908	6,561	9,469	6,003	16,570	23,131	358,247	118,034	111¾	19½	15½
Wexford	21,465	3,878	10,683	14,561	6,904	15,321	26,004	545,979	18,500	127	32	20¾
Wicklow	11,649	1,517	6,072	7,589	4,060	11,319	17,391	400,704	94,000	244	32½	23
Inland Counties.												
Kildare	11,880	1,632	3,208	4,840	7,040	14,107	17,315	325,988	66,447	189¾	21¾	18¾
Carlow	8,163	1,010	5,694	6,704	1,459	6,613	12,307	196,833	23,030	166⅔	25⅓	16
Kilkenny (with lands of the City)	21,228	3,266	10,660	13,926	7,302	18,287	28,947	417,117	96,569	111¾	19¾	14⅓
Tipperary	45,051	7,286	23,181	30,467	14,584	36,440	59,621	819,698	182,147	96½	19¼	13¾
Queen's County	17,164	1,837	9,594	11,431	5,733	13,412	23,006	335,838	60,972	156⅔	21⅓	14⅓
King's County	17,162	1,554	11,535	13,089	4,073	11,727	23,262	394,569	133,349	216¾	28¾	16¾
Westmeath	16,824	1,222	7,142	8,364	8,460	14,766	21,908	313,935	55,982	226⅔	18¾	14⅓
Roscommon	34,083	1,243	25,848	27,091	6,992	17,925	43,773	453,555	131,063	260¾	18	10⅓
Longford	15,461	888	8,228	9,116	6,345	11,309	19,537	192,506	55,247	170⅓	13¼	9¾
Cavan	31,091	3,348	21,486	24,834	6,257	13,913	35,399	421,462	30,000	93¾	22½	11⅞
Fermanagh	20,617	2,253	16,984	19,237	1,380	7,881	24,865	320,599	101,952	104½	29¾	12¾
Monaghan	27,908	1,984	17,232	19,216	8,692	10,631	27,863	309,968	9,236	112¾	21	11
Armagh	25,109	2,025	15,728	17,753	7,356	14,730	30,458	267,317	42,472	93	12¾	8¾
Tyrone	38,823	4,729	28,379	33,108	5,715	13,047	41,426	550,820	171,314	86⅓	31⅓	13¼

The word *none* in the fifth column of the preceding *Table* 4 would appear to represent that there are not any agricultural families, except occupiers of land, in either Donegal, Mayo, or Galway, the counties in which the greatest distress has occasionally prevailed. However, on going through the details of the Population Returns, I have observed, as already stated, some districts where the number of landowners is a little under the number of families,—but in the total of each of these counties this is reversed, in consequence of there being a portion of the landowners still uncharged with families, and of course residing in the families of their parents. Of such landholders the number must be small,—but, whatever it may be, the residue formed by deducting the total of landholders from the total of agricultural families (on the reasonable assumption that nearly all landholders represent families) must be increased by its amount, as so many more families depend wholly on hire. (*Table* 4, *col.* 5.)

The great number of landholders in the Irish western counties, has occasioned an extraordinary increase of population without improving the condition of the soil or its occupiers. During *ten* years from 1821 to 1831, the increase in Donegal was 20 per cent.—in Mayo it was 24 per cent.—in Galway 23 per cent.—in Clare 24 per cent. But in Leinster, where the small farms are not so prevalent, the increase, on an average of all its counties, was only eight per cent. in the same period. (*Board of Trade Tables, part* 3, *Page* 443.)

I have estimated, in the 12th column of *Table* 4, the quantity of inclosed or *cultivated* land for each working landholder and each agricultural labourer (combined in column 7), supposing all to have no other resource than agricultural labour; and it will be observed that, in the county of Armagh, so far superior to any of those in the west of Ireland, the proportion for each person in the total, is only $8\frac{3}{4}$ acres; while, in Mayo, for the same classes, it is $12\frac{3}{4}$ acres. However, it will be remembered that the majority of Armagh working landholders must be independent of agricultural labour, and that a greater portion of the Mayo landholders have no other resource. But, in the 11th column, it appears that Armagh contains only $12\frac{3}{4}$ acres of *cultivated* land for each person classed in the Census Returns as an agricultural labourer; for which class Mayo presents an average of 36 acres, deducting the quantity assumed to be held by working landholders.

The lowest average for the whole body of working landholders and persons classed as agricultural labourers, next to Armagh, is in Sligo, where there are only *nine* acres for each person; but in that county there are for each of the labourers (by census) upwards of *nineteen* acres, in the hands of employers.

The county of Cork presents only $9\frac{1}{3}$ acres *cultivated*, for each person in the total of working landholders and agricultural labourers; and for each of the latter, deducting the quantity held by the former, only $11\frac{1}{4}$ acres; but there are in this county 700,760 acres of waste land.

The remaining county in which the average quantity of cultivated land for both classes does not exceed *ten* acres to each person, is Longford; and there the average quantity for each labourer, by census, exceeds *thirteen* acres.

