

THE CASE
or
LABOURERS IN HUSBANDRY

STATED AND CONSIDERED,

IN THREE PARTS.

PART I.

A VIEW OF THEIR DISTRESSED CONDITION.

PART II.

THE PRINCIPAL CAUSES OF THEIR GROWING DISTRESS AND NUMBER, AND
OF THE CONSEQUENT INCREASE OF THE POOR-RATE.

PART III.

MEANS OF RELIEF PROPOSED.

WITH

AN APPENDIX;

CONTAINING

A COLLECTION of ACCOUNTS,

SHEWING

THE EARNINGS AND EXPENCES OF LABOURING FAMILIES,
IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE KINGDOM.

BY

DAVID DAVIES,
RECTOR OF BARKHAM, BERKS.

THE LABOURER IS WORTHY OF HIS HIRE.

LUKE x. 7.

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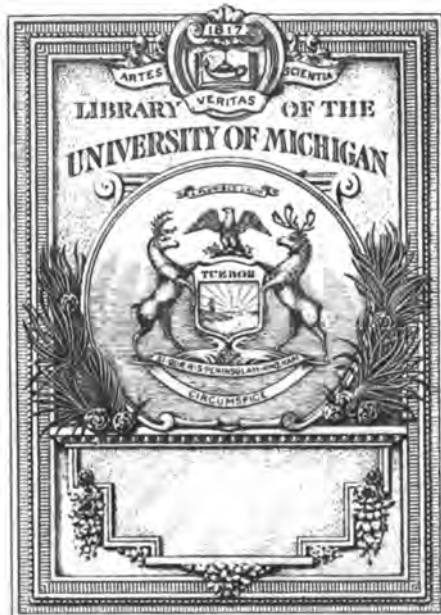
FOR

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TO

THE HONOURABLE

THE BOARD OF AGRICULTURE.

AFTER spending a great deal of time in examining the circumstances of *Labourers in Husbandry*, I have thought it my duty to lay the following facts and observations before the publick. I hope they will be useful in drawing once more the attention of considerate persons to what appears to be a case of real, wide-spread, and increasing distress; and be instrumental in procuring for the numerous class of people in question that redress, to which they seem to have the justest claim. At all events the motive will excuse me with the candid and humane for committing this work to the press.

It seems to lie peculiarly within the province of a Board instituted for the improvement of Agriculture, to enquire into the state and condition of that denomination of people, by whom the business of agriculture is carried on. That Board have it more in their power than any private individual, to obtain the most authentick information with respect to labouring families; and I understand that they have notified their intention of making this one object of
their

their particular enquiry. If the result should be, *that the pay of the day-labourer is not adequate to his necessities*; then, on their representation of the matter, a rational plan may easily be devised for his speedy relief. For these reasons I have thought that the present publication might with propriety be addressed to that Board.

To that Board, therefore, I take the liberty to inscribe it; earnestly hoping that, such as it is, it may prove of some service in the farther prosecution of these useful enquiries. Heartily wishing them success in all their views for the publick good,

I remain,

with the greatest respect,

their most obedient

and most humble servant,

BARKHAM, BERKSHIRE,
MARCH 26TH, 1795.

DAVID DAVIES.

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A VIEW OF THE
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OF
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SECTION I.

INTRODUCTORY OBSERVATIONS CONCERNING THE POOR
AND THE POOR LAWS.

IN every nation the welfare and contentment of the lower denominations of people are objects of great importance, and deserving continual attention. For the bulk of every nation consists of such as must earn their daily bread by daily labour. It is to the patient industry of these that the higher ranks are every where indebted for most of their enjoyments. It is chiefly on these that every nation depends for its population, strength, and security. All reasonable persons will therefore acknowledge the equity of ensuring to them at least the necessary means of subsistence.

But of all the denominations of people in a state, *the labourers in husbandry* are by far the most valuable. For these are the men, who, being constantly employed in the cultivation of the earth, provide the staff of life for the whole nation. And it is the wives of these men,

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who

who rear those hardy broods of children, which, besides supplying the country with the hands it wants, fill up the voids which death is continually making in camps and cities. And since they have thus a peculiar title to public regard, one might expect to see them every where comfortably accommodated. Yet even in this kingdom, distinguished as it is for humanity and political wisdom, they have been for some time past suffering peculiar hardships. To make their case known, and to claim for them the just recompence of their labour, is the chief purpose of this publication.

It has however, indirectly, a respect to the case of the poor in general. For, in tracing the unusual distress of day-labourers to the several causes in which it has originated, I could not but observe that the same causes would also account for that general distress which is so heavily felt, and so much complained of, by all the lower ranks of people. And this led me to conclude, that if means could be devised for removing or lessening the existing evils in the former case, the same would probably be found efficacious for the same purpose universally.

The design of our poor laws is to provide for the employment of the able and industrious, for the correction of the idle and vicious, and for the maintenance of the aged and impotent. They appear in theory admirably calculated to answer these ends. Yet men of learning and judgment have entertained very different opinions concerning them : some regarding them as useful regulations for the government of the poor, though still imperfect and requiring amendment ; some, as forming a complete system incapable of further improvement, and only wanting a better execution ; and others, as a pernicious code, encouraging idleness and profligacy, and which ought therefore to be abolished.

It

It may be admitted that these laws are imperfect, and that they have been but imperfectly executed; yet I think it undeniable that they have on the whole produced a great deal of good. They have undoubtedly saved thousands of families from perishing by hunger and nakedness. The poor themselves are sensible of their excellent tendency; and when their wrongs go unredressed, they do not blame the laws. It seems therefore probable that the repealing them now, or even greatly altering them, would be attended with the most serious consequences. Either of these measures might drive the people to despair, to insurrection, to every evil work.

It has been, however, the general opinion for some time past, that some kind of reform is become necessary. For the *rich* have complained loudly of the great and rapid increase of the poor-rate: and the late returns made to Parliament by the overseers of the poor are full evidence of the fact. In the mean while the *poor* have been more than ever dissatisfied with the relief afforded them by means of this tax; and every body sees that their numbers and distresses have increased amazingly. In consequence of this discontent on both sides, several plans have been offered to the public with the twofold design of providing more effectually for the poor, and of gradually reducing the rate. But either because they appeared impracticable in themselves, or because they innovated too much on our established system of poor laws, none of them has hitherto received the public approbation. Further light seems to be required, before any plan of this kind can be properly adjusted to the present circumstances of the nation.

I dare not flatter myself that I am able to furnish all the light that is wanted, well knowing that many wise and benevolent men have employed their talents upon this difficult subject without much success.

If

If I should only have the good fortune to point out the right way of proceeding in our enquiries respecting the poor, this will be one material point gained. Hereafter some person of a more sagacious mind may see more clearly how to introduce such improvements of our poor laws, as may give them the greatest efficacy for the valuable purposes they aim at.

Of this, however, I am confident. When the case of labouring families comes to be fully known and considered, it cannot fail to awaken the general compassion in their favour; to silence the absurd complaints so frequently made on account of the great progressive increase of the rate; and to procure for this deserving class of people able and zealous advocates, who will plead their cause with effect, and rescue them from that abject state into which they are sunk.



SECTION

SECTION II.

AN ENQUIRY INTO THE STATE OF THE POOR, NECESSARY, PREVIOUS TO A REFORM OF THE POOR LAWS—THE MANNER IN WHICH THE FOLLOWING ACCOUNTS OF THE EARNINGS AND EXPENCES OF LABOURING FAMILIES WERE OBTAINED—THE ACCOUNTS THEMSELVES, WITH AN ABSTRACT OF THE SAME.

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WHEN the Parliament in the years 1775 and 1785 ordered returns to be made of the poor-rates throughout the kingdom, another matter, at least equally necessary as a ground of reform, seems not to have been thought of. To render the information complete, an enquiry should at the same time have been directed to be made into the actual circumstances of poor families. For certainly a perfect knowledge of the state of the poor, is the only basis upon which any new regulations respecting them can be safely raised. And as labourers in husbandry form the most numerous, as well as the most useful class of the community, a careful enquiry into *their* circumstances was especially necessary, previous to the framing of such regulations.

I hope that omission will be supplied in some measure, though doubtless very imperfectly, by the *accounts* I am about to produce of the earnings and expences of labouring families in different parts of the kingdom. But as these accounts form the groundwork of what  
I have

I have to advance on the behalf of the poor, it is proper that I should here describe the manner in which they were obtained.

In visiting the labouring families of my parish, as my duty led me, I could not but observe with concern their mean and distressed condition. I found them in general but indifferently fed; badly clothed; some children without shoes and stockings; very few put to school; and most families in debt to little shopkeepers. In short, there was scarcely any appearance of comfort about their dwellings, except that the children looked tolerably healthy. Yet I could not impute the wretchedness I saw either to sloth or wastefulness. For I knew that the farmers were careful that the men should not want employment; and had they been given to drinking, I am sure I should have heard enough of it. And I commonly found the women, when not working in the fields, well occupied at home; seldom indeed earning money; but baking their bread, washing and mending their garments, and rocking the cradle.

These poor people, in assigning the cause of their misery, agreed in ascribing it to the high prices of the necessaries of life. "Every thing (said they) is so dear, that we can hardly live." In order to assure myself, whether this was really the case, I enquired into the particulars of their earnings and expences; and wrote the same down at the time, just as I received them from each family respectively, guarding as well as I could against error and deception. The following accounts are the result of that enquiry, and they shew that the cause assigned is founded in fact.

These accounts of the earnings and expences of labouring families, in my own parish, were collected about *Easter* 1787, when affairs relating to the poor were under the consideration of the Parliament  
and

and the public. From what loose information I could then gather near home, I saw sufficient reason to believe, that they presented but too faithful a view of the general distress of such families throughout this and the neighbouring counties. And the vast increase of the poor-rate, at that time every where a subject of complaint, rendered it very probable that the same misery had overspread the kingdom.

On my suggesting this to some friends who interest themselves in the welfare of the poor, we thought this matter deserving of a fuller scrutiny. And in order to collect information, an abstract of these accounts was printed, and many copies were distributed. We supposed that two or three papers returned from every county, carefully filled up, would furnish us amply with the information we desired. I have to regret that a greater number of those distributed papers has not been returned. The few I have received confirm the opinion previously entertained of the general distress of labouring people, and of the insufficiency of their wages for the supply of their wants. But the accounts themselves will evince this much better than many words.



*Accounts*

*Accounts of the Expences and Earnings of Six Labouring Families in the  
Parish of Barkham in the County of Berks, taken at Easter 1787.*

No. I.

*Weekly Expences of a Family, consisting of a Man and his Wife, and five  
Children, the eldest eight years of age, the youngest an Infant.*

|                                                                                                                                        | s. | d.               |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|------------------|
| FLOUR: $7\frac{1}{2}$ gallons, at 10d. <i>per</i> gallon                                                                               | -  | 6 3              |
| Yeast, to make it into bread, $2\frac{1}{2}$ d; and salt $1\frac{1}{2}$ d.                                                             | -  | 0 4              |
| Bacon, 1lb. boiled at two or three times with greens: the pot-liquor,<br>with bread and potatoes, makes a <i>mess</i> for the children | -  | 0 8              |
| Tea, 1 ounce, 2d.; $-\frac{1}{4}$ lb. sugar, 6d.; $-\frac{1}{4}$ lb. butter or lard 4d.                                                | -  | 1 0              |
| Soap, $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. at 9d. <i>per</i> lb.                                                                                          | -  | 0 $2\frac{1}{4}$ |
| Candles, $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. one week with another at a medium, at 9d.                                                                   | -  | 0 3              |
| Thread, thrum, and worsted, for mending apparel, &c.                                                                                   | -  | 0 3              |
| Total                                                                                                                                  | 8  | $11\frac{1}{4}$  |

*Weekly Earnings of the Man and his Wife, viz.*

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |   |     |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|-----|
| The man receives the common weekly wages 8 months in the year                                                                                                                                                                             | 7 | 0   |
| By task-work the remaining 4 months he earns something more: his<br><i>extra</i> earnings, if equally divided among the 52 weeks in the year,<br>would increase the weekly wages about                                                    | - | 1 0 |
| The wife's common work is to bake bread for the family, to wash and<br>mend ragged clothes, and to look after the children; but at bean-<br>setting, haymaking, and harvest, she earns as much as comes one<br>week with another to about | - | 0 6 |
| Total                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | 8 | 6   |

|                                |   |                   |
|--------------------------------|---|-------------------|
| Weekly expences of this family | - | 8 $11\frac{1}{4}$ |
| Weekly earnings                | - | 8 6               |
| Deficiency of earnings         | - | 0 $5\frac{1}{4}$  |

No. 2.

No. 2.

Weekly Expences of a Family, consisting of a Woman, whose Husband is run away, and six Children, the eldest 16 years of age, the youngest 5: four of the Children too young to earn any thing.

|                                                                                              | s.    | d.                |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|-------------------|
| Flour for bread, 6 gallons, at 10d. <i>per</i> gallon                                        | -     | 5 0               |
| Ditto $\frac{1}{2}$ gallon for puddings, and thickening the children's messes                | -     | 0 5               |
| Yeast for the bread, 2d.;—salt 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.                                            | -     | 0 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| Bacon, 2lbs. at 8d. (with sometimes a sheep's head)                                          | -     | 1 4               |
| Tea, 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ ounce, 4d.;—sugar, $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. 4d.;—butter, $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. 4d. | -     | 1 0               |
| Soap, something more than $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. at 9d. <i>per</i> lb.                            | -     | 0 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| Candles, $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. one week with another, at 9d. <i>per</i> lb.                      | -     | 0 3               |
| Thread, worsted, &c.                                                                         | -     | 0 3               |
|                                                                                              | Total | 8 9               |

Weekly Earnings of this Family, with the Parish Allowance.

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |   |      |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|------|
| This family receives from the parish weekly                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | - | 5 0  |
| The eldest boy earns <i>per</i> week                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | - | 2 6  |
| The next, aged 13 years, earns, but not constantly                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | - | 1 6  |
| The mother, whilst an old woman looks after the younger children, earns, one week with another, about                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | - | 1 6  |
| The amount, supposing none of them to lose any time, is                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | - | 10 6 |
| But some deduction must be made from this sum, because they are an unhealthy family, one or other of them being often laid up with the ague or rheumatism; disorders to which poor people, from low living and working in the wet, are very subject. The woman assures me that their earnings with the parish allowance do not exceed 9s. <i>per</i> week on an average; therefore deduct | - | 1 6  |
| Total of earnings, with the parish allowance                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |   | 9 0  |
| Surplus of earnings                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | - | 0 3  |

C

No. 3.

No. 3.

Weekly Expences of a Family, consisting of a Man and his Wife, with four small Children, the eldest under 6 years of age, the youngest an Infant.

|                                                                                                    | s. | d.             |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|----------------|
| Flour, 6 gallons, at 10d. per gallon - - - - -                                                     | 5  | 0              |
| Yeast, 2d.—salt $1\frac{1}{4}$ d. - - - - -                                                        | 0  | $3\frac{1}{4}$ |
| Bacon, 1 lb. - - - - -                                                                             | 0  | 8              |
| Tea, 1 ounce, 2d.—sugar, $\frac{3}{4}$ lb. 6d.—butter, $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. 4d. - - - - -             | 1  | 0              |
| Soap, $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. $2\frac{1}{4}$ d.—candles, $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. 3d.—thread, &c. 3d. - - - - - | 0  | $8\frac{1}{4}$ |
| Total                                                                                              | 7  | $7\frac{3}{4}$ |

Weekly Earnings of the Man and his Wife, viz.

The husband, if he has constant health and constant employment, earns

|                                                     |   |   |
|-----------------------------------------------------|---|---|
| on an average - - - - -                             | 8 | 0 |
| The wife, like No. 1, does not earn above - - - - - | 0 | 6 |
| Total                                               | 8 | 6 |

|                                          |   |                 |
|------------------------------------------|---|-----------------|
| Weekly earnings of this family - - - - - | 8 | 6               |
| Weekly expences - - - - -                | 7 | $7\frac{3}{4}$  |
| Surplus of earnings                      | 0 | $10\frac{1}{4}$ |

No. 4.



No. 4.

Weekly Expences of a Man and his Wife, with three Children, the eldest under 5 years of age, the youngest an Infant.

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | s. | d.              |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|-----------------|
| Flour, 3 gallons <i>per</i> week, at 10d. - - - - -                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | 2  | 6               |
| Yeast, 1d.—falt $1\frac{1}{4}$ d. - - - - -                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | 0  | $2\frac{1}{4}$  |
| Bacon: the farmer, of whom they rent their dwelling, lets them have a fatted hog, weight about 14 score, (on condition of their not keeping any pigs or poultry) at 1s. <i>per</i> score under the market price: this at 6s. 6d. <i>per</i> score (1787) comes to 4l. 11s. and as it lasts the family the whole year, it is <i>per</i> week exactly - - - - - | 1  | 9               |
| Cheese, about 28lb. at $4\frac{1}{4}$ d. <i>per</i> lb.; 10s. 6d. <i>per</i> ann.— <i>per</i> week - - -                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | 0  | $2\frac{1}{4}$  |
| Tea, $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. <i>per</i> month, at 3s. <i>per</i> lb. <i>per</i> week $2\frac{1}{4}$ d.; sugar 8d.; butter 4d. -                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | 1  | $2\frac{1}{4}$  |
| The wife having an infant at the breast, and fancying <i>very</i> small beer better than mere water, brews a peck of malt once a month, which costs 1s. 4d.—hops $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. 4d.—this is <i>per</i> week - - - - -                                                                                                                                      | 0  | 5               |
| Soap, 3 lbs. at 9d. <i>per</i> lb. lasts 2 months, this is <i>per</i> week 3d. -                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | 0  | 3               |
| Candles, $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. at a medium, 3d.—thread and worsted 2d. - - -                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | 0  | 5               |
| Total                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | 6  | $11\frac{1}{4}$ |

Weekly Earnings of this Family, viz.

|                                                                                                                                                       |   |   |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|---|
| The man's business is to follow a farmer's team, for which he has 8s. a week throughout the year - - - - -                                            | 8 | 0 |
| He has, besides, either his diet in his employer's house 6 weeks in harvest, or instead of it 18s.; which divided into 52 parts, is <i>per</i> week - | 0 | 4 |
| The wife earns at a medium about 8d. <i>per</i> week - - - - -                                                                                        | 0 | 8 |
| Total                                                                                                                                                 | 9 | 0 |

|                                          |   |                 |
|------------------------------------------|---|-----------------|
| Weekly earnings of this family - - - - - | 9 | 0               |
| Weekly expences - - - - -                | 6 | $11\frac{1}{4}$ |
| Surplus of earnings                      | 2 | $0\frac{3}{4}$  |

No. 5.

No. 5.

Weekly Expences of another Family, consisting of a Man and his Wife, with three Children, the eldest 6 years of age, the youngest an Infant.

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | s.    | d.  |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|-----|
| Flour, $\frac{1}{2}$ a sack <i>per</i> month, or nearly 5 gallons <i>per</i> week, say $4\frac{1}{2}$ , at 10d.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | 3     | 9   |
| Yeast and salt - - - - -                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | 0     | 3   |
| Meat :—bought a pig and fatted it : price of the pig 10s. 6d.; cost 6d. a week for 42 weeks before fattening, 1l. 1s.; was fatted with one sack of beans 15s. one sack of pease 16s. and 5 bushels of ground barley 25s.; total 4l. 7s. 6d.—when killed it was estimated to weigh about 14 score pounds; it cost therefore 6s. 4d. <i>per</i> score; this, with a few sheep's heads and shins of beef, will last all the year, and is <i>per</i> week |       |     |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | 1     | 8   |
| Beer; they seldom brew but against a christening - - - - -                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | 0     | 0   |
| Tea, sugar, and butter - - - - -                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | 1     | 0   |
| Soap, starch, candles, worsted, on an average - - - - -                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | 1     | 0   |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | <hr/> |     |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | Total | 7 8 |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | <hr/> |     |

Weekly Earnings of this Family, viz.

|                                                                                                                                                                            |       |   |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|---|
| The man has, summer and winter, the common pay, 7s.; and he has also a mess of milk for breakfast, and small beer, worth at least 1s. more - - - - -                       |       |   |
|                                                                                                                                                                            | 8     | 0 |
| The woman earns, as she believes, by washing and needle-work, by breeding poultry, and at harvest work when she has no child to nurse, about 1s. <i>per</i> week - - - - - |       |   |
|                                                                                                                                                                            | 1     | 0 |
|                                                                                                                                                                            | <hr/> |   |
|                                                                                                                                                                            | 9     | 0 |
|                                                                                                                                                                            | <hr/> |   |

|                                          |       |   |
|------------------------------------------|-------|---|
| Weekly earnings of this family - - - - - | 9     | 0 |
| Weekly expences - - - - -                | 7     | 8 |
|                                          | <hr/> |   |
| Surplus of earnings                      | 1     | 4 |
|                                          | <hr/> |   |

No. 6.

No. 6.

Weekly Expences of a Family, confisting of a Man and his Wife, with two young Children, the eldest 7 years of age, the youngest 4.

|                                                                                | s. | d.               |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|------------------|
| Flour, 5 gallons, at 10d.                                                      | 4  | 2                |
| Yeast and falt                                                                 | 0  | 3                |
| Bacon, 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. at 8d.                                              | 1  | 0                |
| Tea, 1 ounce, 2d.;—fugar, $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. 4d.;—butter, $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. 4d. | 0  | 10               |
| Soap, $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ d.;—candles, 3d.;—worsted, 3d.         | 0  | 8 $\frac{3}{4}$  |
| Total                                                                          | 6  | 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ |

Weekly Earnings of this Family, viz.

|                                                              |   |   |
|--------------------------------------------------------------|---|---|
| The man earns, one week with another, if constantly employed | 8 | 0 |
| The woman, on an average, not more than                      | 0 | 6 |
| Total                                                        | 8 | 6 |

|                                |   |                  |
|--------------------------------|---|------------------|
| Weekly earnings of this family | 8 | 6                |
| Weekly expences                | 6 | 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ |
| Surplus of earnings            | 1 | 6 $\frac{3}{4}$  |

N. B. The weekly expences and earnings of another family, confisting of the same number of persons, are so nearly the same with the above, that it is not worth while to set them down separately.

Note 1.

*Note 1.* It is not easy to come at the exact earnings of a day-labourer, as the farmers keep no regular account of the distinct payments made to each labourer. A great deal of husbandry work is done by the *piece*, or by *task*; such as hoeing turnips, beans, and pease; mowing grafs and spring corn; reaping, threshing, hedging and ditching, draining, coppice work, &c. Intelligent farmers say, that the men are thus employed about four months in the year, and that they then earn from eight to twelve shillings a week, according to circumstances. Suppose them to earn at a medium 10s.

|                                                   | £. | s. | d. |
|---------------------------------------------------|----|----|----|
| Then a man's work 35 weeks, at 7s. comes to       | 12 | 5  | 0  |
| And ————— 17 weeks, at 10s. - -                   | 8  | 10 | 0  |
| Amount <i>per annum</i> - -                       | 20 | 15 | 0  |
| Add the wife's earnings, at 6d. <i>per week</i> - | 1  | 6  | 0  |
| Total of earnings <i>per annum</i>                | 22 | 1  | 0  |

This is at the rate of 8s. 6d. a week nearly: and Nos. 4 and 5 of the foregoing accounts *prove*, that the *men's* earnings on an average do not much, if at all, exceed 8s. a week.

*Note 2.* If any one should think that the *women's* earnings are stated too low in these accounts, he will be convinced they are not, on considering that these women commonly begin the world with an infant, and are mere nurses for ten or twelve years after marriage, being always either with child, or having a child at the breast; consequently incapable of doing much other work besides the necessary business of their families, such as baking, washing, and the like. In winter they earn next to nothing, few of them having in their youth learnt to knit and spin: and if in summer they are able to go to harvest work, they must pay some person a shilling a week out of their earnings for looking after

after their children. It is probable therefore that from 6d. to 9d. a week is as much as labourers' wives in general, hereabout, earn on an average the year through.

THE expences already fet down are only the *weekly outgoings*, exclusive of house-rent, fuel, clothing, lying-in, sickness, and burials: these being best allowed for by the year, may be called *annual outgoings*, and are as under :

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | £. | s. | d.             |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|----|----------------|
| <i>Rent</i> of a cottage, or part of an old farm-house, with a small piece of garden ground, for a family, is from two pounds to two guineas: say - - - - -                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | 2  | 0  | 0              |
| <i>Fuel</i> : this is turf from the Common, and when bought costs 12s. <i>per</i> family; but as a man can cut in a week nearly enough to serve his family all the year, and the farmers (if the distance be not great) will give the carriage for the ashes, let this be charged at a little more than one week's wages - - - - -                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | 0  | 10 | 0              |
| <i>Clothing</i> : 1. The man's: wear of a suit <i>per annum</i> 5s.; wear of a working jacket and breeches 4s.; two shirts 8s.; one pair of stout shoes nailed 7s.; two pair of stockings 4s.; hat, handkerchief, &c. 2s. Sum 1l. 10s.—2. The <i>wife's</i> : wear of gown and petticoats 4s.; one shift 3s. 6d.; one pair of strong shoes 4s.; one pair of stockings 1s. 6d.; two aprons 3s.; handkerchiefs, caps, &c. 4s. Sum 1l.—3. The <i>children's</i> : their clothing is (usually) partly made up of the parents' old clothes, partly bought at second-hand: what is bought (supposing <i>three</i> children to a family) cannot well be reckoned at less than 1l.: where there are more than three children, 7s. may be added; and where there are fewer, 7s. may be deducted, for each.—Let the whole be estimated at | 3  | 10 | 0              |
| Carried over                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | 6  | 0  | 0              |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |    |    | [ <i>Note.</i> |

Brought over  $\begin{array}{r} \text{£.} \quad \text{s.} \quad \text{d.} \\ 6 \quad 0 \quad 0 \end{array}$

[*Note.* Very few poor people can afford to lay out this sum in clothes; but they should be enabled to do it: some cottagers breed a few fowls, with which they buy what sheets and blankets they want: but those who live in old farmhouses are seldom allowed (to use their own words) *to keep a pig or a chick.*]

*Lying-in:* the child's linen 3 or 4s.; the midwife's fee 5s.; a bottle of gin or brandy always had upon this occasion, 2s.; attendance of a nurse for a few days, and her diet, at least 5s.; half a bushel of malt brewed, and hops, 3s.; to the minister for churching 1s.;—call the sum 1l. and suppose this to happen but once in two years; this is *per annum* - - - - -  $\begin{array}{r} 0 \quad 10 \quad 0 \end{array}$

*Casualties:* 1. In *sickness* there is the physick to be paid for, and the loss of time to be allowed for:—2. *Burials*; poor people having many children, sometimes lose one:—for both these together it seems moderate to allow *per annum* - - - - -  $\begin{array}{r} 0 \quad 10 \quad 0 \end{array}$

Sum of these annual outgoings  $\begin{array}{r} \text{£.} \quad 7 \quad 0 \quad 0 \end{array}$

This sum (7l.) being divided by 52, the number of weeks in a year, gives 2s. 8½d. *per week*. If therefore any one desires to know the *whole* weekly expence of a family, (consisting of a man and his wife with three children) in order to compare it with the *whole* of their weekly earnings, he must add 2s. 8½d. to the *current* weekly expence of the family, as before set down at the foot of its account.

Suppose, for instance, it were required to find the whole weekly expence of No. 5, in order to compare the same with the whole of the weekly earnings of that family:

|                                                      |       |           |           |
|------------------------------------------------------|-------|-----------|-----------|
|                                                      |       | <i>s.</i> | <i>d.</i> |
| To the current weekly expence, p. 12,                | - - - | 7         | 8         |
| Add one 52d part of the <i>annual outgoings</i> , or | - - - | 2         | 8½        |
|                                                      |       | <hr/>     |           |
| The whole weekly expence                             | -     | 10        | 4½        |
| The whole weekly earnings, p. 12                     |       | 9         | 0         |
|                                                      |       | <hr/>     |           |
| Weekly deficiency                                    |       | 1         | 4½        |
|                                                      |       | <hr/>     |           |

In other cases : where there are *more* than three children, two-pence more must be added for each; and where there are *fewer*, two-pence must be deducted; the reason of which may be seen under the article *Clothing*, in p. 15. Thus,

|                                                    |   |    |                 |
|----------------------------------------------------|---|----|-----------------|
| To the current weekly expence of No. 3, p. 10      | - | 7  | 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ |
| Add, as in the former instance                     | - | 2  | 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ |
| Add also, towards clothing the <i>fourth</i> child | - | 0  | 2               |
| <hr/>                                              |   |    |                 |
| The whole weekly expence                           | - | 10 | 6               |
| The whole weekly earnings, p. 10                   |   | 8  | 6               |
| <hr/>                                              |   |    |                 |
| Weekly deficiency                                  |   | 2  | 0               |
| <hr/>                                              |   |    |                 |







### SECTION III.

#### OBSERVATIONS SUGGESTED BY THE FOREGOING ACCOUNTS, AND CONFIRMED BY OTHERS RECEIVED FROM DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE KINGDOM.

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1. **T**HESE accounts suppose that a labouring man may always have work, when he is well and willing to work, without regard to any other loss of time than what may be occasioned by sickness alone: but as this is in reality the case of very few labourers comparatively, most of them losing some time from other accidents, it is certain that in general they must feel additional distress from this circumstance.

2. It deserves to be remarked, that the outgoings called *annual* in these accounts, to distinguish them from those that recur weekly, amount to a *third part* nearly of the whole annual earnings of a labouring family. And they would exceed this proportion, were not the charge for *fuel* here much below what that article costs in many places; for in a great part of the kingdom *thirty shillings* will scarcely purchase such a quantity, as is absolutely necessary for a family.

3. Every body must have observed, that families with four or five young children are common in country parishes. As *bread* makes the principal part of the food of all poor families, and almost the whole of the food of all such large families, it is manifest that whatever causes operate in raising at any time the price of corn, the same must necessarily bring heavy distress upon families of this description.

4. It

4. It appears that in such families as No. 1, in which there are five children, all unable to work, the whole of their earnings nearly goes for *food* alone, even when the price of bread (as here reckoned) is rather low than moderate. Also, that the weekly earnings of such families are not sufficient for supplying them in the scantiest proportion with the common weekly necessaries, exclusive of the annual outgoings.

5. But in most country parishes there are *some* families with even six children, all incapable of earning a maintenance. Consequently the weekly earnings of such as these must fall short in a still greater degree, than in the preceding instance, of what is absolutely necessary for supplying their common weekly necessities.

6.. No. 2 is a family deserted by the father, and thereby thrown on the parish; which sometimes happens from the fault of overseers in refusing timely relief. This family has received from the parish, during some years, a weekly pension of 5s.; lives in the parish-house rent free; and is supplied with fuel, and some clothing, at the parish expence. And though the mother is a hard-working woman, the expence of this family to the parish, since the man went away, has been about 15l. a year. Such is the *folly* of bearing hard upon the poor!

7. The weekly surplusses, which appear in Nos. 2 and 3, are so trifling, that if they were expended on the weekly subsistence of those families respectively, no reasonable person could think that they fared too well. It is probable that in most instances those apparent surplusses are so expended by such families. And then the whole amount of the annual outgoings of these (as well as of No. 1) for rent, fuel, clothing, lying-in, and casualties, must either come out of the poor-rate, or these families must necessarily run in debt, steal, or starve.

8. Nos.

8. Nos. 4, 5, 6, have, each, a weekly surplus considerable enough to be applied to some use : but it is observable that the surplus in No. 4 exceeds that of all the rest. This happens, *1<sup>st</sup>*, because that family is favoured in the article of meat ;—*2<sup>dly</sup>*, because it has at present credit enough to buy a sack of flour at a time, by which something is gained in bread ;—and *3<sup>dly</sup>*, because it has sufficient garden-ground for planting a good patch of potatoes, which also save bread.

9. Let us now suppose all the *weekly surplusses*, which appear in these accounts, really to exist and to be saved. Then, on comparing the *yearly* amount of the earnings with the *yearly* amount of the expences, we shall see in every instance a considerable deficiency : which deficiency, unless it be made up by poaching, stealing, and other bad practices, or be supplied by the charity of individuals, must necessarily come out of the poor-rate.

10. If, omitting Nos. 1 and 2, whose earnings are so inadequate to the supply of their wants, we add together *all* the expences of the remaining *four* families, consisting of twenty persons, the sum 103l. 18s. 9d. divided by 4, the number of families, gives 26l. very nearly for the whole yearly expence of a family of five persons. And if we consider that *three* of these four families have, each, a sucking child who eats but little bread, and that none of them can afford to drink small beer in common, we shall be satisfied that 26l. is the least sum that will suffice for the annual maintenance of such a family, wherever bread made of wheat is commonly eaten. But the sum of the earnings of the same four families, supposing them constantly employed, is only 91l. which, divided by 4, gives 22l. 15s. for the mean  
amount

amount of the earnings of a family of five persons. Therefore the mean deficiency of the earnings of such a family is at the least 3l. 5s.

11. But if it be thought reasonable (and surely it *is* reasonable) that labouring people should have the ability to brew small beer for themselves; then, supposing each family to use only *one* bushel of malt *per* month of four weeks, which will make about 28 gallons of very small drink; this, reckoning the malt at 5s. 6d. *per* bushel, with three or four shillings worth of hops, will add about 3l. 15s. to the above expences. And if it be also thought right that they should be enabled to give a child or two a little schooling, 10s. more must be added on *this* account. Both these articles together make 4l. 5s. which, added to the 26l. above, makes the total of the expences 30l. 5s. And this sum, I think, labouring families should earn yearly, to enable them to provide for themselves all necessaries, and to live in tolerable comfort, independent of parochial assistance. But it appears that in fact they do not earn above 23l. *per annum*. Therefore the mean deficiency of their earnings is, on this supposition, at least 7l.

12. However, taking the matter as it is stated in Observation 10, the deficiency of 3l. 5s. there shewn, would well maintain one young child. Whence we may infer, that the present wages of a labouring man constantly employed, together with the usual earnings of his wife, are barely sufficient to maintain in all necessaries, independent of parish relief, the man and his wife with two children: And that the sum of their earnings would be insufficient for this, if poor people were to allow themselves *small beer* in common. But it is a fact, in which old people uniformly agree, that the joint earnings of a labouring man and his wife were sufficient to maintain themselves and three children, and  
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in a better manner too, about the middle of this century. Therefore the price of day-labour has not, in this interval, kept pace with the prices of the necessaries of life; and the condition of a labouring family is now become, from this circumstance alone, worse than it was then, by so much as would suffice for the maintenance of one child.

13. In truth, various causes, as I shall shew presently, have concurred to raise the nominal prices of the necessaries of life a great deal higher than they were forty or fifty years ago. And various causes have likewise concurred, as I shall also shew, to keep down the nominal price of labour nearly as low as it was at that time. Add to this, that the labouring poor have been gradually deprived of some advantages which they formerly enjoyed, and subjected to some hardships from which they were formerly exempt. Thus the *subsistence* of poor families in general is become far more expensive and difficult than it was in the former part of this century: in consequence of which the *number* of the poor depending on parish relief is greatly increased. And this observation (when these facts are proved) will serve to explain that augmentation of the general amount of the poor-rates, which has been continually going on from about the year 1750 to the present day.

14. It is manifest from *Obs.* 10, that the poor-rate is now in part a *substitute for wages*. And a miserable substitute it is, for the following reasons:—1st. Because the distribution of it being left very much in the discretion of the overseers of the poor, who in saving the parish money save their own, and who in distributing it do not always regard strict justice, many modest and deserving families, that cannot live entirely without relief, receive not sufficient relief from it, chusing rather to suffer oppression than to incur the ill-will of their superiors

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by applying to a magistrate for redress. 2dly. Because the receiving that from the parish in the precarious way of alms, which they ought to receive in wages as the reasonable recompence of labour, is a great discouragement to the industrious poor, tends to sink their minds in despondency, and to drive them into desperate courses. 3dly. Because sometimes the men, either from resentment at the hard usage they have met with, are provoked to desert their families; or else too often, from mere despair of being able to maintain them honestly, they and their wives betake themselves to wicked courses: the example corrupts their children, whose minds being thus tainted remain ever after dead to all virtuous impressions. 4thly. Because, wherever large sums of money are raised for the use of the poor, a great temptation is laid in the way of unprincipled overseers, who, by embezzling a part of what comes into their hands, rob the poor in the first instance; and afterwards, to cover the villainy, perjure themselves in swearing to their accounts.

15. I have read somewhere, that about the beginning of this century, the poor of this country receiving relief were computed to be about 600,000. I think it probable that their number is now (1787) almost tripled. In this parish the poor-rate is somewhat lower than in any of the contiguous parishes.\* Here is no work-house, nor any manufacture carried on. Tilling the ground is the only occupation. The number of the inhabitants being only 200, every one is known, and no one can well be idle. The overseers, being frugal farmers, keep down the rate as low as they can. No expence for law or entertainments has of late been incurred. The rental of the parish is about 750l.; the poor-

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\* It has risen fast since.

rate 2s. in the pound, or 75l. *per annum* : besides which, the parish-house, consisting of four tenements, saves house-rent to four poor families. The number of poor receiving relief, either individually or by families, (including those in the poor-house) is about forty, besides others assisted occasionally in sickness: that is, the number of individuals assisted by the rate is about *one fifth* of the whole. Supposing this proportion to hold throughout the kingdom, and our population to be 8,000,000, the number of paupers comes out 1,600,000. I give this merely as a *rude guess* at the number of our poor: but on comparing the above-recited circumstances of *this* parish with those of some neighbouring parishes, I am induced to believe that this calculation is not very far from the truth.

16. Two millions of pounds *sterling*, and upwards, raised for the poor (besides *charitable donations*, amounting to a quarter of a million more) sounds largely. And indeed the *net* revenue of the kingdom a little more than a *hundred years* ago did not amount to so much. But, if we consider how small a proportion *this* sum bears to the whole collective income of the nation at present, which probably exceeds 120 millions; this tax must then appear to every humane person to be by no means immoderate. And if we consider further, how wretchedly the poor actually live *with* this aid; far from entertaining the vain hope of the *extinction* of the rate by any plan whatever, we shall see little room even to expect any material *reduction* of it, whilst the price of day-labour remains so low as it now is, and whilst the churchwardens and overseers are permitted, as they have long been, to neglect their duty in setting the poor to work. Under these circumstances it is manifestly impossible to diminish the rate in any great degree, without greatly increasing the miseries of the poor.

17. Since

17. Since labouring families are generally in real distress, (*per* Obf. 12) when they come to have more than *two* children unable to earn their living ; it seems indisputable, that such families have then an equitable claim upon their parish, by the very *principle* which forms the basis of our poor laws, for the support of all above two, whilst things continue on the present foot. For it is manifest that our laws consider all the inhabitants of a parish as forming one large family, the higher and richer part of which is bound to provide employment and subsistence for the lower and labouring part.

18. I have said that I found our poor families very meanly clothed. In this respect No. 4 was no exception. And this is visibly the case of the poor in general. In fact it is but little that in the present state of things the belly can spare for the back. Even such persons as may have been provident enough, when single, to supply themselves with a small stock of clothes, are, after marriage, from inability to buy more, soon reduced to ragged garments. And then the women spend as much time in tacking their tatters together, as would serve for manufacturing new clothing, had they the skill to do it, and materials to do it with. One bad consequence of this meanness of dress is, that many of the poor are ashamed to appear among decent people at our churches ; they either neglect the duty of public worship altogether, or they assemble at places where they are sure of meeting with people as ill-clothed as themselves.

19. Since the day-labourer can scarcely with his utmost exertions supply his family with the daily bread which is to sustain their bodies, no wonder that he should so seldom strive to procure for them that other bread, which is to nourish their souls, and prepare them for a future state of being. For though the schooling of a child costs but  
two-pence



two-pence or three-pence a week, yet this pittance is wanted for so many other purposes, that it would be missed in the family. And thus the children of the poor are too commonly left to waste those early years in idleness and vice, which they should be made to employ in learning their duties to God and man, and in laying the foundations of a religious and virtuous life.

20. Such being the unhappy condition of poor people, particularly of day-labourers: left, for the most part, destitute of instruction in their early years, and copying as they grow up the example of vicious parents; being, in consequence of this, thoughtless, improvident, and irreligious in youth; unable, when married, by incessant labour, to provide for the necessities of even a moderate family; their spirits sinking, as children come on, under a growing weight of wretchedness and woe; their applications for assistance often treated with contempt by the persons appointed to relieve them; can we wonder, if, thus circumstanced, they receive occasional favours without gratitude, and brood over their miseries in sulky silence? Can we wonder at that wide-spread dishonesty, and profligacy of manners, the fatal effects of which we are daily lamenting? Our astonishment will assuredly cease, if we do but reflect that the very best education will scarcely keep a man honest and virtuous, whose family is perishing for want of necessities.

21. The preceding observations may suggest one valuable precaution to *Justices of the Peace*, who are the legal guardians and protectors of the poor. When a family, having been denied relief by the overseers of their parish, comes to the magistrate for redress, the magistrate would do well to inform himself minutely, not only of the *weekly* earnings and expences, but also of the *annual* earnings and outgoings of such

such family; because it is from a comparison of the *whole* of the one with the *whole* of the other, that he can alone form a right judgment what relief he should order to be given to the party so applying to him.

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SECTION

#### SECTION IV.

##### AN APOLOGY FOR THE POOR—EATING WHEATEN BREAD— NEGLECTING POTATOES—DRINKING TEA.



POOR people are often censured for want of frugality and œconomy in the management of their earnings. In particular, they are accused of extravagance in eating wheaten bread; of being over-nice in neglecting as they do the use of potatoes; and of a luxurious excess in drinking tea. It may be proper to see what force there is in these charges.

*First* ; It is asked, Why should our labouring people eat wheaten bread? Were they content, as the poor of this country were formerly, and as the poor of other countries are still, with bread of an inferior quality, they might then spare money for other purposes, and live with more comfort than they usually do. It is wonderful how readily even men of sense give into this censure, neither considering the different circumstances of different countries at the same time, nor the different circumstances of the same country at different times. They assume that the condition of the working people of this kingdom is the same now, in all *other* respects, as it was formerly ; which is by no means the case. If the working people of other countries are content with bread made of rye, barley, or oats, have they not milk, cheese, butter, fruits, or fish, to eat with that coarser bread? And was not this the case of our own people formerly, when these grains were the common productions

ductions of our land, and when scarcely wheat enough was grown for the use of the nobility and principal gentry? Flesh-meat, butter, and cheese, were then at such moderate prices, compared with the present prices, that poor people could afford to use them in common. And with a competent quantity of these articles, a coarser kind of bread might very well satisfy the common people of any country.

Time, which changes all things, has gradually changed the circumstances of this kingdom. Our lands have been so much improved, that wheat is as common now as rye and barley were formerly. A sufficient quantity of wheat is now annually produced for the consumption of, probably, three-fourths of our people. In the corn counties it is chiefly on the crop of wheat that the farmer relies for the ability to pay his rent; which causes such care to be taken in preparing the land for this grain, as almost to ensure a plentiful crop. And if the labouring people, of whom the mass of every nation consists, were to cease to eat it when produced, how, let me ask, would the farmer then dispose of his corn? And how could he pay his landlord the high rent now demanded of him? But this is not all. The prices of meat, butter, and cheese, are so much increased, in consequence of the increase of riches, luxury, and taxes, that working people can now scarcely afford to use them in the smallest quantities. So that they depend almost entirely upon the bread they eat for strength to perform their daily labour. That bread should therefore be of a good kind. But it is certain that wheaten bread contains much more nourishment than barley bread\*; and it is probable that the difference in this respect is

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\* It is said, however, that the people of *Cornwall*, who eat barley bread, prefer it, saying, that it has more *heart* in it than wheaten bread.

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such as to compensate for the difference of price. (See *Traëts on the Corn Trade*, p. 199.) The old man there mentioned, who fed his family with barley bread in *dear* times, found it as cheap to feed them with wheaten bread, unless he could buy barley at two-thirds of the price of wheat. I believe the price of barley for some years past has been but little, if any thing, short of this proportion : and it is manifest that if this grain were commonly used for bread, as well as for drink, the price of it must still advance considerably. Working people seem therefore to judge rightly in giving wheaten bread the preference, since it is the only good thing of which they can have a sufficiency. And it is obviously not less for the *interest* of the rich, than it is for the *comfort* of the poor, that the latter should eat wheaten bread, wherever wheat is the common produce of the land. In such parts of the kingdom, where the lands have not been so highly improved as to produce plenty of wheat, barley, oatmeal, or maslin bread is still in common use.

It appears then that the œconomy of eating inferior bread is, in the present state of things, at least very questionable. But, were it otherwise, a change in this respect is scarcely practicable. The corn business is now carried on in a systematical way, from which the dealers will not depart. Formerly the labourer could have corn of different kinds mixed in any proportion, in exchange for his labour, even more readily than he could get money. His wife carried it to the mill, had it ground and dressed, and then brought it home, and baked it for the family. There was no intermediate person except the miller, between the farmer and the consumer, to receive a profit. But now it is out of the course of business for the farmer to retail corn by the bushel to this or that poor man; except in some particular places, as a matter of  
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favour,

favour, to his own labourers. The great farmer deals in a wholesale way with the miller; the miller with the mealman; and the mealman with the shopkeeper; of which last the poor man buys his flour by the bushel. For neither the miller, nor the mealman, will sell the labourer a less quantity than a *sack* of flour *under* the retail price at shops: and the poor man's pocket will seldom allow of his buying a whole sack at once. Formerly then the wife saved the profits of the mealman and shopkeeper, who now, without adding to the value of the manufacture, do each receive a profit out of the poor man's earnings. It has been asserted by a good judge of these matters, that this is a disadvantage to the poor of at least *ten per cent.* upon this prime necessary of life. (See Mr. Kent's *Hints to Gentlemen of Landed Property*, p. 277.) In short, the poor man buys *every thing* at the highest price; at a higher price than the rich do. He cannot help this; but must submit to the established order. It is not possible for him, nor is it easy for his superiors, to effect a change, where things have gone on for a long time in a certain train.

Upon the whole, labouring people, having neither meat, nor cheese, nor milk, nor beer, in sufficient quantities, eat good bread where every body else eats it. You say, they cannot afford to do this; and you blame their extravagance. But can you, who blame them, give a reason, why they, whose hands have tilled the ground, and sown and reaped the grain, are not as well entitled to eat good bread, as manufacturers? or, as the servants in gentlemen's families? or, as the paupers in houses of industry and parochial work-houses? or, as the felons in your gaols?

2dly. It

2dly. It is sometimes said that poor people neglect too much the use of potatoes; as potatoes would not only save bread, but, by helping to keep a pig, give them more meat than they can now afford themselves. Though the potatoe is an excellent root, deserving to be brought into general use, yet it seems not likely that the use of it should ever be general in this country. The use of wheat, spreading with improvements in husbandry, will probably supersede it in many places where it is now in request. The potatoe has the advantage in cheapness only: wheat is superior in all other respects. Besides, there are two circumstances which forbid the common people in the richer counties from cultivating potatoes so much as they might otherwise be inclined to do; namely, the want of sufficient garden ground, and the difficulty of procuring milk.

1st. The want of sufficient garden ground. This appears truly strange in a country, where a third part of the land at least lies waste; and where, if every poor family were allowed as much of this waste land as they could, when not otherwise employed, cultivate with the spade and the pick-axe, it would be undoubtedly a great public benefit. Yet such is the fact. In consequence of the law of settlements, it has been, and is, the policy of parishes (in order to ease the rates and check their increase, and also to render labourers entirely dependent on their employers) to destroy cottages, some of which had ground about them. And this destruction has been greatly promoted by the system of engrossing farms. For the engrossing farmer, occupying sometimes half a dozen farms, converts all the farm-houses, except that in which his own family resides, into dwellings for the poor. After taking such part of the garden belonging to each house as he chooses, for his own use, he

he divides the rest, as he had before divided the house, into several portions, allotting to each of his under-tenants about a quarter of a rood of ground, with perhaps an apple-tree or two. The occupier of this scanty bit of ground, desiring some variety in his food, (and variety is known to be wholesome) instead of planting the whole in potatoes, produces from it a little of many things; beans, pease, cabbages, onions, and some potatoes too. He works at it early and late to make it yield him something constantly. And it is hard to say what better use he can possibly put it to.

But, 2dly, If the labouring man has ground enough, as is here and there the case, the want of milk is another impediment to the use of potatoes. Wheaten bread may be eaten alone with pleasure; but potatoes require either meat or milk to make them go down: you cannot make many hearty meals of them with salt and water only. Poor people indeed give them to their children in the greasy water, in which they have boiled their greens and their morsel of bacon: and, blessed be God! children will thrive, if they have but enough of any thing. As to meat, we know very well how little of that they are obliged to content themselves with. Butter-milk is the thing, if they could get it. In Wales and Ireland, (and in some parts of England too) potatoes and butter-milk make one meal a day in most families almost all the year. But taking England in general, butter-milk is too little regarded as an article of diet. The method of churning in the southern counties makes it only fit for swine. Where the method of churning is such as to produce it sweet and good, there a poor family may always either beg or buy a jug of butter-milk; and there too we find potatoes in use. But the use of potatoes must be very limited, where  
milk



milk cannot be cheaply procured. And, if they were brought into general use, would not this materially affect the interest of the landholder, by lessening the consumption of wheat and other grain? But,

3dly. The topic on which the declaimers against the extravagance of the poor display their eloquence with most success, is *tea-drinking*. Why should such people, it is asked, indulge in a luxury which is only proper for their betters; and not rather content themselves with milk, which is in every form wholesome and nourishing? Were it true that poor people could every where procure so excellent an article as milk, there would be then just reason to reproach them for giving the preference to the miserable infusion of which they are so fond. But it is not so. Wherever the poor can get milk, do they not gladly use it? And where they cannot get it, would they not gladly exchange their tea for it? The truth is, that very few labouring people can afford to purchase a cow; for a cow would cost the earnings of almost half a year. But, were they able to purchase one, where could they find pasture for her? The commons are so covered with the rich farmer's herds and flocks, that the poor man's cow would soon be starved there. And the little ground about their cottages is barely sufficient for garden stuff. They cannot therefore produce milk for themselves. And as to buying milk, it is not to be had in many places for love or money. In such places as are within reach of the capital and other great towns, (and the influence of these now extends a vast way) the farmers find the most profitable use of a cow to be *suckling*, in order to supply the markets with veal. Besides, it is an observation of Mr. Kent, (see *Hints to Gentlemen, &c.*) that there are thousands of parishes, which, since little farms have been swallowed up in greater, do not support so many cows as they

they did by fifty or sixty in a parish. And thus the poor are very much at a loss for due supplies of milk.

Is there any thing else that they can substitute for milk? Time was when *small beer* was reckoned one of the necessities of life, even in poor families : and it seems to have been designed by Providence for the common drink of the people of this country, being deemed a preservative against some of its worst diseases. Were the poor able to afford themselves this wholesome beverage, it would well enough compensate for the scarcity of milk. But, on account of the dearth of *malt*, which is, most unfortunately for them, a principal subject of taxation, small beer has been these many years far beyond their ability to use in common.

Under these hard circumstances, the dearth of malt, and the difficulty of procuring milk, the only thing remaining for them to moisten their bread with, was *tea*. This was their last resource. Tea (with bread) furnishes one meal for a whole family every day, at no greater expence than about one shilling a week at an average. If any body will point out an article that is cheaper and better, I will venture to answer for the poor in general, that they will be thankful for the discovery.

It was asserted in a work of reputation, many years ago, that as much superfluous money was then expended upon tea, sugar, &c. as would, upon a moderate calculation, maintain four millions more of subjects in bread. (Harte's *Essays*, p. 166.) It is not sufficiently clear upon what grounds this calculation was made ; but it seems to have been made upon pretty good grounds. Certain it is that the consumption of these articles has increased prodigiously since that time. In the  
higher

higher and middling ranks it is very great ; and in manufacturing families, living in towns, it is considerable. But, though the use of tea is more common than could be wished, it is not yet general among the labouring poor : and if we have regard to numbers, *their* share of the consumption is comparatively small ; especially if we reckon the *value* in money.

Still you exclaim, *Tea is a luxury*. If you mean fine hyson tea, sweetened with refined sugar, and softened with cream, I readily admit it to be so. But *this* is not the tea of the poor. Spring water, just coloured with a few leaves of the lowest-priced tea, and sweetened with the brownest sugar, is the luxury for which you reproach them. To this they have recourse from mere necessity : and were they now to be deprived of this, they would immediately be reduced to bread and water. Tea-drinking is not the cause, but the consequence, of the distresses of the poor.

After all, it appears a very strange thing, that the common people of any European nation should be obliged to use, as a part of their daily diet, two articles imported from opposite sides of the earth. But if high taxes, in consequence of expensive wars, and the changes which time insensibly makes in the circumstances of countries, have debarred the poorer inhabitants of this kingdom the use of such things as are the natural products of the soil, and forced them to recur to those of foreign growth ; surely this is not *their* fault. I have no pleasure, however, in defending this practice of tea-drinking among the lower people ; because I know it is made the occasion of much idle gossiping among the women ; and also because the money thus expended, though far from sufficient to supply a family with beer, would yet go some way towards it.

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In fine; this charge of mismanagement made against labouring people, seems to rest upon no solid ground. For a long time past their condition has been going from bad to worse continually. Small indeed is the portion of worldly comforts now left them. Instead therefore of grudging them so small an enjoyment as a morsel of good bread with their miserable tea; instead of attempting to shew how it may yet be possible for them to live *worse* than they do; it well becomes the wisdom and humanity of the present age to devise means how they may be better accommodated. Give to some the ability to keep a cow; and then all will have milk. Give to all the ability to drink small beer at home; and then few will frequent alehouses. He that can procure for them these two benefits, nay, he that can procure for them *one* of these two, will receive the blessing of the grateful poor, and deserve the applause of all good men.

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PART

PART THE SECOND.

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THE  
PRINCIPAL CAUSES  
OF THE  
Growing Distress and Number of the Poor,  
AND OF THE  
CONSEQUENT INCREASE  
OF  
THE POOR-RATE.

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## PART II.

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### SECTION I.

#### A VIEW OF THE PROGRESSIVE ADVANCE OF THE POOR-RATE.

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**I**T appears from the foregoing accounts and observations, that both the distressed and the numbers of the dependent poor have been increasing rapidly together in the latter half of the present century. And this fact will explain, generally, that vast augmentation of the poor-rate which has taken place within the same space of time. But it is proper, now, to note more particularly the several circumstances which have conspired to bring things into this situation. In doing this, we may perhaps discover what measures ought to be adopted, on the return of peace, for remedying the evils complained of. But as few persons seem to have a distinct notion of the celerity with which the poor-rate has of late advanced, the following view of its progress, though not accurate, may be acceptable to many.

The first general assessment made for the poor was in the 14th of *Q. Elizabeth*, anno 1572: see *Burn's Hist. of P. Laws*, p. 74. It does not appear what the amount was at that time: but from the complaints then made of the burdensomeness of the poor, and the endeavours used in preceding reigns to check their growing number, I *guess*  
it

it might be about 200,000l. I have accordingly begun the following table with *this* sum.

*A Table, shewing the Amount of the Poor-Rate in different years, its Increase in the Intervals, and its progressive Annual Increase.*

| Year. |                                                                                                                                                                         | Amount of the<br>Poor-Rate. | Inter-<br>val. | Increase in<br>the Interval. | Annual<br>Increase. |
|-------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------|------------------------------|---------------------|
|       |                                                                                                                                                                         | £.                          |                | £.                           | £.                  |
| 1572  | Supposed amount - - - - -                                                                                                                                               | 200,000                     |                |                              |                     |
| 1685  | At the close of the reign of Charles II. the amount, according to <i>Davenant</i> ; was - - - - -                                                                       | 665,362                     | 113            | 465,362                      | 4,118               |
| 1753  | <i>H. Fielding</i> , in his Proposal for making an effectual Provision for the Poor, &c. printed this year, (see <i>Burn's H. P. E.</i> p. 196) reckons it at - - - - - | 1,000,000                   | 68             | 334,638                      | 4,921               |
| 1776  | According to the returns made to Parliament by the Overseers of the Poor, the medium annual expence of 3 years, ended at Easter 1776, was net money paid to poor - -    | 1,529,780                   | 23             | 529,780                      | 23,034              |
| 1785  | According to the like returns, the medium expence of 3 years, ended at Easter 1785, was* - - -                                                                          | 2,004,238                   | 9              | 474,458                      | 52,719              |

This table exhibits an amazing acceleration of the rate between the years 1753 and 1785, and thereby suggests what was undoubtedly the

\* This was exclusive of the charitable donations, the annual amount of which appears, by the returns then made by the clergy, to be 258,711l.

chief



chief though not the sole cause of that acceleration. For it must be ascribed to the quick and powerful operation of events which happened in that interval. And what could those events be, but the two expensive wars in which this nation was involved; and which occasioned such a number of new taxes to be imposed on necessities as well as luxuries? Notwithstanding this, the progress of luxury in the same period was extremely rapid, and must have contributed greatly to the advancement of the prices of all things. With these two grand causes, many inferior circumstances have co-operated in producing the effect in question.

