

AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS,

AS THEY WERE, ARE, AND SHOULD BE,

IN THEIR

SOCIAL CONDITION;

BY

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BEING AN ADDRESS, DELIVERED TO A GENERAL MEETING OF THE FORFARSHIRE
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"Bear ye one another's burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ."

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When the following Address was written
the Author was under the impression
that he would have time to re-write the
whole before it was called for by the Adver-
tiser and therefore took no pains on its
composition - & it was hurried through
the press in a few days to be in time for
distribution at their Cattle show without
any proper superintendence - The Author
trusts that the inaccuracies of language
will be - borne with - for these reasons

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AN ADDRESS, &c.

GENTLEMEN,

When I offered myself, in January last, as a member of this Association, on the understanding, that one of its objects of attention would be, *The improvement of the social condition of your agricultural labourers*, I did not think I would thus have the honour of addressing you on this subject so soon after ; but when your Committee signified to me, about two months ago, you would be disposed to hear, in June, a paper prepared by me on it, I lost but little time before I made such inquiries as might render my Address, on the present occasion, worthy, in some degree, of your hearing.

With this view, I visited not only most of the districts of this county, but of other counties also, where I thought a better state of things among the labourers might be in practice ; inspecting cottages and bothies, and gathering as I went along the opinions of all classes—of landlords and tenants, of clergymen and schoolmasters, of overseers and labourers of every kind, and was everywhere most kindly and politely received by all parties. From the kindness of the Secretary of the Highland Society, I have been enabled to see very much that has been written on the subject. I have carefully, of late, too, gone over the great mass of evidence taken, about ten years ago, by the Poor-Law Commissioners on the state of the agricultural labourers in all parts of Scotland. I have also compared much of the Old with the New Statistical Account of Scotland, from which I have obtained a comparative view of their condition during the farming of the old school with that of the present times. But I beg to state, that I have not derived my knowledge of agricultural practice, both new and old, of yesterday, or from books only. Besides having been, for a number of years now,

the minister of a parish, the whole of which has gone through all the changes of farming, and of profit and loss upon it, that any district can go through ;—in my boyhood, even, from the tales of a grandfather, who lived, in the full vigour of his mind, to a patriarchal age, and who, just a hundred years ago, with the best education of the times, and on the wreck of the property of his father and friends, who were involved in the troubles of those times, commenced farming on a large scale*—from him, and from others of nearly the same standing (some of them spirited proprietors, bringing things over from the old to the new school), I acquired in my school holidays from town, and do still retain, a very distinct picture of what farming and what the condition of farm labourers was in those days ; for it was a never-failing subject of conversation with these venerable worthies, and whose fine, and kindly, and polite spirit has so impressed me, that I cannot pass them even now without thus noticing it to you. But, truly, the picture our grandsires gave of agri-

* He was not originally intended for farming, but for the Roman Catholic Church, as a priest, having four uncles in that office. They all were involved in the troubles of 1745, and had to flee the country ; so that I have often heard him say, in joke, that “ the Prince made him heir to six relatives all in one month, at “ seventeen years of age, and he could not help, therefore, wishing him well.” Collecting the debris of the wreck of what his relatives had, and falling in love with a neighbouring laird’s daughter, whose father and brothers also split their blood and lost their all in the “ cause,” he abandoned the church for the plough, taking things very easy as to spades, but not as to books—and his books were no joke, either as to matter or as to language. He used to tell myself, when I grumbled that the master would tell me nothing in explanation of Latin, how easy the way we took to learn it, from what it was in his day—Ruddiman’s Larger Grammar committed to memory, to begin with, and not a word spoken in the school but Latin. He was totally blind the last ten years of his life, but it never affected his cheerfulness, which was great indeed. I have often heard him say, that he would not now like to “ see,” as he could only see things to vex him. I have often awakened at two and three in the morning, and heard my aunt finishing off Sir Walter Scott’s last. She would often stop and say, “ Now, father, there’s just all our friends o’er again.” “ Tush, Betty, read on, will you ? Sir Walter kens a’ about them as well as you do, and tells about them a vast deal better.” There were many such farmers as he, reading their T. Livy to their breakfast, and a tilt at the fencing foils in the evening with the young fellows. I might have given a “ sample ” of others, but for grateful feelings for the stimulus he gave to my very early and very hard way at school of fitting myself for my present office, and partly to give my observations the more weight on the farming of those times. After the fashion of them, he kept open house, and I heard all the good and the evil of the old and new school just opened, discussed a thousand times over by his visitors, most of them retired farming officers, who had seen much in other countries, and in a rough enough way, and who did a great deal in spiriting on improvements. The people were not idly inclined then, but the men had no field for their energies, except that of war. They only waited to

cultural life, and of its ways and means, and its comforts, in their time, was any thing but a cheering one, and they hailed with delight the dawn of our modern improvements and progress. There was then in farming life, among all its members, it is true, what is much wanting in it now, plenty of good-fellowship and friendship, and plenty of leisure time to cultivate this social spirit, and a higher and holier spirit with it ; but there was, withal, a lamentable, and to us now-a-days an unbelievable, penury of almost every thing else that is earthly, and which renders mortal life comfortable. Their houses, their clothing, their dietary, were generally of the very poorest and worst description. Very many of their infants could not come through the great privations their parents were subjected to, and whole families were often cut off together, on the very threshold of manhood, by agues and consumptions, by small-pox, and other epidemics, without having any means tried to save them. It is true that their work was not either very constant or very heavy, but then the fruits of their labours were just as scanty and precarious. Every other harvest was then, from bad husbandry, a late one ; and a late and bad harvest not only brought a scarcity, but even a famine upon the land ; and, except for the *kindly give-and-take way*, and the *never-more way*, in which employer and employed in general lived together, the state of their other comforts seems to have been wretched in the extreme. Now, all this statement, sad as it is, may be easily gathered or substantiated by an inspection of kirk-session records of the times, or of Sir John Sinclair's first Statistical Account of Scotland, most of the contributors to which express their delight at the new system that was beginning in their day even—that is, towards the end of the last century. One of them, for instance, says :—“ Since the improvements in agriculture and manufactures have begun to stimulate industry, the mode of living amongst our people is very much changed ; they are much better lodged, clothed, and fed, than they were twenty years ago. The meagre look, the tattered garment, the wretched hovel, the ill-cultivated and unproductive field, with the other miserable effects of feudal tyranny, and the sure effects of personal services, are causes from which this part of the country has long since been generally delivered.”—(Old Statist. Acct., Parish of Craig.)

Again, another writer says :—“ They pay much more attention to cleanliness and neatness in their persons and dwellings than formerly.

be shown the way, and stimulated to it ; and the pressure from without chiefly did this in time, as it has done in other countries ; as now witness in Ireland, from the failure of the potatoes. The same thing happened to the run-rigs of Scotland from the failure of the manufactures. Thus good comes out of evil.

“ Although there be nothing foolishly shewy, yet the outward appearance of the congregation, on a Sabbath, forms a striking, pleasing, and respectable contrast to what it was forty years ago. Now the labouring classes, both males and females, appear in church as neatly and respectably dressed as the laird’s or minister’s family did then.” —(Garvock, Stat. Acct., 1836.)

I think it but fair to make these statements, because some still bewail the country labourer’s lot now, to what it was in the “ good olden times.” Certainly there was much in it then that was good that is very scanty in it now ; but, truly, not of the personal creature-comfort kind. There was infinitely more hardness in it in this respect, indeed, in point of personal comforts—there is almost no comparison with those of the present day.

In the beginning of this century, and somewhat earlier in many districts, a great change began to take place in the relative position and employments of all classes. Before this period, manufactures, trades, and agriculture, were in a great measure conjoined, and in the same hands ; and the females, of the grass-house men, and crofters, and of small farmers, and the numerous crofter—“ *customer wark* ”—weavers, always paid their rent, and something more, from their spinning and their knitting, and from their weaving and selling their home-made cloth, both linen and woollen. “ There is hardly a house in the parish,” says the minister of Kirkden, in 1790, “ where one or more women are not employed in spinning yarn for Osnaburgh weavers. Many millions of yards of Osnaburgh cloth are every year made in this county. A good spinner can earn 3s. 6d. per week, and they reckon their board only about 1s. 6d. For this reason, many, instead of going to service, continue with their parents and friends, merely for the purpose of spinning, as being a more profitable employment, and in which they enjoy more liberty. Some go to service where only a part of their time is spent at the wheel. Weavers are interspersed at small distances over all the country.”—(Stat. Acct.) And in the same Old Statistical Account we are often told how women, old men, and even boys, would knit stockings while herding their cows, or while going a distance of six or eight miles, without hindering this their work at all by walking, and for the spinning and knitting a pair of which they would get from one to three shillings. But when, on account of the improvements in machinery and the unlimited power of steam upon it, all this source of revenue was withdrawn, and concentrated in towns, the little villages of crofters that were on every large farm were then necessarily broken up, for want of the means of existence. Their ill-tilled run-rigs generally gave them food, and very plain

it was, but could yield them almost nothing more ; and when the manufactures were withdrawn from them to the towns, their occupants could not subsist at all, and they had just to go to the towns after them ;* and before these crofts could be made to yield a comfortable subsistence, independent of earnings from manufactures and trades, they had to be thrown together and made up into large farms, and skill and capital and enterprise brought to bear upon them. And it must be allowed, that, when these croft-manufacturing hamlets were demolished, no very costly or comfortable fabrics were thrown down. "Such habitations," says an agricultural reporter, "are smoky and dirty in the extreme, and it is hard to say whether their occupants or their cattle be worse accommodated. A considerable number of such houses are commonly arranged in clusters, with intermediate houses for their cattle, forming a sort of village, without symmetry or plan. The dung is thrown into a sort of hollow in front of each dwelling-house, which it is difficult to enter without going to the knees in filth, and the nostrils are regaled with perfumes not altogether so agreeable as those of Arabia." Thus wrote Mr Heddrick, of Forfarshire, just forty years ago, appointed surveyor thereof by the National Board of Agriculture.

When manufacturing work began to be withdrawn from the country to the towns, landlords could hardly get their farms let at all,† because

* See Appendix, No. I.

† I have some good notion, also, what the habits of the manufacturing people were in towns at the end of last century, from the circumstance of my own father having been a chief clerk and manager in a spinning manufactory, about that time newly erected, with Arkwright's then mighty improvements. It seems to have been as difficult then to procure persons of proper intelligence and of proper commercial education to manage them, as it was to get such persons to improve the deserted farms in the country. His father's landlord sent for him, and pressed three farms to be joined in one, for three nineteenens and a life, at any rent he himself thought he could pay, and a large grazing farm into the bargain, to encourage him, and which last was let at L.100 a-year thirty years ago ; but as many others were standing back, and afraid to lose their capital, and as there was great encouragement given to young men of a good education from the country, by the manufacturers in towns, as managers, from their knowing best how to treat their new simple hands from the country, he preferred the latter employment ; but from over-work, anxiety, and confinement, his health soon broke down, and he returned to the country, and became an energetic improver too, but quite in the dark as others, and to no profit. He died when but a young man, and myself a mere boy ; but as he took great pains with my school-lessons, and while confined two months before his death, he kept me at home from school, to read the Prayers of the Church of England to him every other hour, to make the confinement less tedious to me, he told me hundreds of little tales of the customs of those times, both in town and country. These two months are by far the most

the farmers did not see how they could gather their rents from their crofters, on whose spinning and weaving they had hitherto depended for the greater part of it, and to raise which their poor women carded and span night and day, while the men "*dawdled*" about, half idle. "The inactivity and indolence of tenants were astonishing. When seed-time was finished, the plough and harrow were laid aside till autumn; and the sole employment of a farmer and his servants consisted in weeding his corn fields, and in digging and conveying home peat, turf, and heath, for winter fuel. The produce of a farm holding proportion to those exertions was barely sufficient to enable a tenant to pay his trifling rent and servants' wages, and to procure for his family a scanty subsistence"—(Meikle, Stat. Acct. 1790.) And a crofter of the old school, lamenting to myself one day, how hard men were toiled now a-days,—“When I was a young man,” said he, “we had *plenty o' meat and nae wark, plenty o' meat and nae wark,*” he kept on repeating, as if this had been the *acmé* of all his enjoyment, forgetting that, while it was thus with the men, the poor women had aye *plenty o' wark but often nae meat* in bad harvests, which were then common.