In every county the average quantity of cultivated land in the hands of employers of labourers, exceeds *ten acres* (*Col.* 11, *Table* 4) for each of the agricultural labourers in the Census Returns,—being the whole of the adult males employed in agriculture and belonging to the families of working landholders and of labourers wholly dependent on hire for subsistence.

Now let me quote for you, in reference to this fact, part of the evidence given before a Committee of the House of Commons in 1835, on Irish Public

Works, by Mr. Griffith, whose knowledge of Ireland, its geology, and local circumstances, renders him perhaps the most competent witness on the fact in the country.

Question 2,843. Are the lands at present in cultivation sufficiently cultivated?—They are not; very far from it.

Question 2,844. If they were, would there not be provided a much more ample scope for the employment of the poor?—Certainly. I conceive that *one hundred acres* of arable land, if properly cultivated, would give employment *to ten families;* at present farmers rarely employ more than four, and sometimes in the proportion of only three families, to that extent of land.

In the 9th column of Table 4, I have stated the quantity of waste land in each county; and it appears that where there are great numbers of labourers and working landholders, there also are great tracts of unreclaimed land,—as in the counties of Donegal, Mayo, Galway, Clare, Kerry, and Cork.

Thus do the wants and resources of Ireland providentially combine to facilitate improvement; leaving no cause for apprehending that the labouring classes, in any considerable numbers, would become chargeable on funds for relief of destitution if a poor-law were enacted,—giving the landowners and tenants an option of using beneficially the sources of society's subsistence placed in their control, or of paying a tax for the support of such of the labourers' families in their respective localities as should become destitute by want of employment.

However, the Commissioners of the Irish Poor Inquiry held a contrary opinion. They state, in their Third Report, that if a poor-law, on the principle of the English law, were enacted for Ireland, the labouring population employed in agriculture would require subsistence from the relief fund during more than half the year.

Extract from the Report.

"According to the third Table annexed, we cannot estimate the number of persons out of work and in distress, during thirty weeks of the year, at less than 585,000, nor the number of persons dependent upon them at less than 1,800,000, making in the whole 2,385,000.

Estimate in the Table referred to.

"According to the census of 1831 the total number of labourers was 1,131,715, of whom 564,274 were occupiers of land, and 567,441 were not. It appears, by the First Report of the Commissioners of Public Instruction, that the population of Ireland had, in 1834, increased from 7,767,401 (the amount in 1831) to 7,943,940. We may assume that the number of labourers has increased in the same proportion, and therefore that it now exceeds 1,170,000, and that the number of them not holding land (being, as seen above, about half of the whole) is 585,000. If, consequently, this latter class would take refuge in a workhouse, when they cannot obtain employment on hire, they would there have to be provided for during 30 weeks of the year."

I cannot see any ground for the apprehension that the persons liable to poor-rates would leave the whole body of the agricultural labourers to subsist on them for 30 weeks. I do not consider it possible that even at present these labourers are unemployed for such a period of the year.

In Table 3, and the observations following it, I show that the families dependent on hire for subsistence cannot much exceed 224,726, and comprise little more than 310,336 adult males. But, suppose the number of labourers

wholly dependent on hire to be 400,000, at least one-fourth of them must be in constant employment, there being nearly 100,000 landholders who employ labourers and cannot be without at least one labourer on any day for work: indeed, two might be assumed to be a fair average of the number constantly employed by farmers; as many employ three, while not any employer can be without one. It follows, then, that one-fourth of the labourers (at least one fourth) being constantly employed, it would be necessary, in order to form so low an average of employment for the whole as 22 weeks, that another fourth should be constantly idle, and therefore beggars.

The persons employed by the Commissioners to make the Returns of the average duration of agricultural labour throughout Ireland, on which their estimate of 22 weeks' employment is founded,—do not give the number of labourers constantly employed,—the numbers employed for various periods, —and the number continually idle; which would have been very important: —they only give an average, generally, of the duration of labour in some parts of 29 counties,—omitting Waterford, Tipperary, and Roscommon.

For Mayo the average is founded on Returns from the parishes of Kilgever and Aughavale, surrounding Croaghpatrick Mountain, on the western extremity of the county. *In Kilgever* the time of employment is estimated to be only 36 days;—but the families there, *chiefly* employed in agriculture, were, in 1831, according to census, only 1,309, and in these there were 1,301 landholders, leaving only *eight* families dependent on hire, (supposing all the landholders to represent families,) and for the labourers dependent on hire there were 165 landholders who employed labour. *In Aughavale* the employment is stated to extend to 100 days; but there, according to census, not one family was dependent on hire for subsistence, in 1831. Both parishes are on the coast, in the Customs' district of Old Head, and the following evidence on the Fisheries of the District, taken from the First Report on the Inquiry of 1836, bears strongly on the duration of employment there:—

> "In Old Head district the fishermen are all holders of land. * * * About four months are now employed *in fishing;* but *double that time* might be profitably occupied." (*Mr. Copplestone, officer of Coast Guard*, Ev., page 88). There are 420 fishermen in the district. (Table, page 91.)