In the three following sections I shall consider, 1st, Those circumstances which have enhanced directly the *prices* of necessities, and by consequence increased the *number* of dependent poor, thereby *doubly* augmenting the rate. 2dly, I shall mention such as have augmented the rate by *only* increasing the number of the poor. And, *lastly*, I shall note briefly such prevailing neglects and abuses on the part of overseers of the poor, as have caused a considerable direct augmentation of the rate itself.



SECTION

## SECTION II.

THE PRINCIPAL CAUSES WHICH HAVE ENHANCED THE  
NECESSARIES OF LIFE, AND BY CONSEQUENCE INCREASED  
THE NUMBER OF THE POOR, THEREBY DOUBLY  
AUGMENTING THE RATE.

I. **T**HAT the NEW TAXES have had a great influence in raising prices, may be fairly inferred from the following sketch, shewing the progress of the Public Revenue, of the National Debt and its Interest, and of the Poor-Rate.

| Year. | Revenue.   | National Debt. | Inter. of N. Debt. | Poor-Rate. |
|-------|------------|----------------|--------------------|------------|
| 1685  | 2,061,856  |                |                    | 665,362    |
| 1703  | 5,561,944  | 16,394,702     | 1,310,942          | 700,000    |
| 1753  | 6,690,000  | 74,571,840     | 2,396,717          | 1,000,000  |
| 1775  | 10,000,000 | 135,943,051    | 4,440,821          | 1,529,780  |
| 1786  | 14,405,702 | 239,154,880    | 9,275,769          | 2,004,238  |

Thus has this nation, in the space of a century, augmented its net revenue from about two millions to near fourteen millions and a half *sterling*. Of this sum near eight millions have been added between the years 1750 and 1786, on account of the debts contracted for carrying on the two last wars. And now (May 1794) the *gross* revenue, or the total of money drawn from the people in taxes, is probably eighteen millions. If therefore we consider the unavoidable effect of taxes in raising prices, we cannot doubt but that the rapid progress of the Poor-Rate from one million to two, in the same space of time, must have been very much owing to *their* accumulation. For it is an unquestionable truth, that

that a tax imposed on any *one* article of general consumption, raises the price not only of the article taxed, but of *all* other articles also. We may be sure, therefore, that the numerous taxes, which have been laid on the nation since the year 1750, have caused a prodigious advance in the prices of all the necessaries of life. And the *experience* of every person, who was a housekeeper then, and is a housekeeper still, will furnish abundant evidence of this fact.

2. *LUXURY attends wealth.* The influx of wealth into this kingdom has for many years been prodigious. And the diffusion of this wealth through the higher and middling ranks has tempted them all into very expensive habits of living. *Luxury* raises the prices of the most necessary articles, by *wasting* on a few what would suffice for the maintenance of many.

It is pretended that moderate luxury is salutary, because it promotes industry and population, by creating employment. But how is luxury to be confined within moderate limits? Is not its progress usually rapid; and does it not soon become excessive? And what is the effect produced by it then? By rendering subsistence dear, it first produces distress, and afterwards depopulation. Many, dreading the expence of a family, avoid marriage; and many emigrate to cheaper countries.

But it is needless to dwell on the bad effects of luxury in general. The following particulars deserve notice, as having contributed materially to raise the price of provisions.

1st. *The greater and more general consumption of Butcher's Meat among us.* Queen Elizabeth, to keep the price low for the poor, issued proclamations against eating flesh in Lent and on fish-days; but every body now eats meat at all times without scruple. In great families the luxury  
of

of the table wastes vast quantities of flesh-meat in soups and sauces.  
 “ And many ranks of people, whose ordinary diet was in the last cen-  
 “ tury prepared almost entirely from milk, roots, and vegetables, now  
 “ require every day a considerable portion of the flesh of animals.  
 “ Hence a great part of the richest lands of the country are converted  
 “ to pasturage. Much also of the bread-corn, which went directly to  
 “ the nourishment of human bodies, now only contribute to it by fat-  
 “ tening the flesh of sheep and oxen. The mass and volume of provi-  
 “ sions are hereby diminished.” (See *Mr. Dean Paley's M. Phil.* vol. ii.  
 p. 360, 8vo. ed.) It is manifest that this continually-growing demand  
 for animal food must continually have enhanced the price, not only of  
 butcher's meat, but also of corn and all other necessaries.

2dly. *The great increase in the number of Horses throughout the king-  
 dom.* It was supposed many years ago, by competent judges, that more  
 of our land was then appropriated to the maintenance of horses than  
 of men. It is certain that a vast addition has been made to the num-  
 ber since. Suppose an addition of 200,000 to have taken place in the  
 last forty or fifty years. Many thousand acres of our best land must  
 now be employed in producing food for these additional horses, which  
 would otherwise be employed in producing food for man. And since  
 the maintenance of a horse costs as much as the maintenance of a la-  
 bouring family does, these additional horses may be said to devour the  
 subsistence of 200,000 families.

3dly. The following circumstances have also operated considerably  
 to the diminution of the quantity of land in tillage. 1st. *The increased  
 number of gentlemen-farmers*; who are in general fond of grass-farms, as  
 requiring the least trouble; and the produce of these is frequently con-  
 sumed

fumed by the cattle kept on them. 2dly. Husbandry has sustained a loss by the conversion of many thousand acres of good land, arable and pasture, into *roads, canals, parks, and pleasure-grounds.*

4thly. *The Distillation of Wheat*:—a wicked abuse of the greatest blessing that Providence has bestowed on our country. For this process converts a considerable quantity of that most valuable article of human subsistence into a superfluous and pernicious liquor. If only 100,000 quarters of wheat are thus wantonly destroyed in a year, this is the same thing as destroying the bread of the same number of individuals; that is, of 20,000 families. I know no reason why this abuse should be tolerated, except that it contributes something to the excise. It ought surely to be prohibited.

5thly. *Wheaten Bread has been constantly growing more and more into general use among the lower classes of people.* This is their luxury. The increased demand for it has undoubtedly been owing, in a great measure to their inability to buy meat; the want of which they supply with bread of a better quality. For the same money, that will only purchase one pound of raw meat with its proportion of bone, will purchase about three pounds of wheaten bread. But this quantity of bread will go at least twice as far as one pound of meat. It is obvious, that this increased demand for wheaten bread must have raised the price of bread-corn, unless the quantity annually produced has increased proportionably along with it; which there is good reason to believe has not been the case.\*

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\* In the Representation of the Lords of the Committee of Council on Corn, (printed for Stockdale, 1790) it is stated, that on an average of 19 years, ending in 1765, the corn exported from this country produced a clear profit of not less than 651,000*l.* but that on an average of 18 years, ending in 1788, we have paid to foreigners for a supply of corn no less than 291,000*l.* which makes an annual difference to this country of 942,000*l.*

Thus wherever *taxes* and *luxury* go on continually increasing together, for a series of years, their combined effect in raising prices (unassisted by other causes) must soon come to be severely felt by the inferior classes of people.

III. DEPRECIATION OF MONEY. By this term I mean simply that decrease in the value of money, which has gradually taken place throughout Europe, in consequence of the greater plenty of it now than formerly. For since the discovery of *America*, many thousand tons of the precious metals have been imported from thence into Europe; and the greater abundance of them has caused their value to sink gradually in this quarter of the world. The effects of this depreciation appear, 1st. in the higher prices of all things; and 2dly, in the lower interest of money. In this kingdom in particular the change in these respects has been considerable, as is well known to those who have attended to these matters. And without doubt this depreciation has been going on during the present century, as well as before.

It is probable, too, that the emission of so much *paper* by banking companies, in almost every great town, has, besides promoting luxury, contributed to *overload* the circulation, and to lower the value of money. These banking companies, coining their credit into this sort of cash, have *forced* a great deal of it upon the publick, thereby banishing not only *specie*, but even the notes of the Bank of England, from their respective neighbourhoods. While this paper passes as money, it is in effect the same thing as so much coin issued out of the mint, only that *it has no intrinsic value*. The use of it may be convenient; but it is evidently attended with much danger.

IV. The

IV. The price of *wheat* (and indeed of every species of grain) has been of late years uniformly higher than it was about the middle of the present century. Whatever circumstances have had a share in producing this effect, the same have an especial claim to our notice. For of nothing are the lower people so apt to complain, as of the dearness of bread. And not without reason. For since, from the excessive dearness of provisions in general, they are reduced to subsist almost entirely on bread; when bread is dear too, their case becomes truly deplorable. They know that the crops have for many years past been apparently plentiful, and yet they experience no *permanent* fall of price. They conclude that large quantities of corn are carried out of the kingdom; and, attributing the dearness of bread to this circumstance, they sometimes proceed to vent their indignation in a riotous manner.

But, as violence commonly increases the evils which it wishes to remedy; so is it obviously mischievous in this particular case. It is therefore of consequence that all people should think rightly on this subject. The observations already made will abundantly account for the advanced price of this chief necessary of life. To which may perhaps be added the *bounties allowed on the exportation of grain*. But, with respect to the influence which *taxes* and *bounties* have on the price of grain, I am desirous of citing here the opinions of two esteemed writers.

*Mr. Soame Jenyns* observes, "No tax is immediately laid upon corn, but the price of it must necessarily be advanced; because, out of that all the innumerable taxes paid by the farmer on windows, soap, candles, malt, hops, leather, salt, and a thousand others, must be repaid; so that corn is as effectually taxed, as if a duty by the bushel had been primarily laid upon it." And *Dr. Smith*, in his celebrated work *On the Wealth*

*of Nations*, has shewn that a bounty granted on exported grain (besides being itself a direct tax on the publick) must necessarily operate *as a tax* on all remaining within the kingdom, and of course enhance the price of this and of all other articles to the consumer.

If these authors argue justly, as they appear to do, we are not to expect, under the existing circumstances of the nation, any *permanent fall* in the price of grain. The present war will unavoidably increase the taxes. And a late Act of Parliament has continued the bounties with some little variations. It is therefore more likely that the price of corn will still go on advancing, unless effectual measures are speedily taken for promoting tillage, and perhaps checking pasturage, so as to render the annual produce of grain at least adequate to the annual consumption.

Without doubt *a high price* is the greatest encouragement to the farmer to raise plenty of corn; and therefore no undue means should be taken to keep the price of it from advancing with that of other things. But, on the other hand, it seems absurd to grant bounties for encouraging the exportation of what we cannot spare. [*See the last note.*] And let it never be forgotten that the labourer ought to be enabled to sustain his family; and consequently that *his pay* should be made to keep pace with the general advance in the prices of necessaries, of which wheat is now the principal article.

## SECTION



### SECTION III.

#### CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH HAVE DIRECTLY INCREASED THE NUMBER OF THE DEPENDENT POOR, AND BY CONSEQUENCE THE AMOUNT OF THE RATE.

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I. *OUR progressive population must have added to the Number of dependent poor:—1st. Directly*, the history of the poor laws shewing that an increase of population has been always accompanied in this country by an increased number of poor:—And, 2dly, It has perhaps added to it *indirectly* also, by increasing the demand for necessaries, and thereby causing an advance in their price; which of course has forced more and more persons to come for aid to their parishes.

But it has been a matter of controversy between very able and learned men, whether an increase or a decrease of people has been going on in this country during the present century? And the advocates for each side of the question have supported their respective opinions by plausible arguments. The publick, however, seem to have decided in favour of an increased population: and that apparently on reasonable grounds.

For, 1st, though we should admit, what the late *Dr. Price* contended for, that a decrease has actually taken place of the total number of *houses* in the kingdom; yet it is an undoubted fact, that a great many *farm-houses* in the hands of engrossing farmers, each of which was formerly occupied by *one* farming family only, are now divided into *two*, *three*, and even *four* separate dwellings for labouring families. The like happens where cottages are suffered to fall into decay, and no new ones

ones are built : several families are forced to lodge together in one poor cottage. And therefore a *small* decrease in the number of houses does not necessarily imply *any* decrease in the number of families. 2dly. That the decrease in the number of houses (if any) is *but* small, appears probable from a comparison of the number of chargeable houses, given in by the surveyors of the house and window duties, for certain parishes and districts, with the total of houses found by enumeration in the same places. [See the publications of Mr. Wales and Mr. Howlett on this head.] 3dly. The evidence produced from parish registers by the two gentlemen just mentioned, seems, notwithstanding the objections made against it, to afford a *presumptive* proof that our population has advanced in the course of the present century. And, 4thly, Whosoever considers the progressive improvement of our agriculture, manufactures, commerce, and shipping, during this period (as exhibited by Mr. Chalmers in his *Comparative Estimate*) can scarcely forbear concluding, that it has been *really* accompanied by a like improvement of our population also.

II. *Increased number of Manufacturers.* Whatever opinion we may adopt as to the general population of the kingdom, all will acknowledge that *this* class of people is multiplied exceedingly. And depending upon their employers for their daily subsistence, they are in much the same situation with reduced farmers and impoverished labourers ; that is, they are very liable to come to want. The caprice of fashion causes by fits and starts a great demand for one species of goods, and a cessation of demand for another : and thus workmen, who to-day are fully employed, may be to-morrow in the streets begging their bread. By living in towns, and associating at publick-houses, they are habitually improvident,

improvident, and mind nothing but present enjoyment; and when flung out of work, they are immediately in want. They are also, from their sedentary occupations and habitual intemperance, more short-lived than day-labourers; and leaving families behind them unable wholly to maintain themselves, these, as the men die off, fall on their parishes. All this will account for the misery visible in manufacturing towns, in most of which the poor are numerous, and the rates higher than in other places. Manufacturers enjoy, however, one advantage over day-labourers, though they seldom make a right use of it. Several manufactories employ women and children, as well as men: and wherever this is the case, these families might earn a great deal more money, and live better, than labouring families do; but by contracting early the vices of towns, they commonly mis-spend those earnings, which, if used with frugality, would render their condition comfortable and themselves happy.

III. *The practice of enlarging and engrossing of farms, and especially that of depriving the peasantry of all landed property, have contributed greatly to increase the number of dependent poor.*

1st. The *land-owner*, to render his income adequate to the increased expence of living, unites several small farms into one, raises the rent to the utmost, and avoids the expence of repairs. The rich farmer also engrosses as many farms as he is able to stock; lives in more credit and comfort than he could otherwise do; and out of the profits of *several farms*, makes an ample provision for *one family*. Thus thousands of families, which formerly gained an independent livelihood on those separate farms, have been gradually reduced to the class of day-labourers. But day-labourers are sometimes in want of work, and are sometimes

times unable to work; and in either case their sole resource is the parish. It is a fact, that thousands of parishes have not now half the number of farmers which they had formerly. And in proportion as the number of farming families has decreased, the number of poor families has increased.

2dly. The depriving the peasantry of all landed property has beggared multitudes. It is plainly agreeable to sound policy, that as many individuals as possible in a state should possess an interest in the soil; because this attaches them strongly to the country and its constitution, and makes them zealous and resolute in defending them. But the gentry of this kingdom seem to have lost sight of this wise and salutary policy. Instead of giving to labouring people a valuable stake in the soil, the opposite measure has so long prevailed, that but few cottages, comparatively, have now *any* land about them. Formerly many of the lower sort of people occupied tenements of their own, with parcels of land about them, or they rented such of others. On these they raised for themselves a considerable part of their subsistence, without being obliged, as now, to buy all they want at shops. And this kept numbers from coming to the parish. But since those small parcels of ground have been swallowed up in the contiguous farms and inclosures, and the cottages themselves have been pulled down; the families which used to occupy them are crowded together in decayed farm-houses, with hardly ground enough about them for a cabbage garden: and being thus reduced to be *mere* hirelings, they are of course very liable to come to want. And not only the *men* occupying those tenements, but *their wives and children* too, could formerly, when they wanted work abroad, employ themselves profitably at home; whereas now, few of *these* are constantly employed,

employed, except in harvest; so that almost the whole burden of providing for their families rests upon the *men*. Add to this, that the former occupiers of small farms and tenements, though poor themselves, gave away something in alms to their poorer neighbours; a resource which is now much diminished.

Thus an amazing number of people have been reduced from a comfortable state of partial independence to the precarious condition of hirelings, who, when out of work, must immediately come to their parish. And the great plenty of working hands always to be had when wanted, having kept down the price of labour below its proper level, the consequence is universally felt in the increased number of dependent poor.

IV. *The Desertion of the Country by the rich Families during the greater Part of the Year has increased the Number of the Poor.*—Formerly, when the gentry resided constantly on their estates, the crumbs from their tables fed many families; their humanity comforted and relieved the poor under sickness and misfortune; and their influence and authority secured them from oppression and injustice. But of late, by the non-residence of the rich, the poor have lost that valuable support which they used to receive. When (as is too commonly the case) families of moderate fortunes have expended two-thirds of their income, in winter, upon the amusements and accomplishments in vogue in the capital; and have also dissipated a considerable part of the remainder at bathing and water-drinking places during some of the summer months; they have afterwards but little power to exercise hospitality, employ the industrious, and relieve the sick and needy, on their return to their mansions. And thus numbers of poor families are come to

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want

want parochial assistance, which, but for this change in the manners of the rich, might have made shift without it. This new mode of life has been the fruitful source of numerous evils: the worst of which perhaps is, that it has spread the vices of the capital over the whole kingdom, and infected even farm-houses and cottages.

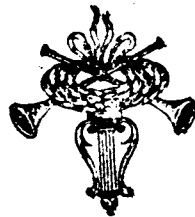
V. *The Improvidence of the Lower Sort of People brings multitudes of them very early to Poverty and Want.*—This carelessness about the future seems to have increased in proportion as the shame of applying for parish-relief has worn off. Few of them, strictly speaking, take any thought for the morrow. Seldom do we see any of them making provision for marriage, sickness, or old age; much less for the relief of infirm parents, or poor relations. Formerly it was not uncommon for young men and women to save in service twenty or thirty pounds in money, besides furnishing themselves with a decent stock of clothes, &c. But now young people are so unfrugal, that few of them have a decent suit to appear in even when they come to be married. And as for money, what in time past was wont to be laid by against a wet day, is all now thoughtlessly spent by the men in drink, and by the women in frippery. “What signifies saving?” say they; “is not the parish obliged to maintain us, when we come to want?” Though they see continually sad instances of coming to the parish, yet have they not the sense to ask themselves this short question, How shall *I* like to be reduced to this abject condition? The consequence of this inconsiderateness is, that, when married, they come soon to feel very severely the effects of that poverty, which, when single, they took no care to prevent. It is indeed some excuse for them, that the number of farmers being so much decreased, there are not now so many

many opportunities, as formerly, for putting out young persons servants in those families where these savings were chiefly made. Add to this, that these people having contracted the ruinous habit of frequenting ale-houses, seldom can they resolve to forsake it. A great part of their earnings received on Saturday night, is squandered away there on *Sunday*. The wife and children are abandoned to hunger and nakedness, or are left to supply their necessities as well as they can by following profligate courses!

VI. *Ale-houses* have undoubtedly brought many families to want, infamy, and ruin.—As the improvidence of the people encourages these houses, so do these houses encourage that improvidence. Ale-houses would not be so common as they are, if the keepers of them did not find their account in the improvidence of the people: nor would the people be so improvident as they are, if ale-houses did not every where tempt them to drown their senses, and waste their time and money in them. But the loss of sense, time, and money, is not the worst consequence of frequenting these places. There is good reason to believe, that the prevailing corruption of morals in the common people has been very much owing to what is heard, seen, and practised in them. It is in these houses that men, by falling into bad company, get the evil habits of idleness, blasphemy, and drunkenness; which prepare them for the worst crimes. The love of strong drink acquired here drives numbers upon unlawful ways of making money: among which, from the high request that *game* is held in, and from the little risk attending the trade, *poaching* is very generally followed. To be a clever poacher is deemed a reputable accomplishment in the country; and therefore parents take care to instruct their children betimes in  
 12 this

this art; which brings them on gradually and regularly to pilfering and stealing. For poachers, in prowling about at night, if they miss of game, properly so called, are sometimes suspected of seizing on their neighbours' poultry, and such other things as they can find a vent for. By following these works of darkness, the loss of sleep and excessive drinking in time ruin their health. They get agues and other disorders, which disqualify them from either working or poaching; and then they and their families come on the parish. Every public-house, which is not absolutely necessary, is certainly a nuisance, and ought to be suppressed.

To the several causes and circumstances pointed out in this and the preceding section, we must, I apprehend, ascribe it, that multitudes of families, which about the middle of this century could with difficulty subsist without *any* help, do now require *some* help; and that multitudes of others, which then could not subsist without *some* help, do now require *more* help.



SECTION



#### SECTION IV.

TO THE FOREGOING CIRCUMSTANCES I WILL HERE ADD  
A FEW OTHERS, WHICH HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO INCREASE THE  
AMOUNT OF THE POOR-RATE DIRECTLY.

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1st. *THE Negligence of Parishes in setting their Poor to work.*—If constant employment were found for the wives and children of labouring men, as well as for the men themselves, the benefit public and private thence resulting would be great. But from want of attention to this particular, the long winter evenings, and many intervals of spare time, are now wholly lost or mispent in most places. Many of the poor are extremely ignorant: having in youth been taught nothing but the common drudgery of the country within doors and without, they have afterwards no aptitude or inclination to learn any art whereby to earn a penny. Knitting and spinning are well calculated to fill up spare time; but from the incapacity of mothers to teach their children, these easy arts are now become quite unfashionable, even in cottages. Parishes are averse to the purchasing of wool, flax, and other materials and tools for their poor to work upon, both on account of the first expence, and also of the hazard of having goods left on their hands unfit for sale. And the overseers of the poor, having commonly business enough of their own to mind, (especially in country places, since farms have been so much engrossed) either

either cannot, or will not, give the time and attention necessary to the educating of the poor, and enforcing industry among them.—When the number of the poor was comparatively small, this neglect in setting them to work might perhaps be of little consequence: but now that their number is so prodigiously increased, it is become, evidently, a matter of very serious concern.

2dly. *Workhouses* (contrary to what might have been expected) *have, in most places where they have been set up, increased the expence of maintaining the poor.*—It appears by the preceding accounts [see *Part I. Obser.* 10.] that labouring families can maintain themselves at their own houses, and pay house-rent and every other necessary expence, for the small sum of five pounds four shillings *per head*. But by the accounts of several workhouses it appears that the poor in them cannot be clothed and kept for less than seven pounds sixteen shillings each, adults and children at an average. [See *Mr. Zouch's Remarks*, p. 55.]—If to this we add the *other* expences of a workhouse, we may well reckon the whole at nine or ten pounds *per head*.—Experience has shewn, that but little work is done in these houses, and that what is done, is so ill-executed, that the goods are scarcely saleable. For proof of this, and also of their ill effects on the *health and morals* of their inhabitants, see the *Traacts of Messrs. Zouch, Townsend, Howlett, and M'Farlan, relative to the Poor*.

3dly. *The frauds and abuses, committed both by the poor and their overseers, have augmented the rate.*—In populous parishes, where applications for relief are numerous, some undeserving persons will of course ask assistance; and it is scarcely possible but that the overseers, though honest men, must, from not knowing precisely every one's  
circum-

circumstances, and for want of time to examine narrowly into them, be sometimes imposed upon.—In great parishes too, where the poor-rates amount to many hundred pounds a year, overseers of less scrupulous consciences have frequent opportunities of abusing their trust, and sometimes most iniquitously avail themselves of them, either by embezzling the public money, or by partial indulgence to favourites.

It may be reasonably supposed, that these circumstances, jointly, have contributed in some degree to the augmentation of the poor-rate.




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SECTION

## SECTION V.

A COMPARISON OF THE PRICES OF WHEAT AND OF MALT  
PER QUARTER AT WINDSOR MARKET, AT THREE DIFFERENT  
PERIODS OF THE PRESENT CENTURY.

THE Prices in the two former periods were extracted from the *Eton Register*: [See *Traacts on the Corn Trade*, or *Smith's Wealth of Nations*.] The prices in the last period were, at my request, extracted from the books of the Dean and Canons of *Windſor*, by the Rev. E. Wilson.

| First Period. |          |          | Second Period. |          |          | Third Period. |          |          |
|---------------|----------|----------|----------------|----------|----------|---------------|----------|----------|
| Year.         | Wheat.   | Malt.    | Year.          | Wheat.   | Malt.    | Year.         | Wheat.   | Malt.    |
|               | £. s. d. | £. s. d. |                | £. s. d. | £. s. d. |               | £. s. d. | £. s. d. |
| 1701          | 2 0 0    | 1 11 4   | 1746           | 1 19 0   | 1 2 4    | 1783          | 3 8 0    | 2 12 0   |
| 1702          | 1 9 6    | 1 8 0    | 1747           | 1 14 10  | 1 2 8    | 1784          | 3 6 0    | 2 13 4   |
| 1703          | 1 16 0   | 1 3 4    | 1748           | 1 17 0   | 1 3 4    | 1785          | 2 16 0   | 2 10 8   |
| 1704          | 2 6 6    | 1 8 0    | 1749           | 1 17 0   | 1 5 4    | 1786          | 2 10 0   | 2 0 0    |
| 1705          | 1 10 0   | 1 6 0    | 1750           | 1 12 6   | 1 5 4    | 1787          | 2 6 0    | 2 8 0    |
| 1706          | 1 6 0    | 1 2 0    | 1751           | 1 18 6   | 1 6 0    | 1788          | 2 17 10  | 2 8 0    |
| 1707          | 1 8 6    | 1 3 4    | 1752           | 2 1 10   | 1 7 4    | 1789          | 3 3 0    | 2 6 0    |
| 1708          | 2 1 6    | 1 8 0    | 1753           | 2 4 8    | 1 7 4    | 1790          | 3 7 2    | 2 6 0    |
| 1709          | 3 18 6   | 1 13 4   | 1754           | 1 14 8   | 1 8 0    | 1791          | 3 0 6    | 2 8 0    |
| 1710          | 3 18 0   | 1 16 0   | 1755           | 1 13 10  | 1 5 4    | 1792          | 2 5 6    | 2 10 0   |
| Aver.         | 2 3 5½   | 1 7 11½  | Ave.           | 1 17 4½  | 1 5 3½   | Ave.          | 2 18 0   | 2 8 2½   |

*Observation 1.* The average price of wheat and of malt, respectively, appears to have been a little lower in the second period, than it was in the first. But the price of wheat in the third period is a full *third* higher than it was in the second. And the price of malt in the third period is *almost double* what it was in the second.

*Obs.* 2. The prices of barley, beans, and pease, (for feeding and fattening of animals) have been of late nearly, if not quite, double the prices which the same articles bore respectively about the middle of this century.

## A COMPARISON

A COMPARISON OF THE PRICES OF THE COMMON NECESSARIES  
OF LIFE ABOUT THE MIDDLE OF THIS CENTURY, WITH THE  
PRICES OF THE SAME FOR SOME YEARS PAST, TO 1794,  
IN THE COUNTY OF BERKS.

NOTE.—The prices in the former of these periods are given from the information of aged persons of good memories, who have resided all their life-time in or near this parish (*Barkham*.) And for the prices of late, I refer to the common experience of such as have been housekeepers the last seven years.

|                                                    | Prices about the<br>Middle of this Century. |    |    |    | Prices<br>of late Years to 1794. |    |    |    |
|----------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|----|----|----|----------------------------------|----|----|----|
|                                                    | From                                        |    | To |    | From                             |    | To |    |
|                                                    | s.                                          | d. | s. | d. | s.                               | d. | s. | d. |
| Flour <i>per</i> bushel, or 56 lbs. <i>seconds</i> | 3                                           | 4  | 4  | 0  | 6                                | 8  | 8  | 4  |
| Bread <i>per</i> half-peck loaf                    | 0                                           | 7  | 0  | 8  | 0                                | 11 | 1  | 2  |
| Bacon <i>per</i> lb. in the fitch                  | 0                                           | 4  | 0  | 5  | 0                                | 7  | 0  | 8  |
| Bacon <i>per</i> single pound                      | 0                                           | 5  | 0  | 6  | 0                                | 8  | 0  | 9  |
| Beef <i>per</i> score, 20 lb.                      | 2                                           | 6  | 3  | 0  | 5                                | 10 | 6  | 8  |
| Beef and mutton, <i>per</i> lb.                    | 0                                           | 3  | 0  | 3½ | 0                                | 4½ | 0  | 5  |
| Pork <i>per</i> lb.                                | 0                                           | 3½ | 0  | 4  | 0                                | 4½ | 0  | 5  |
| Veal <i>per</i> lb.                                | 0                                           | 3½ | 0  | 4  | 0                                | 5  | 0  | 6  |
| A sheep's head                                     | 0                                           | 6  | 0  | 6  | 0                                | 10 | 1  | 0  |
| Cheese <i>per</i> 112 lbs. at Reading fair         | 17                                          | 0  | 21 | 0  | 40                               | 0  | 46 | 0  |
| Cheese <i>per</i> lb. a good sort                  | 0                                           | 3  | 0  | 3½ | 0                                | 5½ | 0  | 6  |
| Cheese <i>per</i> lb. an inferior sort             | 0                                           | 2½ | 0  | 3  | 0                                | 4½ | 0  | 5  |
| Malt <i>per</i> bushel                             | 3                                           | 0  | 3  | 6  | 5                                | 3  | 6  | 6  |
| Fresh butter <i>per</i> lb.                        | 0                                           | 5  | 0  | 6  | 0                                | 10 | 1  | 0  |
| Salt butter <i>per</i> lb.                         | 0                                           | 4  | 0  | 5  | 0                                | 7  | 0  | 8  |
| Common soft sugar <i>per</i> lb.                   | 0                                           | 3  | 0  | 3  | 0                                | 7  | 0  | 8  |
| Soap and candles <i>per</i> lb.                    | 0                                           | 5  | 0  | 6  | 0                                | 8½ | 0  | 9  |
| A pair of <i>men's</i> stout shoes                 | 4                                           | 6  | 5  | 0  | 6                                | 6  | 7  | 6  |
| A pair of <i>women's</i> strong shoes              | 2                                           | 6  | 3  | 0  | 4                                | 0  | 4  | 6  |
| Dowlas for shirting <i>per</i> ell                 | 1                                           | 0  | 1  | 0  | 1                                | 4  | 1  | 6  |
| Check for aprons                                   | 0                                           | 0  | 1  | 0  | 1                                | 4  | 0  | 0  |
| Stuff for gowns <i>per</i> yard                    | 0                                           | 9  | 0  | 9  | 1                                | 0  | 0  | 0  |
| A foul-weather coat, ready made for sale           | 11                                          | 0  | 12 | 0  | 21                               | 0  | 24 | 0  |
| Wool <i>per</i> tod, 28 lbs.                       | 14                                          | 0  | 15 | 0  | 25                               | 0  | 35 | 0  |

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Observation.

*Observation.* It is manifest from inspection, that the *retail* prices of the several articles contained in this list, especially of such as are, or should be, daily used by poor families, have been of late *double*, or *nearly double*, the prices which the same articles bore, respectively, about the middle of the present century.

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It is probable that the *proportion* between the prices, shewn by the foregoing statements, will hold with respect to the whole kingdom. However, (keeping *much* within compass) we may certainly infer from them, that in the last forty or fifty years the advance has been, *generally*, a full *third* of the present prices.

But, in the same space of time, what advance has taken place in the price of *day-labour*?—*Answer*: The advance has been, in some places, from *five* to *six* shillings, in others from *six* to *seven* shillings, a week; and, in some few places, a little more than this: that is, the advance has been *only* a *sixth* or a *seventh* part of the present price. And even this small advance is apparent, not real: for the additional shilling is not equivalent to certain advantages, which labouring people formerly enjoyed, but of which they have been gradually deprived; such, for instance, as a mess of milk or broth for breakfast; an allowance of small beer; and the like.

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SECTION

## SECTION VI.

### APPLICATION OF THE CONTENTS OF SECTIONS II. AND III. TO ACCOUNT FOR THE LATE AUGMENTATION OF THE POOR-RATE.

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THE Poor-Rate about the year 1750, according to *H. Fielding*, was £. 1,000,000
 Suppose the prices of provisions and other necessaries to have risen
 (in consequence of the circumstances mentioned in Section II.)
one half of what they were at that time: this rise (though the
number of poor had remained the same) will account for an
 addition to the rate, of - - - - - 500,000

Suppose also that in consequence of *that rise*, and of the several cir-
 cumstances mentioned in Section III, the number of the poor
 depending on parish relief has in the same time increased *one half*:
 this increase must have added to the rate,

1. On account of that increased number - £. 500,000
2. On account of the increased expence of their
 maintenance - - - - - 250,000— 750,000

Therefore, taking these suppositions together, the amount of the _____
 Poor-Rate should be, and probably is, at this present time - - *2,250,000

And if it be supposed farther, that the advance in the prices of provision, &c.
 has been progressive; and that the increase of the number of dependent
 poor has gone on progressively along with it; these considerations will suf-
 ficiently explain that acceleration of the rate which is shewn in Section I.

* To this sum may perhaps be added, on account of the circumstances mentioned in Section IV,
 about £.100,000.

SECTION VII.

THE RELATIVE PROPORTION BETWEEN LABOUR AND THE NECESSARIES OF LIFE AT DIFFERENT PERIODS.



I Have not thought it necessary to copy here the scanty materials from which the following sketch has been drawn up: they may be found in Bishop *Fleetwood's* Chronicon, Dr. *Burn's* History of the Poor-Laws, and Dr. *Price's* work on Reversionary Payments. Nor do I give this comparison as quite exact; but I think it sufficiently so to prove, that the condition of the day-labourer has been growing worse continually from the middle of the fourteenth century to the present time.



Middle of Fourteenth Century.

Ordinary price of day-labour,	-	-	-	2d.
Price of the quarter of wheat	-	-	-	3s. 4d. to 4s.
Medium	-	-	-	3s. 8d.
22 days	-	=	a quarter of wheat	
20 days	-	=	a fat hog, two years old	
20 days	-	=	clothing for a year of a common servant of husbandry	
6 days	-	=	a quarter of beans or pease	
5 days	-	=	a quarter of barley	
2 days	-	=	a pair of shoes	
1 day	-	=	two gallons of ale.	

Middle

Middle of Fifteenth Century.

Pay of a labourer per day	- - - -	3d.
Price of a quarter of wheat	- - - -	5s. to 5s. 6d.
20 to 22 days =	a quarter of wheat	
16 days - =	a quarter of malt	
16 days - =	clothing for a year of a servant	
8 days - =	a quarter of oats	
7 days - =	a fitch of bacon	
4 days - =	a yard of cloth for shepherd	
1 day - =	two to three gallons of ale.	

Former Part of Sixteenth Century.

Pay of a labourer per day	- - - -	3½d.
Price of a quarter of wheat about	- - - -	7s. 6d.
26 days - =	a quarter of wheat	
13 or 14 days =	a quarter of malt	
7 days - =	a quarter of oats	
1 day - =	eight or nine lbs. of beef, pork, veal	
1 day - =	seven lbs. of cheefe = four lbs. of butter.	

About the Middle of Seventeenth Century.

In <i>Essex</i> the medium pay of a labourer (<i>rated</i>) was	13d.
Price of wheat (per <i>Fleetwood's Chronicon</i> , p. 106,) 40s. and of malt 24s.	
per quarter, as estimated by the bishop	
37 days - =	a quarter of wheat
22 days - =	a quarter of malt
7 days - =	a quarter of oats
4½ days - =	two shirts for a man, <i>made</i> .

Latter

Latter Part of Eighteenth Century.

Pay of a labourer per day	- - -	14d.
Price of a quarter of wheat 48s.—of malt		42s. 6d.
41 days - - =	a quarter of wheat	
36 $\frac{1}{2}$ days - - =	a quarter of malt	
96 days - - =	a fat hog, fourteen score, at 8s. per score	
27 or 28 days - =	a quarter of beans or pease	
20 or 21 days - =	a quarter of barley	
41 days - - =	a flitch of bacon, six score, at 8s.	
9 days - - =	a yard of cloth for servants	
6 days - - =	a pair of men's shoes	
1 day - - =	less than a gallon of ale	
1 day - - =	three lbs. ordinary cheese = 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. butter	
40 days - - =	clothing for a year of a common servant of husbandry.	

I cannot forbear adding here, the following just and striking observation by Dr. Price. [See *Rev. Paym.* vol. ii. p. 273.]

“ The *nominal* price of day-labour is at present no more than about *four* times, or at most *five* times higher than it was in 1514. But the price of corn is *seven* times, and of flesh meat and raiment about *fifteen* times higher. So far therefore has the price of labour been from advancing in proportion to the increase in the expences of living, that it does not appear that it bears now *half* the proportion to those expences that it did bear formerly.”

PART

PART THE THIRD.

MEANS OF RELIEF

PROPOSED.

PART III.

INTRODUCTION.

HAVING endeavoured in the preceding part to trace the Distresses and Vices of the Poor to the sources in which they have originated, I come now in the last place to examine, *What are the proper means of removing those Distresses, and curing those Vices?*—This is a question, which, as Sir *Josiah Child* long ago remarked, “deserves the most “deliberate consideration of our wisest counsellors: and if a whole “Session of Parliament were employed upon this singular concern, “I think,” says he, “it would be time spent as much to the glory “of God, and good of this Nation, as in any thing that noble and “worthy patriots can be engaged in.”

Since he wrote, many very able men have employed their thoughts on this subject without much success; which is, at once, a discouraging reflection to an enquirer of inferior judgment, and an argument that the question itself is of difficult solution. But though the sagacity of no one individual may be equal to so arduous a task, yet I am persuaded, that the collective wisdom of the legislature, assisted by all the private information to be had in this country, may soon effect what has been so long wished for.

Regarding our code of poor-laws as the Charter of the Poor, now well known and understood from the variety of cases adjudged, and
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therefore too sacred to be rashly tampered with; and being also aware of the dangerous consequences always to be apprehended from great changes and innovations in matters which concern the body of the people; I shall endeavour in the sequel, keeping these considerations constantly in view, to speak of such measures only as have a tendency to improve the condition and morals of the poor, with the smallest alterations possible of the existing laws.

In forming new regulations, then, for the benefit of labouring families, the following appear to be the principal objects to which we should direct our attention :

I. A reduction of the prices of certain necessary articles, as soon as this shall be practicable.

II. Providing *additional* employment for men and boys in winter, that they may lose no time at that season when they are usually most distressed.

III. Providing *constant* employment for women and girls, to enable them to earn more than they commonly do.

IV. Correcting the improvidence of the lower people, and encouraging frugality among them.

V. Rating the wages of labourers according to the Statute 5 Eliz. cap. 4;—or,

VI. Regulating the price of day-labour by the price of bread, during the winter half year.

VII. Making a specific provision out of the poor-rate for such families as have more than three children unable to work.

SECTION

SECTION I.

A Reduction of the Prices of the Necessaries of Life, were it practicable, would be an effectual measure for relieving the poor. But it is to be feared, that in the present circumstances of the nation, little or nothing can be done to ease them in this way. For the prices of necessaries having risen unavoidably in consequence of taxes, luxury, and other causes, this measure implies such a reduction of taxes, and such a restriction of luxury, as are at this time evidently impracticable.

1st. With regard to the taxes. The whole of the revenue being necessary, either for sinking the principal and paying the interest of the national debt, or for carrying on the government and maintaining the dignity of the kingdom, it is in vain to expect that any speedy reduction should take place, since neither of these objects can be dispensed with. Nay; if our resources would admit of it, it is much to be wished that another million could be added, without farther distressing the lower classes, to the *sinking fund* already provided, in order to accelerate its operation. For though the sinking fund already provided will, if suffered to operate without interruption, certainly produce the effect expected from it in the long run; yet it operates so slowly at first as to create a prejudice against it in the minds of men ignorant of its powers, especially when they reflect that posterity, not themselves, are

to be benefited by this plan. It seems, therefore, that the prices of necessaries, so far as they have been enhanced by taxes, can no otherwise be lowered, than by transferring some of the heaviest of these, at least in part, from the necessaries of life daily used by the common people, to the luxuries consumed by the higher ranks only.

2dly. This supposed transfer of taxes, if made, would also tend to restrain luxury, and to prevent the waste occasioned by it. But the misfortune is, that, if carried far enough to give relief to the poor, it might restrain luxury too much: for we must never forget that luxury feeds the revenue, the vast improvement of which, under the present administration, has been chiefly owing to the diffusion of it. Our circumstances require that luxury should be gently treated. And of course such a transfer of taxes can hardly be sufficiently extensive to produce any great beneficial effect to the poor, by diminishing the prices of the necessaries of life.

Some daring spirits have talked, very rashly, of wiping out the National Debt with a *sponge*, and so getting rid at once of half our taxes: and they would fain palliate this measure by comparing it to that of lopping off a limb in order to save life. But *first*, the probable consequences of so iniquitous an act, which must ruin thousands of innocent persons, will doubtless prevent its being ever seriously proposed; or, if proposed, will influence the legislature and all good men indignantly to spurn the attempt. And were it practicable to carry this project into execution without overturning the government, which may well be questioned, it is likely, that such a *sudden* annihilation of taxes, instead of contributing to the relief of the inferior classes, would be followed by a more rapid increase of luxury in the higher

higher than we have yet seen; which would farther augment the prices of all things. *Secondly*, Though the National Debt has created many heavy taxes, severely felt by the middle and lower classes of people; yet is the nation still able to bear the burden, and actually does bear it without much discontent. There is therefore no absolute necessity for having recourse to the sponge: and it is evidently the common interest of all persons of property, to join in the most efficacious measures for preventing such a necessity from ever arising.

When, by the operation of a sinking fund, and other auxiliary means that may be adopted, the finances of this kingdom shall be in such a state as to admit of a gradual reduction or annihilation of taxes; the first step to be taken for the benefit of the labouring people, is to *lower* the excise on *Malt*, in order to bring that article within their ability to purchase. *Malt* is now so dear, that the generality of poor families do not use a peck in a year. It would be not only a most popular, but also a most humane act, if the richer part of the nation would take *a considerable part* of this tax on themselves in some shape or other, that poor people might be enabled to brew wholesome drink at home. The other imposts which press heaviest on the poor, are, it is well known, those on leather, soap, and candles; particularly the first, a pair of shoes now standing a poor man in nearly a week's pay. Nor is it fit that, in so rich a nation as this, his wife and children should be suffered to go barefoot in wet weather, much less in frost and snow.

SECTION

SECTION II.

THE NEXT POINT IS THE PROVIDING ADDITIONAL
EMPLOYMENT FOR MEN AND BOYS IN WINTER, THAT
THEY MAY LOSE NO TIME AT THAT SEASON
WHEN THEY ARE USUALLY MOST
DISTRESSED.

IN a country like this, where so great a proportion of the land lies neglected, and almost useless, one would think it could be no difficult matter to find work for the industrious of every age all the year. It has been lately calculated that this island contains about twenty millions of acres capable of improvement, but remaining at present in an unimproved state. Is all this land condemned, as it were, to perpetual sterility? A great part of our wastes might, it is said, be easily converted into arable farms. And if "The improving a kingdom in
" matter of husbandry is better than conquering a new kingdom," as *Hartlib* has asserted, [*Legacy*, p. 42.]—"If the culture of the soil is the
" greatest of all manufactures, and the truest source of riches," as *Montesquieu* has affirmed, [*Espr. des Loix*, l. xxi. c. 18:] "and if one
" hundred pounds gained by a farmer, including the work of servants, day-labourers, women, and children, employed by him,
" bring more benefit to the community than three hundred, or twice
" three hundred pounds acquired by the work of a single artist occupied in things of mere superfluity and ornament," as *Harte* has said,

said, [Essays on Husb. p. 30.] If these are indisputable truths, it is surely a matter of just reproach to this wealthy nation, that almost a third part of the land of the kingdom should be left in its present unprofitable state, when thousands of families are starving for want of a few acres! The bringing into cultivation, and the improvement of twenty millions of acres would be much the same thing as adding twenty-five new counties to the kingdom. And in what way can money be more usefully expended? The expediency of bringing more land into tillage will be still more apparent, if we recollect a fact already mentioned, that this country has not of late produced a sufficient quantity of corn for the subsistence of its inhabitants, but has been obliged to pay annually large sums to foreigners for imported grain. Add to this, that we have at present a wide extent of dominions to protect; and it is well known that peasants make the the hardiest soldiers. This creation of additional employment would at once multiply this useful class of men, and keep them from degenerating. This measure is therefore, in every view of the subject, of the utmost national importance.

But, besides the conversion of our wastes and commons into corn-fields, judicious men have thought, that if husbandry were as much attended to as it deserves, the land already in cultivation might be further improved beyond what the most skilful have any notion of: which would yield employment and subsistence to multitudes of people. The following instance is given of what the perfection of agriculture can do:—The country possessed by the twelve tribes of *Israel* was only about one hundred and twenty miles in length, and eighty miles in breadth; that is, something more than six millions of acres.

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When *Joab* numbered the people, he found 1,300,000 fighting men; and as the fighting men of a nation are one-fourth of the whole, Palestine must then have contained about 5,200,000 inhabitants: which is at the rate of one person to a little more than one acre. But, supposing Great-Britain to contain sixty-seven millions of acres, and its population to be ten millions, this gives the proportion of only one person to about six acres and a half. Here seems to be, therefore, great room for improvement. This comparatively much greater population of Palestine has been justly ascribed to the following causes:—1st. The soil of that country was naturally somewhat more fertile than the soil of this country is.—2dly. The original division of the land, as established by *Josbua*, was religiously preserved, every particular family, of every tribe, having an interest in preserving it; which prevented the excessive accumulation of landed property in few hands.—3dly. The laws concerning Usury; on which sir *J. Child* has this remark: “*Moses* forbade the Jews to lend money to use to one another, but “permitted them to lend to strangers. His laws concerning usury “were sufficient to make any barren land fruitful, and a fruitful land “an entire garden.”—4thly. These regulations disposed the people to follow a simple life according to nature, friendly to marriage, and consequently to population; and shut out luxury; the greatest enemy of both. [*Harte.*].—Lastly, They had but few horses, and used oxen in husbandry. With us the horse is an expensive servant, even when employed in tilling the ground.—Such was the policy of the wisest of ancient nations, founded on laws of divine appointment. How different the policy of modern states! and how thin the population attending it!

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It will perhaps be said, that numberless acts of inclosure have passed of late years; and that our agriculture has been continually advancing along with our other improvements. Let this be admitted: yet the fact more than once referred to, namely, our being now obliged to buy a great quantity of corn, whereas fifty years ago we used to sell a great quantity, proves, unquestionably, that *tillage* has not advanced fast enough by a great deal. It proves that sufficient attention has not been given to the *grand manufacture*, the production of corn. And as to the numerous inclosures that have been made, I fear the acts themselves will shew, that, in making them, too little regard has been paid to the encouragement and employment of labouring people. Care should be taken to guard against this error in future.

I cannot forbear adding here, that were it even impossible to find additional employment of a *useful* kind, whereby men and boys might at all seasons earn their living; yet it would be obviously better policy to set all such persons, as cannot otherwise be employed, on the *useless* work of building pyramids, than to let them starve in idleness, or become rogues, vagabonds, and beggars, to avoid starving: because by their being *constantly* employed in any work, which requires a great exertion of bodily strength in the open air, sloth would be discouraged, and the people kept from degenerating. But it is manifest, that we are far from being reduced to the necessity of recurring to such an expedient as this; that abundance of the most useful work may easily be found; and that nothing is wanting to banish beggary from among us, but “the spirit to make a right use of our superfluous wealth.”

The waste lands seem to be the grand resource of the nation: and their gradual improvement, judiciously conducted, would afford em-

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ployment

ployment and subsistence to multitudes of people. But on this head, as well as on other important points, the public has reason to expect a great deal of the most valuable information from the industry and zeal of the *Board of Agriculture*. And when, after full information obtained, the inclosure and improvement of these lands shall be resolved upon, it is earnestly to be wished, that of the various measures which doubtless will then be proposed, such only may receive the sanction of Parliament as shall appear the fittest for giving support and encouragement to labouring families.



SECTION

SECTION III.

ANOTHER ESSENTIAL IS THE PROVIDING CONSTANT
EMPLOYMENT FOR WOMEN AND GIRLS, THEREBY
TO ENABLE FAMILIES TO EARN MORE
THAN THEY COMMONLY DO.

AT present the earnings of the wives and children of day-labourers are, in general, very small. Except what they earn in the time of hay-making, and at harvest, their earnings the rest of the year are insignificant. The greatest part of their time is unprofitably spent, because no care is taken to furnish them with work. Were girls, in particular, instructed betimes in knitting, spinning, and in such other work as they are capable of, this would not only give them a habit of industry, but also add greatly to their domestic comfort as long as they lived.

One might suppose that workhouses, and houses of industry, were calculated to answer this purpose; but experience tells against them. After a little time, these almost always become mere receptacles of idle and vicious persons; many of whom live better there at the public expence, than some honest people can do, who work hard to keep their families from the parish. It has been found too, that the mortality in workhouses is uncommonly great, particularly among the children.

Women and girls should be furnished with work to be done at their own homes. As a proof of what importance it is that they should be thus enabled to bring something into the common stock, here follows an instance of what may be gained by *spinning*, where the mother

has been well brought up herself, and is capable of instructing her girls. It shews, that, even in the present low condition of the poor, we may find here and there a *large* family making shift to live without parish relief, except on very pressing occasions; such as long sickness, small-pox, and the like. But this happens only where the man is expert at various kinds of work, or where the woman (as in this instance) is more than ordinarily notable and industrious.

WEEKLY EXPENCES OF A FAMILY,

Consisting of a Man, his Wife, and Five Children; the eldest a boy aged twelve years; the next a boy aged nine; the third and fourth, girls aged seven and five; the youngest, an infant.

(*This Account was taken at EASTER 1787.*)

	£.	s.	d.
ONE bushel of flour, on an average, at 10 <i>d.</i> per gallon	-	-	0 6 8
Yeast and salt	-	-	0 0 3½
<i>A fat hog</i> bought, weight about fourteen score, at 7 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> per score,			
5 <i>l.</i> 5 <i>s.</i> —And <i>bacon</i> bought beside, about six score, at 6½ <i>d.</i> per lb.			
3 <i>l.</i> 5 <i>s.</i> —Total 8 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> —Per week	-	-	0 3 3½
<i>Tea</i> , 1½ <i>oz.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> — <i>Sugar</i> , ¼ <i>lb.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> — <i>Butter</i> , ½ <i>lb.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>	-	-	0 1 0
Brews a <i>peck</i> of <i>malt</i> once a fortnight, cost 1 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> —Buys 1½ gall.			
of <i>hopseed</i> , at 1 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> which serves all the year; a handful of this			
put into the beer makes it keep well enough for that short time	0	0	8½
<i>Soap</i> , <i>Candles</i> , <i>Worsted</i> , &c.	-	-	0 0 8
	£.	0 12	7

The good woman reckons *small beer and bread* a better and cheaper supper, than *bread and cheese and water*; and says, that *cheese* is the dearest article that a poor family can use.

Her general account was this: that the earnings of her husband and the boys maintained the family in food; and that what she herself and the girls earnt by

by spinning, and in harvest, found them in clothes, linen, and other necessaries : with which the account of particulars agrees.

	£.	s.	d.
Twelve shillings and seven-pence per week, is per annum	-	-	32 14 4
Add for rent, fuel, clothing, &c.	-	-	7 0 0
Amount of <i>expences</i> per annum	-	£.	39 14 4

WEEKLY EARNINGS OF THE SAME FAMILY, (EASTER, 1787.)

The husband receives 8s. per week, throughout the year	-	-	0 8 0
The eldest boy	-	-	0 2 6
The next boy	-	-	0 1 6

The *wife* was taught by her mother to *read* and *spin*, and she teaches her girls the same. Before she went into service, she used to spin a pair of coarse sheets every winter. When she sits closely to her wheel the whole day, she can spin 2 lbs. of coarse flax for ordinary sheeting and toweling, at $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ per lb.; therefore, supposing the business of the family to take up two days in the week, the 8lbs. spun in the other four days comes to

	-	-	0 1 8
The <i>eldest girl</i> can earn 2d. per day, spinning near 1 lb. of such flax; and supposing her also to lose two days in the week in going of errands, tending the infant, &c. her earnings will be	-	-	0 0 8

The *little girl*, aged five, can also spin adroitly; she goes to the wheel when her sister is otherwise employed, but is not kept closely to it, as that might hurt her health.

This family earns something extraordinary in harvest; and as the *man* does not scruple working over-hours occasionally, and looks after the stock on one of his employer's farms, they are allowed to live rent-free in the farm-house; all which together may be reckoned equal to

	-	-	0 1 0
Amount of <i>earnings</i> per annum	-	39 17 4	
Amount of <i>expences</i> per annum	-	39 14 4	
Surplus of earnings	-	0 3 0	

Observations on the preceding Account.

I. SUPPOSE the wife and girls *not* to have learnt to spin; then, instead of earning 2s. 4d. a-week, which comes to 5l. 17s. a-year, they would only earn, like the common run of women, about 1l. 10s.; and therefore, instead of a surplus at the year's end, there would be a deficiency of 4l. 4s. unless by living harder they curtailed their expences so much. It is owing to the money gained by spinning, that this family is enabled to keep out of debt, and to live so decently.

II. The whole annual expence of this family, (39l. 14s. 4d.) divided by 7, makes the average per head 5l. 13s. 6d.; and as the *extra* earnings of the mother and girls by spinning (as above reckoned) are about 4l. 7s. it is plain that spinning alone maintains *one* of the younger children.

III. The two boys together earn half as much as the father; and as the average expence per head is 5l. 13s. 6d. and the average earnings of the boys 5l. 4s. per annum each, it appears that between them they nearly get their living, the deficiency for each being only 9s. 6d. Therefore, allowing for this deficiency, we may put the two boys out of the question and consider the family as consisting of the remaining *five* persons.

IV. The family then (exclusive of the two boys) consisting of the man, his wife, two girls, aged seven and five, and an infant, their earnings and expences will be as under :

From the earnings of the whole family	-	-	-	39	17	4	
Deduct the earnings of the two boys	-	-	-	10	8	0	
							Rem. 29 9 4*
And from the expences of the whole family	-	-	-	39	14	4	
Deduct the expences of the two boys	-	-	-	11	7	0	
							Rem. 28 7 4
And from the former remainder deducting the latter, the surplus is -							£. 1 2 0

* See Observation 11, p. 24.

But if *spinning* were laid aside, instead of this surplus there would be a deficiency of 3*l.* 5*s.*

V. Hence appears plainly the great importance of *spinning*, or of some other work at which women and girls may be constantly employed : for this circumstance (accompanied with sobriety and frugality) enables some families to live with credit, which must otherwise have come into difficulties, and in every difficulty have sought help from their parishes.

But we have no reason to expect that such industry as this will become general, unless some new measures are taken to encourage and enforce it. Let us then consider what measures are proper to be adopted for that purpose.

1. The negligence of overseers in setting the poor on work must be corrected. Good laws are but of little use, unless they are well executed. It concerns not only private families and parishes, but the nation at large, that all such persons as are able and willing to work, should have work. And therefore overseers of the poor should not be at liberty to neglect so important a part of their duty with impunity. Yet this is almost universally the case : for according to the returns made to parliament in 1786, the whole annual amount of the money expended in setting the poor on work, is under 16,000*l.* The penalty which the law threatens, being seldom inflicted, is by no means sufficient to enforce obedience to its injunctions.

The churchwardens, and overseers of the poor, have ample powers given them by 43 Eliz. cap. 2, to set all poor persons on work, who want work. But in country places, farmers and tradesmen are commonly appointed to those offices ; and these, having business enough of their

their own to mind, will not bestow the necessary time and attention on the affairs of the poor and of their parish. To this negligence it is owing, that so many women are now quite ignorant of matters which all women should understand, and wholly incapable of bringing up their children in useful and industrious habits. And to this it is also owing, that the sad expedient of *farming* the poor is becoming every year more and more common.

In order, therefore, to *compel* overseers of the poor to a better performance of their duty, I would propose that an *oath* be framed with that view, and that on their appointment they be sworn faithfully to do what the law requires of them, to the best of their knowledge and ability. And that they may not plead ignorance of their duty, in excuse for the non-performance of it, an abstract of the poor-laws, carefully drawn up, should at the same time be given them by the justices, for their direction, at least in the most essential points.

To this I can see but one objection; namely, that being appointed for one year only, they are too short a time in office to carry any plan, for setting the poor on work, effectually into execution. To obviate which, why may they not be appointed for *two, three*, or more years, instead of one? “A private bill passed, allowing the appointment of an “overseer permanent in office, and on salary, to *Bradford in Wiltshire*: “in consequence of which, the poor have been better provided for, and “the poor-rates reduced from 3,300*l.* to 2,300*l.*” [See *Sir W. Young's Observ. Prelim.* p. 64.]

And if appointed for a longer term than one year, they should however be obliged yearly to verify their accounts on oath: which accounts should be drawn up in a prescribed form, and bear on the face of them,
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in what manner the poor, capable of work, have been employed. And if provision were made for the printing on a sheet of paper, and dispersing in each parish, annual accounts of every disbursement and receipt of its officers, this would tend to check both the officers and the poor, and to inform and interest the parishioners with respect to parish concerns. [See *Franklin's Tracts*, p. 63.] Magistrates too should not merely be authorised, as now, to swear the overseers to their accounts on going out of office; but they should have, and be required to exercise, a controlling power over them in this matter.

2. But, in the present state of things, it is not to be expected that these measures alone will prove sufficient. Something further seems necessary to be done, in order to stimulate those, who have long been used to waste time in idleness, to exert themselves for the good of their families. To produce this effect, *encouragement* must go along with coercion.