Many of those farmers who tried to pay rent on the old system of farming, after the manufactures were withdrawn, entirely failed, from either having now too much in their own hands, and not knowing how to handle it, or their sub-tenants not now being able to pay as formerly, when plenty of money came in by the spinning-wheel; for be it observed, that most of the farmers in those days did not think themselves "*well set down*" unless they could subset as much as paid the greater part of their rent, and yet leave to themselves a comfortable holding almost rent free; and some old farmers have told me, that then they had even something over for gathering it from their crofters and carrying it to the laird. A very old but very spirited farmer and factor* in my parish, and who was alive when I was settled in it, used agreeable, as to recollections and advantage, in all my "small life." Parents, make, if possible, your children your chaplains when you are sick.

* Mr Hillocks, long at Mill of Finhaven, a fine specimen of the union of all the kind heartedness of the old school to his neighbours and labourers, with all the spirit of the new, and with whom I had the advantage of discussing their respective good and evil a hundred times over, and no man knew them better than he, for he had lived long in each of them, both as a farmer and as a factor.

As an instance how little land was valued in the last century, a Mr Fordyce of Ardo, on the banks of the Dee, near Aberdeen, wishing to go abroad, offered his home-farm, of forty-five acres of good land, and mansion-house, to a tenant who was then holding it for L.3 a-year odd, at a rise of only L.2 more. "Na, na!" replied the tenant, "by my faith, — has gi'en me mair wit."—(See Old Stat. Acct., Banchory-Devenich.)

often to tell me of a meeting that was held by the Angus lairds about this period, in regard to the numerous failures that were taking place among their farmers, to try to find out the cause and apply a remedy ; and when all conjecture and planning seemed to be at a stand still in the meeting as to how to make their tenants thrive—" Thrive! thrive! roared out a shrewd sturdy improver—" the idle chields! they lay nae count ; tak half their land frae them and double the rent o' the ither half, and I'll warrant them thrive after that." While these farmers paid but little rent, they paid but little wages to servants also ; they generally hired their servants from among their own crofters, at much their own terms, and who could not well afford to say them nay, for they were all generally under heavy bondages of labour and of perquisites either to the laird or to *the muckle farmer*.

If the old crofter's life was the very enviable one it is now represented to have then been, what mean " The Hints " of a clerical statist, published some sixty years ago, to landlords for the melioration of the circumstances of this class ? One of these hints is, " To prevent, by proper restrictions in the leases to their tenants, all unreasonable and extravagant exactions of rent, as well as of personal services of sub-tenants, who too often feel the scourge of these petty oppressors (says he) to whose tyranny they are subjected, when they are not restrained by prohibiting clauses enforced by proper penalties. For instance, a tenant might be prohibited, under the penalty of forfeiting his lease, from letting land to cottagers above a certain sum, (but varying according to the quality of the soil), as well as demanding any of those feudal services which are only so many badges of slavery."—(Stat. Acct. 1790, Foveran.) Many other statistis write in the same complaining strain of the exactions made from the labourers of those times,—and I make these remarks, because I think that class is generally represented as having been then so much better off than they are now ; and the farmer of those times held up as a venerable village patriarch, who regarded and managed his servants and his crofters more as members of his own family than as hirelings ; and so, indeed, in many respects, most of them did. They were in general men of a high spirit and of good feeling, and gave to all those under them, what persons of much self-esteem will bear patiently great hardships for—(as witness the noble bearing of their humble sons to their superiors in many a long and bloody campaign) ; I mean they gave them a due appreciation of a proper self-esteem, and a tender regard for its feelings and preservation, in the humblest that are servants,—and this pearl of great price to a Scotch heart, (at least to the old Scotch heart), both the old lairds and tenants did certainly give to their dependents, how-

ever hard they might be, in other respects, upon them ; and yet this hardness arose, not so much from a hardness of heart on their part, as from a great remnant of the feudal spirit and customs of still older times ;—and their burdens and hardships were regarded by them more as vested rights in their superiors than as anything else, for giving them a constant residence and protection. They were simply a tax on their little home factory, for the land was not meant to pay. I also make these remarks, because, in commenting on the abolition of the old sub-tenant and croft system, and regretting it, the withdrawal of the manufactures that upheld it, is, I think, generally overlooked, and manufacturers in towns have blamed landholders in the country for driving their peasantry in upon them as paupers, when, in point of fact, it was the manufacturers themselves who first, (wisely attending to their own interests), by substituting Arkwright's spinning jenny for the crofter's "*Spinniny wheel and his joe Janety*," and thus withdrawing the crofter's mainstay, that rendered such a move necessary. There is no such reason, however, for sending our worn out labourers to town, now-a-days, as land ought now to be self-sustaining, or nearly so.

When manufactures were withdrawn from the hands of the peasantry, landlords had no alternative but to try and cultivate the land in some such way as to make it sustain in comfort its own labourers, from wages wholly derived from the land itself, while it should yield themselves a reasonable return for their outlay in making the experiment (and many landlords and tenants were utterly ruined in making it). Such an experiment, however, could not be made without putting men of large capital and of enterprise upon their farms to lead the way : and such men could not be procured but by giving them a field equal to their minds and means to work upon ;—and in making out such a field, many crofts had to be joined into one great holding, under a very long lease, and those crofters who were not then needed as labourers, or who did not choose to submit to the constant and heavy work of improved farming, had just to retire to the large towns and employ themselves as they best could about the manufactures there—(See Stat. Acct. 1790, Monymusk, and passim.)

In all transitions, men are apt to run to extremes, and so has it been in that of farming too ; and hence it is, that a sufficient number of *good* crofts and small farms have not been reserved in most districts, to which a thrifty labourer could aspire as the tenant, after a reasonable time of service and of saving. And now that land is so much improved, and farming so much better practised, even by crofters, a crofter, if his land is good, which it always ought to be, and if he hold it direct from the proprietor, which he ought always to do, can, with a little out-

jobbing, live on his croft, and sad pity it is that there are not now many more of them, as a stimulus and a reward, and a resting-place in old age for the saving and deserving labourer.

“ Though there can be no question that large farms tend both to improve and uphold the agriculture of the country,” says Dr Brewster, the late minister of Craig, in the recent Stat. Acct. of Scotland, “ yet a few pendicles of land of from five to twenty acres in each parish, in the proportion, perhaps, of one to every ten families of the agricultural labourers, would present a powerful stimulus to these labourers to save a little fund for the purpose of renting such a possession ; and though only one out of ten could thus succeed in his aim, yet, as all would be encouraged to cherish such a hope, all might feel an inducement to sobriety and industry, which in present circumstances is greatly wanted.” I quote the opinion of Dr Brewster, rather than that of many others I could give—not only because of the great practical power of his mind over any subject he brought it to bear upon—not only because he devoted a long life most successfully to the improvement of the class of labourers now in consideration, as well as to that of the numerous fishers of his parish, who were in a more pitiable state still, but because I had many a conversation with him, and many an instructive letter from him on this very subject, when some fourteen years ago he brought it under the special deliberation of the Synod of Angus and Mearns, and when certainly his brethren entered most cordially into it, and, in the spirit of their office, devised various expedients for it. Many others, of a different profession, and who may be thought by some to be the best judges in such a matter, think that no system would tell more beneficially on agricultural labourers in every way, and in keeping down poors-rates, than a well arranged plan of pendicle holdings, so that any one of which would at once yield to a man and his family when he enters upon it a *fair* and a *free* return for their labours,—I say a fair and a free return for their labours ; for in very many instances, from the way in which these holdings are disposed of at present, there can be no prospect of this. From the fewness of their number, from the great general anxiety that labourers have to get such “ a way o’ doing of their own,” and from the great dread of a town’s life in old age, there is always a great scramble, and often an encouraged competition for them, however bad the land and houses of them may be ; and a heavy tax of bondages upon the competitor’s whole family, or on an honest trade, needful for the convenience of the farmers around, submitted to, or a double day’s work will be generally done by the holder, that an extravagant rent may be forthcoming on a lease of “ from year to year !” yes, a labouring man and his family

will often eagerly seek after the most miserable squatting on any bleak and barren moor that is to be reduced to cultivation,—he obtains it at a nominal rent for a few years, it may be,—he builds himself a hut on it, half stone, half turf,—during his regular hours he labours to another, that he and his family may live barely, and during all his other hours *he slaves himself*—his wife and his children working on his place in the hope that it may one day pay—but, generally, long ere that day come, from toil or disease arising from its hardships, he is called upon prematurely “nature’s debt to pay;” and is not the price of such a field something like, disguise it as we may, the price of blood! I have known not a few instances of labourers thus ending their days, and for farther confirmation of this sad picture, see Black’s Report on the Cottager’s Accommodation in the district of Buchan, Highland Society’s gold medal, 1851. Instead of giving premiums for reclaiming waste land by crofters, let premiums rather be given for good croft land of a certain payable quality, with healthsome croft-houses on it. Indifferent land will not pay a rent as a croft, unless near a town. People of low education are readily got to try anything for gain, or a settlement for life, however hazardous and ruinous; but it is surely the duty of their superiors not to tempt them in any such way. Although crofts of good land might not pay a rent in the proportion of a large farm, as to the outlay of the landlord upon them, yet they would tell so powerfully and so beneficially upon the habits of the labourers, as that they would soon pay in another way, from their greatly increasing their efficiency and their independency of parochial support.

But farming, fifty years ago, was not the certain science it is now, and both landlord and tenant then ran very great risks in expending capital upon a run-rig district, to bring it into proper shape and culture; the capabilities of which district they but ill understood, and the best means of developing them not at all. The tenant, generally, having but a very limited time to recover his part of the outlay, naturally took the readiest and cheapest way of procuring his labourers, and in this hurry of transition, two very important matters were either overlooked or put off, namely:—*The best way of managing and encouraging his labourers when young, and also the best way of providing for them when worn out and unfit for service.* But as no one, I presume, will deny that both these duties are incumbent on the landlord and farmers, whether they be attended to or not, I spend not more time now in attempting to establish such an evident and such an unremoveable responsibility.

The tenant on the new large farming scale, requiring extensive and costly erections for purposes that could not stand over, found, that doing

his work by unmarried servants, required the least immediate outlay, and houses for a proper proportion of married ones could not at first be afforded, or if erected, they were of the worst materials, and of the most stinted accommodation; far less could there be afforded a proper stead-
ing upon a new croft of good improved land—and let at such a rent as the old crofter was disposed to give;—and then there was no help for him but just to retire to a town after the manufactures which formerly upheld him.

Such is substantially the view of the great change that came over the lot of our country labourers during the last generation or two, and that can be gathered from the agricultural statist's and tales of sixty years since. The progress is a natural one, although it has been attended with very serious direct consequences to the social condition of our peasantry—and also with no very slight indirect ones to their employers; but which, after all, seem, on an impartial investigation, to have arisen from circumstances over which none of the parties immediately concerned had any great control, at the time, so as to be able to avoid them;—for all this, be it remarked, took place during the hurry and the necessary absenteeism of our late, long protracted, expensive, and general war.