In Mr. Nimmo's Coast Survey, given in the Appendix to the Fishery Report, (page 92,) the district is thus described:—

> "Behind Croaghpatrick the country is mostly bog, upon slate rock;—but cultivation is advancing rapidly, by the encouragement of the neighbouring market of Westport,—limestone being brought on horseback by farmers from the beaches in the head of Clew Bay."

For Sligo the average of employment is taken on the duration of labour at Ballymote town, where it is stated to be only 24 days;—also, in Achonry parish, near Ballymote, where it is estimated to be 90 days;—and, in the barony of Carbery, where it is said to extend to 120 days. In Ballymote there were, in 1831, only *nineteen* families, chiefly employed in agriculture, and in these there were *seven* landholders. In Achonry there were not any families dependent on hire for subsistence, in 1831. Carbery includes the town of Sligo, which contained, in 1831, 15,152 inhabitants; and the number of landholders was only 1,815 under the total of agricultural families.

Why landholders, working for themselves, should be idle for 30 weeks is not explained by the Returns.

The Longford average is made on a Return from the parish of Killimore, —which is not included in the census under that name.

The Westmeath average is stated to be 90 days, although the average for the barony of Kells, (county Meath,) which is principally a pasture district, is stated to be 120 days. There is more tillage, and of course more employment, in Westmeath;—and large supplies of wheat are bought in that county for the Meath mills.

The Louth average is taken on the duration of labour in the baronies of Dundalk, where it is estimated to be 210 days.

The Dublin average, notwithstanding the comparatively high one for Louth, is stated to be only 160 days, although taken on the duration of employment in the barony of Balrothery, one of the best wheat districts in Ireland, and from which the metropolis receives large supplies of early potatoes —so that winter employment there must be considerable. The proportions of labourers to land, in Dublin and Louth, are nearly equal.

The Antrim Return has been made with more caution than the others:— it states that the majority of the labourers are employed through the greater part of the year.

It does not appear that any of the Returns have been made on actual data, showing the number of persons employed during various periods of the year, and separating the labourers wholly dependent on hire, from the other classes.

That a large number of the labourers wholly *dependent on hire* must be unemployed at intervals, through the year, is, unhappily, notorious; but it does not follow that these are destitute while out of work.

Every agricultural labourer in the country, who is charged with the maintenance of a family, and is not a landholder, (except a very few, having permanent engagements, or living in villa districts,) raises a year's supply of potatoes on hired ground, for which payment is generally made in labour, and this supply affords a redundancy for a pig and poultry. Nearly all the farmers provide potato ground for labourers;—many provide cabins for them;—and some of the landholders require each of their labourers (not holding land) to keep a cow, for the feed of which on common pasture and straw, a fixed weekly charge is made;—so that farmers have not much wages to pay in money; and some of the landholders who require a cow to be kept, not only get the labour they require, but have money to receive from the labourers, which is provided by the sale of butter, eggs, and poultry.

This system ensures a preference of employment to labourers who are not landholders,—and, although little calculated to improve their condition, it saves them from destitution.

Destitution in the agricultural classes is caused, under ordinary circumstances, only by the infirmities of age, when the sons have large families, or by the prolonged sickness or death of a labourer with a family depending wholly on hire for subsistence. Seasons of dearth, and ejectments largely inflicted, are its extraordinary causes; and when there is a visitation of dearth, destitution is inevitable, where, as in Ireland, the labourers so generally give a large portion of their time for the right of rearing their own supply of food,—and prove to have given their labour, almost for nothing, if their crops should fail. When ejectments are extensively inflicted, they create destitution principally in the families of working landholders; and affect labourers, dependent on hire, only when succeeded by an extension of the pasture

system, or by delays in letting to new tenants, during which the lands afford no employment.

A diminution in the extent of destitution produced by the ordinary causes described, can only be expected to follow a general improvement in both the moral and physical condition of the working classes.

But a sound poor-law would immediately diminish, if not altogether avert, the destitution now suffered under the extraordinary causes to which I have referred. If there were to be a failure in the labourers' potatoe crops,—I assume that the owners and holders of land would pay wages for work in progress, to support the labourers, rather than pay increased poor-rates without obtaining an equivalent. I also assume that the same influence would restrict the ejectment system;—not, however, by compelling landlords to forego the legal means of recovering rent, but to reform the system of management, unhappily too prevalent in Ireland, by which the majority of agents have interests wholly opposed to those of landlords, tenants, and the community,—their profits (as land and law agents combined) being augmented by struggling tenants, numerous ejectments, and frequent lettings.

The extent of destitution which may exist in Ireland, after the enactment of a poor-law, will depend on the nature of the provision to be made.

If a great charity fund were to be created by the State, and not drawn from incomes arising in the localities appointed for its distribution, the present amount of destitution would be rapidly exceeded, in the progress of measures for clearing estates of families employed on them, and converting tillage fields into pastures.

If an out-door pension system were to be established, the claimants of pensions would exceed the destitute ten-fold, and, by encouraging improvidence and indolence, would ultimately augment destitution.

Under a politic and re-active system of relief, judiciously administered, the extent of destitution could not certainly exceed the proportion to population in which it now exists. I have already estimated this proportion,—taking the destitution in Dublin for a basis,—and regarding as destitute, only those persons who, without the aid of local charities, and the resource of mendicancy, must necessarily starve, if they obey the law against theft. I have now re-examined my data, and revised the estimate.