The following brief account of the means which were adopted with that view in the county of *Rutland*, in 1785 and 1786, furnishes an example fit to be imitated in other places.

The justices of the peace for the said county having at their quarter sessions resolved to put in force the act of 43 Eliz. cap. 2, requiring overseers of the poor “to set on work all such persons as have no means to maintain them, and use no ordinary or daily trade,”

Ordered, “That the overseers of the poor of each parish within the county, do immediately provide such raw materials, as wool, yarn, hemp, and flax, as also wheels and other implements, for the employment of the poor of every denomination within their respective parishes, as shall be necessary to enable them to do such work as they are capable

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of performing. And that they shall meet together at least once every month, in the church of their respective parishes, upon a Sunday immediately after divine service, there to consider of the best course and order to be taken and made in the employment of the said poor."

Ordered also, "That no poor persons be allowed any relief in money, until they have done such work as they are capable of; nor allowed any relief on account of any child above *six* years of age, who shall not be able to knit; nor on account of any child above *nine* years of age, who shall not be able to spin either linen or woollen."

And to render the execution of the above act (43. Eliz. cap. 2.) more easy to the overseers of the poor, and to encourage the industrious who shall be set to work agreeably to the same; it was unanimously resolved at a general meeting of the county, "That a Fund be raised for giving them *premiums* according to their industry; and that a committee be appointed, and fully intrusted with the disposal and management of the said fund, in any such manner as shall appear to them most conducive to the accomplishment of the several purposes of the association."

The fund was raised by a subscription from each parish that chose to enter into the association, of *one per cent.* upon the poor-rate of the last year; by an annual subscription from individuals of 5*s.* each; and by benefactions of the noblemen and gentlemen of the county.

The first committee appointed, having settled their mode of proceeding, came to several general resolutions respecting the distribution of the money.—It was *resolved*, "That when the number of subscribing parishes should be ascertained, such parishes should be divided into *classes*, regard being had to neighbourhood, and the amount of the parish

parish rates. That it be recommended to the different parishes to provide a convenient place as a spinning-room, and a proper person as teacher. That *premiums*, consisting of clothing, be given to such children, of certain age and description, as in a *given time* shall have produced the greatest quantity of *spinning* or *knitting* of different kinds, and of the best quality. That whenever any young person shall go out to apprenticeship or service, or shall be married with the approbation of the committee, such young person shall receive from the committee not less than 5l. nor more than 10l. if he or she shall have received *three* of the annual premiums given by the committee; from *two* to *three* pounds, if such young person shall have received *two* premiums; and from 30s. to 40s. if *one* premium. That premiums, at the discretion of the committee, be given to those who bring up four children or more, born in wedlock, to the age of fourteen years, without relief from the parish. And that premiums be also given, at the discretion of the committee, to such overseers of the poor as shall distinguish themselves in the due execution of the orders of the sessions relative to the employment of the poor."

Such is the outline of a plan, which in that county has been attended with the best effects. The poor people, I am informed, shewed the greatest willingness to profit by the encouragements held out to them. By their endeavours to obtain *premiums*, the spinning in the county has been much improved as to the quality of the work. And the habits of industry, which the people have acquired, though their earnings are small, have considerably lowered the rates. But the principal benefit arising from this institution, is the enabling the *justices* to distinguish the deserving from the *idle* poor: for when a man applies for relief on

account of a large family, the justice, to whom he applies, enquires of the overseers whether his children earn as much as they might do by knitting or spinning: if they do, and, notwithstanding that, he is in want, relief is of course granted him; but if his children are idle, and will not knit or spin, no relief is given, till they do spin or knit as they are able.

This institution in the county of Rutland took its rise from certain printed proposals made by the Rev. *T. Foster*, one of His Majesty's justices of the peace for that county; which proposals he was induced to bring forward by the success that had attended an establishment of the same kind in a part of the county of *Lincoln*.*

In every county some sort of work might, doubtless, be found for the wives and children of labouring people, whereby they might be made to contribute largely towards their own maintenance, if the higher ranks would but set themselves earnestly to promote industry among them. Women and girls might soon be taught to manufacture coarse linen and woollen stuffs for their own uses. By means of schools of industry, encouraged by societies of industry, (like those just mentioned) the same industrious spirit might, in time, be universally diffused through the kingdom. And the advantage resulting to the publick would, it is manifest, be very great, by training the rising generation in a way to earn their bread, and by the multiplication of such families as that which has given occasion to these remarks.

I will add here, that it appears to be wholly owing to the want of proper care and attention in those who direct and manage the business of

* See an excellent account of the Society for the promotion of Industry in Lincolnshire, by the Rev. Mr. *Bower*, one of His Majesty's justices of the peace for that county. Subjoined to that publication is the report of the Board of Trade in 1697, relative to the poor, drawn up by Mr. *Locke*, and which contains his plan of a school of industry.

counties,

counties, that the unhappy persons confined in our prisons are not made useful to the community. Dorchester jail is an instance which proves this. It appears by a printed account now before me, (communicated by my much respected friend Mr. *Morton Pitt*) that the prisoners in that jail have, by being employed in such trades as they were capable of, and receiving the rewards due to their diligence, not only earned their own maintenance, but a considerable surplus, over and above that, to be carried to the credit of the county. And, what is of much greater moment, the regulations there adopted have been productive of the most salutary effects in amending the morals of the prisoners, and gradually lessening the number of offenders. And it is well known that His Majesty and the Royal Family, in a visit to that jail in the summer 1793, were highly pleased with the industry and orderly behaviour of the prisoners. The like good management has been attended with the like success in *Norfolk* and *Oxfordshire*. And were it universally practised, it would undoubtedly be everywhere productive of the same benefits, by promoting industry and good morals, and lessening parochial expences.

I cannot close this head without observing farther, that schools of industry might, at a small additional charge, be made very useful as schools of morals also. And what can be of greater importance, I will not say to families and parishes, but to the nation at large, than that the youth of both sexes should be trained up in habits of *piety*, as well as of *industry*? If one or more schools were set up in every parish with this two-fold intention, different days might be allotted for different purposes: one day the children might be occupied in kitting or spinning, another in making or mending their cloaths, and so on: and some part of each day they should be employed in learning to read, and getting by
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rote useful lessons. The succession and variety of employments would prevent any one of them from becoming irksome. And emulation might be excited in the scholars by *premiums* suited to their different degrees of proficiency in religious instruction, in the same manner as was done in the other case respecting their skill and dexterity at the several kinds of work.

We hear complaints every day made of the depraved manners of the common people: and we see and feel that they are indeed depraved in a high degree. But let us candidly own that this depravity is not confined to them alone. Without doubt some of their vices have descended to them from above: for the lower ranks are ever fond of apeing their superiors, particularly in vice and folly. The truth seems to be that *religion*, the principal engine in forming and preserving national manners, has lost much of that influence, which it always ought to have over the hearts and minds of *all* ranks of people. And history tells, that wherever this has happened, the consequence has been, that human laws, deriving their chief authority from the divine, have lost much of their energy also. And when the joint power of both can no longer resist the torrent of vice and licentiousness, what substitutes can government employ, except the formidable ones of force and terror, for the preservation of its own existence, and the maintenance of public tranquillity? *Religion* may with great justice and propriety be said to be the only solid foundation of good laws, mild government, and genuine liberty.

The first necessary step towards *restoring the influence of religion*, is the making a permanent provision for the *religious education* of poor children. Is the expence an objection? Yet in *Scotland* and *Switzerland*,
poorer

poorer countries than this, the importance of the religious education of the poor is so well understood, that due provision has been there made for that purpose. In Scotland, in particular, no parish is without a school. [See Mr. *Howard's* State of Prisons, p. 124, 196.] We profess to believe that it is our duty as *Christians*, to feed the hungry, clothe the naked, comfort the afflicted, and *instruct the ignorant*. Our laws have provided that all these duties should be tolerably performed, except the last; with respect to which they are plainly deficient. And the consequence is but too visible in the ill manners and bad morals of the lower sort of people. Of this we are constantly complaining, without once resolving to apply the proper remedy.

Will it be said, that it is a principal part of the business of the clergy, to instruct young persons? Without doubt it is: nor can any thing more useful be conceived, than the appointment of this order of men, for keeping up a sense of religion in the minds of the people. But the defect lies here, that the children of the poor are not sufficiently instructed *beforehand*, for receiving with profit the further instructions of the clergy. And to this want of preparatory education we ought to attribute, in a great measure, that supposed inefficacy of the labours of the clergy, for which they have been, so often, unreasonably censured.

Will it be said, that the necessity of making a public provision for this purpose has been superseded by the numerous charity schools and Sunday schools existing in this kingdom? Far be it from me to depreciate these institutions. The benevolence of their founders and supporters will receive its reward in heaven. *Charity schools*, however, take in but a small number, comparatively, of the children of the poor; in *England* and *Wales* about 30,000 only. *Sunday schools*, indeed, are cal-

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culated to rescue a far greater number from total ignorance; but they rest on the precarious foundation of voluntary charity, and consequently are very subject to fail. Mr. *Morton Pitt's* plan for securing their *permanency* has been some years before the publick: and it is much to be regretted that it has hitherto been no-where carried into execution, except in a part of Dorsetshire under his own inspection. More *certain* provision should be made for the education of poor children, which might be best attained by making schools of industry schools of morals also.

The number of the living from 6 to 10 years of age (both inclusive) is about a *tenth* of the whole number of the living of all ages. Therefore supposing the inhabitants of *England* and *Wales* to be 8,000,000, the number of children from 6 to 10 will be 800,000. *Three-fourths* of these, or 600,000, belong probably to poor parents; some of whom, however, manage so as to give their children a little schooling. Let it be supposed,

That the number of those educated at the expence of their parents is	20,000
The number admitted into <i>Charity schools</i> is known to be about	30,000
Suppose the <i>Sunday schools</i> to receive	- - - - - 150,000
Total educated	- - 200,000

Therefore the number of those uneducated is 400,000; that is to say, *two-thirds* of the children of the poor receive not the smallest degree of schooling. The schooling of these, at 10s. each per ann. would amount to 200,000l. If this sum were to be raised by a parish rate, it would, surely, be money well laid out, the importance of the object considered. But if a plan of this kind were once fully carried into execution, there can be no doubt but it would support itself; for these children might
with

with common care and pains be made to earn, one with another, 20s. a year each, or double the expence of their schooling. [See Mr. *Bower's* publication referred to in p. 92.

I have dwelt the longer on this point from the fullest conviction of its importance. Most unfortunately, the inordinate love of pleasure and amusement in the higher ranks seems to yield but slowly, if at all, to sober and serious reflection, to a practical sense of religion and piety: yet in these, licentiousness is kept within some bounds, by a regard to character, and the value of a good name. But when the low and uneducated part of mankind come to adopt the loose principles of the infidel and the atheist, the most dreadful consequences to society are justly to be apprehended. Reflect on this, ye rich and great! and if every worthier motive has no weight with you, let a sense of *interest* influence you to respect religion: certainly you will gain nothing by its destruction.



SECTION IV.

ANOTHER IMPORTANT POINT IS TO DEVISE MEANS FOR
CORRECTING THE IMPROVIDENCE OF WORKING PEOPLE,
AND ENCOURAGING FRUGALITY AMONG THEM.

THIS may perhaps be attained, 1st. By removing the cause of their too great reliance on parish relief: 2dly, By instructing them how to secure and improve such savings as they might make out of their pay: and, 3dly, By holding out to them a probable prospect of bettering their condition in consequence of such frugality.

In the first place, young persons in service, and day-labouring men, might, while single, save more money than they usually do save. But the misfortune is, that our poor-laws, by making an indiscriminate provision for *all* in want, have rendered them very careless in this respect. And this carelessness has been much encouraged by that spirit of dissipation, which has descended from the higher to the middling, and from the middling to the lower ranks of people. This prevailing turn to expence seems, indeed, to be one principal cause, that there have been of late so many more executions in the houses of the rich, so many more bankruptcies among merchants and tradesmen, and so much more beggary among the poor, than were ever known before. So far as this improvidence in the lower ranks has proceeded from the like disposition in the higher, it may not perhaps admit of a cure; since it is not to be expected that the richer part of a luxurious nation should be induced
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by prudential motives to practise frugality for the sake of example. But so far as this improvidence has arisen from a too great reliance on parochial relief, it may surely be remedied by removing the cause of that reliance. The obvious cause of that reliance is the indiscriminate provision made by law for all in want. Draw a line of separation, therefore, between such as are deserving, and such as are undeserving of parochial assistance. Suppose, for instance, (the pay of labourers being first settled on a right foot, and overseers compelled to set families to work) it were then enacted, that no single persons of either sex, if able to earn their living; and that no family having only three young children at home; shall be entitled, except in some extraordinary specified cases, to receive relief out of the poor-rate. This exclusion might perhaps oblige servants and day-labourers to take more care in future to husband well their earnings. And if from a regulation of this kind some hardship should casually be felt by particular families or individuals, the removal of that hardship might safely be left to their charitable neighbours, who, knowing their circumstances, would not fail to relieve them if deserving relief.

But, then, on the other hand, as it would be manifestly unjust that any person willing to work should be suffered to starve for want of work, let employers be required to do their part. In order to this, let it be provided that every *man*, who has not been able, at the time of receiving his wages on Saturday evening, to obtain of the same employer work for himself and his boys the ensuing week; and who having, at the parish-church on the Sunday immediately following, applied for work to the churchwardens and overseers of the poor, or any one of them there present, without obtaining any; or who, if none of

these officers were there present, has made the like application at the house of one or more of them without success; I say, let every man, who, having complied with these directions, is nevertheless suffered to lose his time without any fault of his own, be by law entitled to two-thirds of a day's wages, to be paid out of the poor-rate for every day that he shall so remain unemployed; and in a reasonable proportion for boys above the age of twelve years. It is surely sufficient that labouring people should offer themselves to do such work as they are capable of: it is the duty of their superiors to find them such work; which they will be most careful to do, when they shall be obliged to pay for idle time.

2dly. Notwithstanding the encouragement given to wasteful expence both by our poor-laws, and also by the wide-spread luxury of the age we live in; yet there are no doubt many servants and others, who would save a part of their earnings against a time of need, if they knew how to secure and improve their savings. Their ignorance in this respect, there is reason to think, renders many of them less thrifty than they would otherwise be. Few of the lower sort of people know any thing of the nature of the public funds; and if they knew more than they do, ten or a dozen guineas saved make too trifling a sum to carry to the Stock Exchange. And if the owner lays them up in a corner of his box, in the hope of adding more to them, it is odds but some temptation comes in the way, and the money vanishes. Another circumstance which has discouraged many from saving any thing is this: they have listened to the melancholy tales of some of their acquaintance, who having unfortunately placed the little money they had got in service in the hands of some plausible tradesman, have by his failure lost it all; or to the

the equally melancholy tales of others, who had experienced the like in some of those irregular box-clubs some years ago common in this kingdom, in which, when the contributions had amounted to a large sum, the whole was, for the sake of interest, lent to some knave and lost. It is therefore a matter of consequence to teach such people as earn more money than they need spend, how to secure and improve such small sums as they may be disposed to save, that they may reap the full benefit of their parsimony, when they come to settle in the world.

Now there are two methods of doing this, more especially suited to the circumstances of the people in question: 1st. By engaging in a *friendly society for mutual relief*, as now regulated by act of parliament; and 2dly, By engaging in one of those *provident societies* which have been lately set up in several towns. By becoming members of a friendly society, such persons as are desirous of keeping themselves free from the shame and misery of being burdensome to their parish, have it in their power to make for themselves a provision against sickness, accident, or old age; and that without the hazard to which some clubs of this kind were heretofore subject, whose schemes, having been arbitrarily formed, were of course fraught with mischievous consequences. These societies the rich would do well to encourage by liberal subscriptions. By becoming members of a provident society, such persons as are desirous of placing a part of their present wages in a fund to be improved for the benefit of the contributors, with the view of receiving back the same so improved at the end of a short term of years, have an opportunity of doing so. And as the bankers and principal tradesmen in those towns, where these societies have been set up, are the trustees and managers of the funds so raised, the risk to the members must here
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also be inconsiderable. They who may wish for further information respecting friendly societies, may peruse the act passed in 1789 with the scheme annexed. See also a scheme of the same kind at the end of a publication in 1787, intitled a Narrative of the Proceedings tending towards a National Reformation, &c. by a Country Magistrate. At the end of Mr. Baron *Maseres*' excellent work on the Principles of Life-Annuities, there is a copy of a bill, with the requisite tables, (which passed the House of Commons, but was rejected by the Lords) being the first plan of this kind formed on just principles for the use of the common people. See another plan for the use of the *poor* in Dr. *Price*'s work on Reverfionary Payments, vol. i. p. 140, *note*. And with respect to the several Provident Societies, it is sufficient to refer to the plans of those societies, which may be had of the secretaries.

3dly. *Hold out to the industrious and frugal a probable prospect of bettering their condition.* If it be reasonable that idleness and improvidence should be discouraged and punished, it is without doubt equally so that industry and parsimony should receive their proper reward. Instead, therefore, of driving poor people to despondency and despair, by making it impossible for them to rise even a single step from their present low condition, you should cherish in their breasts the hope of advancing themselves to more comfortable circumstances, which is assuredly the best preservative from vice and beggary. *Hope* is a cordial, of which the poor man has especially much need, to cheer his heart in the toilsome journey through life. And the fatal consequence of that policy, which deprives labouring people of the expectation of possessing any property in the soil, must be the extinction of every generous principle in their minds. Therefore, 1st. Allow to the cottager a little land
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about his dwelling, for keeping a cow, for planting potatoes, for raising flax or hemp. 2dly, Convert the waste lands of the kingdom into *small* arable farms, a certain quantity every year, to be let on favourable terms to industrious families. 3dly, Restrain the engrossment and over-enlargement of farms. The propriety of these measures cannot, I think, be questioned. For since the destruction of small farms, and of cottages having land about them, has so greatly contributed to bring the lower peasantry into the starving condition in which we now see them, the most effectual means should be taken without delay for checking this practice, and counteracting the mischief it has already done. The mischief is universally felt. For whilst this practice has been reducing the generality of small farmers into day-labourers, and the great body of day-labourers into beggars, and has been multiplying and impoverishing even beggars themselves, it has perhaps elevated the body of farmers above their proper level, enabling many of them not only to tyrannize over their inferiors, but even to vie with their landlords in dissipation and expence.

For full and rational information on each of the foregoing heads, I cannot do better than refer the reader to Mr. *Kent's Hints to Gentlemen of Landed Property*. Yet I will here mention some few particulars which seem to merit attention.

1st. As to cottagers, I could name some worthy persons now living, who, by giving to their labouring people a small quantity of land contiguous to their dwellings, have thereby rendered their condition far more comfortable than it was before. Their example therefore deserves imitation. In many country parishes there is abundance of common and waste land, which in its present state is of very little value: but if
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a small part of it were inclosed for the use of the poor, and tilled at the expence of the respective parishes, this would greatly help many families. No gentleman should be permitted to pull down a cottage, until he had first erected another, upon one of Mr. *Kent's* plans, either on some convenient part of the waste, or on his own estate, with a certain quantity of land annexed. In the 30th *Eliz.* it was enacted, that no cottage should be erected in country places without four acres of land about it, that poor people might secure for themselves a maintenance, and not be obliged on the loss of a few days labour to come to the parish. If some regulations of this kind were now adopted, they would be at once an encouragement to the poor, and a great check on the increase of the rates.

2dly. Convert gradually the waste lands of the kingdom into small arable farms. For the encouragement of industrious persons there should be a much greater number of such farms than there is at present, and a gradation as to size and rent. The advantages, public and private, likely to result from such a measure are well described by Mr. *Kent* in the work before-mentioned. At present small farms, on account of the great demand there is for them, let at such exorbitant rents, that it is scarcely possible for poor families to get a livelihood on them. Were the number of such farms increased, besides the encouragement thence arising to the lower peasantry, this further benefit would flow from it to the poorer cottagers. The occupiers of these small farms, as well as the occupiers of Mr. *Kent's* larger cottages, would not think much of retailing to their poorer neighbours a little corn or a little milk, as they might want, which the poor can now seldom have at all, and never but as a great favour from the rich farmers.

3dly. Restrain

3dly, Restrain the engrossment and over-enlargement of farms. If this system goes on much longer, landlords may be obliged to let their lands to the great farmers on almost their own terms. Some proprietors of lands have complained that this is too much the case already.

Bacon, in his History of Henry VIIth, praises the policy of that reign, in which it was enacted, in order to promote tillage and prevent a decay of people, "that all houses of husbandry with twenty acres of ground to them should be kept up for ever, together with a competent proportion of land to be occupied with them, and in no wise to be severed from them. By these means the houses being kept up, did of necessity enforce a dweller; and the proportion of land for occupation being also kept up, did of necessity enforce that dweller not to be a beggar." Lord *Bacon's Works*, vol. iii. p. 431.

And touching the engrossment of farms, in the 25th Hen. VIIIth, it is set forth, "that many farms, and great plenty of cattle, particularly sheep, had been gathered into few hands, whereby pasturage had been increased excessively, and tillage was very much decayed; the old rate of rents so raised, that farmers of small substance could not meddle with them; churches and towns pulled down; the price of provisions excessively enhanced; and a marvellous number of people rendered incapable of maintaining themselves and families: and therefore it was enacted, that no person should keep above 2000 sheep, nor hold more than *two* farms."

All this seems now to be a dead letter. Nor do I mean to recommend the strict revival of these regulations. I only mention them, that people may turn their thoughts to these matters, and devise some restraints on the evils complained of.

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The last-mentioned regulation, however, that no person should hold more than two [moderate] farms, is plainly founded in good sense and good policy.

SECTION V.

RATING THE WAGES OF LABOURERS ACCORDING TO THE STATUTE 5th ELIZABETH, CAP. 4.

THE measures already proposed, though they were forthwith adopted, can only be carried into execution gradually and slowly, except those contained in Section III. But it appears that the distresses of our lower peasantry are such as call for *immediate* relief. And the most effectual measure for giving them immediate relief is, *To raise the price of day-labour.*

It is obviously reasonable and right that the pay of the labourer should keep pace with the general advance in the prices of those things which are necessary for his support. If the just proportion which should constantly subsist between the one and the other be any how destroyed, proper means should be taken for restoring that proportion as soon as possible. Delays in a matter of this moment, which deeply concerns the great body of a people, must be dangerous.

It is a mistake to say, as some eminent writers have said, that the price of labour must unavoidably advance in proportion with the advanced

vanced prices of necessaries. This, however plausible it may be in theory, is contradicted by experience. In fact, the price of labour is but *one* article; and the slow advance that usually takes place in this one, in countries that have been long settled, seldom compensates the *sum* of the advances in all those articles which are accounted necessaries. The proposition may be true with respect to fresh *accessions of money* to a country, which, gradually getting into the hands of *all*, give to all a greater ability to purchase what they want: "though, even in this case, the day-labourer, having nothing to subsist on but his daily work, must ever be behind-hand in advancing the price of his labour." But it will not hold with respect to luxury and taxes, the former of which raises prices without adding to the ability to purchase; and the latter, whilst they enhance prices, often diminish that ability. Owing to various causes, the plenty of working hands may be such as, by their competition to prevent wages from rising fast enough, (if they rise at all) to answer the increased expence of living.

The prices of the necessaries of life are, from the nature of things, fluctuating and variable, depending on accidents which it is impossible for human laws to fix or regulate. But it is a matter easily practicable to adapt the price of labour to the plenty or scarcity of the times. Our ancestors were so sensible of this, that they made several laws for *the rating of wages*; the substance of which is comprised in the stat. 5 Eliz. c. 4. And though this statute has been long disregarded in practice, it is probable that enforcing the execution of it would be attended at this time with the most salutary consequences. Only it may be proper that some few alterations should be made in it, to suit it to our present circumstances.

As the prices of necessities vary in different counties, it is plain, that none can be competent for the rating of wages, but such as are resident upon the spot, or near it. Therefore, the statute 5 Eliz. c. 4, directs,

1. That the justices of every shire, riding, and liberty, or the more part of them, being then resident within the same, and the sheriff, if he conveniently may, and every mayor and other head officer within any city or town corporate, wherein is any justice of the peace within the limits of the said city or town corporate, and of the said corporation, shall yearly, in *Easter sessions*, or within six weeks next after, assemble, and call unto them such discreet and grave persons as they shall think meet; and having respect to the plenty or scarcity of the time, and other circumstances, shall have authority to limit, rate, and appoint the wages of all such labourers, artificers, workmen, or apprentices of husbandry, as they shall think meet, by their discretions, to be rated, limited; or appointed, by the year, or by the day, week, month, or otherwise; with meat and drink, or without meat and drink; and what wages every workman or labourer shall take by the great, for mowing, reaping, or threshing of corn and grain, or for mowing or making of hay, or for ditching, paving, railing, or hedging, by the rod, perch, lugg, yard, pole, rope, or foot, and for any other kind of reasonable labour or service. 5 Eliz. c. 4, §. 15.

And by 1 Jac. c. 6, the justices, or the more part of them, resident in any riding, liberty, or division, where the sessions are severally kept, shall have power to rate the wages within such division, as if the same were done in the general sessions for the county: §. 5. And by the said statute 1 Jac. c. 6, the said act of 5 Eliz. shall extend to the rating of wages of all labourers, weavers, spinsters, and workmen or work-
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women whatsoever, either working by the day, week, month, year, or taking any work by the great, or otherwise: §. 3.

And if any justice resident within the county, or mayor, shall be absent at the rating of wages, and not hindered by sickness or other lawful cause, to be allowed by the justices then assembled for rating wages, upon the oath and affidavit of some creditable person, he shall forfeit to the King 10l. to be recovered in the sessions or other court of record, by indictment or otherwise. 5 Eliz. c. 4. §. 17. And the justices shall yearly, between September 29 and December 25, and between March 25 and June 24, make special and diligent enquiry of the good execution of this statute, and punish defaulters; and shall have for every day that they sit about the execution thereof (not exceeding three days at a time) 5s. each, out of the forfeitures due to the King: §. 37, 38.

2. By the said act, 5 Eliz. c. 4, the rates were to be certified into the chancery; but by the 1 Jac. c. 6, they need not to be certified into the chancery, but shall be kept amongst the records of the county or town corporate. §. 8. And after the said rates are made and engrossed in parchment, under the hands and seals of the persons having authority to rate the same, the sheriff, or mayor, may cause proclamation thereof to be made in so many places as to them shall seem convenient, and every person shall be bound to observe the same. §. 6.

3. If any person, upon the proclamation published, shall directly or indirectly retain or keep any servant, workman, or labourer, or shall give any *more or greater wages*, or other commodity, than shall be so appointed in the said proclamation, he shall, on conviction before any of the justices or other head officers abovementioned, be imprisoned for ten days without bail, and shall forfeit 5l. half to the king, and half to him

him that shall sue before the said justices in their sessions: 5 Eliz. c. 4, §. 18. And any person that shall be so retained, and take wages contrary to the said statute of the 5 Eliz. or to the said proclamation, and shall be thereof convicted before the justices aforesaid, or any two of them, or before the mayor or other head-officers aforesaid, shall be imprisoned for 21 days, without bail. §. 19. And every retainer, promise, gift, or payment of wages, or other thing, contrary to the said act, and every writing and bond to be made for that purpose, shall be void. §. 20.

And by 1 Jac. c. 6, if any clothier, or other, shall refuse to pay so much wages to their weavers, spinsters, workmen or workwomen, as be rated; and shall be convicted thereof by confession, or oath of two witnesses, at the assizes, or sessions, or before any two justices (1 Q.) he shall forfeit 10s. to the party grieved, to be levied by distress and sale. §. 7.

So stands the law concerning the *rating of wages*, [see *Burn's Justice*, title, *servants*, §. 2.] which I have here copied for the sake of making the following observations: viz.

Obs. 1. In the statutes enacted for this purpose, before the reign of Elizabeth, the object of the legislature appears to have been, as to this matter, to keep wages moderately low, many persons, on account of the scarcity of hands, being not willing to serve without *excessive* wages. But this statute of Eliz. repeals the said former laws, because they could not, without the great grief and burden of the poor labourer and hired man, be put in due and good execution, on account of the rated wages being in divers places *too small*, respecting the advancement of necessities; and directs the rating of wages in the manner set forth above,
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with the view of yielding unto the hired person, both in the time of scarcity and in the time of plenty, a *convenient proportion* of wages. So that the declared design of this statute is to effect the very thing which is at present necessary to be done.

Obs. 2. The laws antecedent to the reign of Elizabeth limit the *highest wages*, which were allowed to be given to, or taken by, persons of different occupations; and that very properly, because their aim was to restrain workmen from demanding excessive wages. But this act of Elizabeth, though proposing to remedy this grievance of hired people, in being compelled to take too small wages, has, nevertheless, very improperly copied them in this particular. To adapt this law to the circumstances of the present time and the necessities of the poor, it would be more fit to specify the *lowest wages* to be given or taken, allowing the more industrious and skilful workmen to take greater if they can get greater. It was requisite *formerly* to prevent labourers and others from taking advantage of the necessities of masters, and demanding too great wages; and therefore it was right then to fix the *maximum*. What is wanted *now* is to prevent masters from taking advantage of the numbers and necessities of the poor, and allowing them too small wages; and therefore it is proper now to fix the *minimum*.

Obs. 3. If the *minimum* of wages were settled, it would free this measure from the only plausible objection that has been urged against it, namely, "that if all persons, in the same kind of work, were to receive equal wages, there would be no emulation."* For in that case all persons being not compellable to take equal wages, the best workmen would

* Burn's Hist. of Poor Laws, p. 130.

of course be both more sure of employment, and would also get better wages, than inferior ones. And consequently this measure, instead of discouraging, would tend to promote emulation.

Obj. 4. This stat. of Eliz. directs the rating of wages in the general sessions for the county. The subsequent act of 1 Jac. c. 6, (which also extends the rating of wages to such as could not be rated by the said act of Eliz.) empowers the major part of the justices resident in any riding, liberty, or division, where the sessions are severally kept, to rate the wages within such division. This two-fold authority given to the justices, to rate wages in either of these two ways at their discretion, was probably one cause of its not being done at all. If the practice should be revived, it will be proper to abolish one of these methods, and to enforce the other. The rating of wages in the general sessions of the county, *for the whole county*, seems to deserve the preference. The penalty for non-attendance at the rating of wages should be made much heavier than it is at present.

Obj. 5. This statute of Eliz. directs the rating of wages to be at the *Easter* sessions, or within six weeks after; that is, before the commencement of summer, when, on account of the plenty of work to be had, and the great demand for hands, wages do usually rise. At present, it would be obviously better, if this were directed to be done at the *Michaelmas* sessions, when, the harvest being gathered in, it is known whether the crop of corn has been plentiful or scarce, both in our own and in other countries; and of course, whether bread the following winter is likely to be cheap or dear;—a very essential piece of information for guiding the justices in settling the price of labour. Or, the justices may have authority to rate wages at any quarter-sessions, or any adjournment

jourment thereof, notice of such intention being advertised fifteen days before.

Obf. 6. It does not seem necessary now to meddle with the pay of artificers, handicraftsmen, or hired servants, these, as settled by custom, being sufficiently high, though not excessive. Nor need the price of work done by the great be disturbed, the poor being content with the pay which they usually receive in that way. The pay of manufacturers too is generally thought to be sufficiently high, though probably, all things considered, it is not too high. The only thing wanted is to raise the pay of the day-labouring peasant, who, not receiving the value of his labour, cannot subsist a moderate family.

Obf. 7. Proclamation of the rated wages should be made in every parish church as soon as conveniently may be after the rating: and a paper, pasted on a board, containing the rated wages, should be put up in every church, there to remain for the information of all persons concerned, till the next rating takes place.

But, the propriety of this measure being admitted, it may be asked, *By what standard shall the price of labour be regulated?* In order to answer this question, let it be observed, that a *single man* having full employment might at present, with frugality, save a third part at least of his earnings, though instead of doing this he too commonly spends it in the ale-house. With respect therefore to *single men*, wages may be said to be already too high. But labouring men do not long remain single; they marry and beget children; and then, what was before a too ample provision for *one*, comes to be an insufficient provision for *many*. Every state is desirous of advancing population; which can only be done by encouraging marriage among the lower classes of people, cottages being

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the chief nurseries of men. For these reasons every labouring man should be enabled to earn a subsistence for a certain number of persons, besides himself. The question therefore comes to this: *What is the precise number of persons which a labouring man's wages should be calculated to maintain?* To determine this I cannot conceive any plainer or juster way of proceeding, than by having regard to the *average* number of persons in a family, and settling the proportion accordingly. The average number of persons in a family, taking in all ranks, has been found to be rather under five; but in the lower classes of people, especially that of labourers in husbandry, it is at least five. Therefore the average earnings of *a family* should be sufficient for the necessary maintenance of five persons. Now it appears by the accounts in the first part, that the sum necessary for the annual maintenance of a family, consisting of a man and his wife, and three children, in *Berkshire*, and therefore in all the southern counties, is not less than 26*l*.* per annum, or 10*s*. a week. And if the wife and children earn between them, on an average, 1*s*. a week, (which I believe is above the mark;) since this 1*s*. is only sufficient to maintain an infant, it follows that the man alone ought to earn by his labour as much as will suffice for the maintenance of himself, his wife, and *two* children; he ought to earn at least 9*s*. a week. According to the principle I have assumed, then, 9*s*. a week is the *lowest proportion* of wages which a grown man should receive for a week's labour, in those counties wherein wheaten bread is commonly eaten. In the same manner the proper wages may be found for *any* particular place or county.

* Be it remembered that this sum should be 30*l*. if labouring families were to drink small-beer in common.

SECTION VI.

REGULATING THE PRICE OF DAY-LABOUR BY THE PRICE OF BREAD.

THOUGH I can see no valid objection against the foregoing method of settling wages, yet it may be proper to give another, by which the same end may be attained. And as this which I am going to explain is very simple in itself, and capable of being easily put in practice, it may perhaps on that account be thought by some to deserve the preference over the former.

As *bread* is the principal part of the food of labouring people, making full two-thirds of the whole in value wherever wheaten bread is in common use, *I think the price of bread might with great propriety be made to regulate the price of labour.* And bread being the staff of life, the price of it ever varying, and the variations sometimes considerable, the chief point to be attended to is plainly this, to guard the poor against the distresses which an excessive price of this article never fails to bring on them.

For this purpose, nothing more is requisite than that the average number of persons in a family, the quantity of bread eaten by them weekly, and the weekly amount of their other expences, should be ascertained. This being done, a scale of day-wages might be calculated, and so adapted to the table of the price of bread as to shew at sight the wages corresponding to any particular price.

For instance; let it be supposed, that the expences of a family of five persons, the mean number, in such parts of this kingdom where

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wheaten bread is in common use, amount to 26*l.* a year, or 10*s.* a week. On looking at the abstract of accounts, p. 18, we find that the bread alone of such a family requires a trifle more than 4*s.*; consequently, all the other articles taken together, including the *annual outgoings*, require the remaining 6*s.* But we may regard the amount of these other articles as *a given sum*, that will not vary much in many years: for the sum of the annual expences for house-rent, fuel, clothing, and contingencies, will probably remain for many years much the same as at present; and the prices of bacon, tea and sugar, soap, candles, &c. may likewise be looked upon as tolerably steady. Allow therefore 6*s.* a week to answer all the wants of the family, bread excepted.

1. Suppose now, *first*, that in any particular town or place, the certified price of wheat is 4*s.* per bushel, *Winchester* measure; the allowance to the baker for baking, 1*s.*; both together, 5*s.* In the table of the price of bread (stat. 31 G. II. cap. 29.) the price of the half-peck loaf, household, corresponding to 5*s.* is 8½*d.* The average expence in bread of our six families of labourers is one half-peck loaf per head, as may be seen by the abstract so often referred to. A family of five persons therefore will require five such loaves weekly, the value of which is 3*s.* 6½*d.* Add this to the *given amount* of all other articles, 6*s.* and the whole weekly expence comes to 9*s.* 6½*d.* This sum, then, the family ought to earn among them. Suppose the wife and children to earn 1*s.* a week; then the husband, it is plain, ought to receive in this case for his week's labour 8*s.* 6½*d.*; which divided by 6, the number of work-days in a week, gives 1*s.* 5*d.* per day.

2. For a *second* example, let the price of the bushel of wheat with the allowance for baking be 6*s.*; the corresponding price of the half-peck loaf

loaf is $10\frac{1}{4}d.$ and of five loaves $4s. 3\frac{1}{4}d.$ which added to $6s.$ the given sum of all other necessary outgoings, makes $10s. 3\frac{1}{4}d.$; and deducting $1s.$ for the supposed earnings of the wife and children, there remains $9s. 3\frac{1}{4}d.$ which the man ought to get weekly, or $1s. 6\frac{1}{4}d.$ per day.

3. For a *third* instance, suppose the price of the bushel of wheat with the allowance to the baker to be $7s.$; then the corresponding price of the half-peck loaf will be $1s.$ and of five loaves $5s.$; and this added to the *given sum* of $6s.$ makes the total $11s.$; from which deducting $1s.$ for the earnings of the wife and children, the man ought to receive $10s.$ a week, or $1s. 8d.$ per day.

4. *Lastly*, Let the price of the bushel of wheat with the allowance be $8s.$; the corresponding price of the half-peck loaf is $1s. 1\frac{1}{4}d.$ and the price of five loaves is $5s. 9d.$; which added, as before, to $6s.$ makes the whole weekly expence of the family $11s. 9d.$; out of which deducting $1s.$ for the earnings of the wife and children, there remains the man's wages $10s. 9d.$ weekly, or $1s. 9\frac{1}{4}d.$ a day.

In the like manner the wages may be calculated for other variations of the price of corn and bread, and for any other grain besides wheat. But this method of regulating wages will perhaps appear more plain, if we place the foregoing examples in columns, as follows:

Examples.	Price of the bushel of wheat with allowance for baking.	Weight of the penny-loaf household.	Price of the half-peck loaf household.	Corresponding price of labour per day.
	s. d.	oz. dr.	s. d.	s. d.
1	5 0	16 6	0 8 $\frac{1}{4}$	1 5
2	6 0	13 9	0 10 $\frac{1}{4}$	1 6 $\frac{1}{4}$
3	7 0	11 9	1 0	1 8
4	8 0	10 2	1 1 $\frac{1}{4}$	1 9 $\frac{1}{4}$

Obs.

Obj. Whoever casts his eye over this short table must be struck with astonishment at seeing how deficient the present pay of day-labour is, when compared with the price of corn for many years past.

Where fuel is scarce and dear, poor people find it cheaper to buy their bread of the baker, than to bake for themselves; and therefore the baker's allowance is added to the price of the bushel of corn in the above instances. But where fuel abounds, and costs only the trouble of cutting and carrying home, there they may save something by baking their own bread.

By this regulation the common people would be effectually secured from wanting the absolute necessities of life, provided they were always employed. Nor could the farmers reasonably object against paying their labourers higher wages as the price of grain advanced; because by that very advance they would be abundantly enabled to do this. And for the ground-work of such a regulation, nothing more is required than to continue to enforce the due execution of the statutes for certifying the prices of grain, meal, and flour, and for setting the affize and declaring the price of bread.

Perhaps it might be sufficient, if the price of bread were made to regulate the price of labour for that half of the year only in which labouring people are most distressed, namely, from *Michaelmas* to *Lady-day*, or rather from the 1st of *November* to the 1st of *May*, leaving things to go on as at present for the other half year.

SECTION

SECTION VII.

SUPPLYING THE DEFICIENCY OF THE EARNINGS OF LARGE FAMILIES OUT OF THE POOR-RATE.

THE price of day-labour, settled in either of the foregoing methods, is calculated for the necessary support of such families only as consist of not more than five persons. But there are many families which consist of a greater number, and in which none of the children are capable of earning a livelihood. It remains that we consider of a due provision for the relief of these. And I think the properest way of making up the deficiency of their earnings, is by an allowance out of the poor-rate.

For the proposed measure of raising wages is not meant to supersede a poor-rate, but only so to reduce its magnitude, as to exclude the many evils attending it in its present extent. There must still be a rate in every parish, in order not only that large families may not starve for want of that bread which they cannot fully earn, but also that such lesser families, as cannot find constant employment, may, when unemployed, receive due assistance; in short, that all necessitous and infirm persons may be taken proper care of, and none be left to perish through want in a *christian* country.

With respect to such families as consist of more than five persons, all the children being incapable of work, and the mother of course earning very little, there are two methods of making up the deficiency of their earnings

earnings out of the rate; either, *first*, by entitling them to demand a certain *weekly stipend* out of that fund, sufficient for the maintenance of all the children above three in number; or, *secondly*, which appears to be the better way, by allowing to them *wholly*, or *in part*, what I have called the *annual outgoings*, out of the same fund; that is to say, where there are five children unable to work, the family should receive the *whole* amount of those annual outgoings, or about 7*l.* per ann.; and where there are four such children, the family should be allowed the *half* of that sum; not in money, but in rent, fuel, clothing, &c.

And with respect to such large families, wherein one or two of the children earn something, but cannot earn ~~their~~ whole living; these might be privileged to demand a lesser stipend weekly, or to have a specified part of the annual outgoings allowed them, in proportion as the earnings of the family fell short of their maintenance.

A regulation of this kind might induce parishes and their officers to exert themselves in easing poor families of supernumerary children, by apprenticing some, and placing others out in service, as soon as they came to be of a fit age.

In these cases families should have a *legal* claim to such parish allowances, not only on account of the heavy expence and trouble of bringing up a numerous brood of children; but also for having so meritoriously contributed to the population of the kingdom at a time when celibacy in the higher ranks is become so fashionable as to bear taxation. I think there would be good sense in appropriating the tax on batchelors to the better support of families of the above description.

It seems proper too, that provision should be made by law, in more definite terms than has yet been done, that *all* poor families should, whilst

whilst out of work, in sickness, small-pox, and on the like extraordinary occasions, receive due relief out of the rate, until the cause of their distress ceases.

But, in all common cases, such families as have not more than *three* children unable to work may, I think, be thrown off the rate, and left to shift for themselves, their pay being sufficient to maintain them. And *single men*, who can earn much more than they need spend on themselves, should by no means have any claim on the rate, for this obvious reason; namely, that they may resolve in youth and health to be more saving of their money, and be induced to enter into *friendly* and *provident* societies for that purpose.

If some such regulations as these here proposed, with such others as have been already suggested for the employment and encouragement of industrious families, were to accompany the measure of raising wages, the following good consequences would probably result from their joint operation:

1. As the poor-rate would be no longer a partial substitute for wages, the sums of money passing through the hands of the overseers of the poor would be, on this account, much less than they are now: consequently the frauds, impositions, and abuses now complained of, could not then be practised in any alarming degree.

2. The overseers of the poor, being obliged by their oath on admission into the office, either to set poor families on work, or to pay them at a certain rate for idle time; parishes would soon come to see the necessity of requiring from those officers the strict performance of their duty in the former of these respects.

R

3. Men

3. Men having more in family than the average number of five persons, as they would then be secure from the apprehension of wanting necessaries, would seldom be tempted to desert their families and leave them upon their parish, which is now frequently done.

4. And men having fewer than the average number, would become more provident, sober, industrious, and frugal, as knowing themselves not to be entitled to any aid from their parishes, except on certain occasions particularly specified. And for the same reason their wives would perhaps exert themselves more than they now do, to add something to their husbands' earnings, and so contribute to the support of their families: a point, as we have seen, of no small importance.

5. Single men, having nothing but their wages to depend on, would be more careful to make provision against accidents; and when they resolved to marry, would look out for such *notable* wives as could earn money by knitting, spinning, sewing, and the like. And as such women would be then more courted than the ignorant and unskilful, this might induce the women in general to learn these easy and useful arts: and having learnt them, they would know their value, and teach their children the same.

6. Thus sufficient wages being given to day-labourers; idleness, improvidence, and vice checked and discouraged; industry, sobriety, and frugality, countenanced and promoted; the opportunities for frauds, impositions, and abuses, in a great measure, taken away; the poor-rate would of course be reduced, and all those who pay to it would be relieved from a great part of that burden which they now consider as a heavy grievance.

7. The

7. The *charitable* and *humane* might then exercise their benevolence, without the hazard of giving their alms improperly, towards such families and individuals as were excluded from a legal provision, and should accidentally fall into distress: for, it is well known that oftentimes what is now apparently given to the poor, is in reality a mere donation to the rich.

8. Offenders against the *game-laws* might then be punished rigorously with some shew of justice; because the plea of *necessity* could not be alledged in mitigation of the offence; their only motive in pursuing game could then be merely to procure money to be spent in drink.

9. *Lastly*; Justices of the peace would in a little time be eased of a great part of the trouble which they are now obliged to take in settling disputes concerning the poor.



SECTION VIII.

A SUPPOSED OBJECTION AGAINST THE MEASURE OF RAISING WAGES, ANSWERED.

CONCLUSION.

HAVING stated, as plainly as I could, all that has occurred to my mind, with respect to labourers in husbandry, as highly deserving the public attention, I will only add a few short observations, and conclude.

Of the measures which have been here proposed for the relief of labouring families, those which appear most necessary to be immediately adopted, are the two following; viz. that of *raising wages*, and that of *providing employment for women and girls*. These two measures should go together. The laws in being enjoin the doing of both these things; but there is a lamentable defect in the execution. It is on the enacting of a *supplementary law* for enforcing these two measures, that we are to look for an amendment of the condition of labouring families, and for a salutary reduction of the poor-rates.

I am not aware that any solid objection can be urged against the immediate adoption of these two measures, and therefore I trust that they will speedily attract the notice of the legislature; and, if after examination, they are approved, be digested into a proper form for receiving their sanction. Justice, sound policy, and religion, seem all to require that *something* should be done forthwith in favour of that denomination of people, whose distressed case we have been contemplating.

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I am convinced that the measure of raising wages must, from necessity, be very soon adopted. Indeed that opinion becomes every day more and more prevalent. But as it will probably, for some time to come, be disliked by many, I will here say a few words more on this head. If any one should object that this measure will injure the farmer, *who feeds us all*; and should think that he ought to be left at liberty to get labour as cheap as he can; I answer, *first*, that however valuable the farmer may be, and confessedly is, as a member of the community, yet the day-labourer must be acknowledged to be *equally* valuable. The great body of farmers are indeed the principal employers of the far greater body of day-labourers; but what could the former do without the latter? “*The head cannot say to the feet, I have no need of you.*” As these together constitute the greater part of the nation, so the prosperity of the one, and the comfortable situation of the other, are equally essential to the national happiness. All orders of men are much interested in the well-being of all those who are occupied in the cultivation of the soil. This will hardly be denied.

I answer, *secondly*, that when the measure of raising wages is carried into execution, the farmer will *probably* find at the year's end, that he has saved more in poor-rates than the advance in pay has taken from him. This must be the case if this measure be accompanied, as it ought to be, by that for enforcing the law for setting the poor to work. However, were it otherwise, yet the day-labourer must be enabled to subsist his family. And as the land-owner should not oppress the farmer, by exacting an excessive rent; so neither should the farmer oppress the day-labourer, by giving him for his work less than its value: for “*the labourer is worthy of his hire.*” If the land-owner has
in

in some instances, by raising the rent too high, forced the farmer to squeeze the day-labourer, he has been thereby guilty of a *double* oppression. The truth is, the price of every article of the produce of land has been rising continually for a long time past; and *this* has both enriched the farmer, and enabled the landlord to raise his rents. But on the other hand, this has also contributed greatly to impoverish and distress the day-labourer. Therefore, though the measure of raising wages should take some small matter out of the pockets of the farmer and land-owner; yet it is evident that, even on this supposition, neither of them will have any reasonable ground of complaint.

That spirit of humanity, which, pervading all ranks, eminently characterizes this nation, and which has been ever ready to relieve the private distress of the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow, as soon as it was made known, encourages me in hoping that this feeble attempt to represent faithfully the miserable state of the great body of our peasantry, will meet with a candid, and even generous reception from those who have the power of removing the grievance.

Gratitude obliges me to say, that this little work would never have seen the light, had it not been for the assistance kindly given me by a most valuable *friend*, whose zeal in the cause of the industrious poor first suggested the idea of an enquiry into their circumstances; who also furnished me with several hints and observations whilst I was employed in writing these sheets; and through whose hands I received most of the papers contained in the following Appendix.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX;

CONTAINING

A COLLECTION OF ACCOUNTS,

SHEWING

THE EARNINGS AND EXPENCES OF LABOURING FAMILIES IN
DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE KINGDOM.

“PAUPER UBIQUE JACET!” *Queen Elizabeth's Exclamation, in her Progress
through the Kingdom.*—See RUGGLES's *Hist. of the Poor*, vol. i. p. 186.

THE *first* paper in this collection is that which was circulated for the purpose of obtaining information. It is here reprinted just as it was originally drawn up, because some of the following papers refer to it in *that* state; but as the *annual expences*, especially the articles of *rent and clothing*, have since appeared to me to be estimated too low in *this* account, I have made *them* more correct in that which is given in Part I, p. 18. This collection contains *all* the accounts that have come to my hands in consequence of the distribution of the *Barkham* paper. In the *Table of Contents* prefixed, I have thought it necessary to give some *short notes* on the accounts.

D. D.

A LIST of the ACCOUNTS

CONTAINED IN

THIS APPENDIX,

WITH SHORT NOTES ON THEM.

COUNTIES.	PARISHES.	NOTES.
Berks.	BARKHAM.	The <i>annual outgoings</i> are made more correct in Part I, p. 18.
	PANGBOURN.	A man's <i>extra</i> earnings in harvest may be reckoned at 1l.; which, if added to the earnings in these accounts, would make the deficiency in each so much less. The <i>annual expences</i> are here, very properly, stated at 7l. nearly.
Cornwall.	ANTONY SAINT JACOB.	<i>Barley bread.</i> The <i>annual outgoings</i> are stated very low. <i>No beer. No cheese.</i>
	ST. AUSTEL.	No beer. No cheese.
	ST. MICHAEL PENKEVIL.	No beer. No cheese.
Derbyshire.	KEDDLESTONE.	In the <i>annual expences</i> rent and fuel only are accounted for. Nothing for clothing, lying-in, &c. The harvest gains are not, probably, included in the earnings: about 1l. each family.

COUNTIES.	PARISHES.	NOTES.
Dorsetshire.	APP-PIDDLE.	The parish pays the rent of Nos. 1, 3, 4, 6: No. 6 allowed fuel too. The allowance for clothing very small. If the <i>annual expences</i> were completed by the addition of rent, fuel, and a more competent sum for clothing, there would then be great deficiencies at the foot of <i>all</i> these accounts.
	BISHOP'S-CAUNDLE.	Perhaps in these accounts the <i>extra</i> gains in harvest should be added to the earnings; which would of course lessen the deficiencies so much.
	Town of SHERBORNE.	In these accounts the charge for clothing is very low. Nothing for casualties. No beer. If a proper sum of expenditure were allowed for each family, there would then be deficiencies where we now see exceedings. On the other hand the <i>extra</i> earnings in harvest seem to be omitted.
	STINSFORD.	Rent and fuel paid for by the parish: if these were added to the expences, there would be deficiencies in <i>all</i> these accounts, except perhaps in No. 4 of four persons.
Durham.	AUCKLAND-CASTLE.	The article of clothing seems high; but warm clothes are necessary in the Northern counties.

COUNTIES.	PARISHES.	NOTES.
	TANFIELD.	Rye and maslin flour, and some wheat flour, used here. <i>Annual expences</i> the same as in the Barkham account. Several families (Mr. Whitelocke observes) live comfortably on 7s. <i>per week</i> , or 18l. 4s. <i>per annum</i> .
Gloucestershire.	NEWENT.	If these families were obliged to buy their fuel, the deficiencies at the bottom of their accounts would be so much greater than they are stated at.
Hampshire.	CRAWLEY.	These families <i>have</i> beer and cheefe. The parish pays the rent of Nos. 2 and 5: if the rent were added to the expences, there would be a deficiency in <i>all</i> these accounts.
	LONG PARISH.	Some of these families <i>have</i> beer, and some cheefe. The <i>annual expences</i> are stated very properly at 7l.
	MONK-SHERBORNE and BASING.	No <i>tea</i> in any of these accounts. Rent not included in the expences of Nos. 1, 2, 3.
Lancashire.	ST. MICHAEL, PRESTON, GARSTANG.	Oat-meal bread and potatoes. No cheefe. By this account it appears that a family of five persons may subsist here on the present wages.
	WINWICK.	Meal, flour, and potatoes, 6s. for seven persons. The <i>annual expences</i> of this family seem <i>very</i> high.

COUNTIES.	PARISHES.	NOTES.
Norfolk.	MARSHAM.	The Poor-Rate amazingly high.
Northamptonshire.	BRINGTON.	Of these accounts No. 2 of six persons is most deserving of regard; the others are families of an uncommon description.
	CASTOR.	These accounts seem complete.
Somersetshire.	HOLWELL.	None of the <i>annual expences</i> are brought to account, except clothing: if <i>these</i> were completed, the deficiencies would be 4l. or 5l. greater than they are set down at.
Surry.	SIDLESHAM.	In Nos. 2, 3, 4, the parish allowance of 1s. per week is reckoned in the earnings. No other <i>annual expences</i> are accounted for, but rent and fuel. No. 2, no fuel. No. 3, no rent. The price of malt and hops not included in the expences. It is plain, therefore, that if the parish allowance of 1s. per week were deducted from the earnings, and the expences made complete, there would be a considerable deficiency at the bottom of all these accounts, except perhaps in No. 2.
Suffex & Surry.	TUNTINGTON AND SIDLESHAM.	In five of these accounts there <i>appears</i> to be a considerable surplus; but the expences are not complete: if they were made so, there would be a deficiency at the foot of them all, except perhaps in No. 1 of three persons.

COUNTIES.	PARISHES.	NOTES.
Westmorland.	MARTON.	The food of day-labouring families is rye and barley bread, potatoes, milk and bread, oatmeal porridge. <i>No meat.</i> No beer. Yet the deficiencies are great.
Yorkshire.	THORNER, AND CHAPEL-ALLERTON, <i>near Leeds.</i>	These accounts seem complete. The half-peck loaf is here reckoned at 1s. which perhaps may now be regarded as the <i>mean</i> price. It is remarkable that the two families of four persons have great deficiencies.
Wales.		
DENBIGHSHIRE.	LLANDEGLA.	Barley and oatmeal bread. No beer.
MERIONETH.	LLANFAWR.	Ditto.
Scotland.		
ABERDEENSHIRE, E. LOTHIAN, SUTHERLAND.		These accounts furnish wonderful instances of good œconomy. The penury in which the people live, will perhaps account for a remarkable fact mentioned by Dr. A. Smith in his <i>Wealth of Nations</i> , viz. That in the Highlands it is not uncommon for a woman who has borne twenty children, not to have <i>two</i> alive! It will account also for the emigrations from that country.

PARISH OF BARKHAM, BERKS.

COLLECTED AT EASTER 1787, FIRST PRINTED IN JUNE 1788.

Expences and Earnings of fix Families of Labourers, by the Week,
and by the Year.

	No. 1. 7 Persons.	No. 2. 7 Persons.	No. 3. 6 Persons.	No. 4. 5 Persons.	No. 5. 5 Persons.	No. 6. 4 Persons.
<i>Expences per Week.</i>	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Bread or Flour - - - -	0 6 3	0 5 5	0 5 0	0 2 6	0 3 9	0 4 2
Yeast and Salt - - - -	0 0 4	0 0 3½	0 0 3½	0 0 2½	0 0 3	0 0 3
Bacon or other Meat - -	0 0 8	0 1 4	0 0 8	0 1 9	0 1 8	0 1 0
Tea, Sugar, Butter - - -	0 1 0	0 1 0	0 1 0	0 1 2¼	0 1 0	0 0 10
Cheese (seldom any) - -	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 2½	0 0 0	0 0 0
Beer (seldom any) - - -	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 5	0 0 0	0 0 0
Soap, Starch, Blue, - - -	0 0 2¼	0 0 2½	0 0 2¼	0 0 3	0 0 6	0 0 2½
Candles - - - - -	0 0 3	0 0 3	0 0 3	0 0 3	0 0 3	0 0 3
Thread, Thrum, Worsted -	0 0 3	0 0 3	0 0 3	0 0 2	0 0 3	0 0 3
Total	0 8 11½	0 8 9	0 7 7½	0 6 11¼	0 7 8	0 6 11½
Amount per annum	23 4 9	22 15 0	19 17 7	18 0 9	19 18 8	18 0 9
<i>Earnings per Week.</i>	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
The Man earns at a medium	0 8 0	Parish pay } 5 0	0 8 0	0 8 4	0 8 0	0 8 0
The Woman - - - - -	0 0 6	0 1 0	0 0 6	0 0 8	0 1 0	0 0 6
The Children - - - - -	0 0 0	0 3 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0
Total	0 8 6	0 9 0	0 8 6	0 9 0	0 9 0	0 8 6
Amount per annum	22 2 0	23 8 0	22 2 0	23 8 0	23 8 0	22 2 0
To the above Amount of	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Expences per annum -	23 4 9	22 15 0	19 17 7	18 0 9	19 18 8	18 0 9
Add Rent, Fuel, Clothes, Lying-in, &c. - - - }	6 0 0	6 0 0	6 0 0	6 0 0	6 0 0	6 0 0
Total of Expences per annum	29 4 9	28 15 0	25 17 7	24 0 9	25 18 8	24 0 9
Total of Earnings per annum	22 2 0	23 8 0	22 2 0	23 8 0	23 8 0	22 2 0
Deficiency of Earnings - -	7 2 9	5 7 0	3 15 7	0 12 9	2 10 8	1 18 9

PARISH OF BARKHAM.