It is gratifying however to find, that there is now a general wish and a general move over all the country to remedy these social evils that have thus crept in amongst us; although it is likely that it will take years of the steadiest and best directed efforts on the part of those whose duty it is, and in whose power also it is, to redress them.

What the evils of the present social state of agricultural labourers are, I need not now more specially dwell upon. These evils have been loudly and most justly complained of on all hands, and remedies eagerly sought after for them these number of years past. Yet nothing has been done that has sensibly told upon them, and perhaps the reason of this is, that too much is expected from two or three schemes alone, and too much is left to man's generosity in the matter. Thus, while one says, if the bothy system were only abolished, another cries, if married men were only engaged; a third,—if feeing markets were only put down,—a fourth, if servants were only kept from shifting their places so very often,—a sixth, if crofts were only established; and if farmers would only look more after their servants at night, and exact certificates of character from them at the engaging them; and if ministers and teachers would but only visit them and instruct them more diligently, putting good books and tracts into their hands—most of the evils complained of would be removed.

The greatest praise, however, is due to those persons who may have

made, in good style, any one or more of these proposals:—Such as Cowie and Mitchel, Oliphant and Ross, Sheriff Watson and Miller, Gilly and Nicol. The Synods of Perth and Stirling, Aberdeen, Angus and Mearns, and other Synods and Assemblies of almost every Church in Scotland. And for the practical part:—The Duke of Buccleuch, Earl of Mansfield, Lord Kinnaird, Sir John Stuart Forbes, and other proprietors of a like philanthropic-landlord spirit. And although not one or two of their plans might accomplish much, yet, if all their suggestions were vigorously followed up by a great and a simultaneous movement over the whole country, there can be no doubt that a great change would soon take place in these matters, for the better;—nor am I vain enough to imagine that I can do any thing more by this address, than, by a few meagre and hasty ill-sorted remarks, to turn your attention afresh upon the productions of these abler hands, who long ago, and with much distinction, discussed this subject.

In reviewing, of late, the whole state of matters, as obtains now among the labourers of this county, I thought I had discovered nearly a dozen remedies and palliatives, and checks, for what may be bad in it;—and meant at one time to have discussed these seriatim, beginning with the early up-bringing, schooling, and training of the young ploughman, and ending with suggestions for the best way of securing his comforts in his old age; but I found that such a paper would have exceeded all the bounds of a patient hearing; and besides, however well schooled and trained a youth, before he enters upon farm work, may be, yet, when he does enter upon it, he has generally to go through the ordeal of another school, which, without a miracle of good disposition, of firmness, and of Divine grace, must go far to destroy it all. I need not say that this school is the *bothy*.

Then, again, I find that those boys who are well taught and properly trained, will not now, if they can possibly avoid it, enter upon farm work in this very rough way, and do gladly make their escape from it to other occupations. It is well known also, that many of both married and unmarried men, who have been tolerably educated, are leaving it as fast as they can, that they may settle in towns at home, or in countries abroad.

I humbly conceive, then, that the very first thing that demands your attention, and that requires to be reformed, is the *bothy system*. It is now of long standing in the county, for we find it mentioned as being in practice when Mr Heddrick wrote his Survey of it in 1813. I have already alluded to the circumstances that led to its adoption—and, as it would serve no practical purpose, I shall not notice them farther. So it is; and because it is, we find that it is a sore evil in the land.

I am saved the pain of describing to you now, a bothy and a bothy's general morality—this has been so often done already by those who have written to rectify it. Indeed, a very dismal, yet, no doubt, a very true account of both, has been recently and touchingly given by a bothy occupant, a James Nichol, in Aberdeenshire.* Those who write professedly on the badness of a bad thing, are naturally suspected of making it too bad. Such a bias, however, cannot be suspected in the writers of the last Statistical Account of Scotland, nor in the witnesses before the Scotch Poor Law Commission of 1843, every one of whom we find lifting up his testimony louder than another, against the baneful effects of the system. I might give death-bed complaints of their evils, from those who had lived in them, as well as from prisoners, and criminals about to suffer the extreme penalty of the law, as being the cause of their ruin. I might also give the declarations of many of the most zealous clergymen, that all their efforts to improve the inhabitants of the bothy, either intellectually, morally, or religiously, are in a great measure fruitless and vain. "I have found," says Sheriff Barclay to the Poor Law Commissioners, "that these (the bothies) are just so many nests of crime." From the great mass of evidence taken by these Commissioners in 1843 on the subject, I shall only quote that of a member of this Association, and who has a national, if not a European name as an agriculturist. "Witness does not approve of the bothy system " where it can be avoided. Upon his own farm he encourages the cottage system; two-thirds of his farm-servants are married; they are " much steadier than men living in bothies; and he, besides, gets the " labour of their families; most of them are employed all the year " round at moderate wages, which is an advantage to them, and they " are absolutely necessary to him. Men who live in bothies, never form " the same attachment to their places, or to their employers, as those " who live in cottages. The former are constantly moving about from " place to place, being all unmarried. Amongst the latter he has ser- " vants who have been twenty-five years with him." (Evidence of Hugh Watson, Esq., Keillor, Part III., p. 94.)

Now, in this quoted evidence there is not only a pointing to the evils in question, but also to the best way of curing these evils,—and which is, *to go more into the practice of employing married men.*

The Highland Society, so long ago as 1843, in reporting on several Essays on the Bothy System, strongly recommended the practice of the Lothian farmers, where bothies are not in use; but I am not aware that any progress is yet making in this county towards the best parts

* "A Voice from the Bothy," a prize essay. The prize given last year by the philanthropic Sheriff Watson of Aberdeen.

of that system. It is difficult, in the course of a few weeks, to ascertain accurately either the practice or the pulse of a country side: but I have very lately examined the Lothian management of labourers by personal inspection, and conversed with many who know it practically and well. And there does seem, certainly, on the whole, to be a better state of matters there.

The married servants there seem to be much more stationary; and this seems to be secured, in a great measure, by the way in which their wages are paid—cultivating more their powers for domestic and rural economy than can be done when their wages are almost all given them in money, or in fixed allowances as to immediate value, as is the practice in this county.

The way in which the Lothian servants are paid—by so much grain and the keep of a cow—gives a stimulus to those powers, without which it is hardly possible to raise bodies of men to much social comfort; for it is only by some such way that they can be trained to conduct themselves, and to manage their resources to the best advantage. Bodies of men cannot be thus trained by any expedients, however stringent and good, *from without themselves*: They must have sufficient accidents and incidents continually arising *from within* their own establishment to call out and to foster the very same provident habits and social feelings as must be cultivated in their employers before even they, upon infinitely larger means, can prosper. And what is it but the numerous contingencies, for better or for worse, that come hourly upon the farmer both from earth and sky, that make him, although generally a man of few words, yet one of the most provident, cautious managers known, turning to the best account all “the littles” of a concern, and so very shrewd withal, that he cannot be got to the windward of, even “in a horse-market.”

Now, a simple money wage, for the same continued simple work, cannot have such a stimulating and a training power to frugal and to feeling and shrewd management: The mind must get very contracted and powerless under it,—as witness the habits of our soldiery in using their pensions when they are discharged, from this very cause, but which, in their case, cannot be avoided. It is very true that paying all, or nearly all, in money, is less likely to lead to jealousies and disputes between masters and servants, and some think that the strict honesty of the latter might be called in question by continually disposing of grain that, but avowedly only, belongs to themselves; yet, personally, I found no such jealousy or complaints in the Lothians where this is done, and those who have written on the subject make no such surmises.

A Mr Grey, in his evidence before a Committee of the House of Lords on the condition of the labouring poor in Northumberland, where the same system of paying *in kind* is in practice, and the substance of which he gives in a letter printed in his State of Agriculture in that county, very strongly recommends paying in kind, and by cows.

“The wages of the hind,” says he, “are chiefly paid *in kind*, those of his son or sons, if he has any able to work, either in money, or partly in money and partly in grain, as best suits his convenience; but it is generally an object with him to have such a proportion of the earnings of his family paid in kind as will keep him out of the market for such articles as meal, potatoes, cheese, bacon, milk, &c.; and notwithstanding what economists say about money being the only proper medium of exchange for labour, as well as for other things, the custom of paying farm labourers *in kind*, works well for both master and servant. The produce of his garden, his small potatoes, and the refuse of his dairy, enable the hind to fatten two pigs. In this way, habits of industry and of economy are promoted, and domestic and social virtues are engendered and preserved, in a manner, and to an extent, unknown in those districts where the younger members of a family are early driven from the shelter of the parental roof and the control of a parent’s eye.” Alas! this last remark gives the real root of the evils now under consideration;—having no cow, and no work for their children at home, parents must let their children go, before they have got any schooling or training that can be lasting for use, to herd the cow of the stranger. Perhaps the mixed payment of part money, part meal and potatoes, that is practised in this county, is as good as any, if it be only continued; but since the late failure of the potato crop, some in this and in other counties give money instead of potatoes, and allow no pigs to be kept at all. Now, this practice, where there is a family of children, must be a mischievous one as regards health;—and if a grain wage be objected to on the score of temptation to dishonesty, withholding potatoes must be a still greater one. Pigs, by some, are not allowed on the same plea; but where they are not, a certain ration of pork ought to be given, and that just on the plea of greater efficiency in the bodily vigour of the servant, who may not always *buy* (indeed men in their line seldom do buy in Scotland) all that is needful to maintain their bodily *stamina* in good, and in the most *profitable* long-working order. The best and the most unquestionable feature of the Lothian service economy, is that of the *cow*,—and which, if well managed, would foster many of those social and economical virtues which are now at such a low ebb among our serving peasantry. “They have almost all cows,”

says Mr Howden, an old East Lothian farmer, in his evidence before the Poor Law Commission. Witness is satisfied that this is an excellent practice; thinks there are three things essential to the comfort of a good hind;—"a good wife, a good cow, and a good razor." Now, this quaint curt way of expressing what is wanted in our labouring domestic economy, may excite a smile; but, when one thinks of it, this shrewd old farmer of sixty years' standing, has put almost all that has been written and said on the subject of their social comforts, into the nutshell of these three representative words. It is too much to expect of any ordinary woman, that she can make a good farm-servant's wife in all the requisites, and rear and train children who shall also make good farm-servants, and good rural economists as wives, if you do not give her a good cow.* I plead for the cow; not so much on account of the health of her children—although this of itself is a mighty matter in rearing stalwart ploughmen for you—as for the training of her children, especially the girls. Why, in this county, instead of the cow,—the health-giving, rosy-cheeking, and interesting cow,—it is all the dirty, dusty, clacking, and pale-facing loom, that a farm-servant's wife has in general given her to try and make a penny by. And then, how, with a loom in it, can her house be kept nice and clean? how are her husband's dinners cooked, and how dry and poor are his meals? and how are his children kept and looked after? and what kind of serving girls are his daughters in an establishment where cows are kept, and a dairy has to be managed? These, and many such questions as these, deserve the most serious attention, if you would see a better state of things in the quarter we are looking to;—and whether it is to be the cow, or the loom, with a bare allowance of milk, will be decided a vast number of these questions, either for or against the social well-being of your labourers. To support what I now assert, I cannot do better than quote from a letter by another extensive Lothian farmer to Mr Cowie, Mains of Halkerton, and quoted by him in his very excellent address of March, last year, on the same subject, to the meeting of the Kincardineshire Farmers' Club, and which Club stamped Mr Cowie's proposal of giving cows with its approbation—only, the cow to belong to the servant himself.

"I have thirteen married servants," says this Lothian farmer, "who have all cows of their own; they could not bring up their families without them. I am sure their having a cow each, has a most beneficial effect on themselves, their wives, and their children. Besides the feeling of self-respect which property engenders, it gives them habits of forethought, and also of kindness to animals. I have several times assisted individuals with a loan, to enable them to purchase a

* See Appendix, No. II.