TABLE 5.—An Estimate of the extent of Destitution in Ireland.

1. *In Dublin.*

The House of Industry contains at present, exclusive of casual patients in the hospitals attached to it:—

Aged and infirm poor,—old and young	888
Mendicants committed	24
	912

The number in the original estimate was taken from the books of 1836, and being higher than the present, while lower than the number on the books in 1835, I shall now adopt it as a medium	991
Carried forward	991

Brought forward 991

The Mendicity Institution contains at present,—men, women, and children 2,614

Upon the 17th of June, the institution contained, the highest number in this year 2,917

The number in May, when the first estimate was made, being a little higher than a medium of these totals, I retain it 2,800

The Street Mendicants were originally estimated to be 960

Another enumeration having been made, (and as before, within the hours for dinner, when the mendicants are to be met in four-fold numbers beyond those seen earlier in the day,) there were reckoned in the 55 *principal streets*, and lines of short streets, (including sides of squares,) north and south of the Liffey, eastward from Capel-street (inclusive) and the Castle 506

The average number, thus obtained, barely exceeded *nine*. In the original estimate 120 streets were comprised, and the average for all was taken at *eight*, on the enumeration made in several of them. I therefore retain the original total 960

Local Charities :—

The original estimate included the average numbers assumed to be relieved *weekly*, by the Society for relief of Sick and Indigent Room-keepers,—the Strangers' Friend Society,—and the Charitable Association.

These societies, however, do not relieve a certain weekly number; and their funds are given to assist and promote industry,—not as alms for relief of destitution,—excepting those of the Sick and Indigent Room-keepers' Society, which are, in part, applied to relieve destitution caused by sickness, and also in weekly stipends to three or four aged persons.

The Strangers' Friend Society (formed into two sections) grants aid for enabling strangers to reach their homes, and to enable poor residents of Dublin to live by industry. The relief may be granted more than once (to local applicants) if there be a chance of its enabling the applicants to live by industry; otherwise they are referred for relief to the Mendicity Institution. The principal section granted relief on 7,993 applications during 1836, distributing £660. 7*s*. 3*d*.;—and if all these were from distinct persons, the relief to each would be only 1*s*. 8*d*. *in the year*. The other section's funds would not give so much relief in a third of this number of cases.

The Sick and Indigent Room-keepers' Society grants relief in the same cases only once in four months, excepting cases of sickness; and it must be ascertained by the visitors that the applicants are "*sober and industrious*," and occupy rooms kept in a clean, orderly state. The relief is granted in sums varying from 2*s*. 6*d*. to 7*s*., generally; but medium sums are the most common. The total number of families relieved in 1836 was 11,621, and the amount distributed was only £2,459, which would give but 4*s*. 3*d*. to each family, *in the year*. This is about the average amount of the grants; and as relief may be given in the same cases three times in the year,—and oftener in cases of sickness,—

Carried forward 4,751

Brought forward 4,751

the number of *distinct* cases relieved during 1836 must be considerably less than half of 11,621. It is also to be observed, that only a small portion of the cases belong to classes in destitution. The object of the society is to aid the working classes, in sickness or in health, and not to sustain destitution, for which its funds are insufficient. Were the whole funds of the society for a year, given to the destitute, they would, in 1836, have been only sufficient to supply 647 persons with 2½*d.* per day.

There are several asylums for children, and for the blind, dumb, aged, &c., supported by endowments, subscriptions, and charity sermons; but I exclude the inmates (—a very inconsiderable number however—) from this estimate, as such private charities will be always maintained by benevolent members of the opulent classes, or for sectarian purposes, as are similar institutions in London and other towns in England, notwithstanding the existence of a public compulsory provision for the poor.

The hospital patients are not included, because the institutions for the sick are already provided for;—but the persons reduced to destitution by the sickness of those on whose labour they are dependent must be comprised in the total of the estimate, there being no resources sufficient to sustain the destitute but those for which a computation of the number dependent on them is made.

The alms distributed annually by the Roman Catholic clergy of the city, and the clerks of the Roman Catholic churches, have been estimated for me, on satisfactory data, by a Roman Catholic clergyman, to be under £1,000, but close to that amount.

It would take £3,397 to give 2½*d.* per day, through the year, to 895 persons, left out of this estimate, by excluding the averages in the former one, for cases in which the funds of the Sick and Indigent Room-keepers' Society, Strangers' Friend, and Charitable Association, would be competent to give permanent support, if limited to a fixed number of destitute persons. This number is manifestly sufficient to comprise all the cases of destitution *for which there are sources*,—exclusive of those already set down for the House of Industry, the Mendicity Institution, and Street Mendicants,—or those few deriving support from endowed asylums and small private charities. I shall therefore retain it 895