ACCOUNT OF THE FAMILIES.

No. 1. A man, his wife, and five children, the eldest eight years of age, the youngest an infant.

No. 2. A woman, whose husband is run away, and six children; the eldest a boy of sixteen years of age, the next a boy aged thirteen, the youngest five: four of the children too young to earn any thing.

No. 3. A man, his wife, and four small children, the eldest under six years of age, the youngest an infant.

No. 4. A man, his wife, and three small children, the eldest not quite five years old, the youngest an infant.

No. 5. A man, his wife, and three young children, the eldest six years of age, the youngest an infant.

No. 6. A man, his wife, and two young children, the eldest seven years of age, the youngest four.

	£.	s.	d.
Price of the half-peck loaf of wheaten bread	0	0	11½
— of the gallon of flour	0	0	10
— of a week's labour in winter	0	7	0
— of a week's labour, where the labourer is employed constantly, all weather, the year through	0	8	0

ANNUAL EXPENCES.

	£.	s.	d.
Rent of a cottage and garden, from 1l. 5s. to 2l. 2s. 6d.	1	10	0
Fuel, if bought, costs 12s. but reckoned here at a week's wages, because a man can in a week cut turf enough on the common to serve the year, and the farmers give the carriage for the ashes	0	8	0
Clothing.—The Man's: wear of a suit per annum 5s.; wear of a working jacket and breeches 4s.; two shirts 8s.; one pair of stout shoes nailed 7s.; two pair of stockings 4s.; hat, handkerchief, &c. 2s.:—sum 1l. 10s. —The Woman's: wear of gown and petticoats 4s.; one shift 3s. 6d.; one pair of strong shoes 4s.; one pair of stockings 1s. 6d.; two aprons 3s.; handkerchiefs, caps, &c. 4s.:—sum 1l.—But as few poor people can every year bestow on themselves the sums here supposed, let the children's clothing (partly made up of the parents' old clothes, partly bought at second-hand) be included, and the whole estimated at	2	10	0
Lying-in, sickness and loss of time thereby; burials, and loss of time by extreme bad weather; estimated one year with another at	1	12	0
	£.6	0	0

Rent, fuel, clothing, lying-in, &c. are set down in the columns at 6l. to every family alike, because it is the least sum at which those articles can well be reckoned.

The tea used per family is from 1 to 1½ oz. per week, at 2d. per oz.

Soft sugar, ¼ lb. at 7d. to 8d. per lb.

Salt butter, or lard, ½ lb. at 7½d. to 8d. per lb.

Poor people reckon cheese the dearest article they can buy.

Malt is so dear, they seldom brew any small beer, except against a lying-in or a christening.

To eke out soap, they burn green fern, and knead the ashes into balls, with which they make a lye for washing.

In No. 5, the woman washes for one or two single labourers, for which reason 6d. is charged for soap.

In No. 4, the charge for bread is considerably less than in the others; because that family, by buying a whole hog at once, has for the same money almost double the quantity of meat, which the others get who buy by retail; and that greater quantity of meat, with greens and potatoes, makes the bread go farther.

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PANGBOURN, BERKS.

[COMMUNICATED BY THE REV. W. ROMAINE, JUN. IN FEB. 1790.]

EXPENCES AND EARNINGS OF SIX FAMILIES OF LABOURERS,
BY THE WEEK, AND BY THE YEAR.

	No. 1. 5 Persons.	No. 2. 7 Persons.	No. 3. 3 Persons.	No. 4. 8 Persons.		
<i>Expences per Week.</i>	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.		
Bread - - - - -	0 4 6	0 8 0	0 4 0	0 7 10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Salt - - - - -	0 0 2	0 0 2	0 0 2	0 0 1		
Meat, chiefly Bacon - -	0 1 6	0 1 0	0 1 0	0 0 0		
Tea, Sugar, Salt, Butter -	0 1 0	0 1 2	0 1 0	0 1 10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Cheese - - - - -	0 0 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 0 0	0 0 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 0 2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Beer - - - - -	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 5	0 0 0		
Soap, &c. - - - - -	0 0 4	0 0 2 $\frac{1}{4}$	0 0 2	0 0 3		
Candles - - - - -	0 0 4	0 0 4	0 0 3	0 0 4		
Thread, &c. - - - - -	0 0 3	0 0 2	0 0 3	0 0 3		
Total	0 8 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 11 0 $\frac{1}{4}$	0 7 5 $\frac{1}{4}$	0 10 10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Amount per annum	21 19 10	28 13 1	19 6 9	28 4 5		
<i>Earnings per Week.</i>	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.		
The Man earns at a medium	0 7 0	0 8 0	0 6 0	0 7 0		
The Woman - - - - -	0 0 8	0 0 0	0 1 6	0 1 6		
The Children - - - - -	0 0 0	0 2 0	0 0 6	0 0 0		
Total	0 7 8	0 10 0	0 8 0	0 8 6		
Amount per annum	19 18 8	26 0 0	20 16 0	22 2 0		
To the above Amount of } Expences per annum - }	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.		
Add Rent, Fuel, Clothes, } &c. - - - - - }	21 19 10	28 13 1	19 6 9	28 4 5		
	6 19 0	8 12 0	6 19 0	6 19 0		
Total Expences per annum -	28 18 10	37 5 1	26 5 9	35 3 5		
Total Earnings per annum -	19 18 8	26 18 8	20 16 0	22 2 0		
Deficiency	9 0 2	10 6 5	5 9 9	13 1 5		

The above is as accurate a statement as a personal enquiry could afford me from the different families.
The harvest additional earnings are not, but ought to be included.

PANGBOURN, BERKS.

ACCOUNT OF THE FAMILIES.

No. 1. A man, (being a widower) woman, (the wife's mother) 3 children, the eldest aged ten, the youngest five.

No. 2. A man, wife, and five children, the eldest twelve, the youngest two years old.

No. 3. A man, wife, and one daughter aged twelve.

No. 4. A man, wife, and six children, the eldest aged eleven years and a half, the youngest one year and a half.

	£. s. d.
Price of the half-peck loaf, wheaten	0 1 1½
Flour per bushel	0 8 0

ANNUAL EXPENCES.

	£. s. d.
Rents* of Cottages and Gardens, on average, each	2 2 0
Fuel;†—one load of beech	0 15 0
Clothing, as per printed estimate for Barkham	2 10 0
Lying-in, sickness, &c. as per ditto	1 12 0
	£.6 19 0

No. 1. Four half-peck loaves; ½lb. falt butter; 2 oz. tea; 1lb. cheefe; ½lb. soap; ½lb. candles; per week.

No. 2. Bake at home a bushel of flour per week: ½lb. butter; 2 oz. tea; ½lb. sugar; ½lb. candles; thread, &c. per week 2d. Some of their flour serves instead of starch. The woman earns nothing, having a sick child, besides the other children, to attend, and being herself infirm.

No. 3. Flour, half a bushel; bacon 1½lb. more or less; tea 2 oz.; sugar ½lb.; butter ½lb.; beer 1 quart.

No. 4. Seven gallon loaves; tea 2 oz. at 2½d.; 1lb. sugar, at 7d.; butter and dripping 10d.; cheefe ½lb.

* The house-rent of No. 2 is £2 10 0 per annum.

† The fuel of No. 2 is £2 0 0—supposed so on account of the continued illness of one of the children, as the man's account varies so much from the rest: perhaps the hedge-rows supply some of the others with what may be wanted over the above allowance of a single load.

PARISH OF ANTONY IN THE EAST, OTHERWISE ANTONY ST. JACOB,
IN THE COUNTY OF CORNWALL.

[COMMUNICATED BY P. CAREW, ESQ; 1789.]

EXPENCES AND EARNINGS OF SIX FAMILIES OF LABOURERS,
BY THE WEEK, AND BY THE YEAR.

	No. 1. 7 Persons.			No. 2. 6 Persons.			No. 3. 6 Persons.			No. 4. 5 Persons.			No. 5. 4 Persons.			No. 6. 4 Persons.		
<i>Expences per Week.</i>	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Bread and Flour - - -	0	3	6	0	3	2	0	3	0	0	3	4	0	3	0	0	3	6
Yeast and Salt - - -	0	0	3	0	0	2½	0	0	2½	0	0	2½	0	0	2½	0	0	3
Bacon or other Meat - -	0	1	9	0	1	6	0	1	6	0	1	0	0	1	6	0	1	9
Tea, Milk, and Sugar - -	0	0	8	0	0	6	0	1	8	0	1	0	0	0	6	0	0	8
Cheese (never any) - -	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Beer (never any) - - -	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Soap, Starch, and Blue, -	0	0	3	0	0	2¼	0	0	2	0	0	2½	0	0	2	0	0	3
Candles - - - - -	0	0	3	0	0	3	0	0	3	0	0	3	0	0	3	0	0	2
Thread, Yarn, and Worsted	0	0	2	0	0	1½	0	0	1½	0	0	1½	0	0	2	0	0	1
Total	0	6	10	0	5	11¼	0	5	11	0	6	1½	0	5	9½	0	6	8
Amount per annum	17	15	4	15	8	9	15	7	8	15	18	6	15	1	2	17	6	8
<i>Earnings per Week.</i>	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
The Man at a medium -	0	7	0	0	7	0	0	7	0	0	7	0	0	6	6	0	6	6
The Woman - - - -	0	0	6	0	0	8	0	0	10	0	1	0	0	0	10	0	1	6
The Children - - - -	0	0	9	0	0	6	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	0	8	3	0	8	2	0	8	4	0	8	0	0	7	4	0	8	0
Amount per annum	21	9	0	21	4	8	21	13	4	20	16	0	19	1	4	20	16	0
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
To the above Amount of } Expences per annum -	17	15	4	15	8	9	15	7	8	15	18	6	15	1	2	17	6	8
Add Rent, Fuel, Clothing, } Lying-in, &c. - - -	5	12	6	5	12	6	5	12	6	5	12	6	5	12	6	5	12	6
Total Expences per annum -	23	7	10	21	1	3	21	0	2	21	11	0	20	13	8	22	19	2
Total Earnings per annum -	21	9	0	21	4	8	21	13	4	20	16	0	19	1	4	20	16	0
Deficiency of Earnings (Except No. 2, which saves 3s. 5d.; and No. 3, which saves 13s. 2d. per ann.)	1	18	10	0	3	5	0	13	2	0	15	0	1	12	4	2	3	2
				Surplus.			Surplus.											

PARISH OF ANTONY IN THE EAST, CORNWALL.

ACCOUNT OF THE FAMILIES.

No. 1. A man, his wife, and five children, the eldest nine years of age, the youngest an infant.

No. 2. A man, his wife, and four children, the eldest eight years of age, the youngest an infant.

No. 3. A man, his wife, and four children, the eldest eight years of age, the youngest an infant.

No. 4. A man, his wife, and three children, the eldest seven years of age, the youngest two years.

No. 5. A man, his wife, and two children, the eldest three years of age, the youngest one year old.

No. 6. A man, his wife, and two children, the eldest four years of age, the youngest two years.

Price of the half-peck loaf of
wheaten bread - - - - 0 0 11
— of a gallon of flour - - 0 0 9½
— of eight gallons of barley
(being the chief article for
making bread for the poor) - 0 2 9

Price of a week's labour, where the labourer is employed constantly, all weather, the year through—some 7s., others 6s. 6d.

ANNUAL EXPENCES.

	£.	s.	d.
Rent of a cottage, at a medium - - - -	1	10	0
Part of the fuel supposed to be bought (the remainder thereof they gather or pick up by the cliffs, and from the farmers' fields and hedges) - - - - -	0	12	0
Clothing.—The Man's: wear of a suit per annum 4s.; wear of a working jacket and breeches 3s.; two shirts 7s.; one pair of shoes, soled and nailed, 7s. 6d.; two pair of stockings 3s. 6d.; hat, handkerchief, &c. 2s. 6d.;—sum 1l. 7s. 6d.—The Woman's: wear of gown and petticoats 4s.; shift 3s. 6d.; one pair of shoes, nailed, &c. 4s.; one pair of stockings 1s. 6d.; two aprons 3s.; handkerchiefs, caps, &c. 3s.;—sum 19s.—The Children's clothing (over and above their parents' old clothes which is made up for them) 10s.	2	16	6
Lying-in, sickness, and loss of time thereby, burials, and loss of time by extreme bad weather, estimated one year with another at	0	14	0
	£.5	12	6

Rent, fuel, clothing, lying-in, &c. are set down in the columns at 5l. 12s. 6d. to every family alike, because it is the least sum at which those articles can well be reckoned.

Tea commonly sold at 1½d. per ounce.
Soft sugar from 6d. to 7d. per pound.
Poor people reckon cheese the dearest article they can buy.
Malt is so dear, they seldom brew any beer, except against a lying-in or a christening.
Price of eight gallons of wheat 6s. of which the poor in general use very little.

PARISH OF ST. AUSTEL, CORNWALL;

REV. RICHARD HENNAH, VICAR.

[COMMUNICATED BY MRS. LEVESON GOWER.]

EXPENCES AND EARNINGS OF SIX FAMILIES OF LABOURERS,
BY THE WEEK, AND BY THE YEAR.

	No. 1. 7 Persons.	No. 2. 7 Persons.	No. 3. 6 Persons.	No. 4. 5 Persons.	No. 5. 5 Persons.	No. 6. 4 Persons.
<i>Expences per Week.</i>	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Bread or Flour* - - - -	0 7 3½	0 7 0	0 6 5	0 5 6½	0 5 6½	0 4 8
Yeast and Salt - - - -	0 0 3	0 0 3	0 0 3	0 0 2½	0 0 2½	0 0 2
Bacon or other Meat - -	0 1 0	0 1 0	0 0 8	0 1 0	0 1 0	0 1 0
Tea, Sugar, Butter - - -	0 1 0	0 1 0	0 1 0	0 1 0	0 1 0	0 0 10
Cheese (seldom any) - -	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0
Beer (seldom any) - - -	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0
Soap, Starch, Blue - - -	0 0 2½	0 0 2½	0 0 2½	0 0 2½	0 0 6	0 0 2½
Candles - - - - -	0 0 3	0 0 3	0 0 3	0 0 3	0 0 3	0 0 3
Thread, Thrum, Worsted -	0 0 3	0 0 3	0 0 3	0 0 3	0 0 3	0 0 3
Total	0 10 3	0 9 11½	0 9 0½	0 8 5½	0 8 9	0 7 4½
Amount per annum	26 13 0	25 17 10	23 10 2	21 19 10	22 15 0	19 3 6
<i>Earnings per Week.</i>	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
The Man earns at a medium	0 6 0	Parish pay } 4 0	0 6 0	0 6 0	0 6 0	0 6 0
The Woman - - - - -	0 0 6	0 0 6	0 0 6	0 0 8	0 0 8	0 1 0
The Children - - - - -	0 0 6	0 5 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0
Total	0 7 0	0 9 6	0 6 6	0 6 8	0 6 8	0 7 0
Amount per annum	18 4 0	24 14 0	16 18 0	17 6 8	17 6 8	18 4 0
To the above Amount of Expences per annum -	26 13 0	25 17 10	23 10 2	21 19 10	22 15 0	19 3 6
Add Rent, Fuel, Clothes, Lying-in, &c. - - - }	6 0 0	6 0 0	6 0 0	6 0 0	6 0 0	6 0 0
Total Expences per annum -	32 13 0	31 17 10	29 10 2	27 19 10	28 15 0	25 3 6
Total Earnings per annum -	18 4 0	24 14 0	16 18 0	17 6 8	17 6 8	18 4 0
Deficiency of Earnings - -	14 9 0	7 3 10	12 12 2	10 13 2	11 8 4	6 19 6

* The charge of bread or flour to each individual of a family per day is as under:
Labourer 3d.—Wife 2d.—Child 1½d.

PARISH OF ST. AUSTEL, CORNWALL.

ACCOUNT OF THE FAMILIES.

No. 1. A man, his wife, and five children, the eldest eight years of age, the youngest an infant.

No. 2. A woman, whose husband is run away, and six children; the eldest a boy of sixteen years of age, the next a boy aged thirteen, the youngest five: four of the children too young to earn any thing.

No. 3. A man, his wife, and four small children, the eldest under six years of age, the youngest an infant.

No. 4. A man, his wife, and three small children, the eldest not quite five years old, the youngest an infant.

No. 5. A man, his wife, and three young children, the eldest six years of age, the youngest an infant.

No. 6. A man, his wife, and two young children, the eldest seven years of age, the youngest four.

	£.	s.	d.
Price of the half-peck loaf of wheaten bread	-	-	0 1 1
— of the gallon of flour	-	0	0 9
— of a week's labour in winter	0	6	0
— of a week's labour, where the labourer is employed constantly, all weather, the year through	-	-	0 6 0

ANNUAL EXPENCES.

	£.	s.	d.
Rent of a cottage and garden, from 1l. 5s. to 2l. 2s. say	-	-	1 10 0
Fuel, if bought, costs 12s. but reckoned here at a week's wages, because a man can in a week cut turf enough on the common to serve the year, and the farmers give the carriage for the ashes	-	-	0 8 0
Clothing.—The Man's: wear of a suit per annum 5s.; wear of a jacket and breeches 4s.; two shirts 8s.; a pair of stout shoes nailed 7s.; two pair of stockings 4s.; hat, handkerchief, &c. 2s.:—sum 1l. 10s. —The Woman's: wear of gown and petticoats 4s.; one shift 3s. 6d.; one pair of strong shoes 4s.; one pair of stockings 1s. 6d.; two aprons 3s.; handkerchiefs, caps, &c. 4s.:—sum 1l.—But as few poor people can every year bestow on themselves the sums here supposed, let the children's clothing (partly made up of the parents' old clothes, partly bought at second-hand) be included, and the whole estimated at	-	-	2 10 0
Lying-in, sickness and loss of time thereby; burials, and loss of time by extreme bad weather; estimated one year with another at	1	12	0
	£.6	0	0

Rent, fuel, clothing, lying-in, &c. are set down in the columns at 6l. to every family alike, because it is the least sum at which those articles can well be reckoned.

The tea used per family is from 1 to 1½ oz. per week, at 2d. per oz.

Soft sugar, ¼lb. at 7d. to 8d. per lb.

Salt butter, or lard, ½lb. at 7½d. per lb.

Poor people reckon cheese the dearest article they can buy.

Malt is so dear, they seldom brew any small beer, except against a lying-in or a christening.

To eke out soap, they burn green fern, and knead the ashes into balls, with which they make a lye for washing.

In No. 5, the woman washes for one or two single labourers, for which reason 6d. is charged for soap.

No. 4. This case, I may venture to say, seldom or never occurs in this neighbourhood.

PARISH OF ST. MICHAEL PENKEVILL, CORNWALL.

[COMMUNICATED BY LORD VISCOUNT FALMOUTH, IN 1790.]

EXPENCES AND EARNINGS OF SIX FAMILIES OF LABOURERS,
BY THE WEEK, AND BY THE YEAR.

	No. 1. 7 Persons.	No. 2. 5 Persons.	No. 3. 6 Persons.	No. 4. 3 Persons.	No. 5. 3 Persons.	No. 6. 3 Persons.
<i>Expences per Week.</i>	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Bread or Flour - - - -	0 4 6	0 4 0	0 4 6	0 2 3	0 2 6	0 2 3
Yeast and Salt - - - -	0 0 3	0 0 3	0 0 3	0 0 1½	0 0 1½	0 0 1½
Bacon or other Meat - -	0 1 9	0 1 9	0 1 9	0 1 0	0 1 3	0 1 0
Tea, Sugar, and Butter - -	0 1 6	0 1 6	0 1 6	0 0 9	0 1 0	0 0 9
Soap, Starch, and Blue - -	0 0 6	0 0 6	0 0 6	0 0 3	0 0 3	0 0 3
Candles - - - -	0 0 3	0 0 3	0 0 3	0 0 3	0 0 3	0 0 3
Thread and Worsted - - -	0 0 3	0 0 3	0 0 3	0 0 1½	0 0 1½	0 0 1½
Total	0 9 0	0 8 6	0 9 0	0 4 9	0 5 6	0 4 9
Amount per annum	23 8 0	22 2 0	23 8 0	12 7 0	14 6 0	12 7 0
<i>Earnings per Week.</i>	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
The Man earns at a medium	0 6 6	0 5 0	0 7 0	0 7 0	0 6 0	0 7 0
The Woman - - - -	0 1 0	0 1 0	0 1 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0
The Children - - - -	0 1 6	0 1 6	0 1 6	0 0 0	0 0 6	0 0 0
Total	0 9 0	0 7 6	0 9 6	0 7 0	0 6 6	0 7 0
Amount per annum	23 8 0	19 10 0	24 14 0	18 4 0	16 18 0	18 4 0
To the above Amount of Expences per annum - } Add Rent, Fuel, Clothes, Lying-in, &c. - - }	£. s. d. 23 8 0 6 0 0	£. s. d. 22 2 0 6 0 0	£. s. d. 23 8 0 6 4 0	£. s. d. 12 7 0 6 0 0	£. s. d. 14 6 0 6 0 0	£. s. d. 12 7 0 6 0 0
Total Expences per annum -	29 8 0	28 2 0	29 8 0	18 7 0	20 6 0	18 7 0
Total Earnings per annum -	23 8 0	19 10 0	24 14 0	18 4 0	16 18 0	18 4 0
Deficiency of Earnings	6 0 0	8 12 0	4 14 0	0 3 0	3 8 0	0 3 0

PARISH OF ST. MICHAEL PENKEVILL, CORNWALL.

ACCOUNT OF THE FAMILIES.

No. 1. A man, his wife, and five children, the eldest a boy thirteen years of age, the youngest two years of age.

No. 2. A man, his wife, one daughter (an idiot and cripple) twenty-one years of age, and two other children, the eldest sixteen years of age, and the youngest eleven years.

No. 3. A man, his wife, and four children; one of them an idiot aged twenty-two years, (likely never to earn any thing) the eldest of the others eighteen years of age, and the youngest eleven years of age.

No. 4. A man, his wife, and one child an infant.

No. 5. A man, his wife, and one child, a girl twelve years of age.

No. 6. A man, his wife, and one child, an infant.

ANNUAL EXPENCES.

	£.	s.	d.
Rent of a cottage and garden	1	0	0
Fuel - - - - -	0	12	0
Clothing:—the Man's	1	10	0
——— —the Woman's	1	0	0
Lying-in, sickness, burials, loss of time by bad weather, &c. - - - - -	1	18	0

Price of wheat per bushel	0	5	6
A week's labour, the year through - - - - -	0	6	0

In No. 1, the man's wages are charged 6s. 6d. on account of extra wages in harvest; and in Nos. 3, 4, and 6, are charged 7s. on account of being employed in carrying sea sand for manure, &c.

The poor people buy corn, and get it ground for bread.

U

KEDDLESTONE, NEAR DERBY.

BY CAPTAIN, NOW ADMIRAL COLPOYS, SEPT. 1788.

[COMMUNICATED BY VISCOUNTESS CREMORNE.]

EXPENCES AND EARNINGS OF THREE FAMILIES OF LABOURERS,
BY THE WEEK, AND BY THE YEAR.

	No. 1. 7 Persons.			No. 2. 6 Persons.			No. 3. 5 Persons.					
<i>Expences per Week.</i>	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.			
Bread, Flour, and Oatmeal	0	3	6	0	4	2	0	2	0			
Yeast and Salt - - - -	0	0	3	0	0	2	0	0	6			
Bacon and other Meat - -	0	1	6	0	1	6	0	1	0			
Milk - - - - -	0	0	7	0	1	2	0	0	0			
Cheese - - - - -	0	0	10	0	0	10	0	0	10			
Butter - - - - -	0	0	4	0	0	8	0	0	0			
Candles, Soap, Starch, Thread,	0	0	6	0	0	6	0	0	10			
Tea, Sugar, and Butter -	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0			
Beer - - - - -	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2			
Total	0	7	6	0	9	0	0	6	4			
Amount per annum	19	10	0	23	8	0	16	9	4			
<i>Earnings per Week.</i>	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.			
The Man earns at a medium	0	4	8	0	7	8	0	5	0			
The Woman - - - -	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
The Children - - - -	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
Total	0	4	8	0	7	8	0	5	0			
Amount per annum	12	2	8	19	18	8	13	0	0			
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
To the above Amount of } Expences per annum - }	19	10	0	23	8	0	16	9	4			
Add Rent and Fuel for Nos. 1, 2, } and Fuel only for No. 3. - }	1	11	0	1	11	0	2	0	0	A.	B.	C.
Total Expences per annum -	21	1	0	24	19	0	18	9	4	21	1	0
Total Earnings per annum -	12	2	8	19	18	8	13	0	0	19	18	8
Deficiency of Earnings	8	18	4	5	0	4	5	9	4	1	2	4
												4 6 8 Surplus.

KEDDLESTONE, NEAR DERBY.

ACCOUNT OF THE FAMILIES.

No. 1. A man, wife, and five children at home; the first, a boy nine years of age; the second and third, a boy and girl, twins, six years of age; the fourth, a boy three years of age; and the fifth, a boy one year.

No. 2. A man, wife, and four children at home; the first, a daughter nineteen years of age, ill, and not able to go to service, but she goes out sometimes to work; the second, a son ten years of age, has had his arm broke, and could not go out; the third, a son six years of age; the fourth, a son, three years old.

No. 3. A man, wife, and three children at home; the first, a girl twelve years old, assists her mother at home, but earns nothing abroad; the second, a girl eight years old; and the third, a boy four years.

Note. In No. 1, the man earns 6s. per week for four months, and 4s. per week the rest of the year, and has his victuals of his employer.—In No. 2, the man earns 9s. per week for four months, and 7s. the rest of the year, but eats at home.—In No. 3, the man earns 7s. per week for four months, and 4s. the rest of the year, and has his victuals of his employer.

The wives, it seems, earn nothing; their employment being to look after the children, and make and mend for their families. But in No. 2, the eldest daughter earns *something*, which is not brought to account.

ANNUAL EXPENCES.

	£.	s.	d.
No. 1. Rent, an acknowledgment			
of - - - - -	0	1	0
Fuel - - - - -	1	10	0
No. 2. The same - - - - -	1	11	0
No. 3. Rent, with other payments,			
amount to 5l. per annum; but			
this is repaid by lodgers.			
Fuel - - - - -	2	0	0

Neither of these families could say how much they laid out in clothing, &c.

PRICES OF SUNDRY ARTICLES
IN DERBY TOWN.

Flour, best sort, 2s. per stone of 14lbs.
common sort 1s. 9d. ditto.

Bread is sold by the shilling and six-penny loaf; the weight fixed by the Corporation.

Oatmeal 1s. per peck. Potatoes 6d. ditto.
Bacon 7½d. per lb. Beef and mutton 4½d.
Butter from 9d. to 11d. per lb. Cheese 4d.
Coals 5½d. per 112lbs.; in winter sometimes 8d.

NOTES.

In No. 1, a boy fourteen years of age, and a girl of eleven, though in service, are of some expence to the parents. The man makes bee-hives at home of nights, and earns something, or (he says) his family would be starved.

If the man's victuals in Nos. 1 and 3 be reckoned at 3s. per week each, and this be added to their weekly earnings, the accounts will then stand as in columns A, B, C.

AFF-PIDDLE PARISH, IN THE COUNTY OF DORSET.

[COMMUNICATED BY THE REV. MR. ETTERICK, 1789.]

EXPENCES AND EARNINGS OF SIX FAMILIES OF LABOURERS,
BY THE WEEK, AND BY THE YEAR.

	No. 1. 6 Persons.			No. 2. 4 Persons.			No. 3. 5 Persons.			No. 4. 9 Persons.			No. 5. 8 Persons.			No. 6. 5 Persons.		
<i>Expences per Week.</i>	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Bread and Flour - - -	0	6	0	0	3	2	0	4	6	0	7	7	0	6	0	0	6	6
Yeast and Salt - - -	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	4	0	0	4	0	0	3	0	0	1
Bacon or other Meat - -	0	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	8	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	4
Tea, Sugar, Butter, Cream	0	0	10	0	1	4	0	0	11	0	1	2	0	1	4	0	0	6
Cheese - - - - -	0	0	3	0	0	7	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	8	0	0	0
Beer - - - - -	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
Soap, Starch, and Blue, -	0	0	1	0	0	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	0	0	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	0	0	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	0	0	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	0	0	2 $\frac{1}{4}$
Candles - - - - -	0	0	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	3	0	0	3	0	0	3	0	0	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
Thread, &c. - - - - -	0	0	0 $\frac{3}{4}$	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	3	0	0	2	0	0	3
Potatoes and Barley - -	0	0	2	0	0	6 $\frac{1}{4}$	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6 $\frac{1}{4}$	0	0	0
Total	0	8	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	6	5 $\frac{1}{4}$	0	7	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	10	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	9	6 $\frac{1}{4}$	0	8	3
Amount per annum	22	7	5	16	14	9	19	16	6	26	6	6	24	17	3	21	9	0
<i>Earnings per Week.</i>	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
The Man earns	0	8	0	0	7	0	0	7	0	0	7	0	0	8	0	0	0	0
The Woman } Throwing work and } The Children } Summer } labour. }	0	0	6	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
	0	1	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	3	0	6	3
Total	0	10	0	0	7	3	0	7	0	0	9	0	0	9	4	0	8	10
Amount per annum	26	0	0	18	17	0	18	4	0	23	8	0	24	5	4	22	19	4
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Annual Sum of Expences -	22	0	5	16	14	9	19	16	6	26	6	6	24	17	3	21	9	0
Expence of Rent, Fuel, &c.	3	13	0	7	11	0	1	18	0	5	6	4	7	3	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	15	3
Total Expences per annum -	26	0	5	24	5	9	21	14	6	31	12	10	32	0	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	23	4	3
Total Earnings per annum -	26	0	0	18	17	0	18	4	0	23	8	0	24	5	4	22	19	4
Deficiency of Earnings	0	0	5	5	8	9	3	10	6	8	4	10	7	15	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	4	11

AFF-PIDDLE PARISH, DORSET.

ACCOUNT OF THE FAMILIES.

No. 1. Robert and Martha Miller, and four children at home, the eldest fifteen years of age, the youngest six.

No. 2. George and Mary House, and two children, the one four years of age, the other an infant.

No. 3. Matthew and Ann Lawrence, and three children, the eldest six years of age, the youngest an infant.

No. 4. Francis and Lydia Harvey, and seven children, the eldest seventeen years of age, the youngest one.

No. 5. William and Jane Reason, and six children, the eldest eleven years of age, the youngest an infant.

No. 6. Mary Chilcott, a widow, with four children, the eldest nineteen years of age, the youngest six.

ANNUAL EXPENCES.

Rent of a cottage and garden from £.1 5 0 to £.2 5 0.

Fuel costs a week's labour. In case of constant work with a farmer, it is brought home gratis, otherwise at 2s. or 2s. 6d. the load.

The prices of the necessaries of life are the same as in the Barkham account.

PROBABLE CAUSES OF THE DISTRESSES
OF THE POOR ARE,

The rise of the price of necessaries, the buying them at the dearest hand, the low and unproportionate price of labour, the increasing scarcity of employment for the poor, and their own want of industry, having no encouragement given them. Many working men breakfast and dine on dry bread alone, without either cheese or drink of any kind; their meal is supper, and that generally no better than unpeeled potatoes and salt, or barley-cake fried, and water. Clothes they get as they can, and the children go nearly naked. There is little work now for lads, and that at a reduced price; two-pence or three-pence a day, instead of four-pence or five-pence, which it was formerly. With all this the weight upon the parish is almost insupportable, a small property of 5l. per annum yielding sometimes only 20s. clear of rates and taxes; and if smaller property still, the owner is worse off than those that have none, but receive parish pay.

REMARKS.

No. 1. The charge for soap is very low, for they are almost naked; and thread, &c. low charged for the same reason. They have a garden, but do not grow potatoes enough for their use. The wife and children knit at home. Milk or cream I find often a weekly article in very poor families, though some have none, nor any sugar. The parish allows the rent here in this family, and gives them help about 8s. one year with another in loss of employment, &c. They cut the fuel, and pay 2s. for carriage home. Sum: fuel 10s.; clothes 15s.; lying-in 6s.; loss of work at a medium about four weeks 21. 2s.;—in all 31. 13s.

No. 2.

No. 2. They keep a pig, and the best of its food (barley) is used in the family, and the charge thrown in with *the article potatoes* at a very low calculation, for they grow potatoes enough. The pig costs about 1l. 5s. Sum: fuel 8s; clothes (very neat, and whole, and clean) 2l. 10s.; lying-in and burials and lost time, at a medium, 1l. 15s.; rent 1l. 13s. Sum 6l. 6s.; add the pig and it is 7l. 11s.

No. 3. The parish pays rent here, and allows 3s. a week when out of work, which has been hitherto one quarter of the year at a medium, but now he has thrown himself on the parish, and they either pay him 6s. or find him work. He will not acknowledge any expence for clothes of any kind; and this charge must indeed be very low, say 1l. 1s. Burials, &c. paid by the parish. Fuel 7s. or a week's labour, but costs 2s. 6d. the load carriage; five loads, one given by the parish, = 7s. + 10s. = 17s. Casualties the parish supplies.

No. 4. The parish pays rent. They keep a pig. The barley is thrown in with the flour here. Pigs cost at a medium (being bought small) 14s. Of clothes they can give little account, as they buy none, and have had some small help by deaths. Let the

wear of clothes, and shoes, and mending, &c. be set down at 2l. 14s. 4d. (children's included;) loss of work by sickness and other casualties at 1l. 10s. fuel at 8s.;—sum 5l. 6s. 4d.

No. 5. They keep a pig which cost 14s. Rent 2l. Clothes, with sheeting and repairs of all kinds, with allowance for help, and a good stock to begin with but now quite reduced, 2l. 6s. 1½d. Lying-in 10s. (being 20s. every other year.) Schooling for two children best part of the year 10s. Lost work and other casualties 10s. Parish help little or none, say 5s. per annum. Fuel 8s. Sum 7l. 3s. 1½d.

No. 6. She earns nothing, except in harvest. Fuel and 2s. 6d. a week allowed by the parish, with house-rent, but no garden, which is a hard circumstance. She has been used to the spinning of harn, (the refuse of flax) for which there is no call here, and she cannot spin worsted. To the flour also is added what barley she consumes. Clothes she cannot afford to buy; the children have had the father's, and the parish has promised further assistance in linen, so this charge must be set very low, say 15s. The boys' loss of work and sickness, at a medium three weeks, 2l. 0s. 3d. Sum 1l. 15s. 3d.

BISHOP'S-CAUNDLE, DORSETSHIRE.

ACCOUNT OF THE FAMILIES.

No. 1. A man, his wife, and seven children, the eldest twelve years of age, the youngest an infant.

No. 2. A man, his wife, and six children, the eldest eighteen years of age, the youngest one year and a half old.

No. 3. A man, his wife, and three children, the eldest nine years of age, the youngest an infant.

ANNUAL EXPENCES.

	£.	s.	d.
Rent - - - - -	1	12	0
Fuel - - - - -	0	10	0
Clothes, &c. - - - - -	2	10	0
Loss of time by sickness, extreme bad weather, &c.	2	0	0
	£.6	12	0

Price of the half-peck loaf of wheaten bread - - - 0 1 2

BISHOP'S-CAUNDLE, DORSETSHIRE.

BY THE REV. MR. BRISTED, OCT. 1789.

[COMMUNICATED BY W. MORTON PITT, ESQ; M. P.]

EXPENCES AND EARNINGS OF THREE FAMILIES OF LABOURERS,
BY THE WEEK, AND BY THE YEAR.

	No. 1. 9 Persons.	No. 2. 8 Persons.	No. 3. 5 Persons.			
<i>Expences per Week.</i>	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.			
Bread - - - - -	0 8 2	0 7 0	0 4 0			
Salt, Soap, Candles, Starch	0 0 0	0 1 0	0 1 0			
Thread and Worsted - -	0 1 6	0 0 3	0 0 2			
Meat, Bacon, or Pork - -	0 0 8	0 2 0	0 1 0			
Tea—no Sugar or Butter -	0 0 3 $\frac{1}{4}$	0 1 0	0 0 3			
Cheese - - - - -	0 0 6	0 2 0	0 2 0			
Beer or Cyder - - - -	0 0 0	0 1 6	0 0 0			
Total	0 11 1 $\frac{1}{4}$	0 14 9	0 8 5			
Amount <i>per annum</i>	28 17 5	38 7 0	21 17 8			
<i>Earnings per Week.</i>	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.			
The Man earns at a medium	0 6 0	0 8 0	0 5 6			
The Woman - - - - -	0 1 0	0 0 0	0 1 3			
The Children - - - - -	0 2 6	0 7 0	0 0 6			
Total	0 9 6	0 15 0	0 7 3			
Amount <i>per annum</i>	24 14 0	39 0 0	18 17 0			
To the above Amount of } Expences <i>per annum</i> - } Add Rent, Fuel, Clothes, Lying-in, &c. - - }	£. s. d. 28 17 5 6 12 0	£. s. d. 38 7 0 6 0 0	£. s. d. 21 17 8 6 0 0			
Total Expences <i>per annum</i> -	35 9 5	44 7 0	27 17 8			
Total Earnings <i>per annum</i> -	24 14 0	39 0 0	18 17 0			
Deficiency of Earnings	10 15 5	5 7 0	9 0 8			

TOWN OF SHERBORNE, COUNTY OF DORSET.

MAY 1789.

[COMMUNICATED BY W. TOOGOOD, ESQ.]

EXPENCES AND EARNINGS OF SIX FAMILIES OF LABOURERS,
BY THE WEEK, AND BY THE YEAR.

	No. 1. 7 Persons.			No. 2. 6 Persons.			No. 3. 5 Persons.			No. 4. 4 Persons.			No. 5. 5 Persons.			No. 6. 4 Persons.		
<i>Expences per Week.</i>	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Bread - - - - -	0	4	0	0	5	0	0	3	0	0	3	0	0	3	6	0	3	6
Salt - - - - -	0	0	1½	0	0	1	0	0	1½	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1
Meat - - - - -	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	8	0	0	8	0	1	0	0	0	8
Tea, &c. - - - - -	0	0	3	0	0	5	0	0	1½	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	5
Cheese - - - - -	0	0	8	0	0	4	0	0	7	0	1	3	0	0	4	0	0	7½
Milk - - - - -	0	0	0	0	0	3½	0	0	4	0	0	1	0	0	3½	0	0	2
Soap - - - - -	0	0	2	0	0	7	0	0	2½	0	0	3	0	0	2½	0	0	3
Candles - - - - -	0	0	4	0	0	4	0	0	6	0	0	3	0	0	4	0	0	2
Thread, &c. - - - -	0	0	3	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	3	0	0	1½	0	0	1
Total	0	5	9½	0	8	2½	0	5	8	0	5	10	0	6	4½	0	5	11½
Amount per annum	15	1	2	21	6	10	14	14	8	15	3	4	16	11	6	15	9	10
<i>Earnings per Week.</i>	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
The Man earns at a medium	2	6	0	0	6	6	0	6	0	0	6	0	0	5	6	0	6	0
The Woman - - - - -	0	2	0	0	1	6	0	2	6	0	0	6	0	1	0	0	1	6
The Children - - - - -	0	2	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	0	7	3	0	8	0	0	8	6	0	8	6	0	6	6	0	7	6
Amount per annum	18	17	0	20	16	0	22	2	0	22	2	0	16	18	0	19	10	0
<i>To the above Amount of</i>	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Expences per annum -	15	1	2	21	6	10	14	14	8	15	3	4	16	11	6	15	9	10
Add Rent, Fuel, Clothes, &c.	4	13	4	3	7	0	6	18	0	5	19	0	2	0	0	3	3	0
Total Expences per annum -	19	14	6	24	13	10	21	12	8	21	2	4	18	11	6	18	12	10
Total Earnings per annum -	18	17	0	20	16	0	22	2	0	22	2	0	16	18	0	19	10	0
Deficiencies of Earnings	0	17	6	3	17	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	13	6	0	0	0
Exceedings							0	9	4	0	19	8				0	17	2

TOWN OF SHERBORNE, COUNTY OF DORSET.

ACCOUNT OF THE FAMILIES.

No. 1. A widow and fix children, the eldest twelve years of age, the youngest two years of age.

No. 2. A man, his wife, and four children, the eldest nine years of age, the youngest one year.

No. 3. A man, his wife, and three children, the eldest nine years of age, the youngest three years.

No. 4. A man, his wife, and two children, the eldest eleven years of age, the youngest six years.

No. 5. A man, his wife, and three children, the eldest six years of age, the youngest an infant.

No. 6. A man, his wife, and two children, the eldest five years of age, the youngest one year.

ANNUAL EXPENCES.

		£.	s.	d.
No. 1.	Rent - - - -	1	14	4
	Fuel - - - -	1	19	0
	Clothes, &c. - -	1	0	0
		4	13	4
No. 2.	Rent - - - -	1	17	0
	Fuel - - - -	0	0	0
	Clothes, &c. - -	1	10	0
		3	7	0
No. 3.	Rent - - - -	2	0	0
	Fuel - - - -	3	18	0
	Clothes, &c. - -	1	0	0
		6	18	0
No. 4.	Rent - - - -	2	10	0
	Fuel - - - -	1	19	0
	Clothes, &c. - -	1	10	0
		5	19	0
No. 5.	Rent - - - -	1	10	0
	Fuel - - - -	0	0	0
	Clothes, &c. - -	0	10	0
		2	0	0
No. 6.	Rent - - - -	1	10	0
	Fuel - - - -	0	13	0
	Clothes, &c. - -	1	0	0
		3	3	0

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STINSFORD, DORSET.

[COMMUNICATED BY W. MORTON PITT, ESQ. M. P. 1789.]

EXPENCES AND EARNINGS OF FIVE FAMILIES OF LABOURERS,
BY THE WEEK, AND BY THE YEAR.

	No. 1. 4 Persons.	No. 2. 7 Persons.	No. 3. 4 Persons.	No. 4. 4 Persons.	No. 5. 6 Persons.
<i>Expences per Week.</i>	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Wheat - - - - -	0 4 6	0 4 6	0 3 9	0 3 0	0 4 6
Yeast and Salt - - - -	0 0 5	0 0 5	0 0 5	0 0 5	0 0 4 $\frac{1}{2}$
Bacon - - - - -	0 2 6	0 2 6	0 0 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 1 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 1 3
Tea and Sugar - - - -	0 0 6	0 0 6	0 0 8	0 0 10	0 0 3
Cheese - - - - -	0 0 11 $\frac{1}{4}$	0 1 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 0 2 $\frac{1}{4}$	0 0 6 $\frac{3}{4}$	0 1 0
Soap and Candles - - -	0 0 8	0 0 8	0 0 8	0 0 8	0 0 8
Thread, Worsted, &c. - -	0 0 3	0 0 3	0 0 3	0 0 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 0 3
Total	0 9 9 $\frac{1}{4}$	0 9 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 6 9 $\frac{3}{4}$	0 7 5 $\frac{3}{4}$	0 8 3 $\frac{1}{2}$
Amount per annum	25 8 1	25 17 10	17 15 3	19 8 11	21 11 2
<i>Earnings per Week.</i>	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
The Man - - - - -	0 6 6	0 6 6	0 6 6	0 6 6	0 7 6
The Woman - - - - -	0 0 0	0 0 8	0 0 3	0 0 6	0 0 0
The Children - - - - -	0 5 0	0 4 6	0 1 0	0 3 0	0 0 0
Total	0 11 6	0 11 8	0 7 9	0 10 0	0 7 6
Amount per annum	29 18 0	30 6 8	20 3 0	26 0 0	19 10 0
To the above Amount of } Expences per annum - }	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Add Clothing, &c. - -	25 8 1	25 17 10	17 15 3	19 8 11	21 11 2
	4 0 0	4 0 0	4 0 0	4 0 0	4 0 0
Total Expences per annum -	29 8 1	29 17 10	21 15 3	23 8 11	25 11 2
Total Earnings per annum -	29 18 0	30 6 8	20 3 0	26 0 0	19 10 0
Deficiency of Earnings	0 0 0	0 0 0	1 12 3	0 0 0	6 1 2
Exceedings	0 9 11	0 8 10	0 0 0	2 11 1	0 0 0

STINSFORD, DORSET.

ACCOUNT OF THE FAMILIES.

No. 1. A widower with three children, a boy fourteen years of age, another boy twelve years of age, and a girl seventeen.

No. 2. A man, his wife, and five children, viz. a girl seventeen years of age, a boy fifteen, a girl thirteen, a girl ten, and a girl eight.

No. 3. A man, his wife, and two children, viz. a girl fourteen years of age, and a girl ten.

No. 4. A man, his wife, and two children, viz. a girl fourteen years of age, and a boy twelve.

No. 5. A man, his wife, and four small children, viz. a boy six years of age, a girl five, a girl three, and a girl one year and an half.

ANNUAL EXPENCES.

	£.	s.	d.
Rent - - - - -	0	0	0
Fuel - - - - -	0	0	0

N. B. Rent and Fuel allowed in consideration of the low price of labour.

Clothing and casual expences
by computation, about - 4 0 0

Wheat 6s. per bushel, always sold at that price to the parish poor.

Labour all the year 6s. per week, except in harvest, when they work piece-work.

Labourers often accept of 1l. 1s. extra for harvest, in lieu of advanced wages.

Tea 2s. per lb. Sugar 8d. per lb. Cheese, made of skimmed milk, 2½d. per lb. Bacon 7½d. per lb.

N. B. No. 5, is an exceeding good workman, and a very industrious man, and, in consideration of his hard family, is (when it is possible) supplied with piece-work, such as hedging, &c. in the winter whilst the weather is open; mowing and reaping, &c. in summer.

The exceedings in No. 1, 2, and 4, are only owing to the age of the children, which enables them to contribute so much to the family stock, and to the care taken to supply them with constant employment.

AUCKLAND, COUNTY OF DURHAM.

ESTIMATE MADE BY WM. EMM, Esq. STEWARD AT AUCKLAND-CASTLE, 1789.

[COMMUNICATED BY THE REV. A. CROMLEHOLME.]

EXPENCES AND EARNINGS OF THREE FAMILIES OF LABOURERS,
BY THE WEEK, AND BY THE YEAR.

	No. 1. 7 Persons.			No. 2. 6 Persons.			No. 3. 5 Persons.					
<i>Expences per Week.</i>	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.			
Bread or Flour - - - -	0	4	2	0	3	6	0	3	0			
Salt - - - - -	0	0	1½	0	0	1½	0	0	1½			
Potatoes - - - - -	0	0	6	0	0	6	0	0	4			
Flesh Meat - - - - -	0	2	0	0	1	6	0	1	6			
Tea, and Sugar - - - -	0	0	10	0	0	9	0	0	9			
Milk - - - - -	0	1	6	0	1	3	0	1	0			
Soap, Starch, and Blue, -	0	0	6	0	0	4½	0	0	4½			
Candles - - - - -	0	0	3½	0	0	3½	0	0	3½			
Thread, Worsted, &c. - -	0	0	3	0	0	3	0	0	2½			
Total	0	10	2	0	8	6½	0	7	7			
Amount per annum	26	8	8	22	4	2	19	14	4			
<i>Earnings per Week.</i>	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.			
The Man earns at a medium	0	6	0	0	6	0	0	6	0			
The Woman - - - - -	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	2	0			
The Children - - - - -	0	1	6	0	1	8	0	0	0			
Total	0	9	6	0	9	8	0	8	0			
Amount per annum	24	14	0	25	2	8	20	16	0			
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.			
To the above Amount of Expences per annum -	26	8	8	22	4	2	19	14	4			
Add Rent, Fuel, Clothes, Lying-in, &c. - - }	9	2	5½	9	2	5½	9	2	5½			
Total Expences per annum -	35	11	1½	31	6	7½	28	16	9½			
Total Earnings per annum -	24	14	0	25	2	8	20	16	0			
Deficiencies of Earnings	10	17	1½	6	3	11½	8	0	9½			

AUCKLAND, COUNTY OF DURHAM.

ACCOUNT OF THE FAMILIES.

No. 1. A man, his wife, and five children, the eldest eight years of age, and the youngest an infant.

No. 2. A man, his wife, and four small children, the eldest eleven years of age, the youngest three years.

No. 3. A man, his wife, and three young children, the eldest six years of age, the youngest an infant.

ANNUAL EXPENCES.

	£.	s.	d.
Rent of a cottage - - -	1	5	0
Fuel, reckoning two horse-loads of coals a week in winter, and one load in summer - - - - -	1	6	0
Clothing, as in the Barkham Paper, I think may do, for the man 1l. 10s.; for the woman, a gown 6s.; one petticoat 3s. 3d.; two shifts 4s. 8d.; shoes and mend-			

	£.	s.	d.
ing 5s.; two pair stockings 2s. 6d.; two aprons 3s.; two handkerchiefs 2s. 8d.; caps 1s. 8½d.—1l. 8s. 9½d.			
For the children, shoes 14s.; stockings, one pair each, 3s.; coats or gown, one each, 9s.; petticoats, one each, 4s.; shirts, one each, 4s. 8d.—1l. 14s. 8d.			
Total Clothing - - - -	4	13	5½
Lying-in, sickness, and loss of time thereby, burials, and loss of time by extreme bad weather, one year with another - - - - -	1	18	0
	£. 9	2	5½

Flour reckoned at 1s. 6d. per stone. Fuel cannot be got cheaper in this county, as coals only are used.

Pitmen, miners, and keelmen, will earn sometimes fourteen shillings per week; but they are generally so extravagant, that their savings for their families come to little or nothing.

PAROCHIAL CHAPELRY OF TANFIELD, COUNTY OF DURHAM.

NOVEMBER 20, 1789.

[COMMUNICATED BY MR. ROBERT WHITELOCK.]

EXPENCES AND EARNINGS OF FIVE FAMILIES OF LABOURERS,
BY THE WEEK, AND BY THE YEAR.

	No. 1. 7 Persons.	No. 2. 7 Persons.	No. 3. 6 Persons.	No. 4. 5 Persons.	No. 5. 5 Persons.	
<i>Expences per Week.</i>	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	
Rye or Maslin Flour - -	0 2 0	0 2 0	0 1 6	0 1 0	0 1 0	
Wheat Flour - - - -	0 1 0	0 1 0	0 1 0	0 1 0	0 1 0	
Oatmeal - - - - -	0 0 4	0 0 4	0 0 3	0 0 3	0 0 3	
Milk - - - - -	0 1 2	0 1 2	0 1 0	0 0 9	0 0 9	
Potatoes - - - - -	0 0 4	0 0 4	0 0 4	0 0 3	0 0 3	
Butcher's Meat - - -	0 0 8	0 0 8	0 0 8	0 1 0	0 1 0	
Soap, Salt, and Candles -	0 0 3	0 0 3	0 0 3	0 0 3	0 0 3	
Tea, Sugar, and Butter -	0 0 8	0 0 8	0 0 8	0 0 8	0 0 8	
Cheese (old milk) - - -	0 0 5	0 0 5	0 0 5	0 0 5	0 0 5	
Thread, and Worsted - -	0 0 2	0 0 2	0 0 2	0 0 2	0 0 2	
Total	0 7 0	0 7 0	0 6 3	0 5 9	0 5 9	
Amount <i>per annum</i>	18 4 0	18 4 0	16 5 0	14 19 0	14 19 0	
<i>Earnings per Week.</i>	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	
The Man earns at a medium	0 7 0	Parish 3 0	0 7 0	0 7 0	0 7 0	
Women & young Children -	0 0 0	0 1 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	
The eldest Children - - -	0 0 6	0 6 0	0 0 6	0 0 0	0 0 6	
Total	0 7 6	0 10 0	0 7 6	0 7 0	0 7 6	
Amount <i>per annum</i>	19 10 0	26 0 0	19 10 0	18 4 0	19 10 0	
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	
Annual Sum of Expences -	18 4 0	18 4 0	16 5 0	14 19 0	14 19 0	
Rent, Fuel, Clothes, &c. -	6 0 0	6 0 0	6 0 0	6 0 0	6 0 0	
Total Expences <i>per annum</i> -	24 4 0	24 4 0	22 5 0	20 19 0	20 19 0	
Total Earnings <i>per annum</i> -	19 10 0	26 0 0	19 10 0	18 4 0	19 10 0	
Deficiency of Earnings	4 14 0	0 0 0	2 15 0	2 15 0	1 9 0	
Exceedings		1 16 0				

TANFIELD, COUNTY OF DURHAM.

ACCOUNT OF THE FAMILIES.

No. 1. A man, his wife, and five children, the eldest eight years of age, the youngest an infant.

No. 2. A woman, whose husband is dead, and six children, the eldest a boy sixteen years of age, the next a boy thirteen years of age, and the youngest five years.

No. 3. A man, his wife, and four small children, the eldest six years of age, the youngest an infant.

No. 4. A man, his wife, and three small children, the eldest not quite five years old, the youngest an infant.

No. 5. A man, his wife, and three young children, the eldest six years of age, the youngest an infant.

The above families were all living when this report was made, and are now [Oct. 4th, 1790] nearly in the same way.

ANNUAL EXPENCES.

Rent of house, fuel, clothing, lying-in, &c. I suppose the same as in the printed sheet for Barkham £. s. d.
6 0 0

REMARKS.

In Nos. 1, 3, 4, 5, the woman can earn nothing, as she will have enough to do to keep the family clean, and clothes whole: the youngest, being infants, will live mostly on breast milk.

No. 2, in my opinion, should live the best. They may all, except the youngest, clean weed, and do other little jobs. In this country we never pay more than 9d. per week for each person out of a work-house.

Also in No. 2, one must suppose two of the eldest of the four younger children will be above seven years of age; if they be in health, the parish will give them nothing; this is seldom looked at except the parent be idle.

The man in time of cutting grafs earns more than seven shillings per week. The lost time, by bad weather and incidental misfortunes, may run that out.

I know many families who are industrious, pay their credit, and live comfortably on seven shillings per week.

Rye, 8s. 6d. per boll, or two Winchester
Barley 6s. per ditto. [bushels.
Oats 3s. 6d. per ditto.

NEWENT, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

A LARGE PARISH WITH A SMALL MARKET, NO TRADE, NO MANUFACTURE.

[COMMUNICATED BY THE REV. J. FOLEY, NEWENT, 1789.]

EXPENCES AND EARNINGS OF SIX FAMILIES OF LABOURERS,
BY THE WEEK, AND BY THE YEAR.

	No. 1. 7 Persons.			No. 2. 7 Persons.			No. 3. 6 Persons.			No. 4. 5 Persons.			No. 5. 5 Persons.			No. 6. 4 Persons.		
<i>Expences per Week.</i>	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Bread, Flour, Yeast, & Baking	0	4	9	0	4	9	0	4	0	0	3	6	0	3	6	0	3	0
Salt - - - - -	0	0	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	0	0	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	0	0	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	2
Tea, Sugar, and Butter -	0	0	8 $\frac{3}{4}$	0	0	8 $\frac{3}{4}$	0	0	8 $\frac{3}{4}$	0	0	7	0	0	7	0	0	7
Cheese - - - - -	0	0	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Bacon - - - - -	0	0	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	2 $\frac{3}{4}$	0	0	2 $\frac{3}{4}$	0	0	2 $\frac{3}{4}$
Soap, Starch, Blue (if used)	0	0	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Candles, or rather rush-lights	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	2
Thread, Worsted, Pins, &c.	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	1
Milk - - - - -	0	0	6	0	0	6	0	0	6	0	0	3	0	0	3	0	0	2
Total	0	7	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	7	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	6	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	5	4 $\frac{1}{4}$	0	5	4 $\frac{1}{4}$	0	4	8 $\frac{3}{4}$
Deduct Labourer's Bread, Cheese, & Bacon, } for four weeks in wheat harvest, } Amount per annum for the other 48 weeks }	18	3	10	18	0	10	16	4	10	13	12	0	13	12	0	11	19	6
<i>Earnings per Week.</i>	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
The Man earns for 44 weeks	0	4	6	0	4	0	0	4	6	0	4	6	0	4	6	0	4	6
And 8 weeks in harvest	0	6	0	0	4	0	0	6	0	0	6	0	0	6	0	0	6	0
The Woman earns 39 weeks	0	0	6	0	0	6	0	0	6	0	0	6	0	0	6	0	0	6
And in toto for the other 13 w.	2	11	6	2	11	6	2	11	6	2	11	6	2	11	6	2	11	6
The Boys in No. 2, 46 weeks				0	2	6												
Total Amount per annum	15	17	0	20	18	0	15	17	0	15	17	0	15	17	0	15	17	0
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
To the above Amount of } Expences per annum - }	18	3	10	18	0	10	16	4	10	13	12	0	13	12	0	11	19	6
Add Rent, &c. except in No. 2, } where is no lying-in, &c. }	5	14	0	4	12	0	5	14	0	5	14	0	5	14	0	5	14	0
Total Expences per annum -	23	17	10	22	12	10	21	18	10	19	6	0	19	6	0	17	13	6
Total Earnings per annum -	15	17	0	20	18	0	15	17	0	15	17	0	15	17	0	15	17	0
Deficiency of Earnings	8	0	10	1	14	10	6	1	10	3	9	0	3	9	0	1	16	6

NEWENT, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

ACCOUNT OF THE FAMILIES.