“first cow, and they have always speedily repaid me. L.10 a-year would not repay them for the want of a cow, although what they actually make, depends very much on the industry of the wife. I know some of my people make the sum I have named, besides supplying themselves with milk. It improves or excites the energy and activity of the mother, and through her the whole family; so that wherever servants are disposed or compelled to have cows of their own, they are much superior, as a class, to those who have none. I am sure all my people have my interests as much at heart as I have myself. I have never changed one for many years. I never think of them going away. Some of them have been on the farm for thirty or forty years, and never worked to any one except my father and myself.” And it must be so, in the very nature of things, that where a man has got a cow *well tethered* on a farm, he is himself, in a measure, well tethered there also with her; for it will cost him a vast deal more anxious thinking and looking about to get a good place for his cow, than it will, to get a good place for himself; as the whole comfort of the family will in a great measure depend on the good keeping of the pet cow. “The reply which a worthy farmer made to me,” says the Reverend Dr Gilly, an able and judicious writer, too, on the subject, on my asking him what he did to induce his hands to remain with him, should be characteristic of his order:—“I try to make them comfortable, and I overlook little faults in good workmen.” And in all the cottages I visited in the Lothians, there did seem to be a very full appearance of all that is needful for good domestic comfort, and for hired efficiency. I was especially struck, not only with the tidiness of the houses, but with that of the wives and children, as well as with their intelligent look and talk, and civility of manner.

In a county studded, as this one is, with weaving towns and villages, it would be no easy matter to substitute the cow for the loom, as the great bulk of its females are brought up to the latter when young, and are therefore unfit to manage cows profitably when they become the wives of farm-servants, as very many of them do. Indeed, many married men leave their wives and children to weave and to fill pirns in these towns, while they themselves live in the bothies—and this they do, partly to be near such works, and partly because there is a great scarcity of houses for married men on the farms generally. “In many instances, from the want of accommodation upon farms in the neighbourhood,” says the Rev. W. Clugston, Forfar (Evid. P. L. Com., Part iii. p. 62), “the families of ploughmen live in Forfar, while they themselves live in bothies upon the farms of their masters, and change their situations so often that they seldom acquire a residence

“ in any of the parishes in which they may be engaged. Witness con-
 “ siders, that this separation of a father from his family is productive
 “ of very bad effects, both on the one and on the other. Witness does
 “ not consider the bothy system a good one, even for unmarried ser-
 “ vants. He has met with a great deal of Chartism amongst the
 “ weavers ; but at least as much amongst the bothies. He finds that
 “ all sorts of loose opinions are generated there ; and although female
 “ servants do not reside in bothies, he finds that the system has a most
 “ injurious effect upon their morals. Witness finds that the wife of a
 “ farm-servant living separate from her husband, is little better off than
 “ a widow. She gets little assistance from him. She and her children,
 “ if they are of sufficient age, employ themselves in weaving.” I my-
 self could give several cases in support of this, the evidence of one
 remarkable for his acuteness of observation. I have, however, to cor-
 rect it by the statement of the lamentable fact, that female bothies are
 now not few in this county ! And if this be a sign of matters mending,
 let all who know aught of corrupt human nature and of moral decency
 judge. The wives of farm-servants very often remain in a town at the
 loom, because they can get no loom-stance in the country attached to
 their house. And when, as they often do, they take their loom into
 the house, what a mess it soon makes of it ! Their houses have seldom
 more than two apartments,—a kitchen and a closet ; and when the
 loom is put up in the latter, things are not so very bad, although it
 obliges men, women, and children all to herd together, night and day,
 in one confined place, and none the cleaner because the loom is so near
 to it ;—but when the loom and the family must all be stowed away in
 one single cabin, the mistress thereof requires to be a very uncommon
 woman for tidiness indeed, to keep it in any tolerable order. Now, I
 am the very last person who would curtail any means by which these
 poor, hard-working people may earn a penny ; but what I contend for,
 is, that if nothing better, such as cows, can be given them in lieu of
 the loom, whereby they may do so, let them have proper accommoda-
 tion both for themselves and for their looms. Yet most assuredly,
 however suitable the loom may be for the occupation of a female in a
 town, it is just the very reverse for that of a female who is training for
 rural economy, or of one whose husband is engaged in it. I have seen
 some sad cases of distress, when two families occupied each one end of
 the same house, and in one end of it a case of distressing sickness going
 on, and in the other the clack of a loom going on too night and day, to
 the unbearable annoyance of the sick and the dying. And on one like
 occasion, when I wanted this to be stopped, the woman burst into
 tears, said her husband was deep in debt, his wages arrested, and what

could she do?—they must starve if she stopt weaving. However, by a wonder of good fortune, and of favour from a proprietor, another house was obtained in a few weeks for the sick sufferer.

There is one part of the Lothian practice, however, which is creeping into this county, but which, in these our days, so blessed with freedom in all departments, I think cannot be commended, and ought not to be encouraged—and which is clearly a remnant of the bondages of the crofters of the last century, so grievously felt and so loudly complained of by all improvers and philanthropists; and I have a strong suspicion, that it has been through bondaging during the period of their abolition, that the Lothians and other southern counties escaped the bothy system, as much of their work is done by persons, as bondagers, old enough to be in our bothies, both male and female. I conjecture, too, that the payment of the full wage in *kind and cows* to the married Lothian servant, is a remnant of the same old croft and grass-house system,* but a good one; for, when harvests were more precarious than they are now, it was surely a great matter for the labouring man to feel, that whatever the scarcity and dearth might be in the land, his full allowances would be sure. Man is ever more prone to imitate that which is the readiest to minister to his interests, than that which does so by a more deferred process, although it be to better purpose; hence it is, that the bondager part of the Lothian system is getting faster into practice in this county than are the other better parts of it. And man being fully as little generous as he is short-sighted, does not always consider, that any practice that proves a bondage grievous to be borne by his servants, cannot long be profitable to him. And I did find the bondager part of their treatment loudly complained of by all the servants I conversed with in the Lothians;—that the hired bondager knew that they must be had; that not giving their time and their work to those who engaged them, but had to board and lodge them,

* A grass-man seems to have been a day labourer or servant on a farm, having a house and yard, and a cow's *grass* with the farmer's cattle on the common in summer, and straw with them in winter, with which they barely brought their skins and bones only through, alive, to the spring. He himself and his neighbours built the house in a few days, for all were then mighty builders, and skilful, too, for their wretched materials, to make a cot snug in its way, as their ideas then were of comfort. His neighbours also gathered—made a penny wedding for him if poor, furnished the house and bought the cow with its proceeds, and all quite respectable and happy. And this, likely, would be the rooting in said spot of a family-tree that was to stand there for many generations,—as I could easily shew by an inspection of the poll-tax roll of my spirited native county, Aberdeenshire, where this system prevailed some years after it was well-nigh worn out on this more fertile side of the Grampians.

they did not consider themselves as at all their servants; that they were apt to stir up mischief among the families of the hinds, and altogether were often so ill to do with, that, rather than be teased with them, hinds often kept their own sons and daughters at home as bondagers, when either they ought to have been earning better wages as principal servants, or at some other occupation they greatly preferred. And I recollect, some years ago, that a girl, who was anxious to remain and be trained to house-service, as one of my servants, had to leave, because her father, a crofter, had to furnish an out-worker to the farmer. Other instances of hardship to the young have come under my own observation from *bondaging*.

But instead of giving my own gatherings and opinions on this important matter, I beg leave to quote those of a gentleman, and as given in his evidence before the Poor-Law Commission, and who has got, from various causes, as much personal, practical, and correct knowledge of the subject, as any man can have: I mean David Milne, Esq., Advocate, Edinburgh. "The condition of the hinds," says he, "is very much improving, in consequence of the attention of proprietors to the erection of better cottages for them. For as the comforts and the expense of cottage life are increased, the servants who occupy them are of a superior class. But there are serious evils which exist in Berwickshire, connected with the bondaging system. One effect of that system is, that most of the servants employed on farms are brought there, without proper inquiry into their characters. They are hired, not by the farmers themselves, but by their servants,—the rule being, when shepherds or hinds are engaged, that they shall hire a young man or a young woman to work on the farm. Farmers would probably make such inquiries; but their servants are not at the same trouble of doing so, and generally have not the same opportunities. Thus there are often introduced on the farms persons of bad character, who do much mischief to the families of which they become inmates. Hence, also, has arisen the system of frequent changes of farm servants. But even when the bondagers so hired are of good character, I consider the system fraught with evil. It is very unadvisable to take away young men and young women from the protection of a parent's roof. In these various ways, the bondaging system, which prevails in Berwickshire, Northumberland, and Roxburghshire, is doing a great deal of moral and social harm. I believe that the hinds and shepherds are themselves anxious to get rid of it. They held some meetings last year on the subject, and petitioned their masters to get rid of the system; but the masters find it a convenience, and are not disposed to make a change. Some

“ of the proprietors have taken an interest in the matter, and are
 “ anxious to get rid of the system ; but the farmers, on the other
 “ hand, are averse to give it up. I cannot help thinking that it might
 “ be given up without much inconvenience, seeing that the system does
 “ not prevail in any of the northern or midland counties. The farmers
 “ there, when they require additional hands for farm operations, make
 “ an engagement with people in the neighbouring villages, to come and
 “ work for them during the day, for so many hours, just as artizans do.”

There is very often much in a name, and the name *bondager* seems to be as bad in its signification as it is in its sound, to any free Briton's ear ; and can it sound well in the ears of those who have to bear it, and to do its drudgeries, if they still retain the feelings of self-respect that are needful in every person as a good member of society ? Explain it away as we may, the very name *bondager* must have a debasing effect on their minds ; and should any of them, as many no doubt do, go to other places, where the system is not in use, nor the name understood, and rise to a respectable sphere there, how must it sour their recollections of their younger days, and of their country, that then and there they were *bondagers* ! It is far worse in this respect than the bondages that the farmers and crofters had to pay in old times. They were not then hired bondagers, as such. They only wrought to the landlord or farmer so many days, as part of the rent of their own possessions, and which they generally occupied from generation to generation. When children “ put in ” these bondages, they felt that they were putting them in, that both they and their parents might have a perpetual home in the same locality, where they were known, respected, and could be beloved by all in it. They felt, also, that they were putting them in to men who were not ashamed to call them their kinsmen, if they were only but well-doing,—who took a deep interest in them, as the spirit, the usages, and the roughness of the times went,—and who would dare much, yea, do for them even up to the cost of life itself, ere any ruthless marauder should *skaith either themselves, their kin, or their kine*.* Now all this (allowing that the labourers of those days suffered far greater personal privations than labourers do now, and that their bondages hindered agricultural improvements to a great degree) prevented their hardships from destroying their proper self-esteem, and debasing their minds. But what has the modern labourer and bondager to counteract the ill effects of any practices that his service submits him to ? Picked out at random from among hundreds that are offering themselves as bondagers in a public market, by a man they likely have never before seen or heard of, and that man himself

* See Appendix, No. III.

but a servant on the lowest scale,—then hired to be “the servant of servants,”—in fact, to serve two masters at one and the same time, and who have not the least interest in them, and who, in most cases, will not take any, beyond getting a good return of work for a bare money wage, and with whom it is understood that they shall part at the end of six months, without a word of explanation, if not asked to remain. (See Mr Milne’s evidence, already referred to, Quest. 1389.) Now, can such a relationship as this, between masters and servants, be at all compared with any practice that obtained in the old system, for degrading the social feeling of the latter ?