Total number of destitute poor in Dublin, through the year 5,646

2. *The Poor, out of Dublin.*

If the number of destitute persons in Dublin be 5,646, it would be precisely *two* per cent. on the present population of the city and its suburb streets. In the same ratio, the number in all Ireland, taking the population at 8,000,000, would be 160,000. But pauperism in Dublin must largely exceed the proportion to population in which it exists elsewhere, excepting Cork, Limerick, Kilkenny, and Drogheda. The great body of the Irish population being agricultural, and though indigent not destitute; and as poor persons from all parts of Ireland seek support in Dublin,

Carried forward 5,646

Brought forward 5,646

it is very reasonable to assume that destitution in Dublin more than doubles the proportion to population in which it exists in all the rest of Ireland, including Cork and the other populous towns. Deducting, then, the population of Dublin, (at present nearly 284,000,) from the total of *eight* millions,—*one per cent.* of destitution in the residue of 7,716,000, gives a total of 77,160

The number destitute in all Ireland, including Dublin, would thus be 82,806

According to this estimate, there is precisely one destitute person for every *eighteen* families in the *present* population; and when the cost of maintenance is computed, we can hardly venture to assume that the number receiving it gratuitously is much beyond the total here worked out,—looking to the difficulties met in collecting money for the poor in Dublin,—and to the pecuniary condition of the great body of the population.

There are large numbers of the operative classes in towns who, expending all their earnings on receipt of them, are in penury when any suspension of employment occurs; these my estimate cannot include, and I presume that it will not be considered necessary that I should include them, where the provision contemplated is not to be an out-door distribution of money and food to persons in distress, from whatever cause, but maintenance in asylums, —a relief to which tradesmen in casual difficulties would resort but very rarely. In the early part of this year there were many tradesmen in Dublin out of employment, in consequence of a temporary depression of trade; and it was reported to a public meeting convened by the Lord Mayor that 3,500 persons required relief, and that the funds to be distributed would afford it to only 500. The remaining 3,000 must consequently have subsisted on their own resources,—the augmentation of persons relieved by the Mendicity Institution in the period being comparatively trivial. They were sustained, no doubt, in part from the funds of their trade bodies, and partly by borrowing from pawn offices, or their credit with provision dealers, which tradesmen acquire by their general punctuality while employed. These are emergencies of a commercial community, which are not within the scope of a permanent provision for destitution, and only require a provident use of earnings by families exposed to them.

At the period in which the report referred to was made by the Committee of the Mansion House meeting, a statement of the extent of pauperism in Dublin was published in a local journal, to show that the measure for relief of the poor then before Parliament would be wholly inadequate. It will be useful to place its figures here in contrast with those of the Report; I therefore quote them.

"Dublin is known to contain about 26,000 persons *quite destitute*, as many more (26,000) who have only *occasional employment*, and 18,000 others in *occasional distress*, besides those reduced to distress by sickness."

If the 26,000 in occasional employment, and 18,000 in occasional distress, be meant for 44,000 in the latter condition, and not 26,000 in occasional employment compressed when unemployed into 18,000, to economize the

means of subsistence, the total of this estimate would be 70,000, exclusive of the destitution caused by sickness, which, in the same ratio, ought to be at least another thousand, making the total just one-fourth of the population in the city and its suburb streets, and assigning, as it were, *seven* paupers to every *two* inhabited houses. It is not explained how they could exist, or how the rents of the 20,000 inhabited houses could be paid.

Another estimate handed about Dublin is for the parish of St. Michan, in which the cases requiring relief are stated to 18,000; but the whole population of this parish in 1831 amounted to only 23,918, men, women, and children.

These extraordinary miscalculations proceed from the very general error of confounding cases of actual destitution requiring relief, with cases of distress arising from improvidence, inertness, and lowliness, which public interference never fails to increase. The statements indicate the fearful results which might be produced in this country by an uncontrolled public relief, even though administered by men sharing in the burden; which is but an apparent safeguard, as is proved by the Irish grand jury system. The elective right, giving rate-payers the power to select administering bodies, is but a feeble safeguard; it is found insufficient even in public companies.

Widely various views are commonly taken of the condition of Ireland by persons considered to be acquainted with it. In 1834, while the policy of the Legislative Union was under discussion, the country was represented by some of these persons to have receded, within a few years, from a state in which prosperity was rapidly augmenting;—but it was as firmly maintained by persons of equal intelligence, that the country was not in a state of recession, and was for some years in progress to a very prosperous state, exhibiting everywhere an improvement more accelerated than the advancement of any other part of Europe; and among those who then maintained that Irish prosperity was at hand, if the country would be let go quietly on to right herself, were some, who now, to prove the impossibility of working a poor-law, maintain that the land is overwhelmed with paupers.

In all the views of Ireland placed before the empire, there is a remarkable concurrence in attributing the poverty which exists to the want of continuous employment for the population. This is very important;—for if a considerable portion of the distress to be relieved were ascribable to sickness occasioned by bad climate,—to sterility of the soil,—to insufficiency of territory for employing and supporting the population, though beneficially used for all interests depending on it,—or to other causes not within the control of the Legislature;—then, a provision for the destitution thus arising, would prove seriously detrimental, though still less costly and less injurious than mendicancy, and more just and politic than relief only drawn from the purses of the benevolent members of society and distributed by voluntary associations.