The same as in the printed schedule for Barkham, and this estimate is formed partly from the accounts given by the labourers, and partly from the shopkeepers' books. My calculations of Bread are according to the following proportion, which is sufficient with potatoes:

A labouring man, I suppose, will eat weekly 15 pennyworth.

A woman with a child at her breast, 12 pennyworth.

A woman without one, 9 pennyworth.

A lad of sixteen years of age, 15 pennyworth.

A lad between thirteen and seven years of age, 9 pennyworth.

A lad under seven years of age, 6 pennyworth.

And as additional food for a sucking child, if a quarter old, I allow for flour 3d.

A pound of bacon will last, if bought, a fortnight or three weeks: little cheese is used; and in the wheat harvest I deduct bacon, cheese, and the man's bread, as for that month he has his whole maintenance. Where the man, as in No. 2, is run away, we do not willingly allow the woman any parish relief, till the two eldest children are put out, as lads of that age are seldom governable by a mother; however, I have here supposed them at home, and contributing their labour to the common support. Many poor families use not any soap, starch, or blue.

Y

ANNUAL EXPENCES.

	£.	s.	d.
Rent of a cottage and garden - -	1	10	0
Clothing - - - - -	2	10	0
Lying-in, sickness, bad weather, &c. 1	12	0	
Statute duty on the highway - -	0	2	0
Fuel - - - - -	0	0	0
	£. 5	14	0

I take the estimate in the Barkham schedule for the 2d and 3d articles, not being able to form a proper judgment.

Rent varies from 20s. to 50s. according to situation, whether in the town or country, and according to the goodness of the garden. If it be extensive, it supplies the family with potatoes, the great article of their food, especially for the younger part, and enables them to nurse up a small pig: towards Michaelmas the children flock under every oak, to collect acorns to feed him, and *at the last*, three or four bushels of pease are procured him to make his fat more solid. No poor man here can muster up money enough to buy a whole fat pig: where they are unable to nurse up one, they have recourse to the retail shops.

I allow nothing for fuel. Mr. A. Foley has an annual fall of coppice, and gives the poor all the browse gratis. The woods are between two and three miles distant. A burden, if sold, will bring about 3d. the poor man's fire is generally backed with tan, which the tanners suffer them to take away after it is come out of the pits.

Earnings of a man who works by the great: for 44 weeks, he will get 1s. per day; for four weeks in wheat-harvest, he will get 18d. a day, and all his maintenance; for four weeks in mowing, and lent-grain harvest, he will get 18d. a day without his maintenance.

NEWENT, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

Taking in this latter calculation, the Expenses and Earnings of the Families will stand thus:

	No. 1.	No. 2.	No. 3.	No. 4.	No. 5.	No. 6.
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Total Expenses <i>per ann.</i>	23 17 10	22 12 10	21 18 10	19 6 0	19 6 0	17 13 6
Total Earnings <i>per ann.</i>	20 7 6	20 18 0	20 7 6	20 7 6	20 7 6	20 7 6
Deficiency of Earnings	3 10 4	1 14 10	1 11 4			
Surplus -				1 1 6	1 1 6	2 14 0

The standing wages of the common day-labourer, in this parish and some adjoining ones, are 4s. 6d. per week, with one meal of victuals weekly, and a gallon of drink *per diem*. In other of the neighbouring parishes it is 5s. weekly: but the industrious labourer chooses to be employed by the great—to thresh by the bushel, to hedge and ditch by the perch, to raise and break stone by the ton;—and this man will in the winter time get 6s. or 7s. in the week. I have stated it at the lowest in the calculations. In harvest, the worst man will get his shilling a day; and in wheat-harvest, he has three meals a day, and drink unlimited; nor is it uncommon for a man to drink eight or ten quarts in the day. I suppose the wheat-harvest to last four weeks, and have for this time deducted out of the expenses the man's 15d. for bread, and also the cheese and bacon, it being the man that chiefly consumes them. The woman for 39 weeks will get at least 6d. per week, be her family what it will, by spinning, &c. the remaining weeks will, I think, produce her 2l. 11s. 6d. in the whole, which I thus make out:

	£. s. d.
Bean or pease setting, for 3 weeks,	
at 7d. per day - - - - -	0 10 6
Fruit-picking, 2 weeks, at 4d. - - - - -	0 4 0
Hay-making, 2 weeks, at 4d. - - - - -	0 4 0
Gleaning or leasing 6 bushels at	
5s. 6d. per bushel - - - - -	1 13 0
	<u>£. 2 11 6</u>

It should be observed, that the labouring part of the family, for obvious reasons, require more victuals in summer than in winter; the garden is cultivated either on rainy days, or else previous to the hours of working. I have known a labourer work four *extra* hours in the day, occasionally.—So much depends upon œconomy, prudent management, industry, health, and even the appetites of different persons, that no calculation can perhaps be thoroughly depended upon.

I have known a numerous family subsisting without relief, whilst another family, apparently in similar situations, but with two or three children less, have perpetually been applying

NEWENT, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

plying to the parish. One criterion has particularly struck me:—Cleanliness about the house is almost a sure indication of the family not wanting parochial assistance.

In general, I fear the wages of the labourer are not adequate to his maintenance, supposing him to have three or four children. How then is the deficiency to be made up? if you say—by *poor-rates*; I answer, that the legislature seems rather originally to have considered the infirm, the impotent, and the old, and not to have had so much in view the able and the industrious. If you say, *the charity of the rich* is to supply the deficiency of the earnings of the poor, I cannot help thinking this to be resting the matter upon an improper foundation. It seems to me, that every man who labours in society has a just claim upon the laws of that society to allow him a sufficient return for that labour—a return fully adequate to maintain himself and his family, though ever so numerous.

Labour on one hand, and the necessities of life on the other, seem to be as reciprocal terms as protection and obedience. The labourer has a legal right, a right from the laws of nature, to an adequate maintenance. Charity, I should think, ought to supply the comforts rather than the necessities of life, and seems more adapted for the sick, infirm, and aged, than for the healthy and the strong.

In some of the inferior trades, the weekly wages are settled by law; and it is well known that in the great trading towns, such as Manchester, Sheffield, Birmingham, &c. four days work in the week amply supply the dissolute and the drunken. Why might not the magistrates exert the power lodged in them, by the stat. of Q. Eliz. and raise the price of labour in proportion to the exigencies of the times?

Should a society ever be formed for the purpose of protecting the lower class, perhaps the following objects might not be undeserving their notice:—1. To rescue them from the harpy claws of pettyfogging attorneys, who are perpetually harrassing them in county courts, and plundering them with impunity. 2. To adjust the weights and measures of the little retail shops, which are too often scandalously deficient. 3. To extend to the country that great advantage obtained in London by fixing the assize of bread. 4. To disperse small tracts containing useful knowledge with respect to little profits, which may be in their power to attain, and to cheap articles of diet. By the former I mean keeping of bees, raising turnip-seed, and the like. As to the latter, Mr. Pennant says that in *Ila*, heath is substituted partly for malt:—in Shrewsbury, treacle is used for the same purpose. What more nutritious than salep, common in all our fields: the root of the *sagittaria* is almost equally so.

CRAWLEY

CRAWLEY PARISH, IN HAMPSHIRE.

EXPENCES AND EARNINGS OF SIX FAMILIES OF LABOURERS,
BY THE WEEK, AND BY THE YEAR.

	No. 1. 8 Persons.	No. 2. 6 Persons.	No. 3. 7 Persons.	No. 4. 6 Persons.	No. 5. 7 Persons.	No. 6. 6 Persons.
<i>Expences per Week.</i>	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Bread or Flour - - - -	0 6 5	0 5 10	0 5 10	0 4 2	0 5 10	0 5 10
Salt - - - - -	0 0 2	0 0 1	0 0 1	0 0 1	0 0 1	0 0 1½
Bacon - - - - -	0 1 6	0 0 8	0 1 10	0 1 6	0 1 0	0 0 4
Tea, Sugar, and Butter -	0 0 6	0 0 9	0 0 9	0 0 9	0 1 5	0 1 10
Cheese - - - - -	0 1 0	0 0 4	0 0 3	0 0 4½	0 0 2	0 0 4
Beer - - - - -	0 0 9	0 0 8	0 0 6½	0 0 5½	0 0 3	0 0 2
Soap, Starch, and Blue -	0 0 2½	0 0 2½	0 0 3	0 0 3	0 0 2½	0 0 2½
Candles - - - - -	0 0 3	0 0 2	0 0 3	0 0 3	0 0 2½	0 0 2½
Thread and Worsted - -	0 0 2	0 0 0½	0 0 2	0 0 2	0 0 2	0 0 2
Total	0 10 11½	0 8 9	0 9 11½	0 8 0	0 9 2½	0 9 2
Amount per annum	28 10 11	22 15 0	25 17 10	20 16 0	23 18 10	23 16 8
<i>Earnings per Week.</i>	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
The Man earns (harvest excepted)	0 7 0	0 7 0	0 7 0	0 7 0	0 7 0	0 7 0
The Woman - - - - -	0 1 0	Parish } 1 6	0 1 0	0 0 4	0 0 6	0 0 4
The Children - - - - -	0 2 0	pay } 0 0 0	0 2 0	0 0 0	0 2 0	0 2 0
Total	0 10 0	0 8 6	0 10 0	0 7 4	0 9 6	0 9 4
Amount per annum	26 0 0	22 2 0	26 0 0	19 1 4	24 14 0	24 5 4
Extra earnings in harvest -	3 4 0	1 10 0	3 8 0	2 0 0	5 4 0	1 10 0
Total Earnings	29 4 0	23 12 0	29 8 0	21 1 4	29 18 0	25 15 4
<i>To the above Amount of ?</i>	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Expences per annum -	28 10 11	22 15 0	25 17 10	20 16 0	23 18 10	23 16 8
Add Rent, Fuel, Clothing, &c.	6 19 6	3 3 0	6 14 0	6 14 0	4 16 0	7 10 0
Total Expences per annum -	35 10 5	25 18 0	32 11 10	27 10 0	28 14 10	31 6 8
Total Earnings per annum -	29 4 0	23 12 0	29 8 0	21 1 4	29 18 0	25 15 4
Deficiency of Earnings	6 6 5	2 6 0	3 3 10	6 8 8	1 3 2	5 11 4
					Surplus	

CRAWLEY PARISH, IN HAMPSHIRE.

ACCOUNT OF THE FAMILIES.

No. 1. A man, his wife, and six children, the eldest a boy thirteen years of age, the youngest an infant.

No. 2. A man and five children, (his wife being dead) the eldest a girl thirteen years old, the youngest six years.

No. 3. A man his wife, and five children, the eldest a boy eleven years of age, the youngest $2\frac{1}{2}$ years.

No. 4. A man, his wife, and four children, the eldest five years of age, the youngest an infant.

No. 5. A man, his wife, and five children, the eldest a boy ten years of age, the youngest an infant.

No. 6. A man, his wife, and four children, the eldest a boy fourteen years of age, the youngest an infant.

	£.	s.	d.
Price of the half-peck loaf of wheaten bread - - - -	0	1	0
Price of the gallon of flour - - - -	0	0	10½
Price of a week's labour - - - -	0	7	0

I have made the calculations through the whole at the above rates, though in reality the half-peck loaf is at this time 12½d. and the gallon of flour 11d.

Where a man has no reaping in harvest, he is allowed 12s. a week for six weeks: he commonly reaps and mows by the acre.

ANNUAL EXPENCES.

	£.	s.	d.
No. 1. Rent - - - -	2	0	0
Fuel - - - -	0	9	6
Shoes - - - -	1	10	0
Clothes, &c. - - - -	3	0	0
	6	19	6
No. 2. Rent - - - -	0	0	0
Fuel - - - -	0	8	0
Shoes - - - -	0	15	0
Clothes, &c. - - - -	2	0	0
	3	3	0
No. 3. Rent - - - -	2	0	0
Fuel - - - -	0	14	0
Clothes, &c. - - - -	4	0	0
	6	14	0
No. 4. Rent - - - -	2	2	0
Fuel - - - -	1	2	0
Clothes, &c. - - - -	3	10	0
	6	14	0
No. 5. Rent* - - - -	0	0	0
Fuel - - - -	0	14	0
Clothes, &c. - - - -	4	2	0
	4	16	0
No. 6. Rent - - - -	2	0	0
Fuel - - - -	1	10	0
Clothes, &c. - - - -	4	0	0
	7	10	0

Rent of a cottage is 2l.—Fuel at the lowest estimation must be reckoned at 1l.; to make a family comfortable, it ought to be double of this. Clothing may be nearly the same as in the printed estimate for Barkham, except the article of shoes, which is too low, especially if there is a boy who goes to plough, as he wears more than one pair per annum: a pair of man's nailed shoes is here 8s.

I have chosen those who are esteemed the best managers, as all buy their flour by the bushel; and Nos. 1, 3, and 4, either fat a hog, or buy one whole by the score.

The reason that I have put the firing at so different rates is, because in some families the girls are employed in bringing sticks from coppices.

* This is the first year that No. 5 has not paid rent, 2l.

LONG PARISH, IN HAMPSHIRE.

[BY THE REV. LASCELLES IREMONGER, APRIL 1789.]

EXPENCES AND EARNINGS OF SIX FAMILIES OF LABOURERS,
BY THE WEEK, AND BY THE YEAR.

	No. 1. 7 Persons.	No. 2. 7 Persons.	No. 3. 6 Persons.	No. 4. 5 Persons.	No. 5. 5 Persons.	No. 6. 4 Persons.
<i>Expences per Week.</i>	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Bread or Flour - - - -	0 6 6	0 7 0	0 5 0	0 4 3	0 4 0	0 4 2
Yeast and Salt - - - -	0 0 3	0 0 3	0 0 3	0 0 2	0 0 2	0 0 1
Bacon or other Meat - -	0 1 0	0 1 0	0 1 0	0 0 8	0 1 0	0 0 4
Tea, Sugar, and Butter -	0 0 7	0 0 8	0 0 6	0 0 9	0 0 8	0 0 7
Cheese - - - - -	0 0 5	0 0 10	0 0 5	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 5
Beer - - - - -	0 0 6	0 0 9	0 0 0	0 0 2	0 0 6	0 0 0
Soap, Starch, and Blue -	0 0 6	0 0 6	0 0 2	0 0 3	0 0 8	0 0 3 $\frac{1}{2}$
Candles - - - - -	0 0 2	0 0 3	0 0 2	0 0 2	0 0 2	0 0 2
Thread, Thrum, Worsted -	0 0 3	0 0 3	0 0 3	0 0 3	0 0 3	0 0 2
Total	0 10 2	0 11 6	0 7 9	0 6 8	0 7 5	0 6 2 $\frac{1}{4}$
Amount per annum	26 8 8	29 18 0	20 3 0	17 6 8	19 5 8	16 1 9
<i>Earnings per Week.</i>	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
The Man earns at a medium	0 8 0	0 8 0	0 8 0	0 8 0	0 7 0	0 7 6
The Woman - - - - -	0 0 0	0 1 0	0 1 0	0 0 6	0 1 6	0 0 6
The Children - - - - -	0 1 6	0 4 6	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 6	0 0 0
Total	0 9 6	0 13 6	0 9 0	0 8 6	0 9 0	0 8 0
Amount per annum	24 14 0	35 2 0	23 8 0	22 2 0	23 8 0	20 16 0
To the above Amount of Expences per annum -	26 8 8	29 18 0	20 3 0	17 6 8	19 5 8	16 1 9
Add Rent, Fuel, Clothes, Lying-in, &c. - - -	7 0 0	7 0 0	7 0 0	7 0 0	7 0 0	7 0 0
Total Expences per annum -	33 8 8	36 18 0	27 3 0	24 6 8	26 5 8	23 1 9
Total Earnings per annum -	24 14 0	35 2 0	23 8 0	22 2 0	23 8 0	20 16 0
Deficiencies of Earnings	8 14 8	1 16 0	3 15 0	2 4 8	2 17 8	2 5 9

LONG PARISH, IN HAMPSHIRE.

ACCOUNT OF THE FAMILIES.

No. 1. A man, his wife, and five children, the eldest nine years of age, the youngest an infant.

No. 2. A man, his wife, and five children, the eldest fourteen years of age, the next a boy aged thirteen, the rest unable to earn any thing.

No. 3. A man, his wife, and four children, the eldest under nine years of age, the youngest an infant.

No. 4. A man, his wife, and three small children, the eldest not quite six years of age, and the youngest only one year.

No. 5. A man, his wife, and three children, the eldest near ten years old.

No. 6. A man, his wife, and two small children, unable to earn any thing.

ANNUAL EXPENCES.

£. s. d.

Cottage rent and fuel, both very high and scarce, so that they greatly exceed the estimate in the Barkham paper, and one pound may be added at the least to the expences in the Berkshire account.

Rent, fuel, clothing, &c. - 7 0 0

Price of the half-peck loaf of

wheaten bread - - - 0 1 0¹/₂

No. 5. Washes for two young men.

MONK-SHERBORNE AND BASING PARISHES,
IN HAMPSHIRE, 1789.

EXPENCES AND EARNINGS OF SIX FAMILIES OF LABOURERS,
BY THE WEEK, AND BY THE YEAR.

	No. 1. 7 Persons.	No. 2. 7 Persons.	No. 3. 6 Persons.	No. 4. 5 Persons.	No. 5. 5 Persons.	No. 6. 4 Persons.
<i>Expences per Week.</i>	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Flour, Yeast, and Salt - -	0 7 0	0 7 0	0 6 0	0 5 0	0 5 0	0 4 0
Bacon, &c. - - - -	0 1 2	0 1 2	0 1 2	0 1 0	0 1 0	0 1 0
Cheese - - - - -	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 6	0 0 6	0 0 8
Sugar and Butter - - -	0 0 4½	0 0 4½	0 0 4½	0 0 6	0 0 6	0 0 6
Beer in hay-time and harvest	0 1 0	0 1 0	0 1 0	0 0 10	0 0 10	0 0 10
Soap, Starch, and Blue - -	0 0 3	0 0 3	0 0 3	0 0 3	0 0 3	0 0 3
Candles - - - - -	0 0 3½	0 0 3½	0 0 3½	0 0 3	0 0 3	0 0 3
Thread, Worsted, &c. - -	0 0 3	0 0 3	0 0 3	0 0 2	0 0 2	0 0 2
Total	0 10 4	0 10 4	0 9 4	0 8 6	0 8 6	0 7 8
Amount per annum	26 17 4	26 17 4	24 5 4	22 2 0	22 2 0	19 18 8
<i>Earnings per Week.</i>	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
The Man - - - - -	0 8 6	0 8 6	0 8 6	0 8 6	0 8 6	0 8 6
The Woman - - - - -	0 1 6	0 1 6	0 1 0	0 0 9	0 0 9	0 1 6
The Children - - - - -	0 0 0	0 3 6	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0
Total	0 10 0	0 9 0	0 9 6	0 9 3	0 9 3	0 10 0
Amount per annum	26 0 0	23 8 0	24 14 0	24 1 0	24 1 0	26 0 0
To the above Amount of Expences per annum - } Fuel, Clothes, &c. [Rent to No. 4, 5, 6] - - - - }	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
	26 17 4	26 17 4	24 5 4	22 2 0	22 2 0	19 18 8
	4 10 0	4 10 0	4 10 0	6 0 0	6 0 0	6 0 0
Total Expences per annum -	31 7 4	31 7 4	28 15 4	28 2 0	28 2 0	25 18 8
Total Earnings per annum -	26 0 0	23 8 0	24 14 0	24 1 0	24 1 0	26 0 0
Deficiencies of Earnings Exceedings	5 7 4	7 19 4	4 1 4	4 1 0	4 1 0	0 1 4

MONK-SHERBOURN AND BASING PARISHES,
IN HAMPSHIRE, 1789.

ACCOUNT OF THE FAMILIES.

No. 1. A man, his wife, and five children, the eldest nine years of age, the youngest an infant.

No. 2. A woman, whose husband is dead, and six children, the eldest a boy fourteen years of age, the next a girl twelve years, the remainder too young to work.

No. 3. A man, his wife, and four small children, the eldest seven years of age, the youngest an infant.

No. 4. A man, his wife, and three small children, the eldest five years of age, the youngest an infant.

No. 5. A man, his wife, and three children, the eldest five years of age, the youngest an infant.

No. 6. A man, his wife, and two children, the eldest six years of age, the youngest four years.

Z

ANNUAL EXPENCES.

	£.	s.	d.
Price of the half-peck loaf*	0	1	1½
Price of a gallon of flour	0	1	0
A week's labour in winter	0	7	0
Hay time, hoeing, and harvest, supposed to make it average at	-	-	-
	0	8	6

The annual expences are similar to those in the Berkshire account, except that in this neighbourhood, the parish pays the rents for families of the description of No. 1, 2, 3.

This calculation was made from two parishes, Monk-Sherbourn and Basing, both in Hampshire, on account of the families being of the same number.

* Bread or flour is 2d. per half-peck dearer than in 1787.

LANCASHIRE, FEB. 1789.

[COMMUNICATED THROUGH THOMAS STANLEY, ESQ; M. P.]

EXPENCES AND EARNINGS OF THREE FAMILIES OF LABOURERS,
BY THE WEEK, AND BY THE YEAR.

	No. 1. 7 Persons.			No. 2. 7 Persons.			No. 3. 6 Persons.					
<i>Expences per Week.</i>	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.			
Bread from Oatmeal - -	0	3	0	0	3	0	0	3	0			
Potatoes - - - - -	0	0	6	0	0	9	0	0	6			
Salt - - - - -	0	0	1½	0	0	3	0	0	3			
Bacon or other Meat - -	0	0	4	0	0	4	0	0	6			
Tea, Sugar, Treacle, Butter	0	1	2	0	0	11½	0	0	11			
Beer and Milk - - - -	0	0	5½	0	0	5	0	0	2			
Soap, Starch, and Blue -	0	0	2½	0	0	4	0	0	4			
Candles - - - - -	0	0	3½	0	0	3½	0	0	3½			
Thread, Thrum, Worsted -	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	2			
Total	0	6	3	0	6	6	0	6	1½			
Amount per annum	16	5	0	16	18	0	15	18	6			
<i>Earnings per Week.</i>	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.			
The Man earns at a medium	0	7	0	0	6	6	0	7	6			
The Woman - - - - -	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	6			
The Children - - - - -	0	0	6	0	2	0	0	0	6			
Total	0	8	6	0	9	6	0	9	6			
Amount per annum	22	2	0	24	14	0	24	14	0			
To the above Amount of	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.			
Expences per annum -	16	5	0	16	18	0	15	18	6			
Add Rent, Fuel, Clothes, Lying-in, &c. - - }	9	0	6	10	7	0	9	2	2			
Total Expences per annum -	25	5	0	27	5	0	25	0	8			
Total Earnings per annum -	22	2	0	24	14	0	24	14	0			
Deficiencies of Earnings	3	3	0	2	11	0	0	6	8			

LANCASHIRE.

ACCOUNT OF THE FAMILIES.

TOWNSHIP OF GREAT ECCLESTON, AND
PARISH OF ST. MICHAEL'S.

No. 1. A man, his wife, and five children, the eldest a boy twelve years of age, the next a girl ten years, the next eight, and the youngest an infant of two years old.

TOWNSHIP OF BARTON, PARISH
OF PRESTON.

No. 2. A man, his wife, and five children, the eldest a girl eleven years of age, the next a girl nine years, the youngest an infant of two years.

TOWNSHIP OF KIRKLAND, PARISH
OF GARSTANG.

No. 3. A man, his wife, and four children, the eldest a girl eleven years of age, the next a girl nine years, the youngest two.

ANNUAL EXPENCES OF No. 1.

	£.	s.	d.
Rent of a cottage and garden	-	2	2 0
Fuel, 24 falls of turf	-	-	1 5 0
Man's clothing	-	-	1 8 0
Woman's ditto	-	-	0 17 0
The five children's clothing	-	-	1 16 0
Lying-in, sickness, &c. loss of time			
in bad weather, &c.	-	-	1 12 0
	£.	9	6 0

ANNUAL EXPENCES OF No. 2.

Rent of a cottage and garden	-	2	0 0
Fuel, altogether coals	-	-	3 0 0
Man's clothing	-	-	1 6 6
Woman's ditto	-	-	0 15 0
The five children's clothing	-	-	1 13 6
Lying-in, sickness, &c. loss of time			
in bad weather, &c.	-	-	1 12 0
	£.	10	7 0

ANNUAL EXPENCES OF No. 3.

Rent of a cottage and garden	-	1	8 0
Fuel, 30 falls of turf	-	-	1 6 0
Man's clothing	-	-	1 8 0
Woman's ditto	-	-	1 2 8
The four children's clothing	-	-	2 5 6
Lying-in, sickness, &c. loss of time			
in bad weather, &c.	-	-	1 12 0
	£.	9	2 2

PARISH OF WINWICK,
IN THE TOWNSHIP OF LOWTON, LANCASHIRE.

[COMMUNICATED BY JOHN BLACKBURNE, ESQ; M. P.]

EXPENCES AND EARNINGS OF ONE FAMILY OF LABOURERS, CONSISTING OF A MAN,
HIS WIFE, AND FIVE CHILDREN, THE ELDEST EIGHT YEARS OF AGE, THE
YOUNGEST AN INFANT, BY THE WEEK, AND BY THE YEAR.

	No. 1. 7 Persons.					
<i>Expences per Week.</i>	£. s. d.					
Meal and Flour - - - -	0 5 0					
Potatoes - - - - -	0 1 0					
Yeast and Salt - - - -	0 0 4					
Bacon or other Meat - -	0 1 4					
Milk and Butter - - - -	0 1 10					
Soap, Starch, and Candles -	0 0 5					
Thread and Woollen Yarn -	0 0 3					
Total	0 10 2					
Amount per annum	26 8 8					
<i>Earnings per Week.</i>	£. s. d.					
The Man earns - - - -	0 9 0					
The Woman - - - - -	0 1 6					
The Children - - - - -	0 0 0					
Total	0 10 6					
Amount per annum	27 6 0					
To the above Amount of } Expences per annum - }	26 8 8					
Add Rent 3l. Fuel 1l. Cloth- ing 6l. Lying-in, Sickness, Loss of Time, &c. 2l. - }	12 0 0					
Total Expences per annum -	38 8 8					
Total Earnings per annum -	27 6 0					
Deficiency of Earnings	11 2 8					

MARSHAM, NORFOLK, JANUARY 1790.

BY MR. JOHN KIDDLE.

The parish of Marsham, in the Eastern part of the county of Norfolk, is (with many other parishes in the same district) greatly burthened with the poor-rates, which have some years amounted to 10s. in the pound, rack rent; that is, a farm rented at 100l. per annum has paid (since my residence in the parish) 50l. in the year to the poor-rates, exclusive of the church-rate and surveyors; but on an average for the seven years past, they have been at 9s. in the pound, rack rent, and are not likely to be reduced lower.

The common price of labour in the district is a shilling a day to those who have families; if there be no children, and they ask employment of the parish, it is usual to diminish of that price, according to circumstances, from eightpence a day, which is commonly paid to a single man who comes to the parish for work; which is countenanced by the magistrate.

I have a labourer who drives a team for me, that is, has the care of five horses, from six o'clock in the morning until nine in the evening; whose situa-

tion is envied by half the labourers in the parish, because his wages are 7s. a week through the year; this man has a wife and six small children now living, and has buried three, supports himself and family with that wages, and pays his rent of 21. 5s. a year, and has done so these six years past, without asking relief of the parish, to my certain knowledge, he having been with me that time.

The common price of labour when a farmer chooses his labourers from the strongest and best workmen in the parish, is to give them 6s. a week the winter half year, and 7s. the summer.

The usual parish allowance to a man advanced in years, is 2s. a week, and to find them clothes, firing, and sometimes the use of the poor-house.

The allowance for widows is, to those without any children, a shilling per week, house-rent and firing, unless they are past doing any labour; and then it is usual to give them 2s.

If they have one child, 1s. 6d. if two children, 2s. &c.

BRINGTON, IN THE COUNTY OF NORTHAMPTON.

EXPENCES AND EARNINGS OF THREE FAMILIES OF LABOURERS,
BY THE WEEK, AND BY THE YEAR.

	No. 1. 9 Persons.	No. 2. 6 Persons.	No. 3. 12 Persons.			
<i>Expences per Week.</i>	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.			
Bread and Flour - - -	0 8 0	0 3 6	0 13 0			
Bacon and Meat on a Sunday	0 2 6	0 1 1	0 0 9			
Tea, Sugar, Soap, Starch, Blue, Candles, Thread, and Worsted - - - }	0 4 0	0 1 5	0 3 8			
Cheese, Butter, Milk, Oatmeal	0 1 0	0 0 5	0 1 6			
Malt and Beer - - - -	0 0 10	0 0 4	0 0 5			
Total	0 16 4	0 6 9	0 19 4			
*Amount per annum	42 9 4	17 11 0	50 5 4			
<i>Earnings per Week.</i>	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.			
The Man at a medium - -	0 6 6	0 6 6	0 6 0			
Eldest Son - - - - -	0 2 0	0 0 0	0 6 0			
Other Children - - - - -	0 2 0	0 0 0	0 2 0			
Woman - - - - -	0 0 0	0 1 8	0 0 0			
Lodger and Parish Allowance	0 5 0	0 0 0	0 2 6			
Total	0 15 6	0 8 2	0 16 6			
Amount per annum	40 6 0	21 4 8	42 18 0			
To the above Amount of }	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.			
Expences per annum - }	42 9 4	17 11 0	50 5 4			
Add Rent, Clothing, &c. &c.	5 16 0	5 16 0	5 16 0			
Total Expences per annum -	48 5 4	23 7 0	56 1 4			
Total Earnings per annum -	40 6 0	21 4 8	42 18 0			
Deficiency of Earnings	7 19 4	2 2 4	13 3 4			

BRINGTON, IN THE COUNTY OF NORTHAMPTON.

ACCOUNT OF THE FAMILIES.

No. 1. T. Taylor, his wife, and six children, the eldest fourteen years of age a boy, the next a girl twelve years, the youngest about two years; with a man, a lodger, who is placed there by the parish at 5s. per week, board, lodging, washing, and mending.

No. 2. Thomas Mailer, a wife, and four children; the eldest seven years of age, the youngest about eighteen months.

No. 3. George Capel, a wife, and ten children; the eldest a youth twenty years old; the next a girl thirteen years; the next a girl twelve years; the next a girl ten years; the next a girl eight; the next a boy seven; the youngest two years.

ANNUAL EXPENCES,

	£.	s.	d.
Rent of cottages from 11. to 5s. per annum	-	-	1 0 0
Fuel, about 26s. per annum	1	6	0
Coals are here sold at fourpence per cwt. less than prime cost; the gift of Earl Spencer.			
The clothing is generally bought second-hand; and a great many gowns, petticoats, and shifts, are annually distributed by the Countess Spencer to the poor families:—Call what is bought	-	-	2 0 0
Allow for lying-in and casualties	-	-	1 10 0
			<hr/>
	£.5	16	0

The parish pays the rent of No. 1; and generally makes up the deficiency of No. 3.

An allowance of a twelve-penny loaf and 8lbs. of beef, for four weeks at Christmas, is given by Earl Spencer to Nos. 1 and 3.

CASTOR, NEAR PETERBOROUGH, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE,

FEBRUARY 6, 1794.

[COMMUNICATED BY THE REV. CH. HODGSON, RECTOR OF MARHOLM, AND CURATE OF CASTOR.]

EXPENCES AND EARNINGS OF SIX FAMILIES OF LABOURERS,
BY THE WEEK, AND BY THE YEAR.

	No. 1. 6 Persons.			No. 2. 5 Persons.			No. 3. 4 Persons.			No. 4. 6 Persons.			No. 5. 6 Persons.			No. 6. 7 Persons.		
<i>Expences per Week.</i>	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Bread and Flour - - - -	0	5	0	0	4	1	0	4	0	0	5	6	0	4	3	0	6	6
Salt - - - - -	0	0	1½	0	0	0¾	0	0	1½	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	2
Meat - - - - -	0	1	6	0	1	6	0	1	0	0	1	6	0	1	6	0	1	3
Tea, Sugar, and Butter -	0	0	6	0	1	7	0	1	0	0	0	8	0	1	1	0	1	2
Cheese (sometimes) - -	0	0	5½	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0
Beer (seldom any) - - -	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Soap ¼lb. Starch, &c. - -	0	0	2½	0	0	2½	0	0	2	0	0	4½	0	0	2½	0	0	3
Candles ¼lb. Thread, &c. -	0	0	6	0	0	5	0	0	4	0	0	5½	0	0	6	0	0	8
Total	0	8	3½	0	7	10¼	0	6	7½	0	8	7	0	8	0½	0	10	0
Amount per annum	21	11	2	20	8	5	17	4	6	22	6	4	20	18	2	26	0	0
<i>Earnings per Week.</i>	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
The Man earns at a medium	0	7	6	0	6	6	0	8	0	0	6	6	0	7	6	0	9	0
The Woman - - - - -	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	3½	0	0	10	0	0	8
The Children - - - - -	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	1	3	0	0	4	0	0	3
Total	0	7	10	0	6	9	0	9	0	0	8	0½	0	8	8	0	9	11
Amount per annum	20	7	4	17	11	0	23	8	0	20	18	2	22	10	8	25	15	8
To the above Amount of } Expences per annum - }	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
	21	11	2	20	8	5	17	4	6	22	6	4	20	18	2	26	0	0
Add Rent, Fuel, Clothes, &c.	7	10	0	7	10	0	7	10	0	7	10	0	7	10	0	7	10	0
Total Expences per annum -	29	1	2	27	18	5	24	14	6	29	16	4	28	8	2	33	10	0
Total Earnings* per annum -	20	7	4	17	11	0	23	8	0	20	18	2	22	10	8	25	15	8
Deficiencies of Earnings	8	13	10	10	7	5	1	6	6	8	18	2	5	17	6	7	14	4

* To the Earnings may be added what is got by gleaning.

CASTOR, NEAR PETERBOROUGH, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.

ACCOUNT OF THE FAMILIES.

No. 1. A man, his wife, and four children, the eldest eleven years of age, the youngest an infant.

No. 2. A man, his wife, and three children, the eldest thirteen years of age, the youngest an infant.

No. 3. A man, his wife, and two children, the eldest six years of age, the youngest an infant.

No. 4. Henry Snow, his wife, and four children, the eldest ten years of age, the youngest an infant.

No. 5. A man, his wife, and four children, the eldest twelve years of age, the youngest an infant.

No. 6. A man, his wife, and five children, the eldest fourteen years of age, the youngest an infant.

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ANNUAL EXPENCES.

	£.	s.	d.
Rent of a cottage only from 11.			
10s. to 2l. 2s.	-	-	- 1 15 0
Fuel and coals	-	-	- 1 10 0
Clothing, the man's and family	-	2	15 0
Lying-in, loss of time, &c.	-	1	10 0
	£.	7	10 0

Price of a week's labour in winter	0	6	0
Ditto in summer	-	-	- 0 8 0
Ditto in hay time	-	-	- 0 9 0
Ditto in harvest time	-	-	- 0 10 6

Coals are, in this part of the kingdom, a very dear article: poor people cannot buy any now under a shilling a bushel, besides the expence of getting them home; and the price of wood bears a considerable proportion to that of coals. But when a poor man is at wood-work, he is then allowed a faggot per day, for his own use, besides his wages.

In No. 2, the wife can add nothing to her husband's earnings by her own industry, being so much disabled as not to do any profitable kind of work whatever.

PARISH OF HOLWELL, SOMERSETSHIRE.

[COMMUNICATED BY MR. RADCLIFFE, 1789.]

EXPENCES AND EARNINGS OF TWO FAMILIES OF LABOURERS,
BY THE WEEK, AND BY THE YEAR.

	No. 1. 7 Persons.			No. 2. 8 Persons.						
<i>Expences per Week.</i>	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.				
Bread or Flour - - - -	0	7	0	0	4	8				
Potatoes and Vegetables -	0	0	6	0	0	5				
Cheese and Salt - - - -	0	1	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	0	0	4				
Bacon or other Meat - -	0	1	6	0	0	7				
Tea, Sugar, and Butter - -	0	0	10	0	0	*2				
Soap, Starch, and Candles -	0	0	8	0	0	5				
Thread and Woollen Yarn -	0	0	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	1				
Total	0	11	11 $\frac{1}{4}$	0	6	8				
Amount per annum	31	0	9	17	6	8				
<i>Earnings per Week.</i>	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.				
The Man earns at a medium	0	6	6	0	5	6				
The Woman and Children -	0	7	0	0	2	6				
Total	0	13	6	0	8	0				
Amount per annum	35	2	0	20	16	0				
To the above Amount of } Expences per annum - }	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.				
	31	0	9	17	6	8				
Add Clothes - - - - -	5	9	9	4	16	8				
Total Expences per annum -	36	10	6	22	3	4				
Total Earnings per annum -	35	2	0	20	16	0				
Deficiency of Earnings	1	8	6	1	7	4				

* In No. 2, no Sugar or Butter.

PARISH OF HOLWELL, SOMERSETSHIRE.

ACCOUNT OF THE FAMILIES.

No. 1. A man, his wife, and six children, the eldest fourteen years of age, the youngest two.

The clothing of this family was as follows:

	£.	s.	d.
Man: coat and breeches	-	0	11 0
2 pair shoes, and repairing them	0	16	0
Shirts, 8s. stockings 3s.	-	0	11 0
Woman: gown and petticoats	-	0	8 6
Shifts 7s. shoes 3s. 9d.	-	0	10 9
Stockings 1s. 6d. apron, caps, and handkerchiefs 6s.	-	0	7 6
Children's clothes	-	2	5 0
	£.	5	9 9

N. B. The man's wages are only 5s. per week in the winter, and 6s. in the summer: but he is often abroad with his master's waggon, and has then some little additional advantages. The woman also informs me, that she makes some money by geese, and now and then receives a shilling from a kind relation. The eldest son earns 2s. 6d. per week, and expends in clothes about 20s. a year.

No. 2. A man, his wife, and six children, the eldest thirteen years of age, the youngest an infant.

The clothing of this family was as follows:

Man: coat and breeches	-	0	8 0
2 pair shoes, and repairing them	0	16	0
Shirts 12s. stockings 3s. 6d.	-	0	15 6
Spade, shovel, &c. for trenching	0	4	0
Woman: gown and petticoats	-	0	6 0

Shifts 9s. shoes, 3s. 8d. stockings

1s. 6d.	-	0	14 2
Apron, cap, and handkerchiefs	-	0	5 0
Lying-in	-	0	8 0
Children's clothes	-	1	0 0
	£.	4	16 8

The man has a small garden, which is of some advantage. The children are rather of the diminutive kind, and never wear shoes or stockings.

House-rent and fuel cost neither of these families any thing. The former is paid by the parish; the latter is procured by gathering cow-dung, and breaking their neighbours' hedges. No beer, and very seldom any cyder.

The men, whose families I have described, are of the common run of labourers, but are many days in the year without employment.

P. S. I have examined the state of another poor family, which consists of a man, his wife, and three children, the eldest nine years of age, and the youngest one. Their annual expences are, in provisions 16l. 5s. in clothes, &c. 4l. 6s. total 20l. 11s. The man earns 6s. a week, and the woman 1s. 6d. which produce in the year 19l. 10s.

	£.	s.	d.
Total expences <i>per annum</i>	-	20	11 0
Total earnings <i>per annum</i>	-	19	10 0
Deficiency of earnings	-	1	1 0

N. B. The half-peck loaf of wheaten bread, is valued in the foregoing accounts at 1s. 2d. and a stone of flour 2s. 4d.

SIDLESHAM PARISH, SURRY.

[COMMUNICATED BY JOHN FARHILL, ESQ; 1793.]

EXPENCES AND EARNINGS OF SIX FAMILIES OF LABOURERS,
BY THE WEEK, AND BY THE YEAR.

	No. 1. 6 Persons.	No. 2. 6 Persons.	No. 3. 6 Persons.	No. 4. 6 Persons.	No. 5. 5 Persons.	No. 6. 6 Persons.
<i>Expences per Week.</i>	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Bread and Flour - - -	0 4 0	0 4 2	0 4 3	0 3 11	0 3 9	0 4 9
Yeast and Salt - - -	0 0 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 0 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 0 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 0 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 0 1	0 0 0 $\frac{1}{2}$
Bacon and other Meat - -	0 2 0	0 1 9	0 1 10	0 2 3	0 2 1	0 3 0
Tea and Sugar - - -	0 0 7	0 1 2	0 0 7	0 0 7	0 0 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 0 8
Butter - - - - -	0 0 9	0 0 6	0 0 9	0 0 9	0 0 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 0 9
Cheese - - - - -	0 1 0	0 0 6	0 1 3	0 1 0	0 1 2	0 0 11
Soap, Starch, and Blue -	0 0 2	0 0 1	0 0 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 0 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 0 1	0 0 1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Candles - - - - -	0 0 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 0 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 0 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 0 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 0 2	0 0 1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Thread, Worsted, &c. - -	0 0 1	0 0 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 0 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 0 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 0 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 0 1
Total	0 8 10	0 8 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 9 0	0 8 11	0 8 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 10 5 $\frac{1}{2}$
Amount per annum	22 19 4	21 19 10	23 8 0	23 3 8	22 12 10	27 3 10
<i>Earnings per Week.</i>	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Total	0 10 0	0 12 0	0 11 0	0 11 6	0 11 0	0 12 0
Amount per annum	26 0 0	31 4 0	28 12 0	29 18 0	28 12 0	31 4 0
<i>Expences per annum - -</i>	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Expences per annum - -	22 19 4	21 19 10	23 8 0	23 3 8	22 12 10	27 3 10
Rent and Fuel - - - -	3 13 6	2 0 0	1 15 0	7 6 0	4 1 0	6 3 6
Total Expences per annum -	26 12 10	23 19 10	25 3 0	30 9 8	26 13 10	33 7 4
Total Earnings per annum -	26 0 0	31 4 0	28 12 0	29 18 0	28 12 0	31 4 0
	0 12 10	7 4 2	3 9 0	0 11 8	1 18 2	2 3 4
	Deficient	Surplus	Surplus	Deficient	Surplus	Deficient

SIDLESHAM PARISH, SURRY.

ACCOUNT OF THE FAMILIES.

No. 1. John Hart, his wife, and four children, the eldest a girl ten years old, another four, a boy two, and the youngest an infant. Earn about 10s. per week.

No. 2. William Lock, his wife, and four children, the eldest a boy five years old, another four, a girl two, and the youngest an infant. Earn about 11s. per week, 1s. ditto of the parish.

No. 3. John Homer, his wife, and four children, the eldest a girl twelve years old, a boy nine, another six, and a girl four. Earn about 10s. per week, and 1s. of the parish.

No. 4. Henry Mabbs, his wife, and four children; the eldest a boy eleven years old, another nine, a third seven, and the youngest one. Earn about 10s. per week, 1s. allowed by the parish, 6d. lodgers.

No. 5. William Dawtry, his wife, and three children, the eldest a boy eight years old, another six, and the youngest an infant. Earn about 11s. per week.

No. 6. Jeremiah Meal, his wife, and four children. Earns about 11s. 6d. per week, wife 6d.

ANNUAL EXPENCES.

No. 1. Rent - - - 1 2 6
 Coals 11. 10s. }
 Wood 11. 1s. } 2 11 0
 3 13 6

Brews 6 bushels of malt, 4lb. hops.

No. 2. Rent - - - - - 2 0 0
 Brews 5 bushels of malt, 2½lb. hops.

No. 3. Rent - - - 0 0 0
 Wood - - - 0 14 0
 Coals - - - 1 1 0
 1 15 0

Beer about 5s. per annum, the rest of the year drinks water.

No. 4. Rent - - - 3 3 0
 Fuel - - - 4 3 0
 7 6 0

Brews about 9 bushels of malt, 6lb. hops.

No. 5. Rent - - - 1 0 0
 Fuel - - - 3 1 0
 4 1 0

Brews about 9 bushels of malt, 8lb. hops.

No. 6. Rent - - - 3 13 6
 Fuel - - - 2 10 0
 6 3 6

Shoes 21. 10s. yearly.

Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, take in lodgers which lessens their rents, and for whom the wives wash and mend, which is not included in the weekly earnings, and which contributes to account for making up the deficiencies.

No. 5 is a sheep-shearer, which increases the total of his earnings beyond the average of 11s. per week.

N.B. Many labourers, whose work is with pick-axe and shovel, sustain very often an expence of not less than from 6d. to 9d. per week for the repair of tools, exclusive of their cost.

TUNTINGTON, SUSSEX, AND SIDLESHAM, SURRY.

[COMMUNICATED BY JOHN FARHILL, ESQ; 1793.]

EXPENCES AND EARNINGS OF SIX FAMILIES OF LABOURERS,
BY THE WEEK, AND BY THE YEAR.

	No. 1. 3 Persons.	No. 2. 6 Persons.	No. 3. 5 Persons.	No. 4. 7 Persons.	No. 5. 6 Persons.	No. 6. 5 Persons.
<i>Expences per Week.</i>	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Bread and Flour - - - -	0 2 4	0 4 0	0 4 6	0 5 6	0 3 6	0 3 6
Yeast and Salt - - - -	0 0 1	0 0 1	0 0 0½	0 0 0½	0 0 0½	0 0 0½
Bacon and other Meat - -	0 2 0	0 3 1½	0 1 10	0 2 7	0 2 0	0 2 6
Tea and Sugar - - - -	0 0 8½	0 0 7	0 0 5	0 1 5	0 0 4	0 0 9
Butter - - - -	0 0 4½	0 0 7	0 0 7	0 0 8½	0 1 0	0 0 8½
Cheese - - - -	0 0 2½	0 0 7½	0 0 7	0 1 0	0 1 1	0 1 1
Soap, Starch, and Blue - -	0 0 2	0 0 2½	0 0 2	0 0 2½	0 0 3	0 0 2
Rushes dipt in grease, in- stead of Candles - - }	0 0 0	0 0 2	0 0 1½	0 0 3	0 0 3	0 0 2
Thread, Worsted, &c. - -	0 0 1	0 0 1	0 0 1	0 0 2	0 0 1	0 0 1
Total	0 5 11½	0 9 5½	0 8 4	0 11 10½	0 8 6½	0 9 0
Amount per annum	15 8 9	24 11 10	21 13 4	30 17 6	22 4 2	23 8 0
<i>Earnings per Week.</i> (Including every Means)	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Total	0 10 0	0 12 6	0 11 0	0 15 6	0 10 0	0 10 0
Amount per annum	26 0 0	32 10 0	28 12 0	40 6 0	26 0 0	26 0 0
<i>Expences per annum</i> - -	15 8 9	24 11 10	21 13 4	30 17 6	22 4 2	23 8 0
Rent and Fuel - - - -	3 12 0	5 0 0	3 5 0	5 6 0	5 15 6	1 16 0
Total Expences per annum -	19 0 9	29 11 10	24 18 4	36 3 6	27 19 8	25 4 0
Total Earnings per annum -	26 0 0	32 10 0	28 12 0	40 6 0	26 0 0	26 0 0
	6 19 3 Surplus	2 18 2 Surplus	3 13 8 Surplus	4 2 6 Surplus	1 19 8 Deficient	0 16 0 Surplus

TUNTINGTON, SUSSEX, AND SIDLESHAM, SURRY.

ACCOUNT OF THE FAMILIES.

No. 1. John Marshall of Tuntington, near Chichester, his wife, and one child. Earns about 10s. per week.

No. 2. James Fielder, of ditto, his wife, and four children, the eldest eight years old, another six, a third three, and the youngest an infant. Man earns about 12s. per week.

No. 3. Henry Penfold, of ditto, his wife, and six children, the three eldest in the common work-house, one of three years old, another two, and the youngest one, at home. Man earns about 11s. per week.

No. 4. Nicholas Crowter, North-Munden, his wife, and five children, the eldest seventeen years old earns 4s. 6d. per week, a girl fifteen earns 1s. 6d. father 9s. 6d. a girl twelve, another nine, and the youngest a boy two.

No. 5. John Barns, of Sidlesham, his wife, and four children, the eldest a girl twelve years old, another nine, a third six, and the youngest four. Man earns 10s. per week.

No. 6. William King, of ditto, his wife, and three children, the eldest a girl twelve years old, a boy ten, and a girl two. Man earns 10s. per week, nearly.

ANNUAL EXPENCES.

No. 1. Rent	-	-	-	3	0	0	£. s. d.
Fuel	-	-	-	0	12	0	
							3 12 0

Brews 5 bushels of malt, 3lb. of hops.

No. 2. Rent	-	-	-	3	0	0	
Fuel	-	-	-	2	0	0	
							5 0 0

Brews 4 bushels of malt, 2lb. of hops.

No. 3. Rent	-	-	-	2	10	0	
Fuel	-	-	-	0	15	0	
							3 5 0

Brews 3 bushels of malt, 1½lb. of hops.

N. B. The difference in amount of fuel No. 1, 2, and 3, is, No. 1 has a right of cutting furze. No. 2, a hard-working man, and generally works at all kinds of labour by task, so that late hours prevents procuring fuel by his own hands.

No. 4. Rent	-	-	-	2	0	0	
Wood	-	-	-	1	15	0	
Coals	-	-	-	1	11	0	
							5 6 0

Brews 10 bushels of malt, 11lb. of hops.

No. 5. Rent	-	-	-	3	3	0	
Fuel	-	-	-	2	12	6	
							5 15 6

Brews 6 bushels of malt, 5lb. of hops.

No. 6. Rent	-	-	-	0	0	0	
Wood	-	-	-	0	6	0	
Coals	-	-	-	1	10	0	
							1 16 0

Brews 8 bushels of malt, 4½lbs. of hops.

N. B. Not one of the labourers were able to ascertain what sums they expended very exactly for drink, clothes, sickness, lying-in, or burials: yet No. 1, 2, and 3, think the expence of ditto, &c. not far from exactness as set down in the printed estimate for Barkham.

PARISH OF MARTON, WESTMORELAND.

JANUARY 1790.

[COMMUNICATED BY THE REV. GILPIN GORST, RECTOR OF MARTON.]

EXPENCES AND EARNINGS OF SIX FAMILIES OF LABOURERS,
BY THE WEEK, AND BY THE YEAR.

	No. 1. 7 Persons.	No. 2. 7 Persons.	No. 3. 6 Persons.	No. 4. 5 Persons.	No. 5. 5 Persons.	No. 6. 4 Persons.
<i>Expences per Week.</i>	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Bread and Flour - - -	0 4 6	0 4 6	0 4 3	0 4 0	0 3 10	0 3 6
Salt - - - - -	0 0 1	0 0 1	0 0 1	0 0 1	0 0 1	0 0 1
Tea, Sugar, and Butter -	0 1 2	0 1 3	0 1 0	0 1 4	0 0 10	0 0 8
Cheese - - - - -	0 0 0	0 0 8	0 0 5	0 0 9	0 0 6	0 0 9
Milk - - - - -	0 1 2	0 1 2	0 1 0	0 0 9	0 0 8	0 0 7
Soap, Candles, and Thread -	0 0 3	0 0 3	0 0 3	0 0 3	0 0 3	0 0 3
Potatoes - - - - -	0 1 3	0 1 3	0 1 0	0 0 7	0 0 6	0 0 7
Meat - - - - -	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0
Total	0 8 5	0 9 2	0 8 0	0 7 9	0 6 8	0 6 5
Amount per annum	21 17 8	23 16 8	20 16 0	20 3 0	17 6 8	16 13 8
<i>Earnings per Week.</i>	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
The Man earns - - - -	0 8 0	0 8 0	0 8 0	0 8 0	0 8 0	0 8 0
The Woman - - - - -	0 0 6	0 0 6	0 0 6	0 0 6	0 0 6	0 0 6
The Children - - - - -	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0
Total	0 8 6	0 8 6	0 8 6	0 8 6	0 8 6	0 8 0
Amount per annum	22 2 0	22 2 0	22 2 0	22 2 0	22 2 0	22 2 0
To the above Amount of Expences per annum -	21 17 8	23 16 8	20 16 0	20 3 0	17 6 8	16 13 8
Add Rent, Fuel, Clothes, Lying-in, &c. - - -	8 4 5	8 4 5	8 4 5	8 4 5	8 4 5	8 4 5
Total Expences per annum -	30 2 1	32 1 1	29 0 5	28 7 5	25 11 1	24 18 1
Total Earnings per annum -	22 2 0	22 2 0	22 2 0	22 2 0	22 2 0	22 2 0
Deficiencies of Earnings	8 0 1	9 19 1	6 18 5	6 5 5	3 9 1	2 16 1

PARISH OF MARTON, WESTMORELAND.

ACCOUNT OF THE FAMILIES.

No. 1. A man, his wife, and five children, the eldest ten years old, the youngest an infant.

No. 2. A man, his wife, and five children, the eldest nine years old, the youngest an infant.

No. 3. A man, his wife, and four children, the eldest seven years old, the youngest an infant.

No. 4. A man, his wife, and three children, the eldest six years old, the youngest an infant.

No. 5. A man, his wife, and three children, the eldest five years old, the youngest an infant,

No. 6. A man, his wife, and two young children, the eldest three years old, the youngest an infant.

B b

ANNUAL EXPENCES.

	£.	s.	d.
Rent 1l. fuel 7s. - - - - -	1	7	0
Man's clothes - - - - -	1	10	0
Two shirts 6s. pair of shoes 6s. 6d. - - - - -	0	12	6
Two pair of wooden shoes - - - - -	0	8	7
Hat and handkerchief - - - - -	0	2	6
Three pair of stockings - - - - -	0	3	0
Woman's clothes: gown and petticoat - - - - -	0	8	0
Two shifts 6s. two aprons 2s. 4d. - - - - -	0	8	4
Pair of shoes 4s. 6d. ditto wooden 3s. - - - - -	0	7	6
Two pair of stockings 2s. caps 3s. - - - - -	0	5	0
Handkerchiefs - - - - -	0	2	0
Children's clothes and shoes - - - - -	1	15	0
Lying-in, &c. - - - - -	0	15	0
	<u>£.8</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>

Bread eaten by this class of people, is made of rye and barley. Their chief diet is milk and bread, oatmeal porridge, commonly called hafty-pudding, and potatoes. There is no kind of manufactory carried on in this neighbourhood; for which reason women and children earn little, except in hay and corn harvest. Old milk cheese is eaten pretty generally, and costs about 2½d. per lb. Instead of soap, human urine is made use of. Bacon is not usually eaten by this class of people.

The average price of barley, rye, and oats, in January 1790, per bushel Winchester measure, was as under:

Barley 3s.—Rye 4s. 3d.—Oats 2s.

Fuel, in the township of Marton, consists entirely of turf, taken from a common adjoining the town, and, as near as I can calculate, costs a labouring family 7s. annually.

The sum of 1l. 10s. allowed for clothing a poor labouring man, is meant for coat, waistcoat, and breeches, and the making thereof. If this sum exceeds what is allowed in the more southern counties, such disparity will perhaps be best accounted for, by considering, that in warm dry counties fewer clothes will be required, than in those that are cold and wet.

PARISHES OF THORNER AND CHAPEL-ALLERTON, YORKSHIRE.

[COMMUNICATED BY MR. WILLIAM KAYE, NOV. 1791.]

EXPENCES AND EARNINGS OF SIX FAMILIES OF LABOURERS,
BY THE WEEK, AND BY THE YEAR.

	No. 1. 7 Persons.	No. 2. 4 Persons.	No. 3. 9 Persons.	No. 4. 6 Persons.	No. 5. 7 Persons.	No. 6. 4 Persons.
<i>Expences per Week.</i>	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Bread and Flour - - -	0 5 3	0 4 0	0 6 0	0 4 9	0 5 6	0 3 6
Yeast and Salt - - -	0 0 3½	0 0 3	0 0 4	0 0 3	0 0 3	0 0 2
Bacon and other Meat - -	0 1 9	0 1 2	0 1 6	0 1 0	0 1 6	0 1 2
Tea and Sugar - - -	0 1 0	0 0 6	0 1 0	0 1 0	0 1 0	0 1 0
Cheese (seldom any) - -	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 4½
Beer (seldom any) - - -	0 0 0	0 0 2	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 4	0 0 4
Soap, Starch, and Blue - -	0 0 4	0 0 2	0 0 4	0 0 4	0 0 4	0 0 2
Candles - - -	0 0 3	0 0 3	0 0 3	0 0 3	0 0 3	0 0 3
Thread, Worsted, &c. - -	0 0 3	0 0 2	0 0 3	0 0 3	0 0 3	0 0 2
Milk - - -	0 0 0	0 1 0	0 1 3	0 0 6	0 1 0	0 0 7
Total	0 9 1½	0 7 8	0 10 11	0 8 4	0 10 5	0 7 8½
Amount per annum	23 14 6	19 18 8	28 7 8	21 13 4	27 1 8	20 0 10
<i>Earnings per Week.</i>	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
The Man earns at a medium	0 8 0	0 7 6	0 8 6	0 8 0	0 9 0	0 8 0
Woman - - -	0 0 0	0 0 6	0 0 6	0 0 0	0 0 6	0 0 6
The Children - - -	0 1 0	0 0 4	0 1 6	0 0 6	0 1 6	0 0 0
Total	0 9 0	0 8 4	0 10 6	0 8 6	0 11 0	0 8 6
Amount per annum	23 8 0	21 13 4	27 6 0	22 2 0	28 12 0	22 2 0
To the above Amount of } Expences per annum - } Add Rent, Fuel, Clothes, and Lying-in - - - }	£. s. d. 23 14 6 6 12 0	£. s. d. 19 18 8 6 12 0	£. s. d. 28 7 8 6 12 0	£. s. d. 21 13 4 6 12 0	£. s. d. 27 1 8 6 12 0	£. s. d. 20 0 10 6 12 0
Total Expences per annum -	30 6 6	26 10 8	34 19 8	28 5 4	33 13 8	26 12 10
Total Earnings per annum -	23 8 0	21 13 4	27 6 0	22 2 0	28 12 0	22 2 0
Deficiencies of Earnings	6 18 6	4 17 4	7 13 8	6 3 4	5 1 8	4 10 10

THORNER AND CHAPEL-ALLERTON, YORKSHIRE.