Many people express their wonder and regret at the disappearance of the old Scotch high-toned feeling and determination of *being self-sustaining-to-the-last* from among the labourers of the country ;—how it is, that many would have starved formerly, had they been allowed, rather than have come upon the poor’s funds for their maintenance ;—and how it is, that most of them now come upon these funds with as high heads and with as much confidence of right, as soldiers go to draw their hard-earned pensions. Why, this change can be no mystery to those who are well acquainted with both the old and the new systems of dealing with the Scotch labourer on the part of their employers. The old Scotch labourers did not get their high-souled social feelings from out of the ground which they dug up or trode upon, nor from the bullocks which helped them to labour it, but from the chivalrous bearing of their superiors, and the kindly intercourse that they were allowed to hold with them. He was “*a sma’ man*,” then, who could not, either by hook or by crook, count himself back to a sixteenth cousinship with, at least, some *bonnet laird*, and with whom Scotland then was liberally sprinkled, and which counting of kin in that age, so often the work of friends and neighbours as they spent their evenings together, was then also considered to be no presumption whatever ; but, on the contrary, at once encouraged, recognised, and respected by the superior, across whose path the humble cottager might come every other day, and still be sure of the friendly salute in return for his own polite homage. In illustration of all this, I had it from a very old clergyman,* but still alive, to whom a Dr Frazer, a London practitioner,

* Dr Leslie, now the very aged and retired minister of Fordun, and grand-nephew to the surgeon mentioned, and related not very distantly himself to the old wit and Peer. Dr Leslie spent a long life, as did his venerable father, devoted most piously, and with profuse liberality, both to the spiritual and temporal wants of agricultural labourers. And here I cannot help mentioning the very high privileges I enjoyed for many years in having his house open to me as a home, and himself as an affectionate father, on every occasion. His manse was the very

told the story of his one day, when travelling in the Highlands, being seated in the carriage, with the Lord Lovat of "*the forty-five memory*," (and whose head, by the way, this same doctor sewed on to his body, after the law and the headsman had done their duty)—how Lovat, seeing a poor old woman at some distance from the road, at once left his carriage, went up to her, and embraced her. On his return to his seat, the London Doctor expressed his surprise that his Lordship could so demean himself. "Demean myself!" said he; "it is her due; and do you think I could gather out my clan when I wanted it, if I did not do such things?" Many imagine, that if people in very humble life only get but plenty of money for their labour, it is all that they naturally care for. It is *not* all that they *naturally* care for; and if it do come to such a low ebb of social feeling with them as to care for wages, bare wages only, they have been trained into it at the first, by some objectionable practices that have had their origin among their employers;—and even if such practices did arise among their ill-tutored selves at the first, it was clearly the duty of the better informed and the more highly privileged class to give such practices no countenance, however much liked by the hired, or convenient and profitable to the hirer. I have given an instance of the consideration in which the peasantry were held by their betters about the *forty-five* times;—and let their sufferings so patiently endured, in following their betters to the death in those times, testify whether or not a hireling's bare wages is all that labourers naturally care for, when their social feelings are properly drawn forth and cherished by a proper demeanour and elevating practices on the part of their superiors in their dealings with them. But I have an illustration of what I now venture to maintain, and which came within my own observation. When in my childhood, I was taken to a country fair, as a great treat, and which was held nigh to a noble Earl's castle; I have seen that nobleman (and no one kept up the dignity of his rank better than he), yet I have seen him,

temple of piety, and of polite and refined hospitality, as well as a place of open resource to the poor and distressed, and where I also had the advantage of often meeting with some of the best specimens of the "fine old Scotch gentlemen of the good olden time," and of hearing them compare their notes of the past and the present century. His mother was the sister of Dr Reid, our very eminent Scotch moral philosopher, possessing quite, as a lady, all her brother's powers of mind to the very last; and the last did not come till she was upwards of ninety, ever delighting a large circle of friends and visitors, who accounted it always, as I did myself, a high privilege and advantage to enjoy her conversation; and as she did not leave this world till about twenty years ago, her opinion of the past and present, as to the comforts of our peasantry, was well worth hearing. I very often got it, and she decided in favour of the latter, with all her heart, except as to friendly and free intercourse among the classes.

at every such fair, going through and through it, looking out for and shaking hands with the humblest of his numerous tenantry and crofters. Many years after, but not twenty years ago, when that same nobleman's affairs got embarrassed from, I believe, no fault of his own, I happened to be visiting in the same district at the time he had to break up his establishment there, and to leave it for a season; and the lamentation I witnessed among all classes on the occasion, I should be afraid to describe, as being incredible. Great numbers had little sums, but their all, vested in his hands; and to save them trouble, two justices of the peace came round among them to take their affidavits as to the amount. At one meeting for this purpose of the humble creditors, one of them exclaimed, "Give us back our nobleman, and let the money go." "Ah!" said the J. P., "you would rather have your nobleman, Robert (I knew all the parties well) than your money." "That we would, that we would," they all joined in. And some six or eight years after, when their nobleman did come back among them, and when still he had not the least power in managing his estates to grant favours, the old hearty welcome they all gave him, as well as their continued heart attachment, made good their declaration, and (I had it from his Lordship himself) soothed, in a great measure, his feelings in his extreme old age and altered circumstances. It is true many of these people were not hired labourers, but many of them had been so, and were still the parents of hired servants; but even the hired labourers of the district, so far as I could see, manifested the same good feeling on the occasion; and no wonder; for during many a long year, the meanest of them might find him any day after breakfast, to hear and redress their grievances.

In this utilitarian age, all such customs, and countings of kin, and recognitions of distant and poor cousins, as those now alluded to, are regarded as mere figments of a silly, presumptuous mind; yet they were such fictions of the mind as served to help the labourer in another age, to soar above his many hardships (even when he had nothing better from on high in his mind to help him), and to assimilate his feelings, and his manners, and his interests, with those of his superiors: and above all, they helped to relieve the latter of a heavy poor-rate, which in the days of these customs was not only not wanted, but sternly repudiated by the former. What! be recognised as the laird's kinsman or the *muckle* farmer's acquaintance! and, take money out of the poor's box! Live on bread and water rather than that!

If the old Scotch *self-sustaining spirit in poverty to the last* is wanted back amongst our labourers, much of the old way of dealing with them must just be returned to also—and especially must all practices be shun-

ned or put down that would tend to make such intercourse nugatory, or to be sullenly disregarded. But if this be not done, if it is still to be all bare money wage for labour under any form that the service can be obtained, we may as well stop short, with any hemmings in—by such expedients as the putting down of feeing markets, &c., of the evils of our social relationship, for these evils will just break out at some other side.* And need it be hinted from whose side these advances of a better practice are to come? Clearly they are to come from that side on which lie the greater privileges and the better training. Let the landlords of this county, then, set their faces as a very flint against the introduction of the bondager system,—and which the landlords of other counties would, if they could, gladly root up (but for its long and its deep hold), as casting a blighting shade on the spirit of their labourers; and as they have freed their farmers from all thirlages and bondages, let them free their labourers from the like too.

Let their visits and their smile be frequently seen in the house of the poorest cottar, although he be but a hired labourer; for not fifty years ago, that same man would have been a crofter, or a small farmer, waiting on “his honour,” and welcomed by “his honour,” with his rent or his bondage. That he is not so now, is owing more to “his honour’s” change of customs for his own profit, than to the cottar’s own fault, or to the profit of the cottar’s own social position and feelings. Let there be some upmaking, then, for this change, so far as such things can be made up for, not in the shape of money, but in that which his forefathers valued much more than money, and which he will value as highly again, if “his honour” will only but give him time and means whereby he may recover his self-esteem, and his proper training; and one of the most powerful and most valued of all these means would, in a little time, be “his honour’s” friendly visits to his humble dwelling.

I have been long intimate with the feelings, the wants, and the wishes of our peasantry under almost any circumstances—as ploughmen and as croftsmen,—as soldiers in the army and as citizens of towns;—in prosperity and in adversity of all kinds,—as highly virtuous men and as criminals in prison,—and sure I am that there is “a something” which cannot be bought or sold, but which their superiors can easily bestow if they will, that would have the most refining effect upon their social feelings and manners, and be highly valued and amply repaid in kind by them. In short, I cannot express what I mean better, or what their latent wish is, than by reversing to their superiors what a Glasgow bailie and elder of the kirk of old is said to have called out to a lady of rank as she one day passed the plate at the kirk door, with a low obeisance to him—

* See Appendix, No. IV.

self, its then keeper, without putting anything into it (having no doubt forgotten her purse),—"Mair o' your siller and less o' your manners, my Lady Betty," returned this Cerberus of coppers. *Mair o' your manners*, my Lords and Gentlemen, would I say, though it should be to *the less o' your siller* (as I am sure it will not), to these the sweating sons of your lands. This was their own feeling some fifty years ago, and it will be their feeling again in less than half that time, if now a better system is but begun. The outlays, the risks, the losses, and the anxieties incurred by you and your leaseholders, have indeed been great these many years past, and it is only of late that you have got your fields wrought up to a generally sure paying condition, and most certainly the condition of your labourers in very many respects has been immensely improved by what is now likely to remunerate you. But now that you have more time to make a retrospect, and more means at your command, examine the capabilities and your neglects of the great moral field that overlies your so improved possessions; and set as vigorously to work upon the former as you have been at work upon the latter, and most assuredly it will repay you, for time, in many respects, as well, and infinitely better in all respects for eternity!

But the question has still to be practically answered, How are bondages and bothies to be rendered unnecessary? For from the great breadth of green crops now on farms, light and occasional workers must be had together in considerable numbers in a squad; and a great stock of able-bodied young men must be kept somehow or somewhere on farms, to draw from as married servants. Now, fortunately, what would entirely put down the bondager system, would lessen immensely all the evils of that of the bothy, and which simply is, *to build more houses, either with or without crofts, for the jobbing labourers, as well as for termly hired servants*; then, as Mr Watson says, the families of these two kinds of labourers could be conveniently had for the light work of the farms; and, no doubt, if kindly and liberally dealt with, they would cheerfully give their services without the degrading stipulation of bonding when they engaged their houses, and which would mischievously interfere with the proper schooling and training of their children in very many instances; and as a security against this, the jobbers and crofters ought always to hold directly of the proprietor, but who ought as invariably to consult the farmers to whose work their houses lay convenient, as to their character. I have always observed that the children of located jobbers, crofters, and craftsmen, were much better brought up and educated than those of the migrating servants, and that just because they could

be longer and steadier at one and the same school, and their parents also had got some little consideration to keep up with their superiors in the place, and, naturally, also a greater interest taken in them, both by clergymen and teachers.

With regard to the houses built for married servants, landlords should see that they are used in the manner and for the purpose they erected them to serve, and that there be no bondaging on any account over the children of their occupants, and this for the same reasons assigned against holding the children of jobbers and crofters in bondage.

That there is an incredible and very hurtful want of jobbing-houses over all Scotland, conveniently placed for farm work, I need not now say much to show, it is so glaring and so grievously felt. It is loudly complained of throughout the last Statistical Account, as well as in all the evidence taken on this very point, in 1843, by the Poor Law Commission, as not only inconveniencing farmers and jobbers, but as driving all their married servants and families to town when the man is unfit for steady farm work, and this he becomes generally before he pass his fiftieth year. What their lot then in a town is, it is melancholy to think of it.

Wherever I have been making inquiries about their condition, the uniform remark was, by all parties, "*Landlords must build more.*" Yes, all suggestions and plans for improving it were always wound up with this emphatic and practical remark. Now this was not at all confined to Forfarshire, for so far as I am capable of judging from a comparison of fabrics and statistics, this county is not behind other counties, where bothyism prevails, in matters of stone and lime; and even in the Lothians, where it is unknown at all, except in a few instances, jobbing-houses are as scarce as anywhere, and hence the bad system of bondagers as a substitute in some degree.