TABLE 6.—View of the extent of Public Relief afforded to the Sick in
Poor Inquiry

—	Institutions for Relief in 1833.				Institutions from which Returns of the number of Patients were received in 1833.			
	County Infirmaries.	Fever Hospitals.	Dispensaries.	TOTAL.	County Infirmaries.	Fever Hospitals.	Dispensaries.	TOTAL.
Leinster . .	14	29	150	193	13	18	123	154
Munster . .	8	31	131	170	8	19	110	137
Ulster . .	9	7	121	137	8	7	102	117
Connaught .	5	3	50	58	4	2	42	48
	36	70	452	558	33	46	377	456

There are a few institutions for relief of the sick poor, which I believe are not included in the Returns on which this Table is founded ;—but the great majority of the sick among the poorer classes (with a portion of the middle classes) must be here,—and yet the totals of the year (a year too of very general sickness in the country) give only small average numbers, for the long periods which I allow for each person's illness,—the intern patients being but 3,483 monthly, and the externs (every fortnight) 58,727. The externs might be reduced under *thirty thousand*, by allowing only a week for each case, as the totals of externs consist principally of persons supplied with medicine on producing orders for it at dispensaries, whose sickness is only trivial, and many of whom are well able to buy medicine, but prefer getting it for nothing. It is notorious, that traders in towns, subscribers to these dispensaries, give orders (authorized by subscribing) to accommodate the customers of their establishments. I append to this letter, as matter for useful reference, a statement of the incomes derived by these several relief institutions, from all sources, in 1833.

The conclusion to which I have been conducted, by deliberating over all the data I have here combined, is, that the poorer classes in Ireland may more justly be considered as in a lowly, depressed condition, than as suffering actual destitution in large numbers at any period of ordinary years.

Therefore, when objections are made to the measure of relief proposed by Government, on the pretext of its inadequacy, I apprehend that they emanate from a feeling hostile to the principle of a compulsory provision for the poor, —instead of a desire for more comprehensive relief.

The asylums proposed are objected to as being insufficient;—and, in the next moment, the same persons may be drawn on to contend that the poor of Ireland would not resort to such places of relief;—in proof of which is adduced their repugnance to the Dublin House of Industry, at a time when paupers were removed to it by force, as if it were now in contemplation to make prisons of the asylums proposed, instead of suppressing unnecessary mendicancy by rendering it punishable with imprisonment in the common

TABLE 7.—A STATEMENT of the INCOMES of the PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS in IRELAND for RELIEF of the SICK POOR; also the Incomes of Houses of Industry, Lunatic Asylums, and Asylums for Foundlings. (Compiled from the Appendix to the Second Report of the Irish Poor Inquiry Commissioners.)

Establishments in each Province.	Income from Levies by Grand Juries, 1833.	Grants by Parliament, 1833.	Petty Sessions' Fines, 1833.	Subscriptions, 1833.	Miscellaneous sources; as Legacies, Donations, &c., 1833.	Total Income. In 1833.	Total Income. In 1832.	Observations.
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	
COUNTY INFIRMARIES.								The Returns for *Leinster* comprise the Infirmaries for Counties, with *one* in the City of Dublin, and *one* in Drogheda. The Returns for *Munster* include *two* Infirmaries in Cork and one in Limerick. Waterford County has not an Infirmary. There are not Presentments for the Infirmary in Drogheda and the City of Limerick. The Infirmaries of Kerry, Cavan, and Leitrim are *wholly* supported by Presentments, and the Infirmary in the City of Dublin *principally* by them.
Leinster 14	6,779 16 11	1,339 19 8	349 10 7	1,685 15 5	1,848 19 8½	12,004 2 3½	12,226 4 6½	
Munster 8	3,089 4 7	582 11 7	241 12 8	3,285 3 2	1,124 14 10	8,323 6 10	6,718 12 2	
Ulster 9	4,485 7 7	538 11 3	236 0 6	719 1 2	1,036 6 6	7,015 7 0	8,175 7 10	
Connaught . . . 5	2,592 6 9	311 16 5	111 19 2	103 19 3	287 16 3	3,407 17 10	4,352 14 2	
Total . . . 36						30,750 13 11½	31,472 18 8½	
FEVER HOSPITALS.								
Leinster 29	4,312 16 10	3,800 0 0	11 5 0	1,504 0 11	823 15 5	10,451 18 2	12,625 5 3	
Munster 31	7,051 10 6	89 1 10	25 0 0	4,775 19 9	1,613 18 0	13,555 10 1	13,141 19 8	
Ulster 7	1,117 19 10	None.	None.	1,263 2 0	420 14 3	2,801 16 1	2,563 19 4	
Connaught . . . 3	786 11 6	,,	,,	None.	None.	786 11 6	976 11 6	
Total . . . 70						27,595 15 10	29,307 15 9	
DISPENSARIES.								
Leinster 150	8,509 7 1	,,	,,	8,495 17 8	,,	17,005 4 9	16,844 15 3	
Munster 131	7,957 4 8	,,	,,	7,230 4 0	,,	15,187 8 8	16,527 0 9	
Ulster 121	5,400 1 2	,,	,,	5,862 10 8	,,	11,262 11 10	11,591 9 0	
Connaught . . . 50	2,982 17 8	,,	,,	3,215 18 3	,,	6,198 15 11	6,311 0 8	
Total . . . 452						49,654 1 2	51,274 5 8	
HOUSES OF INDUSTRY.								Annexed to the House of Industry in Dublin there are Hospitals for Fever Patients, Lunatics, and Surgical Cases; therefore the Parliamentary Grant of £20,000 is for all, and probably a portion of it may be in the column for Grants, opposite Fever Hospitals, which would render the total of the column incorrect. Of the sum levied by Grand Juries for the Cork House of Industry, the County contributes £1,292. 6*s*. 2*d*. The County of Limerick is assessed for £1,000 of the sum levied by Grand Juries for the House of Industry in the City. Of the £2,300 levied by Grand Juries for the Waterford House of Industry the City contributes only £1,100, and out of that £200 is allocated to the Lunatic Asylum.
Dublin	None.	20,000 0 0	,,	None.	549 11 11	20,549 11 11	Not stated.	
Cork	2,942 6 2	None.	,,	245 4 0	946 6 2	4,133 16 4	5,033 10 6	
Waterford	2,300 0 0	,,	,,	270 6 5	255 6 0	2,825 12 5	2,904 9 3	
Clonmel	1,700 0 0	,,	,,	None.	29 5 0	1,729 5 0	1,728 3 0	
Limerick	1,392 6 2	,,	,,	35 6 0	102 13 5	1,530 5 7	1,639 11 7	
Belfast	None.	,,	,,	772 12 3	326 0 5	1,098 12 8	1,159 18 5	
Ennis	600 0 0	,,	,,	None.	None.	600 0 0	600 0 0	
Wexford	500 0 0	,,	,,	,,	,,	500 0 0	732 10 6	
Kilkenny	None in 1833.	,,	,,	,,	,,	. . .	200 0 0	
Total, 9.						32,967 3 11	. . .	
General Total . .	64,499 17 5	See observations.	975 7 11	39,465 11	9,365 7 10	140,967 14 10	. . .	