ACCOUNT OF THE FAMILIES.

No. 1. A man, his wife, and five children, the eldest fifteen years old, the youngest an infant.

No. 2. A man, his wife, and two children, the eldest nine years old, lame, and the youngest six.

No. 3. A man, his wife, and seven children, the eldest fourteen years old, the two youngest twins, six months.

No. 4. A man, his wife, and four children, the eldest eight years old, the youngest four.

No. 5. A man, his wife, and seven children, five of the youngest constantly at home, the eldest fourteen years old, the youngest four.

No. 6. A man, his wife, and two children, the eldest three years old, the youngest an infant.

[Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, live in the township of Thorner, about five or six miles from Leeds in Yorkshire. Nos. 5 and 6 live at Chapel-Allerton, three miles from Leeds.]

ANNUAL EXPENCES.

	£.	s.	d.
Rent of a cottage and garden from 1l. to 2l. per annum:—fay	-	1	10 0
Fuel: coals are generally used, which cost 9d. a horse-load, about 3 bushels; the expence of each family per annum	-	1	0 0

Although coals are plentiful, yet it is an observation, that the habit of making large fires makes the expence of fuel greater than in places where it is much scarcer.

Clothing for each family	-	-	2	10	0
Lying-in, sickness, &c.	-	-	1	12	0
			£.6	12	0

Price of the half-peck loaf	-	-	0	1	0
— of 14lb. of flour	-	-	0	2	0
— of a week's labour in winter	0	7	0		
— of ditto the year through	-	0	8	0	

The tea used by each family is from 1 oz. to 1½ oz. at 2d. or 3d. per oz.

Soft sugar ½ lb. at 7d. or 8d. per lb.

Salt butter ½ lb. at 7d. to 9d. per lb.

In No. 1, the reason why there is nothing set down for milk is, they keep a small Scotch cow upon the waste, which supplies them with milk, and something to spare.

PARISHES OF LLANDEGLA AND LLANARMON, DENBIGHSHIRE.

[COMMUNICATED BY MR. JOHN EDWARDS, 1788.]

EXPENCES AND EARNINGS OF THREE FAMILIES OF LABOURERS,
BY THE WEEK, AND BY THE YEAR.

	No. 1. 8 Persons.	No. 2. 7 Persons.	No. 3. 6 Persons.			
<i>Expences per Week.</i>	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.			
Meal of Barley or Oats - -	0 5 0	0 4 2	0 3 8			
Butter - - - - -	0 1 9	0 1 4	0 1 3			
Milk - - - - -	0 0 7	0 0 6	0 0 5			
Potatoes - - - - -	0 0 6	0 0 5	0 0 5			
Salt, Soap, and Tallow - -	0 0 4½	0 0 4	0 0 4			
Bread - - - - -	0 0 1½	0 0 1	0 0 1			
Total	0 8 4	0 6 10	0 6 2			
Amount per annum	21 13 4	17 15 4	16 0 8			
<i>Earnings per Week.</i>	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.			
The Man earns at a medium	0 6 0	0 0 0	0 6 0			
The Woman - - - - -	0 1 0	Parish pay } 4 0 0	0 0 6			
The Children - - - - -	0 0 9	0 0 0	0 0 0			
Total	0 7 9	0 4 0	0 6 6			
Amount per annum	20 3 0	10 8 0	16 18 0			
To the above Amount of } Expences per annum - }	21 13 4	17 15 4	16 0 8			
Add Rent, Fuel, Clothing, } Lying-in, &c. - - }	6 1 0	5 10 0	5 0 0			
Total Expences per annum -	27 14 4	23 5 4	21 0 8			
Total Earnings per annum -	20 3 0	10 8 0	16 18 0			
Deficiency of Earnings	7 11 4	12 17 4	4 2 8			

PARISHES OF LLANDEGLA AND LLANARMON, DENBIGHSHIRE.

ACCOUNT OF THE FAMILIES.

No. 1. A man, his wife, and six children, the eldest a boy thirteen years of age, the youngest three; five of the children too young to earn any thing.

No. 2. A woman, whose husband is dead, and five children, the eldest ten years of age, the youngest two.

No. 3. A man, his wife, and four children, the eldest under eight years of age, the youngest an infant.

The poor women of this country are generally employed in spinning flax and wool, which turns out to but very little advantage. The children in this county are not employed so early as in the neighbouring counties: because in Merionethshire, &c. they learn to knit as soon as they can talk. Begging is also an old-established trade in this county, as well as the neighbouring counties: the dole they receive is barley; in shearing time they have wool, but hardly enough to make stockings.

ANNUAL EXPENCES.

	£.	s.	d.
Rent of a cottage and garden, from 1l. to 1l. 10s.—say	-	-	1 5 0
Fuel, very dear in this county: consists chiefly of coals, three cart loads will serve a family for a year: estimated from 7s. to 10s. a load:—say	-	-	1 1 0
Clothing: most poor families buy wool and manufacture it themselves, rated at	-	1	10 0
Shoes, hats, &c.	-	0	15 0
Lying-in, &c.	-	-	1 10 0
	£.	6	1 0

Average price of a measure of barley, (viz. forty quarts) of which poor people make bread, 5s.

The above quantity will serve a family, consisting of seven or eight persons, for a week.

Tea is but seldom drunk in poor families in Wales, except in the towns where milk is scarce.

To eke out soap they use chamber-lye.

Butter is bought all the year round from 7d. to 8d. per lb. There is not at any time of the year above 1d. per lb. difference between fresh and salt butter in Denbighshire.

PARISHES OF LLANFAWR AND LLANGEIL, MERIONETHSHIRE,
NORTH-WALES.

[COMMUNICATED BY S. LLOYD, CURATE OF LLANDGLA IN YALE, 1788.]

EXPENCES AND EARNINGS OF TWO FAMILIES OF LABOURERS,
BY THE WEEK, AND BY THE YEAR.

	No. 1. 6 Persons.			No. 2. 8 Persons.						
<i>Expences per Week.</i>	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.				
Meal of Barley or Oats - -	0	4	6	0	5	0				
Butter - - - - -	0	1	8	0	1	6				
Sugar - - - - -	0	0	1	0	0	0				
Salt - - - - -	0	0	1	0	0	1½				
Milk - - - - -	0	0	6	0	0	6				
Potatoes - - - - -	0	0	5	0	0	6				
Soap, &c. - - - - -	0	0	1	0	0	2				
Tallow - - - - -	0	0	2½	0	0	2				
Total	0	7	6½	0	7	11½				
Amount <i>per annum</i>	19	12	2	20	13	10				
<i>Earnings per Week.</i>	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.				
The Man earns at a medium	0	6	6	0	6	0				
The Woman - - - - -	0	0	9	0	1	0				
The Children - - - - -	0	0	3	0	1	0				
Total	0	7	6	0	8	0				
Amount <i>per annum</i>	19	10	0	20	16	0				
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.				
To the above Amount of Expences <i>per annum</i> -	19	12	2	20	13	10				
Add Clothes, Rent, Fuel, and other extras - - }	4	10	0	5	0	0				
Total Expences <i>per annum</i> -	24	2	2	25	13	10				
Total Earnings <i>per annum</i> -	19	10	0	20	16	0				
Deficiencies of Earnings	4	12	0	4	17	10				

PARISHES OF LLANFAWR AND LLANGEIL, MERIONETHSHIRE.

ACCOUNT OF THE FAMILIES.

No. 1. A man, his wife, and four children, the eldest ten years old.

No. 2. A man, his wife, and six children, the eldest nine years old.

It is presumed that the two families above specified are sufficient to give a general idea of the labouring poor. Those that cannot, or will not work, are supported by parish relief, and by begging, which is an old-established trade, to which men, women, and children, devote themselves without the least degree of shame. One reason to which we may attribute so much begging in this and the neighbouring counties, is the want of profitable manufactories. The knitting of coarse woollen stockings chiefly employs boys, girls, and grown persons of both sexes, in the inland part of Merionethshire.

That it is an unprofitable manufacture is evident, as they knit, walking, talking, begging, without hardly ever looking at their work; and though they exhibit an instance of unexampled industry, yet they are obliged to beg to make up the deficiencies of their earnings.

ANNUAL EXPENCES.

	£.	s.	d.
Rent of a cottage and garden from 18s. to 1l. 5s.—say	-	-	1 1 0
Fuel, dear in this country; consisting chiefly of turf and peat, the ashes estimated at a small value	-	-	1 5 0
Clothing is often manufactured by poor families for their own use, with the wool which they beg in shearing time; some few articles, such as shoes, they buy, which we shall estimate at	-	-	1 6 0
Lying-in, &c. as in the Barkham account	-	-	1 15 0
	£.	4	17 0

Average price of a bushel (Winchester) of oatmeal, of which the poor make bread, 5s.

The above quantity will serve a family, consisting of six or seven persons, for a week.

In general tea is not drunk in poor families in Wales, except in the towns where milk is scarce.

To eke out soap, they use chamber-lye.

Butter is bought at an average for 6½d. all the year round. There is not at any time of the year above 1d. per lb. difference between fresh and salt butter in Merionethshire.

Parish rates in this county are from 3s. 6d. to 4s. Widows and their families receive some parish relief, but are chiefly supported by begging from door to door. The dole which they receive is oatmeal.

GENERAL STATE OF THE EXPENCES AND EARNINGS OF THE
PEASANTRY IN THE NORTH PART OF ABERDEENSHIRE.

TRANSMITTED BY DR. FINDLAY, OF FRASERBURGH.

[COMMUNICATED BY THE REVEREND JAMES RAMSAY, JAN. 1789.]

THE Peasantry in Aberdeenshire may be ranked in three classes, viz.

1st. Cottars, or merely Day-Labourers.

2^{dly}. Tradefmen, being Sub-Tenants.

3^{dly}. The very poorest, being old Men or Widows, whose Children (if they had any) are gone to service, have families of their own, gone to trades, or have left the country.

CLASS FIRST—Rent a house, a cottage, a cabbage garden, and two or three acres of land from the farmer.

	£.	s.	d.
He ploughs their land, brings home their peats (fuel;) for this, they pay him in cash at a medium 10s. per acre of the ground	1	10	0
The man gives his work in harvest, receiving two meals a day, and one firlof of meal, (32lbs.) for harvest supper home to his family; his harvest wages being valued at	1	0	0
He gives three days work at casting the farmer's peats, and forming his sheep or cattle folds	0	2	0
Annual clothing to self, wife, and children	1	0	0
He buys two bolls of meal (256lbs.) more than the produce of his land, at 12s.	1	4	0
He uses salt 5s.; fish 4s.; soap, starch, blue, hardly any—say 1s.	0	10	0
In lyings-in, burials, or other incidents	1	0	0
Lamp-oil 4s.; rushes dipt in it for candles 0; tea, sugar, butchers meat, none; treacle or melasses when sick, 1s.	0	5	0

Total expences £. 6 11 0

Suppose

Suppose him to have five children under eight years, which, as the mothers nurse at least twelve months, is the hardest case possible, deducting the work above given to his master, and the time employed in his own ground, he may hire himself in the year 120 days at 8d. 4 0 0
 He rears a calf yearly, which at the year old is worth from 20s. to 25s. 1 1 0
 The eldest child attends the youngest, while the mother earns at spinning 6d. per week - - - - - 1 6 0
 Two or three hens will produce in eggs and chicken - - - - - 0 4 0
 In the long winter evenings, the husband cobbles shoes, mends the family clothes, and attends the children while the wife spins—Some husbands spin or knit stockings, make horse or oxen harnesses of stript and dried rushes, &c. for sale.

Total earnings £. 6 11 0

The produce of their garden and lands, and cow, give them what more meal they want above the two bolls already mentioned, with milk, potatoes, turnips, cabbage, greens, and ale at Christmas;—butchers meat none.

If by sickness, loss of cow or calf, or other accidents, they are reduced to poverty and real want, the Kirk Session and private charity support them during that time only:—or if their loss and wants be too much for the ordinary session charities, the minister intimates a collection to be made for them only next Sunday at church.

The same person, after his eldest child, whether boy or girl, is eight years old, begins to hold up his head; the boy keeps cattle or sheep, the girl spins linen yarn, and earns 6d. per week, some more. As the other children advance he becomes still more independant. When all boys, many of them learn to spin or knit stockings at a very early age.

CLASS SECOND.—Tradesmen, who have like houses, gardens, and grounds, for the like rent and services:—The only difference is, his employing his own time at his trade, which is generally more profitable, and enables him to live better.

In case of sickness or misfortune, he is relieved and supported as the other.

CLASS THIRD—Have a hut, near a peat-moss, from a farmer, for which they pay him from 12d. to 20d. a year, and what is called a rick (smoak) hen to the landlord, for the privilege of taking fuel of peats from the moss.

C c

While

While able, they beg through the parish and neighbourhood, and often live more comfortably than the first class. When through age or infirmity they cannot go out to beg, they are poorly off, if they have not laid up any thing in their begging days, (but this many of them do) being only supported by private charity or the Kirk Session, whose highest charity allowance is 1s. per week.

This Kirk Session Fund, which answers all the purposes of poor-rates, (assisted by private charity and occasional Sunday collections for particular persons) from the best information, does not, one country parish with another, exceed 15l. sterling a year. Some very few such parishes have a fund of 50l. or 100l. sterling benefactions of individuals, the interest of which goes in addition;—yet true it is that most parishes have more or less savings at interest from 50l. to 200l. sterling to answer bad years or great emergencies; and but for which, in 1783, some poor must have perished for want.

This is the truest state of our Country Peasantry. I meddle not with Towns, where tea and gin are introduced among the meanest;—their wages are higher, and constant employment more certain;—but gin debauches the morals of both sexes, and they are in general much less comfortable than the Country Peasants.

You have that most burthenfome, and misapplied, and mismanaged charity, *poor rates*, to encourage idleness and luxury, and, in addition to gin, to debauch morals and industry. The poor here, knowing the extent of what they have to expect from the kirk session, the great uncertainty of private charities, and that there is no legal obligation on the parish or publick for their support, [and instigated by a certain pride not to beg charity, or be on the poor list, which is looked on as degrading to their children] exert every nerve, and often indeed live poorly, to support themselves, and they succeed. We have extremely few wretched poor, nor ever heard of any part of a family starving for want.

We are indeed pestered with Highland Beggars throughout the summer, who sow their own grounds at home, then lock their doors, and come, man, wife, and children, to *for*n till harvest on the Low Country; and had we police (the name of which only is known here) to prevent these and other strollers, every parish could support their own poor comfortably in their own houses, at a less expence than these strangers cost the country, (which is often plundered by them) and we should have no beggars.

A. F.

OBSERVATIONS

OBSERVATIONS BY J. R.

The *Kirk Session Fund* arises from the ordinary Sunday collections, which are constantly made at church, each person according to his inclination contributing a farthing, a halfpenny, or penny.

It is worthy of being remarked, that the comfort of the first class arises chiefly from their having little spots of ground attached to their gardens, which helps out the maintenance of their family.

EAST-LOTHIAN.

ACCOUNTS OF TWO FAMILIES, BY H. SANGSTER, SEPT. 1789.

[COMMUNICATED BY MR. DEMPSTER, M. P.]

SIR,

AT your desire I have sent you the inclosed calculations, which have been made with as much care as possible from the different reports I have got. As we seldom meet with a family more numerous than a man, his wife, and four children under age, I have fixed upon it as the most expensive.

The income of both labourer and ploughman is above his expences, and should certainly be sufficient for procuring the mere necessaries of life. And you will see it is so, from the copies which are sent you along with this, of the articles of some societies in this county, the subscribers to which are mostly ploughmen and day-labourers. There are more of these societies in this county; and in a short time, it is almost certain, every labourer and ploughman will subscribe, as much benefit has been already derived from them, and their stocks are increasing fast.

Ten-pence per day, which is the highest rate of wages in this county, is stated without any deduction for loss by bad weather, because the labourer has the chance of increased wages for hay and harvest-work, and threshing in winter.

I have not stated, in the article of income, that the farmer furnishes ground for sowing a half peck of lintseed, and ground also for laying on their ashes for potatoes or barley, both of which might have been set down at twelve shillings.

The wife is supposed to work in harvest when she has a child that needs a keeper; for this reason, she gets a young girl to wait on her child, and her allowance for food, which is the same as a man's, is nearly sufficient for them both.

C c 2

Nothing

Nothing is stated for lying-in, or burials;—the former can only be calculated at an average of two shillings yearly: the latter tends to lessen the expences of the family.

YEARLY EXPENCES OF A LABOURER, HIS WIFE, AND FOUR CHILDREN UNDER AGE.

	£.	s.	d.
Eight bolls of meal, at 10d. per peck - - - - -	5	6	8
Two bolls of barley, at 16s. per boll	2	16	0
Two bolls of pease, at 12s. ditto } for bread - - - - -			
Salt 9s. 9d.—soap 8s. 8d.—candles 2s. 4d. - - - - -	1	0	9
One boll of barley, for the pot - - - - -	0	17	0
Coals 11s. 8d.—butcher's meat 10s. - - - - -	1	1	8
Clothing - - - - -	2	0	0
	£. 13	2	1

HIS YEARLY INCOME.

The man earns 10d. per day - - - - -	£. 13	0	0
His wife works 20 days in harvest, as rent for the house; her earnings therefore can only be - 2 9 0	15	9	0
Income above his expences	£. 2	6	11

THE YEARLY INCOME OF A FARMER'S PLOUGH-SERVANT, WITH A WIFE, AND FOUR CHILDREN UNDER AGE.

Money - - - - -	£. 3	8	0
Six bolls and a half of oat-meal - - - - -	4	6	8
One boll, three firlots of barley, at 16s. - - - - -	1	8	0
Three firlots of pease, at 12s. - - - - -	0	9	0
A cow - - - - -	4	0	0
His wife earns - - - - -	2	9	0
	17	4	8
His expences the same as a labourer's	13	2	1
Income above his expences	£. 4	2	7

N. B. A boll is about six bushels, five firlots make a boll.

ACCOUNT OF SIX FAMILIES IN THE COUNTY OF SUTHERLAND.

FROM MR. JOHN BOOKLESS TO JOHN FRASER, ESQ; CAMBUSMORE.

[COMMUNICATED BY HUGH SCOTT, ESQ.]

DEAR SIR,

Dunrabin Castle, 21st August, 1789.

INCLOSED I send you an exact account of the earnings of six different Day-Labourers, which I have extracted from the books that I keep, for three years back; these sent are the medium earnings. The additional aid of wife or children I took from the men's own reports, which I have reason to believe to be pretty exact:—Also, as to their expences, I think them equally just. These six families may be a sufficient rule for all the labourers that I have a concern with, to the number of eighty; and by what I can learn from others who employ labourers in Sutherland, I find a great similarity in their earnings, method of living, &c. I have not calculated the weekly earnings, owing to want of time; but that may be easily done from the year's earnings. I have allowed nothing for house or land rent: You know that the generality of labourers take up their residence bordering on some muir, and mofs—there they find materials for building a house, and plenty of mofs for fuel, besides pastures for their beasts. Those that have not these advantages, you will see how they live. No. 2, 3, 4, besides their real income, have an additional aid from the sea, when low water; such as lobster, crab, muscle, cockle, limpet, wilk, sand-eel, &c. make a very considerable support to their families. Salt water is a substitute in place of salt; and you know that it is laid down as an invariable rule, never to exceed their annual income; never to contract debts, excepting on account of indisposition or uncommon calamity; in such a case they take credit for a boll or two of bear or meal, which they regularly pay out of their next year's earnings. What enables them to build a house—purchase a cow—and some sheep; also the needful household furniture; is explained in No. 6.

(Signed) JOHN BOOKLESS.

EXPENCES

**EXPENCES AND EARNINGS OF SIX FAMILIES, BY THE YEAR,
IN THE COUNTY OF SUTHERLAND, 1789.**

No. I. A man, his wife, and three children, the eldest six years of age, the youngest a sucking infant.

EARNINGS.

	£.	s.	d.
The man earns each year, for three years back, at an average	5	10	0
The wife earns by spinning lint when able, and what spare-time she may have after the necessary attention to her children and other household affairs	-	-	0 15 0
A calf is reared yearly, and sold when two years old, brings at an average	-	-	- 1 5 0
	£.	7	19 0

EXPENCES.

Six bolls of bear and oat-meal at 14s. per boll	-	-	4 4 0
Ground-rent to a tenant for liberty to plant four pecks of potatoes	0	4	0
A raw hide bought for shoes, to which he gives a kind of dressing, costs 12s. which serves him and his family two years for shoes	-	-	0 6 0
Making the shoes	-	-	0 2 6
Wool bought 10s. besides what is shorn from a few sheep that he has pasturing on the hills and commons, affords clothing for the whole family	-	-	- 0 10 0

	£.	s.	d.
The wife spins the wool, and dyes the cloth for the different purposes. Dye stuffs	-	-	0 2 6
Pays for the weaving and dressing	0	5	0
To the taylor for making	-	-	0 5 0
Soap and blue, needles and pins	-	-	0 2 0
Handkerchiefs 1s. 6d. apron 1s. 6d. linen for a kips 1s. 6d. a bonnet which lasts two years 1s.	-	-	0 5 0
At Christmas holidays, and christenings, &c. cheese 2s. whisky 2s. ale 3s.—Poultry they rear themselves, which with potatoes compose the entertainment on these occasions	-	-	- 0 7 0
Potatoes bought for family use and seed	-	-	- 0 7 0
	£.	7	0 0

No. II. A man, his wife, and four children, the eldest twelve, the next ten years of age, the rest infants.

EARNINGS.

	£.	s.	d.
The man earns yearly	-	-	6 0 0
The wife by washing earn	-	-	1 5 0
The two eldest children being employed in planting and lifting potatoes, handhoing turnips and potatoes, earns about	-	-	- 1 10 0
	£.	8	15 0

EXPENCES.

	£.	s.	d.
Eight bolls of bear and oat-meal at 14s. - - -	5	12	0
Ground-rent for potatoes - - -	0	6	0
Shoes for man and family - - -	0	10	6
For cloth of different kinds - - -	1	0	0
Taylor for making and mending clothes - - -	0	6	6
Soap, blue, needles, and pins - - -	0	10	0
A bonnet, handkerchief, apron, and linen for a cap - - -	0	5	0
Christening entertainment - - -	0	5	0
	£. 8	15	0

No. III. A man, his wife, and one boy, the boy fourteen years of age.

EARNINGS.

The man earns yearly - - -	5	15	0
The wife by spinning, and sundry little works in the fields, such as planting potatoes, &c. - - -	2	5	0
The son at school earns nothing			
	£. 8	0	0

EXPENCES.

Five bolls of oat-meal at 14s. - - -	3	10	0
Ground-rent for potatoes - - -	0	3	0
Shoes for himself, wife, and son - - -	0	6	0
Clothes of different kinds - - -	1	0	0
Taylor for making and mending - - -	0	5	0
Soap, blue, needles and pins - - -	0	2	0
A bonnet, handkerchiefs, apron, &c. - - -	0	5	0
School fees for his son - - -	0	5	0
Potatoes bought - - -	0	16	0
Money saved - - -	1	8	0
	£. 8	0	0

No. IV. A man, his wife, and two children, the eldest four years old, the youngest two years.

EARNINGS.

The man earns yearly - - -	6	15	0
The wife, by her attention to her children, a cow, and a few sheep, earns nothing - - -	0	0	0
Sells a cow every second year at 3l. - - -	1	10	0
	£. 8	5	0

EXPENCES.

Six bolls of bear and oat-meal, at 14s. - - -	4	4	0
For shoes - - -	0	4	0
Wool produced from the sheep which he shears twice a year, affords clothing for himself and family, the wife spins and dyes it for the different purposes. Dye stuffs bought - - -	0	2	6
Pays for weaving and dressing - - -	0	5	0
Taylor for making and mending - - -	0	5	0
Soap, needles and pins - - -	0	2	0
Bonnet, handkerchief, apron, &c. - - -	0	5	0
Christening entertainment and holidays - - -	0	10	6
Potatoes bought for seed, and use of family - - -	0	18	0
Money saved - - -	1	9	0
	£. 8	5	0

No. V. A man, his wife, and five children, the eldest six years of age, the two youngest sucking infants and are twins.

EARNINGS.

The man earns yearly - - -	5	2	0
The wife nothing - - -	0	0	0
	5	2	0

EXPENCES.

	£.	s.	d.
Six bolls of bear and oat-meal, at 12s. is - - -	-	3	12 0
Ground-rent for potatoes -	-	0	6 0
Shoes for himself and wife -	-	0	3 4
Clothing of different kinds -	-	0	15 0
To the taylor for making and mending - - -	-	0	5 0
Soap, blue, needles and pins, &c. -	0	2	0
Entertainment at lying-in -	-	0	5 0
Bonnet, handkerchief, apron, &c. -	0	5	0
Potatoes for seed and family use -	0	16	0
In debt - - -	-	1	7 4
	£.	6	9 4

No. VI. A man unmarried.

Earns yearly - - -	-	6	18 5
EXPENCES. £. s. d.			
Two bolls one firlof of oat-meal	1	11	6
Potatoes bought - - -	-	0	10 0
Shoes, two pair - - -	-	0	3 4
Clothes of different kinds - -	-	1	0 0
Pays for washing 1s. soap for sha- ving, razor, &c. 6d. - - -	-	0	1 6
Buys a little milk where it can be got - - -	-	0	2 0
At particular times to make merry with his friends, spends - - -	-	0	5 0
Saves annually, which enables him to take up house - - -	-	3	5 1
	£.	6	18 5



The Author, in testimony of his respect for the Right Hon. Earl Malmesbury, has the honor of laying before his Lordship the accompanying Letter, on a subject of great national importance.

Upper Harley Street—

Dec. 1807. —

LETTER

SIR WILLIAM PITT

MEMORANDUM FOR HIS MAJESTY

THE SECRET OF

THE TRADE BETWEEN INDIA

AND CHINA

[Faint, illegible handwritten text follows]

A
LETTER
TO
SIR WILLIAM PULTENEY, BART.
MEMBER FOR SHREWSBURY,
ON
THE SUBJECT OF
THE TRADE BETWEEN INDIA AND EUROPE.

BY
SIR GEORGE DALLAS, BART.
MEMBER FOR NEWPORT.

“ I insist upon it, as a firm and incontrovertible principle, that
“ Commerce can only flourish when it is equal and free.”
HASTINGS'S MEMOIRS OF INDIA.

London:
PRINTED FOR JOHN STOCKDALE, OPPOSITE BURLINGTON HOUSE, PICCADILLY;
AND JOSEPH MAWMAN, IN THE POULTRY.
BY T. GILLET, SALISBURY SQUARE.

1802.

A
LETTER

TO
SIR WILLIAM PULTENEY, BART.

SIR,

THE subject on which I am about to address you, is too important in its nature not to have excited a lively interest in a mind like yours, that seems to derive its best existence from witnessing the prosperity it labours to promote. At length the Question between the Public and the East India Company, relating to the Trade between India and Europe, has been brought before the Legislature; and the Nation is indebted to your watchful regard for its welfare, for directing its attention to a subject so every way deserving of its consideration. It is fitting that the individual whose eloquence and wisdom, on former occasions, sustained, with such distinguished weight, the rights of the East India Company, animated by the same patriotism, should again come forward to vindicate their best interests, and give just effect to the spirit of their Charter.

To those who are sensible of the value of our possessions in India, and are alive to the prosperity of these United Kingdoms, it can

B

never be a question of indifference in what manner these valuable dependencies can be rendered most productive to Great Britain, and their own internal prosperity be most effectually advanced. And this question acquires increased importance at the present juncture, from the different opinions entertained on the subject of the Trade between India and Europe, by the most experienced and respectable individuals; and from the appeal that has been made to the East India Proprietary on the one hand, by the Court of Directors, and to Parliament on the other, by the Public and the Free Merchants of British India.

I am sensible, Sir, I can offer to you but little on a subject with which you are more deeply conversant; and yet I feel a disposition to press upon your attention the national principles connected with this important question. Nor is this in any respect the effect of a rash and hasty determination. The subject is momentous; and I do it upon reflection, that if there should be a point of view in which it has offered itself to my mind, but that has, among many others of equal importance, escaped your attention, I may have the satisfaction of bringing that point under your eye, when it will receive a critical, as well as a just and candid investigation.

In considering what is the nature and extent of the Export Trade of British India, and how that Trade can be most advantageously and effectually brought to the Port of London, to which much of the spirit of the question belongs, I have perused, with great attention, not only the Report of the Court of Directors, published for the use of the Proprietary, and the Observations of Mr. Henschman thereon, but likewise every document therein referred to, that appears to me to bear on the question. I have thought much on the subject. I

have contrasted the various opinions scattered throughout these voluminous productions: the Company's Charter, and the claims of the Free Merchants, have equally been before my eye. I have given an attentive consideration to each. I have devoted every faculty of my mind to master the relative situation of both parties. I have compared their reciprocal opinions with the local knowledge and experience which many years of service in high situations in the Company's employ enabled me to acquire: and the general result of these united means of arriving at a clear opinion of the subject, I shall now proceed to unfold.

In opening my reflections to you on this important question, I should observe, that I embarked in it not without a considerable bias in favour of the opinion of the Court of Directors; and indeed not without something of a determination to support their Resolutions. The weight due to so pure and respectable an authority; the disposition which has long existed in the minds of many individuals to annihilate the Company's Charter, and to throw open their Trade, to the general detriment not less of British India than of Great Britain, and which but too well justifies the vigilance and caution of the Directors; the obligations which individually I owe to the Company, and the duty which, growing out of the public interest, binds me to resist any such attempt; all contributed to prejudice me against opinions which were not in accordance with the sentiments of such respectable authority. On general principles it seemed to me, that a Body thus constituted, who, to superior information and talent, united the advantage of a disinterested consideration of the subject, were more likely to have arrived at an accurate result, than those who, to inferior means of judging, joined a direct personal interest, to warp

their judgments, in the question at issue between them and the Company. With these prepossessions, I gave my mind to the subject.

Candour, however, now impels me, on the fullest investigation of the Report of the Court of Directors, to renounce these prejudices, and to state the reasons which influence me to draw an opposite conclusion from themselves on this momentous subject.

I am well aware of my own incapacity to embrace, perhaps, all the considerations which belong to this important question. I can only pretend, at least, to appreciate it impartially. Beyond my situation as a Proprietor, I have no other interest in the subject, than what grows out of zeal to promote the true interests of the Company and the Nation. I am aloof from the struggle myself; and actuated only by public motives, I meet the question with a calm, dispassionate, and disinterested mind. Perhaps this may secure to my opinion an indulgence to which otherwise I am sensible it is not entitled.

The question is undoubtedly of the first magnitude and importance, and acquires not only a new degree of interest in the public mind, from the Peace that has recently been concluded, but derives also fresh claims for immediate decision, from the consideration that the first effects of that Peace will be a struggle, on the part of foreign Nations, to renew their influence in the East, and defeat the attempt of rendering Great Britain the general Emporium of the Commerce of that quarter of the Globe.

In point of fact, it is a great State Question. First, of *Political Economy*—next, of *Commercial Policy*. Upon what principles ought the

State to govern its Indian possessions, so as to increase their productive powers? This is the first branch. Under what regulations ought the Trade of the East Indies to be conducted, with a view to the joint benefit of both Empires? This is the second branch. A question of this nature and extent is to be reached only on the broad ground of those great and fundamental principles of State Policy, which, immutable in their nature, are the day stars of national wealth and prosperity. And if the Court of Directors mean to meet it fairly, on the principle admitted by themselves in their Report, "*that the interests of the State and the Company are inseparable,*" they must abandon their counting-houses, and their little prejudices, and elevating their minds, on a legislative pedestal, to the height of their duties, embrace the prospects, and the destinies of the millions over whose interests, and happiness, Providence and the Nation have raised them to be the guardians.

I am led into this reflection, by an attentive perusal of the Report drawn up by Mr. Charles Grant, one of the Directors, to whose abilities, attachment to the Company, and indefatigable zeal to promote their interests, I am proud to add, from personal knowledge, the feeble tribute of my own testimony and grateful acknowledgment as a Proprietor. From the general style and substance of the Report, it would seem, however, as if, on this occasion, the observation of Adam Smith had escaped his attention. "*But a Company of Merchants are, it seems, incapable of considering themselves as Sovereigns, even after they have become such. By a strange absurdity they regard the character of the Sovereign as but an appendix to that of Merchant. Their mercantile habits draw them in this manner almost necessarily, though perhaps insensibly, to prefer, upon all ordinary occasions, the little transitory*

"profit of the Monopolist to the great and permanent revenue of the Sovereign." Precisely, in my humble opinion, does this observation apply to Mr. Grant's Report. It creeps, like a Merchant, but never walks as a Sovereign.

In all questions of this nature, involving not less the Trade, than the general system of Policy by which the Government of British India is to be administered, the East India Company are to be considered in their complex capacity of Sovereigns and Merchants. In these different relations, they have not only separate but jarring interests. What may be for their advantage as Sovereigns may be detrimental to them as Merchants. Hence Cicero, speaking of his own times and nation, said, that he did not like that the same People should be at once Lords and Factors. Since, however, the policy of the State has wisely, for purposes not within the range of this observation, invested the Company with these opposite capacities, their duty is to harmonize them as much as possible for the benefit of both, by making the lesser subservient to the greater interests. The Trade of the Company, from its spirit of internal and foreign monopoly, has a natural tendency to weaken their interests as Sovereigns. But their Revenue is of more importance than their Trade. It therefore claims a preferable consideration. As Sovereigns, their interest is exactly the same with that of the country they govern. As Merchants, their interest is opposite to that interest. To realize and improve the revenue is their first object. The revenues are to be improved by animating the industry of the Natives, and shackling it with as few restraints as possible. Smith well observes, *"Almost every State draws its revenue from the People. The greater their profits the more they can afford to the State. It is therefore the interest of the Company to increase as much as pos-*

“ sible these profits. If this is the interest of every Sovereign, it is peculiarly so of one whose Revenue, like that of the Sovereign of Bengal, arises chiefly from a land rent ; that rent must necessarily be in proportion to the quantity and value of the produce.” Hence the Company ought, primarily, to consider their situation as Sovereigns ; secondarily, their capacity as Merchants. Their commerce should bend to the general policy of their Empire, and not their Empire to the general principles of their Commerce. It is of less consequence to them that their own Trade should thrive than the general Commerce of their territories. In their altered situation, invested with the sovereignty of British India, and possessing a greater stake in its Revenues than its Commerce (which, since their Imperial elevation, is become only the channel of remitting the surplus tribute of their Revenues), they ought always, as Lords of the soil, to consider, first, what becomes them as Sovereigns ; next, what befits them as Merchants ; and all their commercial Policy and Regulation should be founded in the principle of rendering the connection between British India and these United Kingdoms as beneficial as possible to both Empires, animating the industry, stimulating the productive powers, and contributing to the comfort, wealth, and security of each other. To improve the Revenues of British India, to expand the spheres of British and Asiatic industry, to realize the larger and more permanent profit arising from the Revenues of the East, to prevent British capital from fostering the Commerce and Navigation of rival European Nations, to open to it the means of directly reaching and enriching the Mother Country, to improve the Trade, Navigation, and Revenue of the Parent Empire, to open new sources of prosperity to the natives of our provinces, without injuring the interests of other classes of British subjects, or trenching on the rights of independent Nations, and finally, by a wise and pro-

vident line of political economy, and a well devised system of judicious commercial Policy, to quicken and increase the prosperity of our Eastern Dependencies, and realize the just expectations of the Public, on the renewal of the Charter of the Company ; all these are the great and Imperial duties of the Rulers of British India ; and these are the principles they should bear in their minds when they come to the consideration of this important question. Many of them appear to me to have escaped the attention of Mr. Grant, who, in his zeal to defend the monopoly of the Merchant, has turned from considering the interests of the Sovereign. The question is not whether (as Mr. Grant complains) the Free Merchants are advancing new pretensions, but what will be the effect of complying with these, on the general interests of both Kingdoms. Will it either invade the fair spirit of the Charter of the Company, or disturb their own commercial system ? If so ; in what respect, and to what extent ? If it does neither, or even if, in a degree, it should slightly appear to touch on a dormant commercial privilege, never exercised, nor sought to be enjoyed ; if it should contribute more largely to the improvement of their revenues, by widening the channels of native industry, then in the pursuit of a greater end, perhaps sound Policy may suggest the propriety of departing a little from the rigid spirit of Monopoly, by suffering the capital and the industry of the British resident Merchants, to convert a Trade, not occupied by themselves, but largely engrossed by their rivals, into a source of enriching the Company, the Nation, and the natives of the East, instead of, as now, contributing to increase the wealth and navigation of foreign States.

It will occur to you, that a question of this nature is not to be surveyed by a glance. We must stand upon an eminence to command

its view. This eminence is the volume of India, resting on the base of local knowledge and experience: and it is by looking back on the past that we acquire maxims of wisdom to regulate our conduct in future. This naturally leads me to look at the early situation of the Company, in the commencement of its elevation, when the genius of a Clive grasped the sceptre of the East, and, raising us from Merchants into Sovereigns, extended the range of our duties, and our interests.

In this point of view, the then, and the present, state of Bengal naturally arrest our attention. Our conquest gave us possession of a kingdom unrivalled in point of fertility, the variety of its produce, and the excellence of its manufactures. It was the great influx of bullion from all parts of the world. Dehly more than repaid its tribute by pouring its riches into the immense commerce of Bengal. Specie flowed in by a thousand channels now dried up. The Gulfs of Mocha and Persia added their contingents. All the European Companies formed their investments with money brought into the country. The Dutch imported annually thirty-six or forty lacks on a medium of ten years before our conquest. The Danes, and other foreign nations, added to the supply. Our own importations were considerable. Not less than one crore of rupees (£1,250,000) was the annual importation of European nations; the whole Continent of India fed the stream, and Bengal became, by its manufactures, the centre of attraction for the bullion of near and distant nations: the Merchant was enriched, the Manufacturer was encouraged, and the Subject and the Sovereign were equally pleased.* This stream of national wealth, majestic as the sacred river of its inhabitants, had poured upon them its silver current from the darkest days of

* Verelst.

time, and their climate and their prosperity alike contributed to christen their kingdom, in their own figurative language, "the Paradise of Regions."

Thus flowing with abundance, we became the masters of these rich dominions ; and such was their condition, and their means of prosperity, in the days of Sujah Khan, some years prior to their passing under our yoke, when the duties paid into the Exchequer of Bengal amounted to no less a sum than eight hundred thousand pounds per annum.

One of the first effects of our conquest was to drain the sources from whence this prosperity flowed. In some measure it was the unavoidable result of our situation : possessed of the revenues of the country, they yielded a considerable surplus, after defraying the expences of maintaining our conquest, without which it would only have proved burthensome to retain. This surplus could only be remitted home through the medium of the manufactures of the country. Its amount was therefore thus applied. The necessity for any further importation of bullion was done away. The Company's supplies ceased ; not only they no longer imported bullion, but they exported a vast mass (near a million then) of the manufactures of the country, paid for by its own specie. *Here, Sir, was the origin of the first drains on British India.* In our conquest are to be traced the seeds of its decline. But the mischief did not cease here. The new mine presented to us by these sudden acquisitions was conceived to be inexhaustible, and from this delusive notion sprang a considerable portion of the subsequent embarrassments experienced by the Company. By the most improvident and ruinous policy, the Company, in the intoxication of their success, overlooking all the maxims of prudence, and the plainest principles of political economy, quickened, by their own mismanagement, the decay of a kingdom it was their interest to cherish, and their duty to protect.

A too eager desire to derive advantage from their new acquisitions—a greedy and impolitic pressure of insatiable demands for increased investments—a fluctuating, impoverishing, and depopulating system of letting their lands—extensive and annual exports of specie to China, and their settlements on the coasts, gradually swelling up to the enormous annual amount, in 1784, of one crore of rupees, equalling in the *export of specie* the whole amount of its *former import*, prior to our conquest: making thereby a difference to Bengal of between two and three millions sterling annually, in a country possessed of no mines of its own. These were the early evils of the Company's administration, which a wiser policy might have greatly lightened. But if the mischief here had ceased, still its ravages would have been but slowly perceptible. Other causes contributed to hasten them into early view. Dehly, in the confusion of the Empire losing its authority and splendour, no longer poured its wealth into Bengal. The Company, in their capacity of Dewan to the Empire, annually drained it, by an inland export of fifty lacks, to pay the King's tribute. But even here the drain ceased to stop. The revolution which thus enriched the Company, so as to render their exporting bullion for their investments no longer necessary, had also the prejudicial effect of throwing the larger fortunes of individuals, growing out of such a change, into the hands of foreign nations, from the Company devising no method to remit them themselves, which enabled these nations, with our own money, to rival us in trade in our own territories. Instead of striking at the evil by counteraction, the Company increased it by restrictions; which only proved, in their effect, that harsh and impolitic laws but aggravate the evils they seek to subdue. *Here, Sir, was the origin of the growth of the Foreign Clandestine Trade.* These restrictions, and the neglect on the part of the Company, as Mr. Grant admits, “to add just their measures to the policy which this new situation of things ought

“ *to have dictated,*” had the consequence, which better reflection might have foreseen, of throwing a great mass of British capital into the hands of foreign Companies, who, in consequence, very naturally imitated the unavoidable policy of the Company, by employing the specie of the country to pay for its own manufactures. And hence, for a considerable while, they likewise ceased importing bullion to pay for their investments.

Thus, Sir, the channels of trade which had before contributed to the riches of Bengal, now turned against it, and centered wholly with European nations, whose commerce was at all times least beneficial to the country. Under this depressive change a balance of above one third of its whole yearly value now occurred. In the five years next succeeding the grant of the Dewanny, our exports from thence had already amounted to upwards of £.1,500,000 in bullion, besides bills and goods to the extent of the further sum of £.3,700,000 : when we look at these drains—when we contemplate the effect of this mistaken policy—when we trace, as a consequence from our conquest, that its most prominent result was to dam the sources of supply, and drain the channels of its wealth, by arresting the influx of foreign riches, and narrowing the springs of native industry—when we see that, in the short space of ten years after our conquest, the most alarming distress ensued—when we consider that the European exports from Bengal in that period amounted to the enormous sum of sixty millions sterling*—when the records of the Company prove, that in the short space of nine years, from the year 1757 to the commencement of the gold coinage in the year 1766, (into which they were driven by the almost total disappearance of silver) that Bengal had lost, by deficiencies in the usual imports of bullion, and by exportation of silver, more than eight millions sterling, not reckoning the

* Verelst.

sums exported privately by individuals—can we wonder at the consequent decline of Indian arts and manufactures, and that their records are crowded with complaints on this subject, from the days of Lord Clive to perhaps the present hour, teeming with the most painful pictures of public and private distress, representing the rapid ruin that threatened their possessions in the East, deprecating their own policy, and calling upon them, vainly calling upon them, for a system more conformable by its policy, and its justice, not less to the interests of the conquerors, than the claims of the vanquished.

In this way faded the prosperity of Bengal; and one of the earliest effects of our conquest was the rapid decline of its splendour.

At length the cry of India was heard. What then became the duty of the Sovereign? All felt the evil, the question was the remedy. The most obvious relief that occurred was to invert, if possible, the system to which this decline was chiefly to be ascribed, by endeavouring to make some of those streams flow back into the country which had formerly contributed so much to its prosperity. It became a better policy to stimulate these streams by opening new sources of opulence to the industry of the inhabitants. Already has the introduction of the cultivation of indigo secured to them a new and most valuable branch of commerce. To encourage the influx of bullion, by compelling (through judicious encouragement to our own subjects) foreign nations to trade on their own capital, to establish a system of revenue more consonant to the interests of the Company, and better calculated to secure the allegiance and conciliate the affections of the natives; to quicken the productive powers of these invaluable provinces, by opening to the field of their industry the

animated scene of more extended markets ; to revive and expand public confidence by purifying the fountains of distributive justice; and finally, to bind the whole, by substituting a Government of unity and responsibility, for one of discord and impunity ; these were the leading features of improvement that appeared to be wanting in the condition of the country, to render it a durable acquisition of glory, and advantage to the Empire.

To retrieve the effects of that erroneous policy by which the affairs of the Company had been involved in these embarrassments, and to arrest the further decay of our valuable possessions in the East, the control of the Legislature appeared to be wanting, not only in the appropriation of the Revenues, but in the general regulation of their Government. Hence, in the Act of 1784, for better regulating these provinces, and in the creation of the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India, a new epoch opens in the history of British India. And when I turn to all that has been effected under its superintendence, when I contemplate the improvements which have taken place since its original institution, in the year 1784, in the general condition of all classes of society, Native and European, in the mode of realizing the revenues, in the administration of civil and criminal justice, in the protection afforded to hereditary rights entombed in the gulph of our conquest, in the increased securities given to property, and to persons, and in the renewed springs afforded to public industry by the beneficial change which these improvements have produced in the condition, and in the hopes of the many millions whose destinies they have embraced, I hail with joy the morning of that enlightened system of policy by which the wounds of British India may be healed, and the faded prosperity of Bengal be recovered.

With a Board thus constituted, to watch over the prosperity of British India, and repair, in conjunction with the Company, the baneful effects of a past mischievous policy, what were its early duties, on the renewal of the Company's Charter, in the year 1793? To see all the provisions of this Act, if possible, realized, and the principles in which it is founded, fairly applied to the interests and situation of all the parties to whom this Act has reference.

This leads me, Sir, to consider, in what principle did the Charter originate? First, it was thought more wise, with the experience of all the benefit resulting from it, to continue the present system of Indian policy, founded on the basis of old established practice, than to adopt any plausible theory, for the purpose of experiment; and it was concluded with justice, not only that the freedom and security of the British Constitution depended on withholding from the dominion of the Crown the vast patronage of the East, but that the revenue and trade of our Asiatic possessions were so interwoven together, that it was impossible to separate them without danger to our independence, and ruin to the customs arising from them to the British Empire. On this principle, the medium of a Company was preferred, as the most beneficial mode of holding the sovereignty of British India in trust for the people of Great Britain. But, in conceding this to the East India Proprietary, Parliament felt that a notion prevailed, that this system might still be preserved, and yet the Trade between both countries be considerably improved, to the benefit of the Manufacturers of Great Britain, and of British India, and of the revenues of both States. Parliament felt, as Mr. Ruffel, the late Solicitor to the Board of Commissioners, observes, in his work entitled, "Plans for British India," that in renewing the Charter of the Company, care should be taken " *that the Commerce of Great Britain to the East Indies be*

*“ maintained in its full vigour ; neither curbed in its spirit, nor diverted into
“ a foreign channel, but exciting the industry of our Artizans and Manufac-
“ turers, the confidence of our Merchants, and a liberal spirit of general com-
“ merce.”* It saw in British India two branches of Commerce—a minor portion, embraced by the Company’s capital, constituting the Company’s own Trade, which, by means of their investment, was the channel of remitting home their surplus revenues; and next a major part, termed the Surplus Trade, rejected by the Company, left open to foreign nations, and to British subjects residing in India under the Company’s licence; and of which Surplus Trade a considerable part centered in the ports of foreign Europe, and was chiefly alimented with British capital. In what articles it consisted it is here unnecessary to enumerate. It was the object of the Legislature to preserve the former exclusively for the Company; and to secure, if possible, by adequate encouragement, a fair proportion of the latter for the Public, as the means of enlarging the sphere of commercial intercourse between Great Britain and its Eastern dependencies. The Nation felt, after conceding in trust its sovereignty over these to the Company, that the Public had a right to participate in that remaining branch of Trade which the Company’s investment did not embrace, which foreigners to our detriment monopolized, and which, if brought home to this country by British resident Merchants, would have the beneficial effect, in the first instance, of improving our own Trade and Navigation; and in the next, of promoting the prosperity of British India, by compelling foreign nations to abandon British capital, and have recourse again to bullion, chiefly to carry on their trade with British India. Over the former branch, then, Parliament abandoned its control; over the latter, it specially preserved, by distinct enactments, its right of interference. Provision, therefore, was made to attain this end, on the renewal of the Company’s Charter. The Nation felt it was defrauding

the public revenue to carry this surplus produce to foreign ports with British capital; and that impolitic regulation, on the part both of the Company and of the Legislature, by originally diverting it into a foreign channel, might be considered as the parent author of the fraud. To make it flow, therefore, into its natural course, was the object of the Legislature; first, by repealing these restrictions; and next, by holding out better encouragement to the British Manufacturer to enlarge his exports by the lure of cheaper freight, and by equally encouraging the natives of the East to raise, increase, and export such raw materials as are either applicable to our manufactures, or in demand in our home markets.

Thus, the main commercial purposes to be accomplished, by the renewal of the Charter of the Company in 1793, were—to encourage the Export Trade of our manufactures to India to the utmost extent of the demands of that country; to promote the importation of the raw materials produced in British India applicable to our manufactures; to forward these ends through the medium of “reasonable freights;” to check the growth of foreign Clandestine Trade, by affording to British resident individuals the means of remitting their fortunes directly to the Mother Country; and lastly, to promote the prosperity of British India, by opening new channels of trade to the industry of its inhabitants, and to improve the Trade, Revenue, and Navigation of these United Kingdoms, by making the Port of London the grand Emporium of the Commerce of India.

Here, then, we arrive at the foundations on which we are to stand in reviewing this question. In these principles originated the renewal of the Company's Charter in the year 1793. From these principles the du-

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ties of the Directors, and the Board of Control, are to be traced. Certain rights are vested in the Company: certain rights are secured to the Public. Over the latter Parliament is the guardian. To give effect, therefore, to these principles, is the joint duty, both of the Board of Control and of the East India Company; and to construe liberally, not less the spirit than the provisions in this Act, is at all times as much the duty as the interest of the Company. If, in the exercise of such rights as are vested in the Public by the Act of 1793, individuals should feel themselves fettered by any regulations, or usages of the Company, tending evidently in their nature to defeat the fair construction and spirit of this Act, and that they should be at issue with the Company, in respect of their operation, it will hardly be maintained that, in such a case, it is not for a higher and more impartial tribunal than either to decide between the parties. To maintain the converse doctrine would be to assert that either are entitled to be the judges in their own cause. The case was foreseen, and provision was made to meet it in their Charter, by allowing of appeal in the first instance to the Board of Control, and in the last, to the King in Council.

To facilitate the attainment of those desirable ends, I have stated, the first evil to be corrected was the continuance of that Clandestine Trade carried on with British capital under foreign flags, which was equally injurious to the prosperity of Bengal, the interests of the Company, and the Trade, Navigation and Customs of these United Kingdoms. This Trade, fostered by our own impolicy, had long been the subject of watchful jealousy, and reiterated complaint on the part of our Governments in India. So early as the year 1766, the Company were warned of its dangerous tendency by the Government of Bengal. Their Servants apprised them, at that early period of their power, that British capital

was enriching rival European Nations, and that a wiser policy might pour it into the Parent lap. They represented to the Court of Directors the bad effects likely to ensue from the growth of this Foreign Clandestine Trade, and earnestly called upon them to check its further progress, by devising a method of enabling the Company's Servants, and other British Residents, to remit their own fortunes by some other channel than through the medium of loans to foreign Companies, for bills on Europe, assuring them that, in the event of their neglecting so to do, the French, the Dutch, and the Danes, would not only be enabled to provide early and valuable investments, but that Bengal and its dependencies would be deprived of a very considerable addition of bullion to the current specie which those nations would otherwise be obliged to import every year. Two obvious modes of relief occurred: either to open the Company's treasury to individuals for bills on Europe—or to permit them to remit their fortunes directly home through the medium of the Surplus Commerce not embraced by the Company's investment in the way now pursued. The former was more liable to difficulty than the latter; but neither was adopted. Progressively therefore the evil increased; and only sustained a check when the Company's wants compelled them to open their treasury to the fortunes of individuals, which shewed that the Trade was clandestine but from necessity, and not from choice. Already, in the year 1771, the exportation of Bengal manufactures by the several European Companies had increased to more than £.700,000 beyond the extent of their former investments, wholly purchased with money received from private individuals. Governors Verelst, Cartier, Hastings, Sir John Macpherson, Lords Cornwallis, Teignmouth, and Wellesley, have added their testimonies to the opinions of preceding Governors, have equally deprecated the evil, and implored the remedy. In the year 1785, almost the whole Surplus Trade of the country centered

with the Danes.* The ships which imported at Serampore that year were no less than twenty-two in number, amounting in their aggregate to near 11,000 tons; and they returned to foreign Europe with cargoes chiefly purchased with British capital, which a wiser policy might have landed in the River Thames. And what has been the consequence of this improvident system? Not only injury to the Company, the natives of India, and subjects of Great Britain; but what aggravates the evil—by fostering the wealth and navigation of a rival Power, by injudiciously strengthening its little capital with our larger credit, we have the better enabled it, in an hour of difficulty and public danger, to raise against us an ungrateful arm. It is not too much to say, that by thus encouraging foreigners, and discouraging our own subjects, since our acquisition of the Dewannee, and the extension of our territories on the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar, that upwards of twenty millions sterling have been exported from the Company's provinces to foreign Europe, which, under better regulation, would have centered in the Port of London, to the infinite advantage of the British Nation.

But it is not only the Nation that has suffered by the continuance of this Clandestine Trade. The Company have themselves experienced all those effects from it which were predicted as likely to ensue by their Servants, when first its consequences presented themselves to their view. To you, Sir, who are so familiar with the history of India, and who have so often had their records in your view, it is no new matter to state the reiterated complaints of the Court of Directors of the increase of the prime cost of the goods composing the investments from British India, and of the debasement of their quality. What has occasioned these evils, but the great growth of the Trade of foreign Nations? In India they raise the market on the Company, and in Europe they undersell

* Hastings' Memoirs.

them. Hence arise the doubts whether we really trade with British India to a profit, or the reverse. Can there be any doubt but that the Company's sales are materially affected by this illicit intercourse with foreign Europe? Thus British capital, which might be directed so as not to interfere with the Company, is not only made the instrument of advancing the cost of their investments in India, but of likewise diminishing the amount of the produce of them in Europe. This capital has hitherto directly interfered with the Company's exclusive Trade. The policy of the State is now to turn it into another channel as productive to itself, and not injurious to the Company.

The evil of thus admitting British capital to foster the Trade of rival European Nations, has long been generally admitted, and the remedy as loudly claimed. To arrive at the remedy we must trace it through the causes of the mischief. What are these? The want of a regular channel of remittance for the fortunes of individuals, through the Company's treasury: the greater benefit accruing to individuals from either lending their money to foreign Companies, or being concerned themselves in prosecuting this Clandestine Trade under a foreign flag: the temptations held out to them to prosecute this Illicit Commerce, by importing at Serampore, Chinsura, or Chandernagore, and exporting directly to foreign Europe, whereby they avoid, both on their arrival and departure, the port duties of Calcutta, the Government customs of Great Britain, and the cost of transit on re-exportation, consisting of wharfage, warehouse-room, freight, insurance, &c. &c.: to which may be added, what is material to attend to, the cheaper rate of freight at which foreign vessels can sail to and from British India. These are among the most obvious causes which have contributed to encourage the growth of this Clandestine Trade.

How are they to be met ? Not by restriction, as I have already said, but by counteraction. We must apply the rule of experience to this case as a safer guide to trust to, than any light arising from abstract reasoning. Experience has proved the severest restrictions to fail, and partial counteraction in a degree to succeed. What then does good policy suggest, but to pursue the principle of counteraction to the extent of allowing it to operate so far as to meet the design of the Legislature, by grappling with the mischief. What is the principle of counteraction ? To supplant the Trade of Foreigners, by the wise application of just commercial principles : to enable the British resident Merchant, by adequate encouragement, to meet them in the markets of India and Europe ; for this purpose what is necessary ? That he should be enabled to purchase more cheaply in the markets of India than the Foreigner, and if possible undersell him in the markets of Europe ? What are the impediments to this ? The duties of Calcutta, and customs of Great Britain, the cheaper rate of freight to which the foreigner is subject in the transit of his goods, and his superior facility of ingress and egress to and from British India. Modify the former, and let the skill of the British Merchant remedy the latter, by availing himself in the pursuit of a cheaper freight, of the natural (not forced or artificial) means growing out of the productive powers of our Asiatic possessions, and clandestine Commerce will perish—lawful Trade will enlarge its sphere ; superior skill and capital will exclude foreign nations from the contest—new security will be added to our Eastern Empire ; the Company's monopoly will not be touched, and renovated prosperity will impart new lustre to these fertile and extensive provinces, and reward the industry of their inhabitants. This is simply the system by which the productive powers of British India may be increased, and its united produce be made to centre in the port of London ; and in this the secret consists of adding wealth and strength

to the Company's provinces and the Parent State, and of realizing the ends of the Legislature by the Act of 1793.