It cannot be concealed, indeed it was made very palpable to the Poor Law Commission, that the reason why the old huts were never rebuilt as they became uninhabitable for jobbers, was, to keep down poor-rates in the country; and certainly, as the Rev. Dr Guthrie of Edinburgh, so eminently shrewd in all such matters, remarks on this point to the Commission, "This was a principle wise enough in its own way;" but it is only in its own way that it is wise—penny-wise: and even not this now, since the time of a claim-residence was raised up to meet it on the part of the towns from three to five years: for in less than five years, from their time of settling in a town, old farm labourers either generally die, or are a burden on their former parish.

Now, if a farm labourer could look forward to his retiring to a jobbing-house in the country, with a certainty of his getting one at a reasonable

rent, and convenient for jobs among the farms, it would be attended with many beneficial effects on his character. First, it would make him more stationary with the same master, to earn his good will and his good word for such a house. Why, just the other day, a man to whom I made an offer of a good place, declined it, on the ground, that although better than what he had just now, yet he had the prospect of a house, as a jobber, in a few years, from a farmer he now serves. And I find that the few jobbers who have now got houses, were generally servants that had remained long with the same master. Then it would immensely brighten the servant's prospects, and remove the horror of the town that always haunts him as his last end; and it would raise his mind above the Parochial Board for relief, as he would feel that he could end the winter of his days among those with whom he had spent the sunshine of them; whose eye would still be upon him, whose respect he would still desire to have, and on whose sympathy and help he might to the last rely, and which, with his own long-continued little jobbings, and old savings and helps from his children serving at his door, would enable him to die an independent man, and his children to bury him as not a pauper, and them to feel and to say, our parents never either sought or needed parochial relief, neither shall we so degrade ourselves as their children.

This was once the feeling and practice among the jobbers and jobbers' children, and I am just old enough to have heard it expressed by them a thousand times over. But what have the married men now-a-days to enable them to keep up their hearts and their heads? They must just retire to a town when unfit for heavy labour, whether they get jobbing-houses or not, such houses being too rare to allow any to have them longer than they are fit for such labour. And then what is there in a town to encourage them to struggle on to keep a name clear of the poor's roll, when their name now is never mentioned by friends and acquaintances? They care for no one's respect there, for no one hardly knows them, except fellow paupers, and few or none inquire after them from the country, except it may be their own children, whom they left there behind them. No place, no work, can they get congenial to their feelings or their habits, and even their new kind of dietary sickens them. A garret or a cellar, a dusty pirn wheel, and foul air, either soon end their days, or make them reckless of what may befall them;—yes, and their children reckless too, if they can still be touched (if divine grace prevent it not) with what has befallen their parents.* Now this is no uncommon or overcharged picture, either as to facts or as to feelings and effects. It is the rule, not the exception, of dealing

* See Appendix, No. V.

with worn-out agricultural labourers, as brought out, not only by my own long observations on them, but by a mass of evidence on them of some five or six folio volumes taken only ten years ago, and matters since then are anything but mended with them.

Need we wonder as to how the old self-sustaining principle of the peasantry of Scotland in old age has worn out? Why, it has been actually driven out. It may be "wise in its own way" to get quit of worn-out labourers, by driving them to the towns, but it is very like the wisdom of the way of getting quit of an old worn-out horse, and accordingly no expression of complaint comes over their lips so often as this, "They care no more for us than they do for an old horse." This, after all, may be not well founded, yet it indicates a state of feeling which it would be wise to remove, in case "*the clan* be not, when wanted again, so easily gathered" as it was in the times of our former struggles with our neighbours across the English Channel.

But, suppose old labourers should come on the parish while located in it, the parish could keep them in the country for two-thirds the sum, and in most instances for one half, they can be kept for in towns. "I know," said the late Dr Smith of Montrose, "that their neighbours in the country are kind to them, and they get milk and other things which they do not get in a place like this."—(Poor-Law Evid. Part III., p. 9.) So that the principle, of allowing worn-out servants to find no place of abode in the country, is not even "wise in its own way" of pounds, shillings, and pence.

Besides, if jobbing-houses were much more numerous, it would enable many a poor ailing farm-servant, still in the prime of life, to retire from the constant heavy toil of following the horses, and go "upon the spade," so as to have a few days' rest occasionally.

I have often been sorry for some men in such a state of temporary bad health, and yet there was no help for it, but either to fag on up-hill, till it should come to a final break down, or give up the plough, and go at once to a town. Now, such men, if they could have got but a year or two of jobbing, might have still been saved for many years in full efficiency both to their families and to their country. This, too, is an important consideration for parochial boards.*

* I here beg to subjoin the opinion of a medical gentleman, whose practice in this county has been so long, so extensive, so varied in town and country, so able, so humane, and so successful, as to render his opinion of unquestionable weight.

"He thinks the towns have an undue burden of the poor coming upon them from the country, and it is easily accounted for. A man is not fit to be a ploughman after fifty years of age. He then begins to do general work, as a

Moreover, if jobbing-houses could be easily got, at a moderate rent (and most of them are too high rented, from the great scramble for them), it would enable all the married servants to retire at an earlier period of life from the heavy work of the farm, and go on the light day's work of it, and thus relieve the bothies of their number, by putting it in the power of the young men to settle down and to marry; and the sooner they do so, from all my observations of church-discipline records, the better it will be for themselves, and morality too.

As I have said, there must always be a large stock of youths from which to draw your married men, somewhere, although the system of few or none but married men on farms were gone into fully; and it is better, surely, to have these young men at the plough and on the farm, lodge them how you may, than to throw them on the jobbing gangs of the district; and care ought to be taken specially not to drive them to this, the very worst school of all.

"The worst class," says Dr Cook, minister of Haddington, "that come to towns, is composed of unsteady young men, who prefer working at day labour to being bound to a farmer, with whom they would have to work regularly." Why, it is just the unsteady nature of jobbing work, and the foreign mixture of bad habits, now so much associated with it, that make these lads unsteady—the sons of steady hinds—but who, for some reason, unable to find employment on the same farm with their fathers, and not being in circumstances to marry, so as to be preferred as servants, must go on "the job."

"In East Lothian," says Mr Cowie, "scarcely ever an unmarried man is employed to work horses or in the barn." But what is the consequence of this? Why, just what Dr Cook, of the town in the

"hedger and ditcher, &c. He continues that as long as he is able, and then keeps his house in the country; but when he is no longer fit for country work, then he must give up his house to one who is fit for it, and come to town. Gets what work he can in town, probably jobs in gardens, or fills pirms. He is not a pauper when he comes to town, but, by his increasing infirmities, he becomes unfit to provide for the wants of himself and family, and comes on the parish soon after having obtained a settlement. Very often they bring wives and families with them, who may be employed in weaving. In other cases their sons and daughters may be married in the country, and may remain there. He believes such cases as he has mentioned to be numerous.

"Witness has had a great deal of intercourse with the poorer classes. He knows their habits, and is acquainted with their ideas and opinions. Much may be done to improve their condition, and to raise the standard of moral feeling among them, by education; but their wants must be supplied in the meantime. It is in vain to talk to them of improving their condition hereafter, till their present wants are relieved."—(W. Steele, Esq., Surgeon, Forfar, Evid. Poor-Law Com.)

heart of East Lothian complains of. There are, indeed, a few lads there who get their victuals in the farm kitchens, if they do not live with their father-hinds, and sleep about the stables; but this way of it is little better than the bothy.

I can conceive, then, that the "*married system*" might be carried too far, unless relieved, as it ought to be, by a proportionate number of jobbing-houses, to enable the married men to retire earlier than they now do from the plough. This is the grand defect of the Lothian system; and hence, the bulk of the young people there are either degraded as bondagers, or demoralised as jobbers—at least, such must be the tendency (if not the proved effects) of the system, and all for want of cottages for their old ploughmen. Why, generally, the jobbing has been given to strangers, Irishmen, and our own servants driven away from it, much against their will, to the towns, to linger out their existence, unpitied and uncared for.

By a better wrought system of Savings Banks, by keeping out of their way as much as possible all temptations to spend on drink, enable your young men to marry early; for I say again, when they can furnish a house free of debt, they cannot marry a good wife too soon. Make houses easy to be had for them, both as to number and rent, by passing on your married servants early from the "plough-houses" to the "jobbing-houses," and give them comfortable, commodious houses, cheap, in which, if they behave well, they may end their days, respectable and respected, leaving a high-spirited offspring, who will scorn to be your paupers. In this way you would always have, for the constant work of the farm, men in the very prime of life, and always have round about your farms, men, your old servants, still able to give you an honest, quiet, fair, day's work,—and their sons and daughters, your hoers and weeders, growing up for you to pick and choose among, as your well-schooled, and well-trained, and well-principled, and well-behaved future servants;—and in this way, too, your bothy-men on most of your farms would be reduced to two; and when there are only two in a bothy, I find that things are better than even on the *kitchen and stable-loft plan*; for when servants are allowed only to eat in the kitchen, or only to make their own brose in it, they have no convenience for improving themselves: the constant stir of work in the kitchen is a bar to that, and the want of fire and light in their out sleeping-places tempts them to wander from home.

The great want of chastity among our country labourers of both sexes has been long and justly complained of. But before you can reasonably expect much from them of this virtue, you must do one of two things: first, you must either raise their moral feelings, and keep

them constantly under the eye of those who have the greatest moral restraint upon them, as in olden times, or you must give them great facilities of marrying. Had I time, I could sustain what I now advance by high authorities and striking examples. Now, neither the one nor the other of these checks upon the sinful indulgence of the animal propensities of our young labourers, is afforded. They are removed from under their parents' eye, and thrown into all sorts of loose company, at the very period when these passions are at the strongest; and the scarcity of houses for married labourers being so very great, marriage must be long delayed for want of the means.

Mr Laing, writing on this very point as it regards the labourers in Norway, says,—“The standard of living for the labourer's family being so high, the minimum of accommodation for a working man's family, according to the customs of the country, being so considerable, the unmarried must wait as house-servants until a houseman's place fall vacant, before they can marry. These checks against excessive population, which society in every state seems to form for itself, are attended in every state with the same evil consequences. In London and Paris, the expense of a family, and the high standard of even the lowest mode of living, are a check upon improvident marriages; but with the evil of a greater proportion of illegitimate children. One-fourth, or between one-fourth and one-fifth of the children born in that city, are illegitimate. In Norway the same causes produce the same effects. The proportion of illegitimate to legitimate children, is about one in five!” “I cannot get a house,” is often the excuse given in this country, for not making the reparation which, in the evil circumstances, should be made by marriage.

I have thus dwelt long upon the houseless condition of our married labourers, because, until this is in a great measure remedied, we shall never be able to do much with their children, when either at school or in service, or with themselves.

“It appears to me” says Mr Cowie, in the last of his many excellent papers on the subject, “if we are to attempt to improve the condition of the working classes, instead of directing our attention, as has hitherto been done almost exclusively, to the unmarried portion, we ought to turn towards improving the condition of the married men. By their amelioration, besides many other advantages, we ensure the better upbringing of the rising generation; and in the course of time, a superior class would thus surpass the present. The first point to be attained is, the improvement of their dwellings; and the second is, the increase of their number. We must reverse the pre-

“ sent preponderance of single and married men. No fear of getting the houses filled, although trebly increased.”

Should a scarcity of farm labourers and jobbers arise—and some think it has already arisen, from emigration and want of cottages—the rise of wages in consequence will make the expense to the landlord and farmer, as to building, fully as broad as it is long, and not nearly so convenient or efficient as to service.