LUNATIC ASYLUMS.

—	Statute Acres of Land purchased for each Asylum.	Amount of Purchase Money, and cost of Building and Furnishing.	Patients when the Returns were made.	Income in 1833.
	A. R. P.	£. s. d.		£. s. d.
Dublin (annexed to the House of Industry; therefore see observations on the grant for the whole Institution)	. . .	. . . .	210	5,472 2 4
Cork (supported from local funds) . .	. . .	. . . .	not stated.	4,172 7 11½
Armagh	8 0 23	20,900 4 5½	104	3,530 19 4½
Limerick	11 3 12	29,856 11 5¼	150	3,600 7 2
Belfast	21 1 11	25,319 13 0	104	3,734 5 9
Londonderry	12 5 2	25,678 2 4	104	3,005 0 0
Carlow	15 0 39	22,552 10 4	104	2,755 7 0
Maryborough	22 2 17	24,172 2 6	104	Opened in 1833.
Connaught	22 2 28	27,130 4 6	150	,,
Waterford (see Observations on House of Industry)	14 2 12	16,887 12 7	100	Opened in 1835.
Clonmel	11 1 4	16,587 19 3	60	,,
The Armagh Asylum has additional land on lease	5 0 0			
		209,085 0 4¾	1,390	(On estimate) 35,000 0 0

FOUNDLING ASYLUMS.

—	Foundlings on the Books in 1833.	Income.	Observations.
		£. s. d.	
Dublin	6,793	15,750 11 7	4,000 of the Dublin Asylum's Foundlings were apprentices when the Return was made. The income here stated was proposed for 1835 by the Commissioners of Poor Inquiry.
Cork	1,329	6,566 7 11	The Income of the Cork Institution is derived from a tax on coal.
Galway	8	62 0 0	
	8,130	22,378 19 6	

Ireland; *taken from details appended to the Second Report of the Irish Commissioners.*

Intern Patients in 1833.		Extern Patients in 1833.		Number of Persons under cure at one time, allowing a month for each intern Patient, and a fortnight for extern Cases.	
Of Infirmaries and Hospitals from which Returns were received.	Of all Infirmaries and Hospitals, on proportional Estimate.	Of Infirmaries, Hospitals, and Dispensaries, from which Returns were received.	Of all the Institutions, on proportional Estimate.	Interns.	Externs.
15,245	21,146	442,269	554,271	1,762	21,318
9,883	14,275	432,909	537,186	1,189	20,661
3,619	3,860	250,758	293,622	322	11,293
1,887	2,516	117,378	141,831	210	5,455
	41,797		1,526,910	3,483	58,727

gaols. Such objections are as inconsistent as the reasoning of those opponents of a provision for the poor, who contend that the English poor-law, even where well administered, has dissipated the capital of English landholders; but, on another occasion, will as earnestly assert that English rents are as much higher than those of Ireland, as English agricultural wages exceed the rate of remuneration for Irish rural labour; and yet they cannot tell how this could be, if English landholders' capital had been dissipated by the poor.