To give effect to this system was the object of the Legislature ; and in pursuit of this object its early care, on the renewal of the Company's Charter in 1793, was to endeavour, if possible, to annihilate a trade so destructive of the interests of the Company and the State ; and by giving it a better course, through the channel of a more liberal policy, to render it the instrument of increasing the exports of British Manufactures, of enlarging the resources of British India, by multiplying its produce, and of improving the Trade, Navigation, and Customs of Great Britain, by making that produce, as far as British capital could embrace it, chiefly centre here. The policy of the Legislature appears to have been, by reserving certain rights to the Public under this Act, capable in their exercise of attaining this end, to make, if possible, (as Mr. Dundas has well stated it) "*the whole Trade and produce of India in the first instance centre in Great Britain, either for the consumpt of this country, or for re-exportation to supply the wants of other countries.*"* The British Manufacturer, the Indian Artisan, and the British resident Merchant (the intermediate link between both); these were the three parties whose industry, skill, and enterprize, it was the immediate object of the Legislature to cherish and promote. The British Manufacturer was to be furnished with the means of exporting to the fullest extent the produce of his industry, and of bringing back the raw materials from India ; the native Artisan was to be encouraged to quicken and enlarge his produce ; the Free Merchant was to be incited to abandon the clandestine commercial intercourse, which hitherto necessity had compelled him to maintain with foreign nations, and to make his industry and capital as much as

* Letter to the Committee of Ship-Builders, July, 1797.

possible the means of benefiting both the Company and the Nation, by providing for them a channel of direct communication with the Parent State; to individuals in general, scope was to be given to the remittance of their fortunes from abroad—and for the Country at large, by these means, was to be realized the hope of finally crushing this Clandestine Trade, and of making it centre in the River Thames. These were the main commercial objects to be accomplished by the Act of Parliament of 1793, and the relative situation of all these parties must be in our minds, when we are looking at the principles, and examining into the effect of this Act.

In tracing the several commercial provisions contained in this Act, we may plainly observe, that, with a view to the joint prosperity of British India and Great Britain, Parliament inferred that the system the most to be desired was that which, not infringing on the Company's exclusive Trade, increased the exports of British manufactures, and enlarged the imports of Asiatic produce; and consequently had in its contemplation to encourage, by every practicable facility, the means by which so beneficial an end might be attained. The means originally in the contemplation of the Legislature, was a "*reasonable rate of freight*," whereby goods of much bulk, but not of proportional value, might, on the one hand, be carried to the Eastern, and on the other be brought home to the British market, notwithstanding their distance from each other, so as still to afford a reasonable profit to the adventurer. The Legislature therefore bound the Company to become parties to this end, by compelling them to appropriate 3000 tons, at the least, annually to the Private Trade of individuals to and from India. The means therefore, which lying within the limits of the rights vested in the Public to participate in this Private Trade by the Act of 1793, but realize the views

of Parliament, compatibly with the principles already stated, and the rights conferred on the Company by this Act, are those which good policy invite the Nation to adopt.

There are two ways of prosecuting this end. First, in the manner provided for by the Act of 1793, obliging the Company to supply the tonnage required. Next, by allowing individuals to send home this surplus produce on India-built Shipping. Which of these modes is the best adapted to accomplish the intentions of the Legislature? Let us examine them separately.

First, the statutable tonnage. How far has this provision answered the original design of the Legislature, of modifying the monopoly of the Company, so as to throw open this surplus market to the capital of British Subjects, and make it centre in Great Britain? Certainly, but feebly. In many respects it has proved very insufficient. In the first place, it fell infinitely short of the quantity required, which, on an average of five years subsequent to the Act of 1793, has not been less than 5000 tons annually. In the next, it was provided irregularly by the Company, and at uncertain and inconvenient periods. The surplus demand, not merely for individuals, but likewise for the Company's own wants, was met with India Shipping by the Government of Bengal. Occasionally, in consequence of the war, the Company were unable to provide any portion of the tonnage thus allotted to individuals by the Act of 1793. Twice has the whole nearly been provided by the Government in India. The rate of freight was still too high, combined with other charges, to encourage the British Manufacturer to export his own commodities, although below the actual rate at which this freight was charged to the

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Company. And lastly, the exercise of this privilege was attended with such inconvenience to the Free Merchants, arising out of the regulations of the Company, as, in point of fact, almost to defeat its end. In regard to the British Manufacturer, Mr. Dundas states, in his Letter to the Chairman of the Court of Directors, dated the 2d April, 1800, "*that the measure has proved a nugatory one.*" The Court of Directors, in their Report, corroborate this affirmation, by observing, that nothing has been exported by the British Manufacturer under this privilege. They add, "*the Manufacturers have made so little use of it to the present day, that they need not be further considered under this privilege.*" In support of the just representations of the Free Merchants, of all the inconveniencies and discouragements to which they are exposed by the present mode of providing them with tonnage from Great Britain by the Company, the Court of Directors, in this Report, attest the truth of them, and close a candid enumeration of the principal hardships to which the Free Merchants are subject, from the regulations relating to the Company's Shipping, by observing "*they have just grounds of objection,*" and that "*it is fit all inconveniencies of this kind should be remedied.*" Mr. Dundas, in the Letter above quoted, impressed with the justice of these representations, and well acquainted with their effect on the interests of the Public, likewise adds—" *Although I proposed this measure, I should be uncandid if I did not fairly acknowledge, that experience has proved it to be inadequate to the purposes for which it was intended.*"

It is clear, therefore, that experience has shewn the following inconveniencies to have resulted from this plan. First, it has not answered the intentions of the Legislature towards the British Manufacturer. Next, it has fallen infinitely short of its intentions towards the British resi-

dent Merchant, in as much as that, as Mr. Dundas observes in his Letter of the 2d of April, 1800 :—“ *In so far as the provision went to secure the “ transfer of the capital of our Servants in India to this country through the “ medium of Trade, it is clearly ascertained that the measure was a nugatory one.*” And lastly, that the Company has itself sustained a considerable loss, to the extent of near £.70,000, in providing this freight for the Private Trade of individuals, without any benefit arising to them therefrom ; the Report admitting, “ *that they have charged individuals “ considerably less than they have themselves specifically paid for the goods of “ those individuals to the Ship Owners.*”

Of the failure of this plan, therefore, there can be no doubt ; and there can be as little of the necessity of substituting another, of repealing this clause, and of relieving the Company from the onerous and wasteful obligation it imposes on them.

Let us now see how far the end of the Legislature has been answered, by means not specifically provided for by this Act ; but which, in pursuance of its policy, have been devised by the wisdom of Lord Wellesley. These means were resorted to by his Lordship, with a view of experimentally ascertaining which of the two plans, his own or the above, was the most likely to embrace the largest share of this surplus produce, to force foreign Nations to return within the limits of their own capital, to increase the export of British Manufactures ; and, finally, to annihilate this Clandestine Trade, and bring it home to the Port of London.

In the year 1798, in consequence of an almost total failure of the

tonnage from Europe, to be supplied by the Company for the Private Trade of individuals, as already specified, and of the representations made by the Free Merchants of Calcutta, of the inconveniencies and losses to which they were exposed from being limited to the Company's tonnage, which was inadequate to the demands of their Trade, and the quantity of goods then on hand, the Government of Bengal felt it to be their duty to listen to these representations, and to provide a remedy. At this period the Port of Calcutta contained near 10,000 tons of foreign shipping, waiting for clandestine cargoes to be provided out of these goods, in the event of the Government not endeavouring to divert them into the channel of our own Trade. Lord Wellesley, sensible of the justice of these representations, aware of the injury to the national interests of Great Britain, by suffering these foreign vessels to return to Europe freighted with cargoes provided mostly by British capital, which it was so easy to remit directly to the Mother Country; and anxious, by a liberal construction of the Act of 1793, to give every practicable facility, consistent with the Company's rights, towards attaining the end of the Legislature, by increasing the commercial intercourse between both Kingdoms, and yet preserving our ancient and salutary system of Indian policy entire, allowed, at his own responsibility, by a regulation of the 5th of October of that year, the Free Merchants of Calcutta, and others, to export directly to Great Britain, in India-built ships, as much of the Surplus Trade of Bengal as their capital could embrace, with the privilege of bringing back on these vessels cargoes, the growth and produce of Great Britain, under certain stipulations protective of the Company's monopoly. And these vessels, on their departure and return, were subject to all those restrictions to which the Company's regular ships are liable, and which are calculated, in their nature, to prevent the

admission of unlicensed adventurers into their Settlements, and to guard against the consequences that might arise from such a breach of their system and regulations.

What was the effect of this measure? In the first instance it gave a severe blow, not only to the Clandestine, but to the *bona fide* Legal Trade of foreigners, by compelling most of these vessels to leave Calcutta in ballast. In the next, realizing the policy of the Legislature, it increased the importation of the raw material into Great Britain for the British Manufacturer. In 1799-1800, twelve Indian ships, constituting 9214 tons, brought over not less than 27,641 bales of cotton from Bombay and Bengal: 5579 bales were imported from the latter quarter, being a new export created for the Natives, by the enterprize of the British resident Merchant. And lastly, by the greater quantity of the surplus produce of British India, beyond the demands of the Company, thus brought home to the River Thames, it practically demonstrated the wise and attainable policy of the Legislature, in aiming at rendering the Port of London the great mart of the commerce of Asia; and plainly pointed out a road, which, though not within the letter was yet within the spirit of the Act, whereby this end might be obtained, and the monopoly of the Company, as modified by the Act, not be disturbed. The commercial intercourse between both countries was enlarged, as designed by Parliament, and yet all the securities were preserved for the continuance of our present excellent system of Indian policy. In the same season twenty India-built ships exported from London goods to the value of £.613,247, and wines from Madeira to the amount of £.116,505, and the same ships expended in London for stores, provisions, docking, and insurance, £.202,877, making a total of £.932,636.* This is a fact

* Vide Appendix to Mr. Henchman's able Pamphlet.

of too much importance not to excite the most serious attention. It shews how long the best interests of British India and Great Britain have been sacrificed to mistaken policy on the part of the Company, and calls upon the Legislature, by encouraging this system, to perfect the work its wisdom commenced.

So beneficial a change in the commercial intercourse between both India and Great Britain, while it marked the superior wisdom and discernment of Lord Wellesley, had already previously excited the grateful observation of the Court of Directors. So early as the year 1797, from an experience, since the act of 1793, of the advantages arising to the Company, and the Nation, (even under the present crippled and imperfect system) from encouraging an extension of the surplus produce of their territorial possessions, and a direct exportation of it to these Kingdoms, they appear to have been inflamed with a desire of following up this liberal policy: anxious to realize the views of the Legislature, by securing in future for the Nation this new and valuable branch of commerce, they addressed a memorial, in the month of May of that year, to the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury, wherein they do homage to the policy which modified the monopoly of the Company, and reserved for the Public the right to participate in the Surplus Trade of India, which neither their capital, nor their interests permitted them to embrace; and wherein, with enlarged views of the subject, they acknowledge that the reservation of these rights to the Public, on the renewal of their Charter, has contributed, without disturbing, to improve our present Indian system of policy, by extending the sphere of our commercial advantages. In this memorial, replete with the wisest commercial principles, they equally plead the cause of the Public and of the British resident Merchant; and it may certainly be referred to, as an able refutation of the Report

they have recently published, diametrically opposite to the just opinions and sound principles it contains. The Memorial opens with this asseveration, viz.

“ Your Memorialists have taken into consideration the situation of the East India Trade, not only so far as concerns the Company’s own Commerce, but that carried on by individuals; and it appears to your Memorialists, that the regulations and indulgences which have taken place, in consequence of the late Act of Parliament for the renewal of the East India Company’s Charter in 1793, relative to the permission granted to individuals, to participate in the East India Trade, have already led to consequences most beneficial to the British Nation, as will more fully appear upon reference to Appendix, No. I., where it will be seen that the Trade from India to England has increased even beyond the sanguine expectations of the advisers of the indulgences therein granted.” It is to be presumed that this document had escaped their recollection, or otherwise it is not to be conceived that they could have signed such contradictory productions. The Report deprecates an indefinite enlargement of the Trade. The Memorial solicits it. It calls upon their Lordships, by removing the obstruction of heavy duties, and other impediments, *“ to give to Britain that share of the Eastern Commerce to which, from her extensive territory, she seems to have a natural right.”* The Report avers the insignificance of the Clandestine Trade. The Memorial denounces its importance. It states, *“ It may be material to impress upon the attention of your Lordships, that individuals residing in India cannot be restricted to particular ships, but that they may have it in their power to select the ships of any Nation which will take goods on the lowest freight, or that will best suit the purpose of conveying their Commerce to Europe; and the policy of all the other commercial Powers of Europe will give every facility to this Trade, for the purpose of*

"drawing it to their own Country." The Memorial prays for such regulations as shall *"enable the export buyer to meet the buyer of similar goods at a foreign port,"* with a view of underselling him, and thereby, in the first instance, supplying the wants of foreign Nations, and consequently the means of so doing are within the end of the Petition. The Report resists in its doctrines this policy. It opposes it with this false commercial axiom, *"that Nations in amity with us ought to be allowed to trade on their own account for the supply of their own wants."* It ridicules the possibility, and avers the impolicy, of attempting to draw the whole Trade of India to this Country, and predicts that foreign Nations, in such a case, will shut their ports against the produce of our possessions in the East. The Memorial says, that lowering the duties on East India goods will *"make London the great Emporium of India Commerce, at present carried on almost entirely by English capitals, although under foreign flags; even a considerable part of the Danish Company's cargoes are purchased with English funds."* While the Report states the trade of foreigners to be beneficial, the Memorial avers *"It is a matter of great regret that most of the private ships trading to and from India under foreign flags are navigated by English seamen, who are thus alienated from their country,"* and that the present moment, from the insecurity of neutral flags, is *"particularly favourable for the transfer of this great and growing India Commerce to its legal and natural channel."* The Report warns the Company against multiplying its relations with British India, or forcing for it an increase of capital. The Memorial invites a more enlarged communication, with a view of increasing our exports and imports. It says, *"From a well regulated intercourse with our fellow subjects in India it is presumed many articles, the manufacture and produce of this Country, would be sent there in preference to those of the countries they now resort to, to the great advantage of the community."* It refers to experience: it says,

" the recent experiment, as to the effect of a Free Trade, which the late Act of Parliament, called the Dutch Property Act, has in some degree established, shews, by the large importations in consequence of it, what might be expected by a more liberal extension of the same principle." While the Report alarms the Company for the safety of their Territories and Commerce, the Memorial concludes by stating, *" as Lords of the soil in India, advantages will certainly result to them which will give more perfect security to their property embarked in the Trade."* Such, in brief, are the contradictions and inconsistencies which characterise these two antithetical productions. Either the Court of Directors were right in 1797, or they were wrong. If they were right in 1797, they must be wrong in 1801, because their Report of 1801 attacks their Memorial of 1797; and if they are right in 1801, they must have been wrong in 1797, because their Report of 1801 impeaches, in its facts and doctrines, their Memorial of 1797. In either case, by these productions, the Court of Directors are at variance with themselves. It is to be observed, that Lord Wellesley's laudable and successful attempts to secure for the Nation this valuable increase of Trade are subsequent to this Memorial, and consequently, in their effect, establish clearly the sound policy of the principles contained in the Memorial; and, by converse inference, as irrefragably prove, in their result, the fallacy of the doctrines contained in the Report.

From the experiment made by Lord Wellesley therefore these facts result, viz. No injury arose to the State—the growth of Foreign Clandestine Trade was impeded—the Trade, Revenue, and Navigation of Great Britain were increased, as intended by the Act of 1793—no encroachment ensued on the Company's exclusive Trade—their home duties were enhanced—a new and most valuable branch of trade was created for the British Empire—the productive powers of British India

were enlarged—a great accession in the export of British manufacture ensued, as designed by the act of 1793—a large expenditure, in the repair of these India-built ships took place in our dock yards, to the benefit of the British shipwright and artisan—the Court of Directors applauded the effects of such enlightened policy; and all those good consequences, inseparable from such a measure, were generally realized, which the united wisdom of their ablest Servants, for thirty years, had predicted as likely to accrue, if the Company, enlightened by experience, and alive to a knowledge of their true interests, would only awaken to a more liberal policy, and unite with their subjects, in enriching the State and themselves.

Between these two plans therefore, we arrive at this result. The statutable tonnage has not answered the end of the Legislature, and the clause relating to it, ought, as Mr. Dundas observes in his letter to the Chairman, to be repealed. The system of Lord Wellesley has greatly attained this end, and deserves to be sanctioned by Parliament, unless experience has shewn it to have been accompanied with correspondent evils, greater than the benefits by which it has been attended; or that it can be clearly made to appear, that it threatens eventually a greater injury to the Company, and the Nation, than any benefits of which, from its nature, it can be productive. And hitherto, no attempt has been made to shew that the Trade of the Company has been injured while Lord Wellesley's plan has been in operation.

Thus fortified by facts, and experience, the Free Merchants of British India come forward to solicit from the Company, and the Legislature, a confirmation of this system, by the repeal of the 87th clause in the Act of 1793, imposing on the Company the obligation to provide them with the tonnage requisite for the purposes of their Private Trade, and by the

experimental continuance of the principle already established in the Act of 1795, passed in the 35th year of his present Majesty's reign, licensing during the war, and for eighteen months after peace, the admission of India-built ships into Great Britain, by the further adoption of the plan of Lord Wellesley of the 5th October, 1798, on the principle of giving, where it can be effected, a decided preference to British Seamen over Lascars, and of extending thereby this nursery of national support; as the cheapest, and the most practicable means of realizing the intentions of the Legislature, by making as much as possible of that part of the Surplus Trade of India, which the Company's capital cannot reach, centre here. They offer to bring to the Port of London the largest portion of this surplus produce, and to realize also the further views of Parliament, in respect of the British Manufacturer, by considerably increasing the export of British manufactures. They proffer to discourage all illicit intercourse with foreign nations, and devote their capital to their Mother Country—they offer to quicken the productive powers of British India by creating new markets for the new produce of the growing industry of the natives—they offer either to supplant the foreigner, to the security of our possessions in the East, and make all the produce of India centre in ourselves; or to compel him to have recourse again to his own capital, whereby his Trade, Navigation, and Revenue will evidently be diminished, and the Company's provinces be benefited by the bullion he must unavoidably bring, if, under the discouragement of depriving him of the aid of British capital, he still pursues his commerce with India. If by these means the influx of foreign bullion is checked, they affirm that a larger proportion of specie will be imported into British India by themselves. They propose to become subject to all those rules, restrictions, and regulations, which the wisdom of Parliament may devise for the security of the Company's Trade and Possessions, and for generally guarding both against any evil con-

sequences which may be charged as likely to result from extending to them this indulgence. They tell us, that enabling them to increase their capital, by augmenting the resources of our Eastern dependencies, must have the desirable effect of lowering the high rate of interest in that quarter, by enlarging the money market of India, to the great benefit of the Company, and of individuals; that it will lower the price of manufactures, and increase their consumption. They offer to bring home new varieties of produce; and they refer, under the auspices and liberal encouragement of the Company, to the cultivation of indigo, and the actual immense advantages of this new branch of Trade to the Nation, as a fact to warrant the presumption of their being able to create them. Already they aver that these new sources of national wealth are in the germ of existence, and await only the creative hand of the Legislature to awaken into life. They tell us very truly, that a great source of national opulence is before our view—a new Trade, not to be sought for, but found. That the question is, whether it shall be enjoyed by Great Britain, or by foreign Nations? If we keep it to ourselves, the Commerce of the East will centre with us; if we leave it to Foreigners, British Merchants will go over to Hamburg, America, and other Countries, and carry it on, as heretofore, in defiance of any regulations of the Legislature to the contrary. Nor is this a vain apprehension. Recent decisions of our Courts of Law have declared such British Subjects, domiciled in foreign States for the purposes of trade, to be entitled to all the commercial rights which, under existing treaties, appertain to the subjects of such States; whereby the Company's monopoly of one branch of the Trade, the rights of the Public to participate in the other, and the laws of the Nation to protect both, may be equally invaded and eluded; which leaves us no other alternative but to meet the danger by a system of wise and liberal policy, that shall render these emigrations, and evasions, equally unnecessary, by re-

lieving the British Merchant from all such temptations to transplant his industry and capital to a foreign land, by opening to his view a more easy, beneficial, and direct means of trading in this surplus produce of British India, than through the medium of foreign protection, without at the same time endangering that system under which our possessions in India have hitherto been held with such advantage to the Nation.

In default of this, by repealing, as the Legislature has done, all those Acts of Parliament which formerly were framed with a view of preventing a clandestine commercial intercourse with Foreigners, and allowing the Free Merchants, and others residing in India, to act as agents in their behalf in the sale of their Imports, and provision of their Exports, we are, in point of fact, only increasing the evil, by throwing a larger portion of this Surplus Trade into their hands, unless British Subjects resident in India have the same facilities given to them in carrying on their Trade, which by the Act of 1793 is thus extended to Foreigners. If a British Merchant, by repairing to Ostend, can become a foreign subject for the purposes of trade, equally in the factories and settlements of these foreign States can he become domiciled for similar purposes; for their flag is as protective in the one case as in the other. The treaties under which these rights exist, apply to wherever their sovereignty exists. Their sovereignty exists within the precincts of where their laws are current. The principle which, under these treaties, converts a British into a Foreign Subject, so as, by these treaties, to confer on him, while resident in these foreign States, the same commercial rights and privileges as enjoyed by the natural born subjects of such States, equally bestows on him this relation, wherever independent commercial rights appertaining to these States exist. Such rights therefore, as foreign Nations possess in their settlements in India, under treaty, or grants, either from the Emperors of Dehly

formerly, or from the Soubahs of Bengal latterly, come under this description; and whatever benefit, protection, or commercial advantage is imparted to their subjects by these, may, according to the late construction of the treaty with America, be enjoyed in a similar degree by British Subjects, if domiciled in their factories for commercial purposes. The Free Merchant, therefore, has only to remove from the limits of the Company's authority to Chandernagore, Chinsura, Serampore, or to any of the different foreign factories on the coasts, and he is put into possession of all the advantages he is seeking to acquire, and which he conceives it to have been the intention of the Act of 1793 to confer upon him. The policy therefore of counteracting the effect of such treaties, and of preventing them from being, in any degree, the instruments of alienating from us our industry and capital, must be too evident not to enforce the prudence of giving to our own Subjects such encouragement as shall render nugatory to them any such privilege, and useless to foreign Nations any such rights. In this way the capital of the British Free Merchant may be made to fertilize his native soil: by tempting it into a foreign channel, it feeds the industry of our rivals. By the means of India-built ships alone, combined with lower duties here, can this valuable branch of Commerce be secured to the Mother Country. The admission of these ships is the main principle on which they rely for the attainment of these great ends; and if the wisdom of Parliament shall sanction their prayer, they entertain no doubt of reclaiming from foreign Nations a Trade, which mistaken policy has greatly diverted from us, and of effecting the purposes of Parliament, in that part of the Act of 1793, in which their claims are founded, by rendering it the instrument of contributing to the opulence and aggrandisement of the British Empire. And in corroboration of this statement, they offer the incontrovertible evidence of two most important facts. First, the

expenditure by them, in the year 1799-1800, as already stated, of near one million sterling, in the purchase of British manufactures, and the repair of their ships in our dock-yards; affording a striking instance of a successful attempt, on their part, to realize the views of the Legislature, by enlarging the commercial intercourse between Asia and Great Britain, and clearly shewing, that nothing is wanting, but a confirmation of this system, to accomplish all the great ends which were in the contemplation of the Legislature, on the renewal of the Charter of the Company, with a view to the prosperity and happiness of the natives of India, and of the subjects of Great Britain:—and, lastly, the great increase in our Asiatic exports and imports, exceeding, in their amount, (as recently stated by his Majesty's Secretary of State, Lord Hawkesbury, in the debate on the Preliminaries of Peace) by upwards of two millions sterling annually for the last three years, the largest exports and imports of Great Britain and British India at the most prosperous periods of peace, before the renewal of the Charter of the Company; and it may be added, exceeding in an equal ratio the three preceding years, when they were chiefly restricted to the statutable tonnage; to which increase, from the encouragement held out to them by the Act of 1793, they have largely contributed, in conjunction with the capital of the Company; and which indubitably proves (as admitted by the Court of Directors in their Memorial of 1797) the good policy on the part of the Legislature, of making the Public become partners with the East India Company, at the passing of that Act, by securing for it a right to participate in that Surplus Trade of India, which the capital of the Company could not reach, and in which, from its nature, and their own situation, it had never been thought prudent for them to engage.

Such, in brief, are the claims and the notions of the Free Merchants.

Against this prayer the Court of Directors have loudly raised their voice, but feebly lifted their arguments. Unmindful of the sentiments and opinions expressed by them in their Memorial to the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury in 1797, they undervalue the nature of this Surplus Trade, diminish the magnitude of the evil for which they then implored a remedy, vindicate the foreign, and attenuate the Clandestine Trade, and deprecate the admission of these India-built ships as a measure calculated in its ultimate effect to involve the Company in ruin, and convulse the interests of the Nation at large.

The question then is, whether such a consequence is likely to result from such a measure? On this subject the Public is to judge. It is a question of fact on the one side, and of assertion on the other. As far as the evidence of facts hitherto goes, it establishes not only that no mischief has as yet resulted from the admission of these ships into Great Britain, but that much advantage to the Nation, and accommodation to the Company, and Individuals, have arisen from the measure. As far, then, as the danger is to be traced in assertion, we must look at the grounds of this, to see how far the apprehensions of the Court of Directors are chimerical, or the reverse.

What then are the principal objections to the measure?

First—They allow the objections of the Free Merchants against the statutable tonnage of the Company to be valid, and admitting that a remedy is necessary, they only differ with them as to its nature. To obviate in future the inconveniencies, of which the Free Merchants have hitherto complained, they propose to provide a fleet of inferior equipment

to their own regular shipping, at a freight as low as the India ships were freighted last season, which fleet shall solely be restricted to bringing home all the Surplus Trade of India, which British capital can embrace, without being exposed to detention, circuitous route, or any of those other causes of objection enumerated by the Free Merchants, in their various Memorials, which are admitted by all parties to have greatly obstructed the fair operation of the Act of 1793.

Secondly—They aver the Trade of foreign Europe with British India to be in many respects beneficial ; that its increase is the consequence of the greater security Foreigners derive at our Ports, and of the superior facility they meet with in providing their investments, through the agency of British Subjects ; that it has been the policy of the Company, and of the Supreme Government in Bengal, to encourage foreign Nations, in amity with us, to resort to our settlements for commercial purposes ; that their right of trading to India is independent of our control, that it was antecedent to our conquest, and remains unaffected by the tenure on which we hold the sovereignty of our possessions in that quarter : that if it were practicable, it would be unwise to exclude them from a participation in the Trade of India ; that such a measure would recoil on ourselves, and prove generally ruinous to our own Eastern Commerce ; and that foreign Nations, in return, would repel such invidious policy, by prohibiting the entrance of the productions of the East into their Ports.

Thirdly—They declare that, whereas the increase of the Clandestine Trade is urged as a ground for supporting the claims of the Free Merchants, who maintain that through the means of admitting their India-built ships alone, can this Clandestine Trade be destroyed, that such assertion is not warranted by fact ; and consequently the main ground on

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which the advocates for the Free Merchants rely in supporting their pretensions is impeached, and the necessity of the measure, founded in such reasoning, disproved. And in support of this position, they offer the statements contained in their Report, as extracted from the Commercial Register of Exports and Imports, transmitted from Bengal.

Fourthly—They allege, that allowing the British Merchants in India “*to send their own ships with their own goods to England,*” though subject to all the Company’s regulations, and passing immediately through the Channel of the Company, “*is, in effect, to desire the opening of the Trade altogether;*” that the question therefore is, “*not merely whether the Company shall be divested of its most valuable privileges, but whether this Country shall carry on its Trade to India on the same principle it trades with its American Colonies;*” and viewing the subject in this light, arguing from these premises, they maintain, that the measure of allowing these ships a renewed admission into Great Britain in the shape proposed, and for the purposes stated, would be an infringement on the Company’s rights, and threaten eventually the security of their own Trade and Territories, by raising up a separate commercial body in the heart of their Empire, whose “*genius would antiquate the present system,*” and whose turbulence would make them “*impatient of all the rights of British Colonists.*”

And lastly, under a deep impression of these awful consequences, they insist that this measure contains in its principle the germ of colonization ; that to adopt it would lead to all the evils of an unrestrained colonial system ; that it is a change of too important a nature not to awaken us to a sense of the danger of innovation in general ; that levelled at the Charter of the Company, it strikes at its present existence, or points against its future renewal : and that, however much it may be calculated

to enrich a few individuals, in its ultimate tendency it threatens to expel us from India, and to bring down ruin on the British interests in that quarter.

Such are the main objections of the Directors to the measure of admitting these ships systematically into Great Britain.

All these are very alarming consequences; and the Report designed to establish them opens in a manner well calculated to fix the attention, and rouse the apprehensions of the Public. The Court of Directors admit the subject to be momentous. They profess to have investigated it most deeply. They reject the notion of further lights being necessary. They confidently rest on their own more extensive means of comprehending it justly, than the collective wisdom and experience of their ablest Servants; and thus fortified by a conviction of their own superior sources of information, they meet the Proprietary with the result of their unanimous decision.

Under such circumstances it will not be a matter of surprise that a body of men, who, in point of ability and integrity, are so deservedly high with their constituents, should be considered to have decided wisely; and that the Proprietary should have largely united, by a powerful majority, to support their Executive Body. If, however, it should appear that this Body, claiming support on the ground of no future light being necessary, should have come to a decision on this important question with evidently defective intelligence; and that subsequent information should prove them to have assumed erroneous data as a basis whereon to found the structure of their reasoning, not only it will not be matter of regret that the superior wisdom of the Board of Control should have

corrected the inferior perceptions of the Directors, by prohibiting the dispatch to India in the month of June last, of the impolitic orders they were transmitting to the Governor and Council of Fort William on the subject ; but arguing much against their own precipitancy, it will point out to them the danger of delivering themselves up too rapidly to the current of their prejudices, and generally serve as a lesson to the Court on the one hand, to investigate more deeply when they mean to pronounce as dogmatically, and to the Proprietary on the other, not blindly to surrender their judgment, in compliment to the respectability of the Directors, in cases where their deepest interests are at stake, and where erroneous decision may bring irremediable ruin on their affairs.

The first and most obvious feature presented to us by the perusal of this elaborate Report, is its manifold and manifest inconsistencies and contradictions. It labours to shew that conceding what the Free Merchants desire will not afford to them such a reasonable hope of profit as to make it wise for them to embark in this Trade, and yet it concludes by affirming, that “ *it will become permanent,*” and themselves “ *damgerous.*” The Report opens by asserting, “ *that there is positive evidence that the foreign Trade has greatly decreased;*” and concludes, in a postscript Report, by observing, that “ *Lord Wellesley has shewn a very large increase to have taken place in the year 1799-1800, in the Imports of foreigners, especially the Americans and Portuguese, into Bengal, and in their Exports from thence. In these years there appears to have been a real and considerable increase in the Trade of Portugal and America.*” The Report asserts, “ *That the Exports of Bengal to foreign Europe and America, taken together, have not on the whole increased during the last thirty years, from a comparison of its foreign Trade at the present, and at former periods;*” which infers, that they have been stationary, though they

assert them, as above, to have "*greatly decreased.*" And yet, the Resolutions of the Court of Directors, bearing date the 4th of February, 1801, grounded on this Report, and framed as a series of corollaries, flowing from the *facts* and *principles* established by the Report, not only in resistance of the Report, negative this assertion; but the third Resolution, though framed to support it, pointedly refutes it, by averring, "*that the maritime Exports from India, exclusive of those for the Company, are now greater than they were at any former period.*" The Report affirms, "*it is evidently good policy to encourage the Trade of Foreigners; if it were practicable, it would not be wise to bring it to our own Ports;*" and yet the Memorial of 1797, negating this principle, and inviting us to attract it to the Thames, by considerations of the soundest commercial and general policy, asserts, "*It is matter of great regret, that most of these private ships sailing to and from India, under foreign flags, are navigated by English seamen, who are thus alienated from their country;*" and that if this were prevented, by lowering the duties on Indian goods, so as "*to make London the great Emporium of India Commerce, all the advantages stated to result from this Trade to foreign countries, when transferred to this country, would centre here.*" In recommending the protection of this new branch of Trade, the Memorial urges that "*the India Trade does not drain this Country of its capital, like the West India Trade.*" In discouraging its continuance, the Report affirms, "*It would transplant much of the capital of Great Britain to carry on the agriculture and manufactures of that remote region.*" The Report admits it to be highly desirable, that the Private Trade of individuals should be brought home to the River Thames, that it is their duty to facilitate the object, and that the means of accomplishing it is at what they sincerely aim. With this view, preferring to send vessels to a dis-

tant country for its produce, while there are vessels in its harbour to ship it, (like sending afar for a carriage, when there is one at hand to convey us) they conclude by proposing to employ British ships of an inferior description to bring it, as the best mode of effecting this end, although, in the body of the Report, they previously refute this position, by observing, that "*in bringing to Europe Indian commodities, in which the Trade mainly consists,*" (and therefore claims preferable consideration) "*Indian ships would have a clear advantage over others, because the equipment of them could be adjusted with certainty to the number and times of the cargoes procurable;*" which certainly cannot be said of any other description of vessels sent from Europe. What is this but the essence of the case? On this just definition, by the Court of Directors, of the superior convenience of India-built ships over every other class, for conveying home the Private Trade allowed to individuals, the Free Merchants may rest the policy of complying with their pretensions; for it is in this that their evident superiority consists. Either the Court of Directors perused this Report, or they did not. If they perused it, where is their consistency? If they did not, where is their duty? It is not only the Memorial of 1797, and the Report of 1801, that are at variance with each other, both in *facts* and *principles*; but the mellowed and mature Report of 1801, is equally in continual hostility with its own doctrines and positions.

Having noticed a very few of its inconsistencies, it is time, Sir, to advert to some of its arguments.

Among the inconveniencies to which the Free Merchants have stated themselves to be exposed, the Court of Directors, in enumerating these,

justly state, " That the Merchants are exceedingly disconcerted and discouraged in forming their speculations, neither knowing what quantity of tonnage they may depend on, nor when it will arrive, nor when the ships that do arrive may sail, nor where they may be immediately destined; and if extra ships are allotted for the transport of their goods, though the rate of freight be less, the cost of insurance is higher, and the other disadvantages nearly the same; from all of which circumstances they are rendered quite uncertain what provision to make of goods, or how to form their arrangements in taking up money, and drawing bills on Europe, and regulating their insurances with most safety and advantage; whence, in conclusion, it happens that they are frequently left with goods on their hands, which either must remain in their warehouses till another season, or be sold to foreigners, or at least shipped to foreign ports, to the manifest loss of this country."

On this statement two things are admitted by the Court of Directors. First, that it is desirable that the consignments to Europe of the Free Merchants should be brought to the Port of London. And next, that with this view it is fit a remedy should be provided. The remedy, therefore, is suggested by themselves; and the plain question will be, whether the remedy is capable of effecting its end?

The remedy proposed is to provide a fleet of extra vessels of an inferior equipment to the Company's regular shipping, to be built by contract, for the purpose of accommodating the Free Merchants, which fleet is to be freighted to them at a rate equal to the freight of the India-built ships of last season. Beyond this the Directors do not offer any other mode of removing the grievance.

What then are the objections to this remedy as it respects the Com-

pany, the Free Merchants, and the Public? In these three points of view we must consider it.

First, as it relates to the Company. It is obviously exposing them to the risk of having these ships occasionally sail, and return in ballast, because, in the first instance, they are not to interfere with the regular shipping destined to carry on the exclusive Trade of the Company, which it is an object of high national policy to protect, which can only be preserved by liberal freights, and can alone be respectable while science illumines the minds of its officers: and in the second, the Free Merchants cannot ensure to the Company a regular permanent freight, as their speculations and purchases must entirely be regulated by the state of the markets in India, and the extent of the demands in Europe for the articles wherein they are allowed to traffic. The Free Merchants will not speculate but on a previous certainty of an adequate and immediate supply of tonnage for their goods; and the Company cannot depend on a regular constant demand for the tonnage they send out; and yet, at a venture, they must provide the tonnage, without the necessary intelligence as to the extent of what is required. But beyond this, it is universally admitted, that these India-built ships are more substantial, better found, and sail at a much cheaper freight than the Company's extra ships. In engaging, therefore, to provide such a fleet for the Free Merchants, without even any adequate security for the regular and full occupation of its tonnage, at a freight as low as the Free Merchants pay to the Owners of India Shipping, of course they take on themselves to pay the difference between British and Indian freight to the Owners of these extra ships. And as they admit, in their Report, that they have already sustained a considerable loss by so doing, it therefore appears, waving the difficulty of confining this fleet invariably to its precise object, which recent experience shews to be imprac-

ticable, not only that the principal inconveniencies to which the Free Merchants are exposed by the present mode of supplying them with tonnage, would not be removed by the remedy that is thus proposed; but that the further result of such a measure, as it affects the interest of the Company, would only be to augment considerably this loss, by incurring the risk, in the first instance, of sending out a fleet to India, without a certainty of obtaining cargoes home; and in the next, in the event of such a fleet, or a larger one, being required, to swell considerably this loss to the Company, which must increase in a ratio with the growth of the Trade, since in proportion to the increase of the Trade, which is largely expanding itself, they propose to augment their improvidence, by increasing the tonnage. Such a plan, therefore, is not suitable to the true interests of the Company.

With respect to the Free Merchant, his objections against it are not less solid. He tells us justly, that he is embarrassed if compelled, under any modification, to depend on the Company for tonnage; that he can neither suitably arrange his freight, or distribute his cargoes; that his trade is not a trade of large profit to the individual; that it consists of such articles chiefly as are either new to the Commerce of Great Britain, or rejected by the Company; that it is carried on at a comparatively low rate of freight, with strict economy, and extraordinary expedition; that its end is to meet, not only the home, but the foreign markets, on re-exportation, and yet maintain a superiority therein; and that on such principles only can this end be realized—that it is evident, from the experience of the last seven years, that the tonnage engaged in England by the Company, for the service of India, can never be rendered a practicable channel by which the Private British Trade can rival the foreigner, the great object of the Legislature to accomplish, and which the “Ware-

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"*housing Act*" of 1700, regulating the duties on East India goods, is designed to effect, its preamble declaring its object to be, to secure to this Country the benefit of an extended Trade in goods, the produce and manufacture of the East Indies: That these are not the opinions of the Free Merchants alone; that the unvarying opinion of all the ablest Servants of the Company, both who are, or have been in India, points out to the Company and the Nation the expedience of employing India-built Shipping in the Private Export Trade to Great Britain, as the only class of Shipping capable of substantially enlarging the commercial intercourse between both countries, without affecting, at the same time, the exclusive Trade and Chartered Privileges of the East India Company.

Yet this is but a branch of the argument. Look, Sir, at the situation of the British Manufacturer, as connected with that of the Free Merchant, under the plan proposed by the Directors. In point of fact, such a plan, by the discouragement it offers to the Free Merchant, would virtually supersede the wholesome intentions of the Legislature towards the British Manufacturer. Already it is admitted that the 87th clause of the Act of 1703, framed in his behalf, allowing him to export his own produce, and providing him with the means of so doing, remains a dormant right, which he has never exercised. And it is pretty evident, as experience proves, that in looking to an enlargement of the commercial intercourse between Great Britain and her Eastern dependencies, which can only be effected through the means of bringing home the Surplus Trade of India not occupied by the Company, that we must seek for it primarily through the channel of the Free Merchants, and not through the exertions of the British Manufacturers themselves. True policy, therefore, invites us to afford a liberal protection and encouragement to the Free Merchant, as a more certain mode of attaining the ends of the

Legislature, than through any encouragement that can be held out, with wisdom, to the Manufacturer himself. The Manufactures of Britain cannot be the means of drawing from the East its produce. The commodities and produce of the East must be the means of attracting to it the Manufactures of Britain. What are the Company's Exports but ballast for their vessels? Though capable of increased circulation, as recently shewn by the Free Merchants, our Manufactures must ever, in the extent of their circulation throughout India, be limited considerably, by moral and physical causes. The native arts and immemorial habits of the people are against as extensive a consumption as we could wish. Still, however, we have a great commercial end to accomplish: this end is to enlarge the exports of our own Manufactures, as far as we can, compatibly with these limitations. Whether the British Manufacturer, or the Free Merchant, may effect it, is not so much the question, as who does effect it; and if, as experience shews, the British Manufacturer cannot of himself effect it, let us then liberally turn to the Free Merchant, and, by removing obstacles, and providing a just relief for a case unforeseen, make him the instrument of realizing the solid objects of the Legislature, by affording increased employment for our Manufacturers, and enlarging the channels of sale for their produce. To say that this can be effected, in the same degree, by sending out tonnage to India, is wild. What is the case, where the ship is the property of the Merchant? The returning cargo is to constitute a part of the profits of his voyage; and enters into the inducement with him to embark in the concern. His returns are to consist of British Manufactures, to be paid for by the proceeds of his cargo from India. To his successful adventure from the East, the British Manufacturer is therefore to look for additional calls on his industry. But unless the Free Merchant is placed in a situation, by the previous sale of his Indian cargo, to require the Manufactures of this

Country for his returning lading, it is impossible that he can in any degree contribute to promote the views of the Legislature by stimulating this industry. How are these extra ships, proposed to be supplied by the Company, to be provided with cargoes on their outward voyage? Either the Company, or the Free Merchant, must find them lading. But the Company cannot do this without interfering with their regular Shipping, and thereby disturbing their own system; and the Free Merchant will not do it till the sale of his cargo, consigned to Europe, has provided him with the means. We must first, therefore, look to the means of facilitating the arrival of this cargo from India. To this may be added, that nothing of doubt must attach on the possibility of obtaining the requisite tonnage for his goods. But how can he rely on the invariable arrival of ships liable to all the casualties of the seas? By providing his own tonnage, he embarks in his speculations with confidence, because he has before him the certain means of immediately shipping his goods for Europe. By depending on the Company, he is the sport of chance. In the one case he is made liable to disappointment: in the other, he is protected from its occurring. Such a plan, therefore, while it involves the Company in loss, and represses the industry of the British Manufacturer, would not be a relief to the Free Merchants against the inconveniencies stated.

With respect to the Public, the subject is still of a deeper importance. It involves not only commercial, but political considerations of the first magnitude. It has long been admitted, that a scarcity of ship-timber, fit for the purposes of our Navy, is felt in this country. The Report of the Commissioners appointed by Parliament in the year 1787, to investigate into the state of the Crown Lands, but too well cautions the Public against the danger of this evil increasing; and the Act of the Legislature,

restraining the Company from building any more ships till their tonnage was reduced to about 40,000 tons, was wisely framed to check its progress. Since this Report was published, notwithstanding the watchful care of the Legislature, it has extended itself in an alarming degree, and the enormous increase in the price of Shipping since the year 1792, and consequently in the rates of freight, is an evil that is too generally felt, both in our naval arsenals, and by the commercial community, not to challenge the most serious attention. We are threatened with an ultimate failure in these great and useful supplies, on which so essentially depend the prosperity of our Manufactures, the security of our Trade, and the preservation of our Independence. The separation of America deprived this Country of an annual accession of Shipping to a great amount. In one year, perhaps, it has been two or three hundred sail of vessels; and although our Trade has increased considerably since that period, yet no adequate supply of British tonnage has been provided, equal to the enlarged demands of our more extensive and increasing Commerce. Hence, it has been admitted, by the best and first authorities, that we have out-traded our Shipping; and that a remedy is necessary with a view to the relief of our Trade, and the protection of our Navy. The most desirable remedy seems to be, to diminish the consumption of British timber, and increase the quantity of British Shipping. But the plan of the Directors, by proposing to create an additional fleet, which can only be built and kept up by further inroads on the national stock of ship-timber, is, in point of fact, when our situation is considered, but proposing, in other words, to aggravate a very serious evil. What is it but subtracting from the British tonnage what is wanted here, to augment the Indian tonnage which is not required there? Not only the timber requisite for such a purpose will be considerable, but the increased consumption of naval stores which must in consequence ensue,

will also, in its effect, contribute to swell the evil, by increasing the price of ships and naval stores, and enhancing on exportation the freight and cost of British manufactures, to the general detriment of this Country. Such a plan seems most injudicious.

The next most obvious mode that occurs, is to provide this fleet in a way not liable to these objections, and that shall at the same time answer the double purpose of increasing the quantity of British Shipping, without diminishing the stock of British timber. To India alone can we look for this double advantage. Our possessions in that quarter abound with forests, containing timber more durable in its quality, and larger in its growth, than any to be met with in the woods of Europe. The numberless rivers that descend from the Malabar mountains, afford a ready opportunity of floating this timber to our dock-yards. The mountains bordering on the west of Bengal afford abundance of timber fit for the purposes of Ship-building, and large plantations of teak are already spreading over our Provinces in Bengal. Here, therefore, is a nursery from whence we may draw the most valuable supplies; and while we retain our Empire in India, the Navy of Great Britain, in the event of a failure in our national stock, may still be kept up in all its strength and glory. Upon grounds of general policy, both political and commercial, we are called upon to cherish these springs from whence, in the day of need and difficulty, we may derive such valuable aid; for there can be no doubt, but that timber produced in India may be so applied to the purpose of Ship-building, as to lead to consequences highly important and advantageous, not only to the commercial and political interests of Great Britain, but likewise to those of British India. On grounds of commercial policy we ought to give every encouragement to the Trader from British India, to supply the British Manufacturer

with the raw material as cheap as possible. On the cheapness and superior excellence of our manufactures depend their extensive circulation. The interests of the British Manufacturer therefore depend on the facility given to the Free Merchant to reach our markets. How is this to be done, but by enabling the Trader from India to bring home this raw material at as low a rate as possible? And how is this to be effected, but by enabling him to import it here as expeditiously as he can, and at as low a freight as he can obtain in India?

But beyond this, our Merchants and Manufacturers here have a further interest in promoting the sale in Great Britain of such India-built Ships as may occasionally arrive here, and are not required for the tonnage of India, with a view to their being incorporated into our own tonnage. The cheaper we can export our manufactures, the larger will be the demand for them from foreign countries. The cost of transit must have a material influence on their sale. The higher the freight, the higher the price of the commodity. To diminish, therefore, the rate of freight from India, so as to make the Commerce of that country centre here, and thereby to aid the manufactures of Great Britain, by enabling our Artisans to purchase the raw material at as cheap a rate as possible, is not less an object of commercial policy for us to pursue, than to diminish the rate of freight on the exportation of this manufactured produce, so as to enable us, with equal advantage, to preserve our ascendancy in the foreign markets. How is this to be done, but by supplying the Empire with Shipping equal to its Trade, which, by general acknowledgment, at this moment it does not possess? In this way two objects are attained—First, the Port of London is made the Emporium of the Commerce of India; and next—the sale of British manufactures is thereby further increased, by lowering the cost of them to foreign Na-

tions, both of which, as great national objects, are clearly within the policy of the Act of 1793. Two points, therefore, ought to attract the attention of the Public—First, to lower the rate of freight from India by the admission of India-built Ships; and next, to lower the rate of freight in Great Britain on British Shipping, by permitting the registry and sale of India-built Ships here. All parties admit, that it is reasonable the Private Trader should be allowed to bring home as much of the Surplus Trade of India as the capital of the Company cannot reach, and the capital of Resident Individuals can embrace. Is it not then as reasonable, with a view to the same end, that the surplus demand of our own Trade for Shipping, beyond what the stock of the Country and the industry of the British Shipwright can supply with convenience to our Navy, should be raised in possessions of our own capable of producing it, and where our own Subjects can conveniently construct it? The injustice of the contrary notion, as Mr. Dundas well observes, in his Letter to the Committee of Ship-builders, July 1, 1797—“ *consists in depriving* “ *a great description of the subjects of Great Britain of a right undoubtedly* “ *belonging to them. The British territories in India are under the sove-* “ *reignty of Great Britain, and the ships built there are equally entitled to all* “ *the privileges of British-built shipping, as those built in the West Indies, or* “ *Canada, or any other foreign dependencies of the Empire; and I have never* “ *heard that the Ship-builders of Great Britain have set up any claim to pro-* “ *hibit any of the Shipping in those quarters from bringing home the produce* “ *of their own territories in ships of their own building, if they found it con-* “ *venient so to do; and yet it is obvious that the same plea of interest, and* “ *supposed injury, would equally apply.*” The Free Merchant of British India, therefore, in point of fact, is pleading the cause of the British Manufacturer; while the Shipwright of India is equally pleading that of the British Shipwright, who must in a similar degree be benefited, by having

the repair, in his own dock-yard, of those vessels which otherwise will be repaired in the dock-yards of foreign Nations, to their gain, and our disadvantage.

But when we rise to political considerations, the subject meets us in a grander light. In the forests of Hindoostan we may discern the means of strengthening not less the shores of India, than the coasts of Britain. Nor let the Landed Interest be alarmed by such a prospect. To them, as to the Nation at large, it teems with hope, and offers no discouragement to the growth of British timber. It comes as an auxiliary to protect their nurseries, and not to overshadow them, when they are fit for use. It rises around them like a fostering foliage, to guard them from the nipping frost of too early a fall. In the scarcity of the means of defending the State, the owners of British timber can have no solid interest in aggravating the calamity, and benefiting by the public dearth. If corn is imported, when dear, to feed the People, shall timber be rejected, when wanted, to defend the Nation? There is an interest paramount to every other in the State; the universal interest. This demands economy in every branch of the national expenditure; and if in so material a department of it as our Navy, a reduction can be effected in the price of ship-timber, it is the general interest of all to promote it; and the Landed Interest will not be the last to approve of the attempt.

But to them such an aid affords no cause of just jealousy. Their timber will always maintain its ascendancy in the market; yet even if a different notion should speculatively prevail on the subject, is it reasonable, that in the apprehension of a barely possible, and certainly a distant inconvenience, an immediate weighty evil should be endured? If experience should hereafter demonstrate any material injury to arise to the Nation

from availing ourselves, in the day of need, of these resources in India, it will then be our duty to apply a remedy. But in the mean while, we are suffering a great inconvenience both in our Navy and our Trade ; it calls for relief ; and it is our duty to afford it. We ought not to promote the interests of British India at the expence of those of Great Britain ; neither ought we to sacrifice those of British India to the Parent State. The prosperity of an Empire depends on an equal distribution of advantages to all the parts of it. Our duty is to poise the scale justly ; to make them aid each other to the benefit of both, without sacrificing either to any particular or preponderating interest.

To the forests of India then, let us look for relief. Already, during the preceding war, and the war which, happily for humanity, has so recently closed, we have seen the Company, notwithstanding the naval power of Great Britain, compelled to co-operate in defending their own seas, by converting the India-built ships of the Free Merchants into vessels of defence for the State. If it has been gratifying to see the Company's ships in Europe turning into the naval service of this Country, have we not seen in Asia, on similar occasions, these vessels bearing with honour its flag against our enemies ? When Suffrein was ravaging our shores in India, a marine uprose, created by the genius of a Hastings, that strengthened the crippled fleets of Britain, and exacted from the British Admiral a grateful acknowledgment of its utility. Is not this a system to cherish ? Was it not the skill, the industry, the capital, and the enterprise of the resident Free Merchants, that created such resources for the Company in the day of need ? Is it not their capital that, at this moment, essentially aids our Revenues, feeds the Manufacturers of India, and must save the Company's ships from returning to Europe this season in ballast ? Are they not the pivot on which public credit is suspended in

India? Were they not the creative parents of these new means of supporting the British interests in the East, when our struggles in the West unavoidably weakened our means of defence in these invaluable possessions? Have their ships not aided us in war? Have they not relieved us in famine? In a country like this, not growing corn sufficient for its own consumption, and liable to the double effects of dearness and scarcity, is it not desirable to have a refuge within ourselves, not dependant on foreign Nations, against the casual occurrence of so afflictive an evil? And is the coasting Trade of India alone sufficient to keep up that supply of Shipping which, in a moment of difficulty on the one hand, may aid our military expeditions in that quarter, and on the other, pour relief into the Parent Empire? May it not be desirable to make India participate in its own defence? While France has extended her line of coast, and her maritime alliances, will it not strengthen our home defence, to look to India, either for vessels of war to aid us here, or to lower the necessity for sending such large armaments there? And have not the Free Merchants of British India pointed out a road to the Nation, by the magnitude, excellence, and superior durability of their vessels, whereby its fleets may be preserved, and extended, and its empire over the seas be perpetuated? While the fate of the British possessions in the East appeared to hinge on driving the French from Egypt, and the hopes of this Country hung on assistance from India as the means of accomplishing this, what, but their fleets, conveyed our Indian army to the Red Sea, and enabled the conquerors of Seringapatam to carry the glory of their fame under the walls of Alexandria? Surely then this is a system which every consideration of national policy invites us to encourage. It opens a new bulwark to the State. It promises wealth to the natives of the East, and security to our valuable dependencies in that quarter. It ensures increased commercial and political resources to the people of Great Britain. It offers to their Trade, Naviga-

tion and Customs, a gradual increase. It presents to the Company the growing improvement of their Territories and Revenue.

These considerations seem to shew that the plan proposed by the Directors would prove equally injurious to the Company, the Free Merchant, and the Public; and that the measure recommended by Lord Wellesley, of admitting individuals to import their own goods on India-built ships, under the restrictions stated, is the only adequate remedy for the inconveniencies of which they complain.

I now come, Sir, to the Foreign and Clandestine Trade. And here again the Court of Directors appear to me to have overlooked the true question at issue. Whether they have entered into statements to shew that neither have extended themselves, or rather that they are declining, and the imports of bullion are increasing, and consequently that this is a Trade beneficial to encourage; whether this statement be accurate in the first instance, which must depend on the whole of the subject being fairly within their reach, which avowedly it is not; these are not so much the objects of primary consideration, as whether, from what is within our view, both, in their nature and extent, are seriously prejudicial to the commercial interests of Great Britain, and of a magnitude sufficient to justify the attempt of giving them a different direction? In arguing against the policy of admitting these India-built ships, on the ground that the evil likely to ensue from such an indulgence will be greater than any evil resulting from the continuance of the Foreign and Clandestine Trade, the Directors ought to have had in their view the whole extent of the latter evil, by shewing the whole extent of this Legal and Contraband Trade. Whereas all their argument proceeds from a partial consideration of its extent in Bengal, without adequate allowance for the greater

proportion which belongs to all their other settlements, and which in its amount materially varies the case. They under-rate the Private Trade, to over-state the public danger. Whether so far from being generally beneficial, it is not much the reverse; whether it is not of a magnitude to make it an object of just policy both with the Company and the Nation to check it, must be ascertained by its operation and its extent. Its operation we have witnessed—we have seen it enriching both our rivals and our enemies—and its extent, even on the limited scale, as viewed by the Directors, is established by Lord Wellesley's letter of the 30th of September, 1800, who watching, on the spot, its progress, and marking its effect, pronounces it to be of a magnitude in Bengal alone; to say nothing of Madrass, Bombay, &c. that loudly challenges observation. “*Unless (says his Lordship), means be adopted for depriving these Nations of the undue share which they have obtained in this Trade, the most serious consequences are to be apprehended to the combined interests of the English East India Company, and of the British Nation.*” On this point, therefore, there cannot be a doubt.

That the import of bullion in Bengal has of late increased, which the Report justly affirms to be beneficial, is true; and yet the inference drawn from it, that the trade of Foreigners is beneficial, would only be just in the case where this can be shewn to be foreign property. But in tracing the effect, let us not be insensible to its cause. It is greatly the import of British capital, and here is the complaint—the Foreigner is the Agent, while British Subjects are the Principals—he is taking out of our national capital all the advantages of transit, agency, and other benefits which ought to centre in ourselves—it is not denied that it is highly essential to encourage this importation of bullion into British India—it is only contended that since the larger part of it is British property, British

industry ought to supply it, and be permitted to make it flow into its natural channel.