In putting down these jobbing-houses, great care should be taken to sprinkle them well over a district, and not cluster them into hamlets and villages. My heart is often *was* for oldish men, as I meet them plodding of a morning for a whole hour, as they have in a great number of instances to do, before they can reach their ditch or their quarry, in which they have to eat their cold dinner of bread and milk on the coldest day; and then after a heavy day's toil, just trudge back to their cold damp cot in the distant village, where, perhaps, a quarrel with a neighbour has got up in their absence. All this makes them much less worth their day's wage, and soon must wear them out. Why, houses are so scarce, that they cannot often rent a bed to be nearer their work.

I would again beg attention to this distancing of cottages from each other, not only for jobbers, but for farm servants also. When many cottages are together, they often have their tempers tried beyond all bearing, because of the quarrels of their children; and they cannot get their gardens so nicely kept, because of the pranks of some of them that are somewhat like boys of much spirit; and when an epidemic seizes on one child, it generally runs through the whole coterie of them. A rural hamlet is indeed a pretty thing to look at in a summer's eve, and a pretty theme for a poet to adorn a tale withal for a winter's eve; but such a hamlet, filled at every other term with people all strangers to each other (it was different with them fifty years ago), and differing widely in their habits and tempers, is not so pleasant a place to visit, by those whose duty it is to take cognizance of its good feeling, its religion, and its morality; and a few additional gable ends, with a few gunshots a'tween, would produce a harmony among neighbours often, that cannot be otherwise so well procured. I had this strongly recommended by a ground officer, of very considerable experience in the management of labourers. Mistake not, however, I beg of you, my opinion of the kind-hearted and neighbourly feelings of these cottagers. I have the highest opinion of them; and were I in distress of any kind, I know no class of persons on whose sympathies and help I would throw myself with greater confidence. What I mean is, that their good nature and privacy ought not to be taxed and broken in upon every other hour, when, by a little arrangement, all this might be avoided. And

all the additional expense, both as to building and as to ground, would be amply repaid in the long-run, by the better training of their children. And very often, when married servants move, it is owing to some discomfort either in or near to their house. When it is hinted that they may go farther and fare worse, as an inducement not to move so often, "It may be so," is the sullen reply, "but we just want to shew that we cannot stay here, whatever become of us." Such is the sourish recklessness which an inattention to their personal comforts generally engenders. Well, but they are better off as to this than they were half a century ago. True; but then their superiors had little better to themselves. And then they could call their cot their own, for, it may be, their great-grandfathers, to no end back, had built it to their own tastes, and no one would therefore ever dream of putting them out of it.*

Why, as to taking up ground by spreading these cottages about, this cannot be more grudged than stances for their dunghills and piggeries are now. They are in a great number of cases all huddled close upon the cottages, and I have seen fevers and death as the undoubted effect of this general and abominable practice; and even the late stringent Privy-Council,-cholera-purgation enactments, seem not to have yet procured them more room, from those who have it to bestow; and the stench, while I now write, is very intolerable to those not accustomed to bear it.

After so many plans and specifications for labourers' cottages as have of late issued from so many high quarters, it may seem presumptuous in one of my profession to put his hand into the mortar-tub about these buildings. Yet there is still a "*rub*" here that I cannot pass over, whatever may be said of my meddling with it. It is the prevailing damp of these cottages. Almost all of them, the very newest of them, are damp from want of *lath* on the walls, and from bad masonry, drainage, and flooring.

Very many families get as yet but one damp ill-aired apartment to accommodate them. I have seen such suffering, such ill, and such deaths from this, that I feel I should greatly fail in duty did I lose this opportunity in giving it the strongest condemnation in my power;

* I knew a fine spirited farmer of the old school, who lived in a house of turf and stone of some centuries' standing, and externally most deplorable to a modern eye, but somehow internally free of damp, and most comfortable as to warmth. His landlord built for him what the farmer called a castle, yet only suitable to his farm; when it was finished he locked its door, and lived on and died a good many years after, in the "gude house his ain fathers had biggit wi' their ain hands;" this was the reason he gave me over and over, for what I thought his whim.

and even where they have a spare bed-closet for a visitor, the bed in it is always damp. "I was visiting a friend, sir, when I got a damp bed, and I think this was the beginning of my death, for I was never well after it," I have heard again and again from young people, whom I have still a melancholy pleasure in remembering. Yes, I have attended not a few on their deathbed, and I have seen many more unwell, whose cases could justly be ascribed to the dampness of their houses. And to what do they owe all their severe sufferings in old age—from rheumatic pains, and rickets, and scrofula, and ringworm, and itch among their children—but to their damp, ill-aired hovels? Oh, if they would only take but better care, and change their wet clothes when they come in from their work! Yes, indeed! but the damp clothes they take out of their trunk to put on, damp from the place it must sit in, would, at once, send most of us, from such a shift, complaining to the doctor. And how is ringworm, or any such thing, to be got rid of, in the name of all the powers of the College of Physicians, from among six or eight children confined constantly in one damp, ill-aired place?—(See Chadwick's Report on the Poor-Law Commis. for England.) Oh, it is hard to see, as I have seen, the delicate mother of a numerous young family lingering out a consumption, and blaming, unheeded, the damp of their house for it all, and no way of getting her removed out of it! And I have now in my eye, but mouldering in the dust, some of the finest specimens of country labourer-youths, both as to body and as to mind, that one could wish to see, who blamed nothing else for cutting short their days but their living in some "*damp hole*," as they called it. A son or daughter comes home sick, and nowhere to put them but into a damp closet!

The division of the sexes is now very properly much more attended to; but I have inspected a good many new cottages of late, in which division is carried much too far for the area of the shell of the house, having an area of only some thirty by eighteen feet, divided into six or seven little cabins. Their plans look like the solving of a complicated problem. No lath on the walls, and yet these forming two or three sides of their beds—ill-aired, because small, very damp, and therefore unwholesome; and the people in some of them declaring they could not "put it up" longer in them. I have, however, inspected several very excellent, comfortable, and commodious cottages in this and in other counties; but then they cost a good deal more than the ordinary *paying* sum allowed for such habitations. Yet one small, damp, ill-aired apartment is very often all that is allowed for one family. I used to wonder why it was that young people were so dilatory in coming up to a Sabbath morning class. Why, I find it is rather a tedious

matter to get breakfast and all other preparations, strippings and cleanings to the skin, over in one such confined place, for some six or eight of both sexes in a short morning. I used to wonder, also, why men, both old and young, came to meetings for pastoral visitation all dirty, as they came out of the dung court; but my wonder ceased in a great degree, when I got better acquainted with the strictness of their hours, and the straitness of their accommodation; and yet clergymen are often expected by a few such visits, and at the most they can only be few in a large parish, to charm away all the social evils complained of. Such meetings are not so easily obtained, in proper edifying style, as many imagine, especially on *out-farms*,* on which the master does not reside; and when obtained, are little better than solemn formalities. Every person and every thing, somehow, seems to be out of their place, and their ease of mind, when they are in the presence of their superiors, for such a being in their presence only takes place now-a-days when the minister has a catechising, or a baptism it may be, with them. And some have actually refused to attend, partly from shyness, and partly because they were asked at no other time into the master's house; so that, be it a better plan or a worse, for some years (in my own very small parish) I take them just as I find them, in their own houses or in their own bothies, or in classes, or in my own house, or at the plough. † And when they do meet me in this easy way, I must do them the justice to say, that it is always with

* See Appendix, No. VI.

† The meetings I mean are for catechising servants in presence of their masters, not for pastoral exhortation and prayer. It is no easy matter to carry on farm-work so as to get things settled up to a certain hour on a certain day, and therefore I ascertain privately when and how such meetings can be best held. But this could not be done in a large parish, the reverse of which mine is, and a most quiet and orderly people too; but there are several out-farms, small as it is. I have generally found farmers willing enough to convene their servants—more willing, indeed, than the lads are to attend them, and this, I believe, through mere shyness, and fear of having their ignorance exposed. And I humbly think, that questioning them and dealing with them in private, in their own houses and bothies, or by the wayside, and especially at every time they come seeking admission to the table of the Lord, and Baptism, may be as profitable a way; but I may be mistaken. There is a sad want of any manner about them, by which they mean nothing, but which is very repulsive. To go into a bothy, and get them to sit up, and to put themselves in a posture becoming the dignity of sacred duties, often bears hard upon one's shrinking tendencies. Yet transfer them to a barrack-room's training for a few weeks, and how different, and how pleasant and inviting, the way in which they receive a clergyman! I have visited guard-rooms, and their black-holes and barrack-rooms, a thousand times over, not to exhort only, but to reprove, and that sharply; yet the moral courage to do this was nothing to the visiting of some bothies, and for no reason but the great barbarism of their appearance and the loutishness of their occupants, and yet no bad fellows notwithstanding.

tolerable respect for my office ; but then they move so very often, and before any profitable acquaintanceship can be formed with many by their ministers, especially in large parishes. And I must confess, that often my own zeal, at least in visiting them, is very much abated by these general incessant yearly and half-yearly changes, and other uninviting circumstances, bordering on the repulsive.

In busy working seasons, seldom any of the family can be found in, and then all that can be done is to slip a tract under the door. At night and at meal-times the poor people have their own necessary "jottings" to attend to. And altogether, little or no impression can be made in a year or half-year, except it be from the pulpit. And I do beg of you to remember, that ministers of the gospel are but frail men, even as others, and I beseech you, therefore, to encourage us and entice us (I speak now for my own weaknesses), for we need it, by clearing away from before us as many of the physical hindrances to our usefulness with your labourers as you possibly can ; for our usefulness with them (I plead for all sound ministers of Christ) will most assuredly redound to your temporal profit, as well as to their present peace and everlasting advantage, as likewise to our comfort and honour. Take away, I implore you, all physical downdraughts upon them and upon us, for human nature's corruption is more than enough of itself for us to contend with.

What I find would suit a labourer's family best is, a very plain house, with two raised gable ends, so as to give a useful garret. In the one end a kitchen, paved with stone ; in the other end a room, some fourteen by twelve feet, and a closet between. The closet and room to be floored with *wood*, and the walls *all well lathed round*, so as to free them from damp. The floors well raised up, and a deep drain all round also. This, I am aware, is considerably above Mr Black's standard of accommodation ; but I have seen such sad and unseemly inconveniences and hardships, in the case of sickness and of death, or when an aged relative had to be accommodated, or a friend came on a visit, that I cannot help pleading hard for somewhat more. I beg special attention to this last remark, because I do believe, that if these married labourers could but accommodate their aged relatives with house-room, they would allow them much less seldom to come upon the poor's-roll, if for no other reason than this, that an old grandmother, or aunt, or father, would be worth themselves in looking after the children, or in teaching them, or in keeping the house, and letting all the rest of the family out to work, or away to school. How can these poor people keep up strong affection for one another, when they, for want of house-room, can seldom spend a

night with one another in comfort? I recollect when the old grandfather used to give almost all the schooling his grandchildren got. It seemed to be looked on as his business: and a blessed work, surely.

Much has been said as to the kinds of beds they should use. Curtain beds have been strongly recommended, and they are certainly preferable, both for health and for sickness, to the present box-beds, now so much in use; but these last would soon go out of use, if cottages were built free of damp, the box-beds being their only defence against it. Why, I knew a newly married pair get a fine new curtain bed they were very proud of, destroyed in a few weeks' time by the damp of the back wall; and their clothes and clocks often are much injured.

Some years ago I had occasion to examine into the best means of preventing damp in prisons, and I am convinced that, without great expense as to masonry, you cannot make a new wall free of inside damp, except by lath and plaster. This cannot be allowed in a prison; but as a substitute, I, as acting chaplain to your prison in your county town here, got the Prison Board to line the north and east walls of its new prison with brick on edge, leaving an inch or two of free space between the brick screen and the main wall, with air-holes in the latter, and with header-bricks binding the screen to it here and there. I believe this defends the damp thoroughly where it was properly done; but, were it to do again, I would recommend filling up the empty space between the brick screen and main wall with thin lime mortar, so as to form a concrete. The bricks need then only be whitewashed, not plastered, as an inside finish. This would form the most durable and best protection against damp in all houses, where plaster is apt to be broken; but good broad skiftings and belt-ings of wood above plaster and lath would protect these for a very long time.