Looking at the state of the Irish poorer classes, and all the circumstances of their condition,—their social habits,—the large number dependent on agriculture,—the extent of the Irish territory, with its capability of production,—and the demand for enlarged supplies of agricultural produce in the English markets;—I feel persuaded that a judicious poor-law, vigorously administered, must keep the total of destitution from exceeding the proportion which it is assumed to bear to the present extent of the population.

I would apprehend, nevertheless, if the asylum *accommodation* were to be provided for only 80,000 persons, that the great design of a compulsory provision,—to avert pauperism by stimulating employers to extend labour,—would be frustrated, and that the provision would become merely a resource for a limited number of paupers. It appears essential that there should be, in every asylum, means of accommodating a much greater number than it is computed may be driven there for succour, otherwise the poor-law cannot be efficiently worked as an instrument for raising up the condition of the poorer classes; and, ultimately, an extension might be enforced by the increase of pauperism, which the erection of more extensive asylums, in beginning, would avert, by convincing the landholders that an increase of poor-rates could only be prevented by their using beneficially the sources of employment and subsistence committed to their management.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

WILLIAM STANLEY.

Dublin, 3d October 1837.

No. 14.—List of Unions in England and Wales in which the Radius from a Workhouse in the centre would exceed Ten miles.

Counties.	Unions.
Chester . .	Nantwich.
Cornwall . .	Liskeard.
Cumberland .	Penrith.
Devon . .	Barnstaple.
	Bideford.
	South Molton.
	Okehampton.
	St. Thomas.
Dorset . .	Dorchester.
Durham . .	Auckland.
	Teesdale.
	Weardale.
Hereford . .	Kington.
Lancaster .	Ulverstone.
Lincoln . .	Bourn.
	Caistor.
	Glandford Brigg.
	Grantham.
	Holbeach.
	Lincoln.
	Louth.
	Spilsby.
Monmouth .	Abergavenny.
	Newport.
Norfolk . .	Mitford and Launditch.
Northumberland .	Bellingham.
	Glendale.
	Hexham.
	Rothbury.
Nottingham . .	Basford.
Westmoreland .	East Ward.
	Kendal.
North York . .	Malton.
	Richmond.
	Scarborough.
West York . .	Skipton.
Brecon . . .	Brecknock.
	Builth.
Cardigan . . .	Aberystwith.
Carmarthen . .	Carmarthen.
	Llandovery.
Glamorgan . .	Neath.
	Swansea.
Pembroke. . .	Haverfordwest.
	Narberth.
	Pembroke.
Radnor . . .	Knighton.
	Rhayader.

There are many other Unions, in which Parishes and portions of Parishes are more than Ten miles distant from the Workhouse.

October 30, 1837.

No. 15.—Extract from the Report of the Sub-Committee specially appointed at Aberdeen to obtain information with reference to the Suppression of Vagrancy, presented to the Aggregate Committee by Mr. Edmond, on the 17th of August, 1837:—

"The Sub-Committee refer to the returns which have been received, and to a more full abstract of these returns, to be laid upon the table, for more particular information.

"They have each carefully perused these documents and considered the whole scheme; and in fulfilment of the remit made to them, by which they are required to give their opinion, they have farther to report that, without an union of all the measures adverted to in the queries, viz.:—1. a vigilant superintendence to prevent begging; 2. a poor's house; 3. a strict investigation into every case of pauperism, not only on the presentation of claims for relief, but from time to time afterwards—no attempt can be made to suppress begging, either with justice or with a prospect of ultimate success.

"The great evil of vagrant begging is its tendency to idleness and irreligion. Every person who can work commits an injustice when his fellow-citizens are taxed for his support; and the chance is, or rather it is a certainty, that he will do mischief rather than leave his mind and hands entirely unem-

ployed. In a poor's house the question whether parties are willing and able to work can best be tried. Begging habits may there be justly controlled. The large class of persons who so often are found in the streets pleading inability and want, will not, unless in real need, be bold enough to incur the risk of such a trial.

"Of this class may be reckoned the young persons who parade the streets, many of whom can work to some extent, and all of whom may at least be learning something useful, in place of following that most evil of professions, vagrancy, with all its mischiefs.

"There are, on the other hand, persons who cannot work, and who cannot possibly maintain life by the pittance received from public funds to be spent at home; who are left in old age, in sickness, or in solitary destitution, to grumble out their days; and who might, by getting shelter in a house of comfort, and food and clothing, and by being enabled to live in peace, and to enjoy the blessings of religion and society (which they have not now), afford the charitable the satisfaction that their money is employed and received as Christian charity should.

"Another benefit to be derived from a poor's house is, that *there* (if a proper management and superintendence be adopted) nothing can be misapplied; and, while there is every reason to believe that, in many cases, out-door pensions are made the means of temporary dissipation, and in some cases grabbed at by petty usurers, while the recipients for whom they are destined are left in misery, by the poor's house system these evils will be prevented; and, if begging be suppressed, the inhabitants of Aberdeen will be able to afford a large sum which is now often unprofitably employed on vagrants."

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