But admitting, in point of argument, what cannot be conceded in respect of fact, that the Foreign and Clandestine Trade have gradually declined of late years, will it be maintained that this is not the consequence of the war, and that it is not to the Company's wants that this larger influx of bullion is chiefly to be ascribed? If so, will not the return of peace produce the contrary effect, and lessen our supplies of bullion from foreign States? And is not this an argument for promptly preventing the operation of this blessing from being, in the first instance, injuriously turned against ourselves by these Nations? The military operations of the war in India have unavoidably been extensive, and the expences attendant on these have necessarily, for a while, interfered with the usual appropriation of the Surplus Revenues. Hence, from the Company's Treasury being open during a considerable period of the war, for bills on the Court of Directors, Foreigners have not had the same means of getting money for their own bills on Europe as heretofore, when in more peaceful times, the Company's Treasury was shut, but have been driven, as in the days prior to our conquest, to the desirable expedient for Bengal, of bringing with them a considerable portion of specie to provide their investments. But now that peace has returned, the scene must change; our invaluable acquisitions in that quarter by the war, and more immediately the important cession of Ceylon, as well as the recent desirable acquisition of the full possession of the Carnatic, by adding new stability, security, and resources, to our Empire in the East, will enable us, to the great relief of the Company, to reduce considerably our general expences, and to make large reductions in our military establishments at the different Presidencies. The increased Revenue arising from our new dependencies,

combined with the growing means in the view of the Company, of reducing their debt to the standard limited, must, in the event of the continuance of peace, rapidly raise the British interests in India to a more durable and enviable state of prosperity than any they have yet witnessed. Then, unless we now anticipate and subdue the danger, in the easy means afforded to Foreigners of providing their investments through the specie of the country, for bills on Europe, from the Company's Treasury being no longer open, will this influx of bullion decline, and the evil itself become still more perceptible. The present, therefore, is the moment to correct what is defective, without impairing that which is perfect, and to establish a system, on the basis of ensuring to the Company and the Nation increased advantages from our possessions in the East, without, at the same time, in any way disturbing the main foundation of our present system of Indian policy, or affecting the rights of independent Nations.

But, say the Court of Directors in their Report, "*we cannot in justice seek to deprive foreign Nations of the rights they have acquired to a share in the Indian Trade.*" If such were the pretensions of the Free Merchants, these pages would not be devoted to shewing the policy of extending to them the indulgence they solicit. But the argument is pressed against them with more of acrimony than of justice. Undoubtedly an attempt of this nature would justly irritate, against us, all Nations trading to India. It never can be in the contemplation of Government to interfere with the rights of foreign Nations to visit Hindoostan. But it is not less the interest of the Company, than it is the duty of Government, to prevent foreign States from exercising this right injuriously to ourselves, by converting it into the means of encouraging our own Subjects to violate the laws, and wound the interests of their Country, by carrying on, under their flag, a Clandestine Trade, to the profit of these Nations, and to the loss and injury

of the Mother Country. All that is demanded is, that the Trade of foreign States may not be carried on with British capital, but that it may be prosecuted with their own in the freest way, compatibly with their acknowledged rights. Can foreign Nations complain of this? Will their Governments, conniving at this breach of the moral duty of States towards each other, be disposed to remonstrate against extending nothing but fair protection to our own interests, and giving to our own Subjects, merely those advantages which a breach of this duty has enabled them to attract to their own ports? Will it lay us open to complain that we are just to ourselves and to them, not seeking to interrupt their fair Trade, but only labouring to protect our own, and guard it from the dilapidations arising from an invasion of it on their parts, by employing their flag to undermine it? Surely no Government can be so absurd as not to admit, that in this we are acting strictly within the rule of national policy and justice. Enjoy every privilege of your own, but leave ours sacred. Debase not the honour of your flag by waving it as a veil to cover illicit Commerce; and in this way every cause of jealousy or complaint is removed. Meet our Merchants in the markets of India with your own capital, but do not encourage them to enable you to trade with theirs. This is all we desire. Where is the foreign Nation that can feel wounded by this language? And is not this the language which sound policy invites us to hold on such a subject? It is chimerical to suppose, that by adopting such principles, they will shut their ports against us—while the wants of luxury continue, and the manners of Europe remain unchanged, the produce of Asia cannot be dispensed with; nor, if what is not likely to happen, we could offend them by being just to our own Subjects, would the severest laws prevent their consumption. In Spain the clandestine exportation of Bullion is punishable with death, and yet the severity of the law has never subdued the continuance of the practice.

Let us then awaken to a sense of our own interests, and without invading the rights of foreign Nations, pursue that line of policy which best protects the Company's Charter, and secures to the British Nation the full enjoyments of its own rights. This line the Directors have well marked out in their own Memorial of 1797, wherein they say, "*The policy of Great Britain certainly should be to remove every obstacle that will prevent our carrying on this Trade upon as low terms as any other country. If this was done, there is every reason to hope that almost the whole trade from the East would pass through London.*" If, by fair commercial regulation, not trenching on the rights of other maritime Nations, this can be effected, will it be maintained that we are not invited so to do by every principle of commercial and public policy? And if this can be attained by only placing our own Subjects in India, in respect of the East India Company, on the same footing on which Foreigners stand in relation thereto, with regard to the provision of freight for their goods, will it be argued that we ought to forego so favourable an opportunity of converting a growing and long admitted evil into an engine for adding to the strength and resources of the British Empire? For this purpose nothing is necessary to the British Resident Merchant but the fair operation of his means and his industry. Give him but the advantage of Indian freight for what remains after the Company's investment is provided, and he will meet the Foreigner with superior advantage in the markets of the East, and thereby be enabled to rival him in the markets of Europe: The foreign Merchant repairs to India for its produce, because he can bring it home cheaper than ourselves. But if, pursuing the policy recommended by the Directors in 1797, we can supply him with it cheaper than he can bring it home himself, then, to the benefit of the Company's sales, and home duties, as well as to the customs and navigation of Great Britain, he will look for it here in preference to repairing to so distant a

quarter to procure it. And this seems to be the policy of the Act of 1793 to effect.

In what originated the Commutation Act? We all remember the clamour against it, and yet we have lived to admire the wisdom that dictated the measure. This Act had for its object, as this measure proposes, to destroy a clandestine foreign Trade, and improve our own resources. Prior to the passing of this Act foreign Nations not only surpassed us in the China Trade, but smuggled half of their teas into this kingdom, to the detriment of our Revenue, to the injury of the Company and the fair Trader, and to the augmentation of their own wealth, navigation, and revenue. When that bill passed, what was the consequence? Smuggling was annihilated, the Revenue was increased, the Trade of the Company was improved, their profits were largely enhanced; foreigners were driven from the market of China by the fair operation of British wisdom and British industry, the tonnage was augmented, and the whole tea falling into the hands of the Company, Great Britain became from that period to the present moment the grand emporium of the produce of China, crushing thereby a foreign clandestine Trade, carried on with British capital raised in this country, which annually drew out of it a million sterling. Let us then be enlightened by the lesson, and apply to British India the principle by which we have acquired from China such invaluable advantages to the Empire. In this way, without offending foreign Nations, the general trade of the East will rest with ourselves; and a valuable addition will be made to the means of supporting the burdens of the State.

Having thus established the good policy of attracting to this country as much of the general Trade of India as its capital and industry can

reach, and developed the principles on which such a position rests; having shewn the utility of employing India-built ships preferably to all others, for the purpose of bringing home the Surplus Trade of India, it remains to be considered, in what respect an indulgence of this nature is to be considered, as "*in effect to desire the opening of the Trade altogether?*" And here we may well apply to this assertion of the Court of Directors, the just remark of Mr. Dundas, in his letter to the Chairman of the 2nd April, 1800, as applied to questions relating to their shipping—" *Upon this subject there seems to be a greater abuse of terms, and a more palpable confusion of ideas than upon almost any other part of this complicated question.*" What is it these ships are to do? To bring home only such goods as are not required by the Company. How are they to be chartered? In the first instance to the Company, and re-let to the Free Merchants. By the Act of 1793, the cargoes of these vessels are to be landed in their warehouses, sold at their sales, and their officers and crew subject to all the restrictions of the Company's regulations. Does this, in any degree, partake of the nature of a Trade on colonial principles with our American Colonies, where the Merchant is fettered by no such restrictions, but is left at liberty to pursue the range of the Trade, and is not restricted in the articles of his choice? Can it be said with justice, or even with that appearance of candour and moderation which in general so much distinguish the conduct and the writings of the Court of Directors, that such a measure is to "*divest the Company of its most valuable privileges.*" Let us only soberly look at their privileges, as well as at the rights of the Public. This, possibly, may disperse the confusion; and recal them to a more clear perception of the nature of both.

How speaks the Charter? By the 71st clause of the Act of 1793, the Company's monopoly of the Trade to the East Indies is renewed, but it

is modified and made subject to the several limitations specified therein. The 87th clause protects the Company's Exclusive Trade, by making it unlawful to trade in any of the articles therein enumerated constituting the Exports and Imports of the Company. The 92d clause, to protect the Company's Trade, establishes regulations to prevent the Private Trade of individuals from being landed, or sold, but under the order and authority of the Company. By the 80th clause, any wilful breach, or non-observance of the restrictions, limiting the Private Trade of individuals, is deemed to be unlawful traffic, and a misdemeanor at law. The 97th clause subjects the Agents of Private Traders to the authority of the Company. And the 98th clause restricts any person from residing more than ten miles from any of the Company's principal settlements, without leave from the Governor. So far the Commercial Rights of the Company, as connected with the immediate subject of this Question, extend.

With equal precision are the rights of the Public defined. The 81st clause vests in his Majesty's Subjects in India, Merchants, and civil Servants, a right to engage in the Surplus Trade, and send home goods on board the ships of the Company, "*or in ships freighted by them bound to Great Britain;*" which latter distinction implies, that if any material objection should afterwards arise against the tonnage of the Company, not within the precautionary spirit of the Legislature to foresee, and for which, otherwise, its wisdom would have provided a remedy, that such ships are evidently within the scope and meaning of this clause, as shall best attain its spirit. Indeed, such a case appears not previously to have escaped the attention of Mr. Russell, who proposes, with a view to facilitate for the British Manufacturer the importation of the raw material at as cheap a rate as possible, "*to oblige the Company to find*

“*Shipping in India for him at a reasonable rate of freight.*” The 83d clause, with a view to encourage the Export of British Manufactures, provides a remedy in favour of the Public against the Company’s monopoly operating to their prejudice. The 85th clause compels the Company to keep the home market supplied with a sufficient quantity of the manufactures from India at reasonable prices, and in the event of their neglecting so to do, like the 85th clause, it secures to the Private Trader a right to participate, under the authority of the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India, even in the Company’s own Exports and Imports. The 87th clause compels the Company to provide the tonnage for the Private Trade of individuals at such reasonable rates of freight as (without, it was presumed, exposing the Company themselves to loss) shall, by encouraging the export of British Manufactures, and the import of the raw material from India, “*essentially conduce to the advancement of the Trade and Navigation of these Kingdoms.*” The 97th clause establishes regulations for encouraging individuals to engage in the import trade of the raw material. Of course the practicable facility of so doing is within the spirit of this clause. The 96th clause, so far from dreading an “*enlarged intercourse*” with British India, (in which light the addition of a few individuals never can justly be considered) specially enacts the principle of increased intercourse, by providing, that if, “*upon any representation made to the Court of Directors of the said Company, by or on the behalf of any Private Traders, of the want of a sufficient number of persons in the East Indies, duly authorized and properly qualified to act for them, in the disposal of their cargoes, and the purchase and investments of goods, in return for the same, the said Court shall fail to licence a further number of persons to reside in India, in the character of Free Merchants, to the satisfaction of the said Private Traders, it shall and may be lawful for the said Traders to represent the same to the Board of Commissioners*”

*“for the Affairs of India; and that the said Court of Directors shall there-
“upon licence a proper and sufficient number of persons to reside at their
“Settlements in the East Indies in the character of Free Merchants, with
“the approbation of the said Board.”* Such are the provisions made by
this Act in favour of the Public.

Here, therefore, are the reciprocal foundations on which are placed the Commercial Rights of the East India Company, and those of his Majesty's Subjects in Great Britain and British India; the limits of each, by these several clauses, are distinctly fixed; and the only question will be, whether what the Free Merchants demand is not within the spirit of all these clauses, wherein the rights of the Public are defined; and whether they do not keep clear of any infringement on those by which the rights of the Company are ascertained? This reference to the Charter shews, that they are restricted in their Trade in a manner not to interfere with the Company's investments; and consequently the measure of allowing them to bring home their own goods in ships constructed in our settlements, subordinate to the control of the Company, which is the whole of their demand, so far from *“divesting the Company of its
“most valuable privileges, and carrying on its Trade to India on the same
“principles this Country trades with its American Colonies,”* is, while it is confined, as it ought to be, within the pale of these limitations, not interfering with the privileges of the Company, but solely exercising a right vested in themselves, distinct from these privileges.

The Report assumes that it has established, *“That to bring home the
“fortunes of British Residents not invested in the bills of the Company, di-
“rectly through the medium of merchandize into the Thames, should be
“the main object of the privilege to be conceded to individuals; and that*

“ this privilege ought not, in reason, to extend beyond the total amount of those fortunes, allowance being always made for returns of British Manufactures sent from hence, according to the Act of 1793.” Yet can any position be more contradictory than the proposition here contained? It places, first, this traffic on the narrow footing of a Remittance Trade; and next converts it into the character of an Export Trade, from hence, by admitting that allowance should be made for the returns of British Manufactures. But if this privilege, conceded to individuals by the Act of 1793, was intended by the Legislature to be restricted merely to a Remittance Trade, why mention the returns of British Manufactures sent from hence, when the Court must have been perfectly aware that no such Exports have been made by the British Manufacturer under the above Act? If such had been the policy of this Act, or the original notion of the Court of Directors, why, when these Imports were so largely exceeding the scale of what might be presumed to be the private fortunes of individuals, not interfere to correct the evil, and recal individuals, by legislative provision, to the genuine principles of the Court, and the true policy of the Act? Why, but that the Company and the Nation were equally deriving the advantage of this juster interpretation of the Act of 1793, as explained in the 87th section, and witnessing, with mutual satisfaction, this growing increase in the productive powers of their Possessions in the East; and this gradual beneficial extension of the Trade and Navigation of Great Britain.

But to mark the fallacy of such a notion more clearly, it is only necessary to enquire, what was the object of the Legislature in securing for the Public a right to participate in the Surplus Trade of India? The Act replies, *“ To increase the Trade and Navigation of these Kingdoms.”* This end, it has been shewn, and is admitted, cannot be effected by the

British Manufacturer, but is effected by the Free Merchant resident in India. But if the doctrine should obtain, that this Trade is to be put on the footing of a Remittance Trade, and to be considered only as such, it virtually abrogates the policy of the Act of 1798. Observe the consequences to which such a position would lead. Either this Trade must come home in British or in India-built Shipping. But it has been shewn it cannot come home as beneficially in British Shipping, the records of the Company establishing, that when individuals in India, since the passing of this Act, were allowed to find their own tonnage, their Exports from Bengal were greatly increased; and when they were restricted to the Company's, they were equally diminished. And the same documents establish, that the British Manufacturers have never in any degree contributed towards realizing the ends of the Legislature by availing themselves of their privilege. If, then, this Surplus Produce is to be brought home in India-built Shipping, as a Remittance Trade, without the privilege of returning to India, and compelling these vessels to sale in the British market, (as some propose) it is probable that, in the first instance, Shipping would not be built for so restricted a purpose; and in the second case, it is clear, that to confine it to this, to make it simply a Remittance Trade for the fortunes of individuals, would defeat the end of the Legislature, as the Act recites, not merely of bringing home the raw material as cheap as possible, but of extending the Trade and Navigation of these Kingdoms, and of encreasing the Export of British Manufactures, (as Mr. Russell says) "*to the utmost practicable extent to which it can be carried with safety to the Resources and Revenue of the Nation.*" What would become of the expectations of the British Manufacturer in this case? If, therefore, the plain and indisputable right of the Free Merchant to participate in this Surplus Trade is to be fettered down to the principle of a Remittance Trade, the Legislature must abandon the

hope of realizing the end of its own policy; for unless he is enabled to exercise it consonantly with the spirit of the Act, this end cannot be attained. The British Manufacturer, in the first instance, will not export for himself: and in the next, if he would, he ought not to be permitted to do it to the Company's loss. And in reality, if this Trade is to be confined strictly to the savings of individuals, it ought long since to have been stopped entirely, because the remittances by bills on the Court of Directors evidently greatly exceed the estimated amount of these savings.

To say that a society of individuals thus restricted in the exercise of such a calling, can become dangerous, that "*its genius will antiquate the present system of the Company,*" and that encouraging their industry will render them "*impatient of all the rights of British Colonists,*" has more of fancy than of reality in the picture; and is nearer of kin to the language of fiction than the chastity of sober discussion.

The Poet's eye, in a fine phrenzy rolling,
Doth glance from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven;
And, as imagination bodies forth
The forms of things unknown, the Poet's pen
Turns them to shape, and gives to airy nothing
A local habitation and a name;
Such tricks hath strong imagination.

SHAKSPEAR.

By what principle are they to become so? A common interest. This is not the genius of Commerce. Individual interest is its spring. Commercial struggle is inimical to political association for turbulent purposes. It turns from the world to itself. It seeks the shade of private industry; and content with accumulation sees only its prosperity in the tranquil enjoyment, and liberal dispensation, of its fruits. The haunts of sedition are far from the footsteps of the British Merchant. He is the

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being of a national spirit. He is to be seen exalting religion by his ways. With the outstretched arm of charity he is to be traced, turning to where the imploring eye of indigence or misfortune is lifted to his benevolence for relief. He is to be found at the head of all those charitable institutions, and national establishments, that are more glorious to a State than even the monuments erected to the manes of its heroes—where decayed industry is cherished—where science is to be acquired—where the wants and miseries of life are to be assuaged—where its brave defenders are to be encouraged and rewarded—where, on the altar of patriotism, the voluntary contribution, in aid of the necessities of the State, and the burdens of the people, is to be laid—and where the munificent hand of a PEEL is to be seen depositing his princely boon, dignifying commerce, exalting humanity, and giving to his country an example of the virtues.* This is the post of the British Merchant. In this school was educated, and from this stock is descended, the Society of Free Merchants in British India. Such a community in its essence, were it far more extensive and opulent, would be destitute of the power of overshadowing the Company, even if its ambition were to war against its interest. It is aloof from any of those causes which agitate the great masses of society in Europe, and too frequently rob industry of its arm, and pollute the streams of national prosperity. Those sources of discontent wherein the germs of rebellion are to be traced, and which convulse other States, to them are unknown. They are subject to a Government absolute in its nature, but mild and protective in the exercise of its powers. They are exempt from taxation. They have no feudatory privileges. They have no charters of incorporation. They cannot enact local ordinances. They have neither general nor provincial assemblies; and the powers of legislation are unknown among them. Colonial laws and colonial rights are

* This Gentleman headed the loyalty of the Nation in his magnificent subscription of £.10,000.

equally remote from their view. They are too few to cabal. They are dependant on the Company by covenants, and removeable to Europe at pleasure, on a breach of these, or any other misconduct. Every possible security, therefore, is to be found in the very constitution of such a body to repel the notion of its becoming dangerous.

Is it, then, their opulence we dread? But here is a relief equally within the reach of the Company. If experience should hereafter shew that their Trade is adverse to the general interests of the Company, which present experience belies, it is, at all times, within the power of the Company, to say nothing of the authority of Parliament, to meet them in the markets of India, and from the superior facilities, as the Directors assert, of existing commercial establishments, and numerous agents already spread throughout their provinces, to destroy them by the rivalry of their more powerful weight and influence.

Let us not, therefore, with so many checks to protect our interests, and so many securities to guard us from danger, be driven into dread of the Free Merchants of India, by a phantom created by fancy, but which reason repels on approaching its shadow. The Sovereigns of the East are not to be destroyed by a handful of Traders.

But again, if these individuals do not become dangerous in themselves, the admission of their ships in the Trade to and from India presents a more portentous spectre to our view; and in the consequent COLONIZATION, to which a more enlarged intercourse with British India will lead, we see (say the Directors) the extinction of our Empire in the East. To those who are acquainted with the history of India, the mode of administering

the government of our dependencies in that quarter, and the uniform precautions taken to guard against the occurrence of such an evil, this notion must appear chimerical in the extreme. Where is the country colonized against the will of its Conquerors, or the wishes and disposition of their Subjects? To attract settlers from their native soil to new countries, and influence to adopt them as their own, must not certain advantages be held out to them by the State? Among these are not various immunities and privileges to be reckoned? Are not all the parental aids of a protective government necessary to rear them in their infant growth? But, above all, is not the primary incentive that tears them from the mother breast the occupancy of lands? Thus America was peopled and severed. But in vain is the example to be quoted; there is no analogy between the cases; *there* was an umbrageous and unpeopled continent to reclaim from its swamps, whose soil was to be the prize of its clearance. *Here* is an Empire where the land is bared to the noon-day sun, and is already in the possession of a numerous and enlightened race of people. The whole policy of the Company has invariably been to protect them in the undisturbed enjoyment of this ancient occupancy. The system of British Government is to prevent Europeans from holding lands in their Provinces. The Company have not been satisfied simply with their own authority; they have called in the aid of statute law to inhibit the attempt, unless licensed by themselves, for special purposes not intervening with their own policy; every fence is erected to preserve to the Natives the soil of their ancestry; and there is not one solitary instance to be given in evidence, of any stray European having effected a settlement of land in any of the Company's dominions, against the knowledge or the will of the Government, from their acquisition of the Dewanny to the present period. Nor, with such

means in the hands of the Company to prevent it, would it be possible to colonize India, although the whole Trade of the East were thrown open to the entire population of Great Britain.

How are Colonies founded? Generally speaking, a Colony is transplanting a people into a country in order to cultivate it, or improve its capabilities. There are three kinds of Colonies. The first are those growing out of the emigrations from too populous a state: the second are those that are founded in the midst of conquered nations to retain them in subjection: and the third are such as, in ancient times, for purposes of traffic, were founded by the commercial States of Greece, and remoter Nations. By means of the first Europe was subdued; by the second, the Romans secured their conquests from East to West; and through the milder influence of the last, the most barbarous Nations have been polished and refined—neither of these precisely define the nature of the British dominion in India. But it is evident it contains within itself none of the seeds of colonization: since neither the policy of the Government, nor the disposition of persons resorting to it, invite them to adopt it as their country. By the one and the other it is only considered “*as the temporary residence of a great British Establishment, for the good Government of the Country upon steady and uniform principles; and of a large British Factory, for the beneficial management of its Trade upon rules applicable to the state and manners of the Country.*”^{*} And while it is thus considered, our sovereignty in it is secure. If, then, fact and experience are against the assertion, what becomes of the argument to prove the existence of such danger from the limited and temporary admission of a few more individuals into our settlements for the peaceful purposes of Commerce? The policy of the

* Mr. Dundas's Letter to the Chairman, 2d April, 1800.

Company, its military strength, the various circumstances which diversify the characters of Nations, the statutes of the Empire, the civil and religious institutions of a numerous People, refined in arts, in science, and in manners, separated by their habits and local prejudices, from all domestic intercourse with their Conquerors; these are the barriers that forbid the approach of colonization in our Eastern territories. The Mahomedan and the Hindoo are equally divided by the Kôran, and the Shâster from us; the religion of both repudiates intermixture with opposite Sects; and we remain, to this day, in the midst of abstracted millions, the isolated masters of an Empire, which hitherto we have maintained, and must continue to preserve, as much by the force of opinion as the strength of the sword. These are the barriers which human wisdom and divine authority have erected to mark the boundaries between moral and physical laws; to separate the conquerors from the vanquished; and to preserve to the natives the holy objects of their veneration, the unfathomable antiquity of their origin and unmixed descent, and their pious adoration of their Braminical deities. On the basis of these hallowed prejudices, revered by British philanthropy, which even their Mahomedan invaders abstained from profaning, rises the edifice that is to guard their rights; and it is only when this is levelled, when their temples are prostrate, when the scriptures of their worship have been torn from the depositaries of their faith, and the name of Brahmâ is no longer lisped by the infant Hindoo lip, that their manners and customs can be changed; their aversion from intermixture removed; or their soil transferred to the ploughshare of their European conquerors.

But not less from the singular customs, the peculiar ideas and sentiments of this extraordinary people, than from the prevailing usages in our own

settlements, are we protected from the occurrence of such an evil. In glancing at these, we may trace another security against the danger of colonization. Hitherto the children of British parents have been sent home to this country for their education, at that tender age when the mind is open to first impressions, when the dispositions of the human heart are to be formed; and, educated here, they have been taught to feel this country as their own. Thus trained, they have returned to the East; but as to a "*temporary residence*," and their attachment to the country that reared them has continued unchanged. But if, departing from the wise line of policy hitherto pursued by the Company, of discouraging any system of European education in India, through the medium of public schools, we should establish seminaries of learning there, and transplant the bench of science from the venerable shade of our own academical groves, and thus supersede the necessity of sending British youth for education to this country, and no longer attract the parent home by the tie of his offspring here—then indeed, Sir, I hesitate not to say, we sap the foundations of our security, and shake the pillars of our Empire in the East. We create an affection for India which hitherto has not been felt; we alienate both the parent and the child from the country that protects them; we permanently affix in it British capital; we destroy the notion of a "*temporary residence*," and, by rendering India to both a scene of new hopes and new affections, we implant in it those germs of colonization which hitherto we have so wisely endeavoured to repress.

But the case does not rest here. It is one of the striking and peculiar benefits to which we may look from the measure of admitting these India-built ships to bring home the Private Surplus Trade of British

India, that, in its ultimate consequences, it promises to us a new security against the danger of colonization. By all parties this danger is justly deprecated. Whatever tends to diminish it, increases the security of the Company's possessions. If, therefore, this measure goes to lessen this danger, it deserves the countenance of the East India Company, as a measure not less of commercial, than of political expedience. Now as, on the principle assumed by the Directors, the danger of colonization and subsequent overthrow must depend on the facility with which individuals can get to India, either on the Company's ships, or in foreign vessels, it follows, as a consequence from their own premises, that that system is the most to be desired which increases the difficulty of getting to India, and diminishes the number of adventurers reaching that country. Whether, therefore, does the system as it now stands, or as it is proposed to establish it, threaten most the security of the Company's possessions? Can there be a doubt about this? By the system as it now stands, individuals, who have been refused permission by the Court of Directors to proceed to India, have nothing to do but to cross the Channel, and they are landed by foreign ships either in the Company's settlements, or at foreign factories, where, removed from control, they make their way with hostile feelings into the service of the native Powers, embracing, instead of a commercial, a military life, and threatening thereby eventually the security of the Company's possessions. Thus we have recently seen a foreign European army formed in the service of the Nizam, which, but for the energy of Lord Wellesley, might have become formidable to the Company's Empire; and equally have we beheld a Mahrattah army, thus officered, on a system of European tactics, march to victory and dominion: and in proportion as the number of foreign vessels reaching India, by the extension of their commerce, has

increased, so has the number of these adventurers been increased, and the facility been extended to them of eluding the Company's regulations and authority, and of penetrating into the heart of India. The present system, therefore, of inhibiting India-built ships, and suffering foreigners to engross so large a share of the Surplus Trade, holds out an asylum to them against the rules and power of the Company. But if the Foreign and Clandestine Trade should be greatly reduced, as they inevitably must be, if this encouragement is given to the British resident Merchants, then the number of foreign vessels sailing to India will proportionably be reduced, the facility of getting there will be narrowed, and the number of unlicensed adventurers will be diminished.

The present system, therefore, by the encouragement it offers to Foreign and Clandestine Trade, as far as increasing the facility of getting to India endangers colonization, holds out a greater risk of this evil happening than the system proposed, which, by substituting India-built for foreign vessels, will shut the door very much on emigration to our Asiatic dependencies, from the increased control it will give to the Company, from these vessels being, in the first instance, chartered to themselves; and in the next, immediately subordinate to their own regulations.

Thus, allowing as a principle that colonization is to be deprecated, the measure of admitting these India-built ships, invites the support of the Company, from the fair prospect it exhibits of raising up a new security against the approach of this danger.

But still we are scared by the dangers of INNOVATION, and called upon to avert them, by firmly resisting the admission of these ships. Whoever

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has studied the history of civil society, must have traced the anarchy that results from Utopian schemes; and, if the lesson of past experience teaches us to be cautious in departing from ancient usage, the awful events of our own age too forcibly strengthen the precepts of history, and invite us to approach what is sanctified by time, with a cautious, and a trembling hand. The lesson of the day, in crimson colours, teaches us to prefer the abstract only, as it accords with the moral competence of things; and in the miseries we have seen to arise, from the sacrifice of systems experimentally ascertained to be useful, to abstract theories, and metaphysical innovation, we are almost led into the opposite extreme, and driven into general antipathy against every suggestion that clashes with practice, or assumes, in its shape, an appearance that is new. Yet let not the example of the French Revolution be pressed, against just improvement, beyond what the moral of its lesson will warrant. Innovation in general may be bad—in the particular instance it may be good; and this constitutes the case which forms the exception to the rule. It is not the subversion of any existing establishment, to try experimentally a speculative theory, supported by plausible and ingenious arguments, but it is simply an attempt to secure to the Company, and the Nation, by further regulation, the benefit of a plan founded in the wisest principles of commercial policy, which the experience of five years has practically demonstrated to have been conducted with equal advantage to individuals, the Company, and the Nation, without infringing on any one right or privilege belonging to the Company's Charter; or being accompanied with any counteracting evil. What analogy is there between the adoption of such theories, and the admission of a plan like Lord Wellesley's, just as it is proved to be in its principle, by the advantages which experience has shewn to result from its application? But least of all does this cry against innovation

become the Court of Directors. What has been their own conduct, but to act on innovations of the most important nature? Do they dread innovation? Do they conceive its principle hostile to the interests of the Company? Have they not lately introduced the most novel changes into their Shipping system? Do they not affirm that the best effects have already resulted from this innovation? Have they not introduced the most important innovations into the administration of justice in their provinces, by new modelling the general system of their Adawlets? Have they not, in violation of ancient practice, effected a complete revolution in the mode of administering, and collecting their Revenues in India? Did they not, on a theory, that had not even the advantage of an experiment to recommend it, stake the whole system of their territorial Revenues on the plausibility of its doctrines, and place the safety and prosperity of a great kingdom on the issue of an experimental attempt to ameliorate its condition? Have they not changed the entire tenure of Landed Property in Bengal? Have they not abandoned their claim of sovereignty in the soil? And do they not now maintain, what here it is not intended to deny, that experience has proved, that in the growing improvement of their Empire, the wisdom of these innovations is to be traced? Was not the Regulating Act of 1784 an innovation? What are all the revolutionary changes in the original constitution of their armies, but so many innovations? Was not the Commutation Act an innovation? Is not their modified monopoly an innovation? Is not the statutable tonnage an innovation? Is not Lord Wellesley's plan an innovation? And what has been the result of these united innovations, but to increase, by the admission of the Directors, the security and prosperity of the Company? What then becomes of this phantom of Innovation, when touched by the light of History, or the arm of Fact? As far as any argument is to be

drawn against the measure, from the dangers of innovation, it turns the opposite way, and serves to recommend experiment, since the conduct of the Court evinces they have never dreaded innovation, where the deepest interests of the Company were staked on the issue of their own theories ; and that experience shews, that the best practical effects have resulted from their rising superior to such terrors ; and reaching to the class of enlightened and successful innovators.

Now then I meet the assertion, that this is a direct attack on the Charter of the East India Company, and points, in its ultimate consequence, against its renewal. Who are the alledged assailants ? The Free Merchants of British India. What is it they are charged with attempting ? To force, through legislative interference, the East India Company to give to them, as they are bound to do by the Act of 1793, the means of bringing home their Private Trade to the Port of London, at such a reasonable rate of freight, and with such facilities of conveyance, as shall enable them to carry on this Commerce in a manner the most compatible with the intentions of the Legislature, and the best calculated to improve the resources of the Company, and the Nation. This is the utmost of their attack ; and the question on this will be, Whether such an application, in its nature, warrants the imputation of its being levelled, from sinister motives, at their Charter ? What is the plain case ? These Gentlemen demand, what by law they are entitled to have, every reasonable facility from the Company for the uninterrupted conveyance of their Private Trade. They ask, as this trade can only be conducted on principles of the strictest economy, and made to centre in this Country but through the lowest attainable freight, that the Company will, in consideration not less of its benefit to themselves, than of its national importance to the

State, promote the attainment of this desirable object, by supplying them with a cheaper freight than they have hitherto paid to the Company for the conveyance of their goods, to the mutual relief of both. This freight is obtainable in India, where the produce exists; and is not to be procured here, from whence the extra ships have been sent to bring it, at a loss to the Company and to individuals. On this point therefore, the parties are at issue. Say the Company it must come our way. No, say the Merchants, if you mean that this commerce should centre in Great Britain, it must come ours; and in saying this, we assert your interests not less than our own cause. Neither can agree. This then is a question of appeal. To whom? To Parliament undoubtedly. On what ground? On the construction of its own act. Has Parliament no right to expound its own statutes? Is there no privilege in the Legislature to explain and declare its own intentions? In what shape then does the question meet the legislative eye? Not as an attack on the Charter of the Company, but as an appeal to their justice. The East India Company, for certain considerations, obtain the renewal of their Charter, and enter into specific obligations with the State. Among these they bind themselves to give every possible facility towards effecting the ends of the Act of 1793, by aiding, to the utmost, the extension of the Trade and Navigation of these Kingdoms. It is therefore the case of a bargain between the Company and the Nation; and the question may lie—not whether the Charter is attacked, but whether the Charter is impeached by breach of contract? The Company are in the quiet possession of all the benefits and advantages, ceded to them by the Legislature, as the consideration for certain rights made over to the Public by the Company. And the Public is not in the plenary enjoyment, in the manner intended by the Legislature, of the privileges purchased for it by Parliament, from

the East India Company. In this shape the subject comes before the Legislature, and the only question to consider will be, not whether the Charter of the Company is attacked, but whether, in the fair spirit of justice, the Court of Directors have given to the Free Merchants resident in India, and others, such reasonable facilities in the carrying on, and conveying of their Private Trade to and from India, as by law they are bound to do, according to the intentions of the Legislature by the Act of 1793 ? What more do they ask ? Or where is the separate privilege of the Company they seek to invade ? In this the essence of the case consists ; and if this can be made out in point of candour, or justice, to be an attack on the Charter of the Company, it must be through some process of ratiocination beyond the limited powers of my understanding to comprehend. Away then with the unfounded notion that an application for relief, in such a case, is an attack on the Charter of the Company ! Woe be to either side who see their interest in a violation of the national faith ! It is not in the sanctuary of British justice that the principles of public law are to be profaned. The Company's Charter is sacred. Parliament will never countenance any measure that really invades it, or that can disturb that general system of policy by which our possessions in India have hitherto been held so beneficially for this Country. But while Parliament will respect the rights of the East India Company, it will protect and enforce the exercise of the rights of the Public, held equally under this Charter. Parliament will see, that while the Charter is maintained, the intentions of the Legislature are not frustrated by causes which may be removed, without disturbing the Charter of the Company. The Company have privileges ; let them be sacred. The Public has rights ; let them be enjoyed. This is all that is demanded. The Free Merchants resident in India are too enlightened, not to know that the East India Company

alone ought to be the grand national organ of communication between India and Great Britain ; that experience has proved this system, under all its difficulties and objections, to be the wisest and safest principle by which we can preserve, with advantage for the British Nation, the sovereignty of India. It is presumed they must be sensible, that it is impossible to hold India by any other tenure beneficially for these United Kingdoms, than through the medium of a Company, and of a responsible power, both in India and here, subordinate to legislative control. Such a body cannot but be sensible that their best security is in the preservation of the Company. Fostered under its wing, they have risen to maturity in the shade of its strength ; and if they have an interest more prominent than another, it is, to prop the Parent that has nourished them in their growth. They know that on the pure and protected sovereignty of the Company depend the preservation of their own Trade, and the continuance of their security and comforts. They feel that these would be sacrificed by throwing open, to the cupidity of inexperience, the general Trade of India. In such an enlarged extension they would trace the fall of the markets in Europe, the disappointment of the Manufacturers of Great Britain, an increased debasement of the manufactures of India, the decline of its revenues, the impoverishment of our provinces, and a general stagnation of credit. In the fall of the Company they would perish themselves : at this moment their capital is considerably locked up in the hands of the Company, and for large advances in bullion their only securities are paper from the Company's Treasury. Embarked therefore with them in maintaining their sceptre, they are deeply concerned in preserving its hold ; and they look, as their firmest security for the recovery of their debt from the Company, to a sacred respect for its rights, and a just veneration for its Charter. Far be it from them to

seek, on light and trivial occasions, to contend for the dangerous doctrine of substituting a discretionary interpretation for the letter of the law, where the law has clearly expressed its will. But if this be a case where the spirit is clearly to be traced, and the letter is not manifestly at variance with it; if it be a case on which the most important interests hinge, as relating to the Company, to individuals, and the Nation, they then ask from the wisdom and justice of the Directors, that they will not throw difficulties in the way of renewing their Charter hereafter, by standing up too rigidly on the letter against the manifest construction of the spirit of the act, and the clear discovery of the evident intentions of the Legislature. This, Sir, really seems to me, as far as I am able to trace it, to be the utmost extent of their attack, and the general sum of their principles.

With respect to the fears expressed either for the safety, or the future renewal of their Charter, by giving to it a fair and liberal construction, no body of men ought to be more sensible than the Court of Directors how little such fears are grounded in any just cause of apprehension. Is it at a moment when their Charter has been so recently renewed, and when, by one voice, Parliament and the Nation are equally sensible that the preservation of our dominion in British India depends on the continuing in the East India Company, the sovereignty of our possessions in the East, that such visionary apprehensions can be seriously entertained? Can it be imagined, after so much experience, that if human wisdom could have devised any system by which these territories could have been held more profitably for Great Britain, than through the medium of such a Company, that it would not, at the expiration of their Charter, have met with protection, when its patronage may fairly be considered as an object of so much temptation and desire with the Crown, and with Mi-

nisters? But Providence, Sir, who has given to us this Empire, has not willed that it should be the instrument of destroying our liberties. In redeeming it from the tyranny to which it was exposed during the decadence of the Mogul authority, and placing it under the shield of British power, he has raised up insuperable difficulties in the way of its assailing them, beyond the natural political jealousy of their vigilant and constitutional guardians. He has made such a sovereignty depend on the existence of such a Company. And were the Crown to-morrow to subdue this jealousy, and obtain possession of these territories, it would feel, in their decline, the necessity of re-establishing, on its present basis, this great and only solid organ of communication between India and Great Britain. This assertion depends not on experiment. History records the fact. Even at a period when we had no territorial possessions in India, and when Charters, like other rights, were a prey to democratical violence, the Republican Usurper made the attempt; he threw open the Trade to India, and after three years of disastrous experiment, he bowed to the justice of this principle, and re-established the then Company again. Such an Empire can no longer be beneficial to Great Britain than while it yields to us a considerable surplus Revenue, after defraying the charges of maintaining it. This Revenue can only be remitted home through the medium of Trade, and a Trade subordinate to the control of such a body. And this revenue itself can only be fed and realized through the regular supply of those large sums issuing out of the surplus Revenues, which are annually advanced to the Weavers and Manufacturers by the Company, for the provision of their investment. Such a revenue is a great national object, and can neither with safety or certainty be realized through the precarious operations of Private Commerce. The Nation could not in prudence trust to the private Merchant the remittance of

such a stake where the means of its payment must entirely depend on the fluctuating and uncertain profits of his trade. Nor could the private Merchant guarantee to the Nation those regular supplies and advances to the Manufacturers of India, and those invariable demands for the produce of their industry, which at every hazard are made by the Company, and on which the prosperity of the natives, and the permanence of the revenues, depend. The capital and influence of such a body alone is equal to the attempt.

Yet even this is not all the difficulty. If the Nation to-morrow, fatally for its true interests, and to the danger not less of its Constitution, than of the immense customs it derives from the present system of intercourse with India, were to take off from the Company all their dead stock, to purchase their forts and military stores, and to repay to them the sums due to them by Government, and the immense debt owed by the territories of India to the Trade of the Company, with a view of encumbering itself with the Government of these distant dependencies, and of throwing open the Trade with India to the general enterprise of individuals, the Company would still remain a body corporate and politic, by the 3d and 17th statutes of George II. and the 21st of George III. The different factories in India held and purchased before their conquests, would continue theirs; the whole China Trade (the most profitable branch of Eastern Commerce) is so entirely in their hands, as to be irrecoverable by any body whatever, and would yet remain in their possession; and the Public, let into the least valuable part of it, (the Trade with British India) would still have to compete against a rival every way more powerful, wealthy, and experienced than itself. Under such circumstances the issue of such an attempt may be easily

foreseen. It is, therefore, not too much to say, that the insuperable difficulties in the way of holding India, while it remains subject to the sovereignty of Great Britain, by any other tenure than through the medium of the East India Company, are an unfading security to the Proprietary for the perpetual renewal of their Charter. Let us admire, Sir, the wisdom of Providence, who, in giving us such an Empire, has placed beyond our reach the means of converting it to our destruction; and who has bestowed it on a People, who hold it but in trust for the happiness of the millions that inhabit it; and who have shewn, amidst a world in ruins, by the sacrifices and triumphant struggles they have made to preserve their independence, that they can cast it from them, if ever it should taint the security of their Constitution.

One point only remains. On a question of this magnitude, involving the most essential interests of the Company and the Nation, it is deeply to be lamented, that it should be agitated on either side with any disposition to intermix the spirit of party with a subject that rises so much above it; when the contest ought only to be, who most can enlighten the State to a sense of its interests, and who best can direct its judgment to a right determination. I am sorry to observe not less in the spirit of this Report, than in their public debates, that the Court of Directors have not been able, in their anxious and laudable zeal, to defend the rights of their constituents, to preserve themselves entirely from the contagious influence of this corrosive feeling. They are not contented with calmly assigning their reasons against the measure recommended to their notice, but they have laboured to impress the Proprietary with a notion that this is an attack on the rights and privileges of the Company, in the first instance, by the Free Merchants of British India; and in the next, by those of their old Servants, who have appeared in their General Courts

in their behalf, who have risen to fortune in their employ, and whom they charge with ungratefully struggling to injure their benefactors. If these respectable individuals were really capable of a dereliction of those feelings which best ennoble the human heart, and were struggling intentionally to wound the interests of a body to whom they are indelibly bound, they would find in me an enemy, where now they meet an advocate. But what is the theatre of their ambition, and to where do their struggles aspire? To serve their Country and the Company, by opening to the view of both fresh sources of prosperity and wealth; and by offering to them, in the contemplation of so important a question, all the advantages to be drawn from the stores of local knowledge and observation within their reach. Is it to attack the privileges of the Company to differ with the Court of Directors? Is it to be ungrateful with proprietary rights and interests, not to yield a blind obedience to opinions which they know to be founded in ignorance and error? If a man, being a servant of the Company, were to seek its destruction; if, unmindful of past favours, he were to conspire his own elevation on the ruins of the rights of the Proprietors; if, in the career of his ambition, he trod down the Charter of their existence, and, heedless of its consequences to the freedom of his country, sought to pollute its Constitution by throwing the whole patronage of India into the hands of the Minister; then, possibly, the charge of ingratitude might apply, and the voice that was raised to defend him, would be drowned in the clamour of reproach. But when, in support of the principles of their Charter, they are seen labouring only in the furtherance of those measures which the Court of Directors, in their Memorial of 1797, admit to have been productive of advantages to the Company and the Nation, greatly exceeding the warmest expectations of their most sanguine promoters; when some of them, on the renewal of their Charter, were distinguished as the firmest

champions of their rights, a candid Proprietary will render to their motives the justice they deserve, by drawing the distinction between an honest endeavour to advance their interests, and a factious and wicked attempt to degrade their Executive Body. If it be a crime to denounce the injury to the interests of the State from the extension of the trade of foreigners with British India—if it be a crime in them to assert that this evil will subsist, in defiance of all the orders from home, without “*a generous allowance for the interests, feelings, and natural claims of individuals*”^{*}—it is the crime of a man whose services have given him as much celebrity as his wrongs, and whose name it is impossible to mention but with sentiments of respect and admiration—MR. HASTINGS! If to denounce the wasteful system of the great quantity of extra British unemployed shipping sent out by the Court of Directors; if to assert that India Shipping alone should be employed in the Private Trade of individuals, and that by law “*a power should be given to the Governments abroad to allow the British subjects resident in India to bring home their funds to Britain in the Shipping of the country,*”[†] be in them a crime, it is the crime of a man, of whom it is not too much to say, that the fairest pages in their records are those wherein his great and comprehensive mind, in the widely extended sphere of its varied and still more arduous duties, grasping equally all the complicated interests of such extensive and distant provinces, is to be traced, preserving for the Company, by his wisdom, the Empire which their soldiery had acquired for them by their valour—the Right Honourable HENRY DUNDAS! These are the partners in their guilt, and the participators in their struggles to destroy the Company! Indeed, Sir, it is time to cast off this peevish spirit, to abandon these little notions, “*to quit the contracted views of monopolists*

^{*} Hastings's Memoirs.

[†] Mr. Dundas's Letter to the Chairman, 2d April, 1800.

*“ for objects tending to promote the prosperity of those territories from which we derive so valuable a tribute,”** and do justice to their servants and themselves, by perceiving, that the former in their conduct are actuated only by a laudable desire of promoting their interests; and that, in respect of themselves, if these individuals really sought to weaken their authority with their constituents, least of all would they in prudence attempt it at a period like the present, when the Direction is surrounded by that voice of support from the Proprietary, which is but the just acknowledgment of the confidence that in general it deserves.

To conclude, Sir—this is a case of evidence. On the one side are facts the most important, and consequences the most beneficial: all the authorities of Indian history; all the light arising from the experience of the ablest Servants of the Company, establishing in their result the policy of a more enlarged and liberal system of commercial intercourse between this Country and its Asiatic dependencies. On the other are the contradictory assertions of the Court of Directors, and the uniform wishes of foreign Nations. While we are illuminating for peace, the latter are preparing to exult in the decision that shall confirm to them, at its opening, all the advantages which hitherto they have enjoyed at the expence of our neglect in not securing them for ourselves. There is not a foreign commercial house on the Continent connected with India, that is not anxiously looking to the result of this struggle, and that is not sensible, that if we should decide to recover for ourselves what mistaken policy has hitherto permitted them to alienate from us, that there is an end of their clandestine speculations and intercourse with British Subjects, and of their pouring into India, as they now do, a debased imitation of our

* Hastings's Memoirs.

own Manufactures, to the discredit of the superior skill of our Artisans, and to the detriment of the sale of the produce of their ingenuity throughout the East. To the importance of this Trade foreign Nations are actively alive. They have had the experience of its sweets; and they know that they can only retain them while we are supine. The present is a period which imperiously claims our attention to its nature, and invites us to adopt immediate measures for securing it to this Country, in preference to its going to the ports on the Continent. It is already a Trade swelling to the extent of between four and five millions annually, carried on with comparatively a small capital, and without injury to other classes of interest here. The Court of Directors have already admitted, in their Memorial of 1797, that "*upon the return of peace the French, Flemings, and the Dutch, will no doubt vie with each other in establishing free ports to attract it to themselves; the free ports on the Continent, previous to the war, were and are, Ostend, Lisbon, Hamburgh, and Leghorn, More may be expected on a peace, particularly Flushing; and it is to be feared the French and Dutch will establish free ports in India.*" In this case such advantages must attach on frequenting these ports as will require all the wisdom of this country to counteract. Peace is returned, and already ANTWERP rises from its ruins! Now then is the moment to attract it to our own shores. If this is not effected, the Americans, who are daily and rapidly increasing their share of it, and extending their connections in India, will still further turn it to their advantage, while the French, whose custom it has been to go thither with credits from London for a great part of their cargoes, united to the Dutch, Danes, and Portugeze, will commit such additional inroads on it as to carry it away almost entirely from this Country, to the detriment equally of the circuitous Trade in India, and of the Company's sales in London. The importance of a striking fact will speak more forcibly

to the good sense and judgment of the Nation, than all the reasoning which it renders unnecessary. Ostend, in 1793, saw more Indian tonnage in its harbour than entered the Port of London. What, then, is not to be apprehended, if branches of British houses are domiciled on the Continent for the purpose of carrying it on under foreign protection? Nothing short of the Marquis Wellesley's plan, sanctioned by law, permitting India-built Ships to come to England, (which is the mean proportional proposed by Mr. Dundas, between the extreme opinions of the Directors and the wilder notions of those who are for throwing the Trade generally open) which will give a supply of certain, convenient, cheap tonnage, can effect this. And even then it will require all the support and protection of Government, and all the patriotism of the Free Merchants and their Agents, to render London "*the great Emporium of Indian Commerce.*"

These, Sir, are no common objects to accomplish. They attach to high duties. They appeal to the wisdom of the Legislator. They invite the attention and reflection of the Patriot and the Philosopher; the judgment and the decision of the Statesman and the Minister. In this question are to be traced the great principles of legislation; the genuine sources of national happiness. It attaches on the prosperity of kingdoms; on the durability of our sovereignty in the East; on the fate and glory of the Empire at large. Peace has returned to calm the anguish of a desolated and a weeping world, and the wounds of humanity no longer flow. It invites us to look at our situation. If it arrests the sanguinary conflict of two great nations, created by God and Nature, not to destroy but to esteem each other, and walk in his ways, which are the ways of pleasantness and peace; if it be a Peace in the spirit of peace, let us hail it with the voice of gladness, for our Army in Egypt has bound it with

a wreath of glory. To the Minister we will say, if the triumphs of humanity are to him more dear than the trophies of victory,

Hæ tibi erunt artes pacisque imponere morem.

We will not ask whether, when the genius of his predecessor, overwhelming sedition, rebellion and invasion, has enabled him to seal this Peace by proud acquisitions, and the prouder preservation of our Liberties and Constitution, overlooking the patience and fortitude of the People, he preferred adding to their burdens at a period when France, repentant of her crimes, appeared to be renouncing her deleterious principles, by hopelessly endeavouring, when deserted by our allies, to overthrow the colossal dominion of our enemy; and by rashly exhausting the resources of his Country in the improvident attempt of tearing up a mountain whose base is as wide as its height is inaccessible—we will be satisfied with what has been obtained. We will exult in the reflection, that nothing has been lost, but that much has been acquired; that if the war has been unequalled in its expence, it was unparalleled in its danger; that if we were abandoned by allies, we were true to ourselves and to them; and that, in the wreck of surrounding nations, the wisdom of our Councils, and the valour of our Soldiers and Sailors, have enabled us to survive a tempest that has swept the world. .

Yet still it is a Peace that meets us with distrustful aspect, and places more at issue on the life of an individual than might have been wished, if circumstances could have been controlled. In reviewing the past, we are naturally led to be fearful of the future. In the revolutions to which human affairs are subject, the most awful changes have happened within the last ten years, both in the sovereignty of Empires and the opinions of Civil Society. What may be their ultimate effect, whether once more

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to cover Europe with the night of darkness, or, what I am more inclined to believe, to reclaim, by the lesson of suffering, an erring world to virtue and religion, is beyond the reach of human intelligence to say, and lies only to the view of Him who, for purposes best known to himself, but originating in his perfect wisdom, has suffered these jarring elements to be so long afloat. But this truth at least results from the present position of public affairs, that Europe is convulsed; and that all nations bordering on the dominions of France, must be materially affected in their general interests by the change she has undergone; and it would be rash to say that in all respects our liberties are as secure as prior to her fall. In the neighbourhood of such a moral convulsion we could not but vibrate under the general concussion it occasioned. In the subjugation of almost every State in her vicinity, we have seen nation falling after nation, and all dominion on the great Continent of Europe gradually centering in France. The ancient order of Europe is no more. The harmony of nations is dissolved. Prior to the consular elevation of him whose genius now guides the councils of France, the political state of Europe had varied as much as the moral condition of the Empire he rules. The great security to her peace (the balance of power) was destroyed. A gigantic, overbearing, ferocious, military democracy, growing out of her grave, containing within itself the inflammable principles of perpetual explosion, became the arbiter of the European continental world, and all nations unattacked looked with terror at the destruction which, in its advancing progress, it threatened, to their civil and religious institutions. Alliance, neutrality, enmity, were no securities against its ravages; it preyed upon its friends as well as its foes, and sacrificed all alike to its thirst for martial enterprise. This was a new monster in the political world, which all nations were equally interested in subduing, as aiming at universal anarchy and

plunder. Yet so far were they all from feeling this truth, that this monster, which we thought would have perished in its cradle, is already on its legs, and striding over its ruins. At an expence which almost weighed us down, like Hercules, we have fought and smote it from us, but though it bleeds in the contest, we gasp from its blow. To crush this hydra, Europe has fought in vain. What she, however, could not accomplish, one man has effected. To the genius of BONAPARTE was reserved the glory of enchaining it: and if he succeeds in preserving it in its den; if, collecting around him the shattered elements of its destructive ravages, he re-unites them into freedom, religion, and social order, mankind will turn from the blood he has shed, to the good he has accomplished; and posterity, in spreading a veil over his usurpation, will overlook the means by which he ascended to power, to contemplate the use he made of its influence, and admire the splendour of his military achievements.

On the duration, then, of his authority and life, perhaps, the continuance of peace may much depend. In the altered situation of France, we are summoned to look forward to the future with additional anxiety. Without impeaching the sincerity or the intentions of France, we are called upon to look at her interests, and survey her situation. What have we seen? She has subdued the greater States of Europe, and been baffled by ourselves. She stands on the ruins of her own Empire, still heaving from the throes of internal faction, looking at the nations she has vanquished, yet turning, in the midst of their fall, an eye of hope to the surviving power of these United Kingdoms. Her enlarged dominion she feels but weak, while yet we maintain an Empire more universal than her own. What then will be her object, but to endeavour, by unremitting attention to her marine, to place it on that respectable footing that shall enable her,

at a more convenient period, in conjunction with her vassal states, to dispute this Empire with us, and break down the barriers between her and universal sway? To revive and recruit this marine, will be the primary object of her care; and to strike us where most we are vulnerable, the first effort of her strength. Every encouragement will be given by her Government to increase the nursery of her seamen. The sails of commerce will be widely spread; and INDIA, as the most valuable and the most important of our foreign dependencies, in the event of a future war, will be the object of her attention, and the point of her attack. Imitating the policy of the Romans, our distant possessions will be her first aim. Sicily and Spain had yielded before Carthage fell. It is there, on the coasts of Hindoostan, that we may have to struggle for our sovereignty at home; and it is there that by every consideration of national policy, we are invited to strengthen ourselves. It is not by fleets and armies alone that we can preserve these distant dominions. Let us reign in the hearts of the people, and a bulwark more powerful is erected than even the walls of our glory. Let us attach to our cause and our interests both the Natives of the East and the Subjects of Great Britain, by extending to them all the blessings which a mild and beneficent Government is capable of imparting; and by shewing to them, that if we have reduced them to our dominion, it is only to improve their happiness. Let us not see the foreign flag streaming on the Ganges, to confer protection where we can yield it ourselves; and to bear away to foreign Europe the wealth of our subjects, when we ought to convey it to our own shores. Let us open the Thames to the flow of their gratitude, and the produce of their soil. Let us cast off the fetters of commercial restraint, and breathe the expansive sentiment of national greatness. The Natives of India expect it from us. The Subjects of Britain claim it. The voice of millions implores of their conquerors not

to paralyze the efforts of their industry, but to allow them, for their reciprocal benefit, freely to extract from their soil and their arts all the advantages of which they are capable. The Merchants and Manufacturers of England call upon the justice of Parliament to expand the spheres of their industry. The voice of the Nation speaks. It claims from its guardians renewed securities for its defence, when the great fabric of civil society is rent asunder, and the elements of its safety are convulsed ! These are the calls which attach to this question. INDIA asserts that permitting her ships to bring home her surplus produce to Great Britain, will animate her industry, revive her prosperity, augment her capital, quicken her productive powers in agriculture and manufactures, strengthen her allegiance, and increase the happiness of her peaceful children. GREAT BRITAIN affirms, that it will enlarge her Navigation, her Customs, and her Trade. It will destroy that Clandestine Commerce, which now invades her rights. It will gladden her Manufacturers, by augmenting the calls on their industry. It will render her Metropolis the mart of the Commerce of the East. It will encircle her with new securities. Her harbours will be crowded with the fleets of Asia. The tide of abundance will be hers. The majesty of justice will exalt her power. And the generous principles by which she retains a distant Empire in subjection, in sealing the rights of humanity, will spread new glories round her Constitution !

These, Sir, are the principles that belong to this question ; and these are the considerations that rush upon the mind, when it rises to the height of contemplating its magnitude.

Sir, I have now gone through all I have to offer in the way of reason and argument, sustained by fact, to shew the good policy of admitting

the Free Merchants of British India to bring home, in India-built ships, that surplus produce of our possessions in Asia in which they are allowed to trade, as the only solid mode evinced by experience of accomplishing those great ends which I have shewn it to have been the object of the Legislature to effect, at the renewal of the Company's Charter, by the Act of 1793. If I have treated the subject more fully than to some may appear to have been necessary, it has been under a sense that, in presuming to differ with such grave and respectable authorities, it became me not lightly to impeach their opinions, without assigning distinctly the grounds that have placed me at variance with these. The great respect due to the Court of Directors excited me to examine the subject with care, and by an attentive perusal of their Report, compared with the result of my own experience and observation, I became convinced, that their opinions were not well grounded; and that, to act upon these, and the general doctrines contained therein, in respect of the Private Trade of individuals, would not only substantially infringe on the rights of the Public, but, however the contrary was meant, prove extremely injurious to the true interests of the EAST INDIA COMPANY.

Under this conviction I offer, Sir, to you and to them these observations; happy if by you they should be perused with indulgence, and by them be received as a pledge of the regard I feel for their interests, and the respect I entertain for their Executive Body.

I have the honour to be,

SIR,

Your most obedient humble servant,

GEORGE DALLAS.

T. Gillet, Printer,
Salisbury Square, Fleet Street.