It would be a great matter for all parties if all ground-officers on estates were to attend at fitting times, and see that furniture be taken down and put up in these cottages without damage to the plaster and partitions. And I quite agree with Mr Stevens, in his "Book of the Farm," that all the other partitions would better be of wood, and moveable.

I thought at one time that it might be better their cottages should have the greater part of their furniture fixtures; but on inquiry among themselves, the prudent people prefer having all the beds, presses, &c. as their own, as it prevents disputes as to damage and cleanliness at fittings; and above all, it is a good provision for a widow, or for old age, when otherwise they might never save money to get them when

wanted at a bad time: also, it has no small effect in making them stay on in a place.

There is another class of labourers I beg to put in a word for too, and it comprises country tradesmen and shopkeepers, who, although not directly, yet, according to Dr Adam Smith, are an immense advantage to the agriculturist. Landlords should see that the very best of these should meet with every encouragement as to house accommodation at a reasonable rate, and that their trade, if good, should not be taxed in an exorbitant rent, just because it is good, and can afford it.

I know nothing that would benefit farm-servants more, even in their morals, than that they might be furnished with every thing good, especially books, within a mile or so of where they work. This would tend greatly to keep them out of large towns at a term time. It would also prevent their being imposed upon and tempted to barter away what strictly did not belong to them, by petty and dishonest hawkers, &c.; and they would be a great convenience for the sale of dairy produce, in exchange for groceries. I know one or two districts in Aberdeenshire, where such shops, with first-rate articles, have done much real good to the labourers. For one of these shops the proprietor had the tea of the best quality ordered from the India House himself, allowing, of course, the merchant a reasonable profit,—and this only, till he and his customers should thoroughly get a knowledge of good tea. But what this class of adjunctive agricultural labourers have often complained of to me is, that they are made generally to pay a rent according to the prosperity of their business, and not according to the naked value of the premises; and they had often great difficulty in getting proper houses for their occupations. Now, what is this but giving your ordinary labourers, inferior tradesmen and shops, and high prices, and either cheating them of quality and value, or driving them in for their domestic articles, to visit the dissipation of towns?

I am aware that all such houses, in the style now recommended, will only pay indirectly, and not as houses in a town pay, to be let to labourers with whom their owner has no concern as working on his property. Were the outlay on a house, and the rent on a house, for farm-work, as indefinite in their proportions and returns as the outlay on the fields of a farm—and its returns are uncertain; and if the human constitution had not such a merciful and such a wonderful power of self adaptation to hard usage above that of all other created living things, I venture to say cottages would have been infinitely better than they are. How many millions upon millions are sunk in the fields, that have never paid at all, and never will pay! And how many more are laid out every year, on the bare probability only of paying in

the long-run, and this cheerfully too; for if all this had not been done, and were not continued to be done, agriculture could not prosper at all. Persons accustomed to manufacture any other raw material, on which they can exactly, if the market keep steady, calculate a certain return for a certain outlay, are apt to imagine that the same may be done in farming. A grievous mistake this, truly. Suppose the seasons and the markets never disappointed the farmer, the best chemical analysis, and the best and most costly appliances, may be all as good as thrown away on certain fields, and yet such risks must still go on, because, as I hear the farmers often say, "if it is not to do with it, it will not do without it." Now, I really have the greatest sympathy with all this very costly and constant adventure; but I do plead, also, that it be extended somewhat more to the moral field, and to stone and lime for this field; for I am prone to think, that when you set to house-building, you borrow too much of the certain per centage system from the people of the more certain returns on raw materials, for outlay and work in towns, than your own land-raw-material, in its working, ever can be. Why then, it may be argued, because of this uncertainty, the greater our return on the stone and lime outlay upon it, ought to be. I could answer this in another way, but I take the farmer's way; "you cannot do without it"; and I only now plead that you extend your risking to it as heartily as you do to your fields: and most assuredly your so doing will produce a set of hands who will work up this other raw material to you to a better repaying pitch, by much, than it has ever yet been before; thus will your outlay be repaid, and that with usury.

Let the houses be as plain of ornament as possible, but let them be commodious, and quite free from internal damp and external nuisances, and also in sufficient number. I again say, let them be very void of ornament; for they often look as if the comfort of the inside had been plundered to decorate the outside. Why, I have often seen as much laid out on the fancy of the chimney tops of a very damp cottage as would have made it all perfectly right and cheap inside for its poor suffering occupants. Now, what really is this but destroying the happiness and efficiency of your own productive and profit-bringing people, to please the taste of your sight-seeing and sketch-taking people; for how can a worn-out labourer have his strength properly recruited over night, if he sleeps and swelters all the while in a small, damp, ill-aired, close apartment, among half a dozen more, vitiating with him the same often breathed atmosphere, whatever its external ornaments may be!

Now, as to the BOTHIES:—Suppose all the above reforms and additions gone fully into, and carried out in some such way as recommended,

would bothies be rendered quite unnecessary? I frankly confess I do not think it likely that they would, unless some such plan as that recommended by Mr Cowie, Halkerton, some ten years ago, in his Prize Essay on the subject, of lodging the unmarried with the married men, or more of the bondager system, adopted. Now, my fear is that Mr Cowie's plan would in time dwindle into the worst kind of it. Otherwise, I do not see any very great objection to Mr Cowie's system, as he builds a separate apartment for each lad abutting on the cottage, in which he gets cooking, &c. performed for him, if all was left perfectly *free* to the arrangement of the family, and the lad himself, to live together, or not, just as they could agree. There might be a house or two on a farm, on Mr Cowie's plan, for any quiet lad that disliked the stir of a bothy, and for any family that might agree to lodge him. If jobbing-houses were plentiful, servants could be got out of them, and many might prefer still staying on with their parents, while they wrought the horses on the farm, provided these houses were sufficiently commodious; but I visited two farms lately, where the grieves on them had to send their sons, mere boys, to the hovels of their bothies, all night, for downright want of room and beds in their own houses. In the last allusion I have seen from Mr Cowie to bothies, he thinks they are now fixed in the country; and I regret I must think so too; but if they are so, let them be, without any farther delay, greatly improved in their construction, and furnishing, and regulations. Some, indeed, have said that they cannot be improved at all, they are so bad every way, and must therefore be abolished entirely. I know, however, several bothies that are immensely improved, in many respects, to what the general run of them are, and if in some, why not in most, why not in all?

Everything connected with farming has been improved, to a wonder, these last fifty years, except the bothy. But the bothy, in most places, remains nearly as it ever has been, in all its primitive wretchedness. True, the shed or shell of a house may have been rebuilt when it would patch and post up no longer, but rebuilt upon the most niggardly and uncomfortable principles, and either built at the farmer's own least possible expense, or squeezed out of the factor from the landlord. Very seldom more than one ill-built small house of one apartment, having no in-door, no lath, no plaster, no floor, hardly a window, and a vent that will hardly draw. No chair, no table, an old broken stool or two, two or three rude and rickety bed-steeds, one iron pot, and one iron large spoon or ladle, a water bucket, and a litter of fuel and filth, and this is all the accommodation and furniture that some half-dozen constantly and heavily-toiled men have to make themselves comfortable with, from

one year's end to the other. And is it not possible to improve all this ? As well may soldiers be told, in a bivouac, when retreating before an enemy, that come victory, come peace, come war, their present way of living must ever remain the same ; and to happen to be in a bothy on a stormy night, when a squad of men are driven home by its pelting, tired, and wet to the skin, and hungry, the fire out, and the fuel damp, one cannot help thinking that even soldiers, in a retreating camp, cannot be much worse off than they. And if it be true, that a few years of a camp life make both emigrants and soldiers indifferent and reckless, must not some ten years, or fifteen years of a similar life, have a like bad effect upon ploughmen ? *

When remonstrating against the miserable accommodation of the bothies, one is generally met with the plea, that it would be useless to provide them with any thing better, they are naturally so slovenly and dirty in their habits, and they would just abuse it all, were better things given them. This I do on the best evidence take leave to deny. They have never yet been fairly tried with better things ; for the right construction and furnishing of a bothy, which ought to have been the first of all concerns, if evil is to be prevented in them, has ever been the last on a farm,—and, until better means are given them, it is beyond all ordinary painstaking, for men of their work and cast of mind to keep themselves better—for, let them only be but put into better circumstances, and where is there a class of men that turn out more a credit to their country, as well as a protection to it ? Some years ago, when an officer of rank and of command in the British army was asked, officially, as to what class of recruits made the best soldiers, he at once replied :—“ I had rather have the agricultural labourers as soldiers ; at first they are of a more loutish appearance, and seem to want intelli-

* I beg no one will think, that by all this I would either uphold or perpetuate the bothy system. No,—just the very reverse ; only my thought of it is, that the improvement of it, and of the lads in it in consequence, will help mightily to its overthrow. I beg also to remark, that this address was got up in great haste, and while I was visiting my parish after the term for our celebration of the Lord's Supper, so that my conclusions may at times appear at variance with my premises. Nor would I say aught to offend any one's feelings. No large and complicated machinery can work long without requiring to be overhauled, altered, and repaired. Nor can this be done all at once. I have ever considered agricultural life, in all its parts, to be one of great risk, great toil and anxiety, all which is very often but ill remunerated. I know no class of men that I respect more than our farmers as a body. They are very abstemious in their habits, and provident of their means. And were I in a worldly difficulty which I did not know how to get through, there is no committee I would sooner trust to for advice, than some half-dozen well-educated and right-hearted farmers, bred to the business from their youth.

“gence, but the generality of them seem to turn out smart good soldiers. I think they are, in general, more moral and well disposed men, and better conducted, and of greater physical power than recruits from the other classes.”—(See Evidence on Military Punishments, by Brigade Major Jones of Woolwich.)

Now, how comes all this about, when the ploughman is merely transferred from the bothy to the barrack-room, (and we all know that it is not the best of them that go to the barrack-room,) if he be so very untrainable to habits of order and cleanliness? Just simply, because the means of being orderly and cleanly are then put in his power. Why, a soldier in a barrack-room, or even a criminal in a prison, is more like a prince as to personal comforts, as compared with a ploughman in a bothy,—and yet, do but bring down the comforts of your soldiers and prisoners just only one peg lower from what it is, and you will soon have back all the horrid squalor, vermin, and disease, that, before these comforts were given, reigned in days of old in our garrisons and prisons.

And still, after all, a barrack-room is but a military bothy, in which every, the least jot of it, is done by the men themselves—from the cleaning of the shoes and grates, the scrubbing of the floors and stairs, the cooking of the dinners, the washing of the dishes, and the making of the beds,—and all this by each man in his turn, and that man not six months, perhaps, out of the bothy,—and all this done too, among the very feet of some dozen or more of men rolling about his ears; and yet I venture to say, there is not a gentleman’s servants’ hall or kitchen in all this county, in which these things are done to better perfection. I state this, because it has often been said, that it is for want of female companionship that bothy lads are so very slovenly in their habits, and that without it, it is not possible to make them otherwise. There is, no doubt, a great deal of truth in this; but females can seldom be sent in there. The fact is, the men have never yet been fairly tried; the ways and means have never yet been afforded them—and the very smartness with which they can turn out of their bothies of a Sunday, in spite of the want of all these means, only shews what they would do if they had them but to a tolerable amount. I have asked, wherever I have gone, if ever chairs and tables were seen in a bothy, and almost the uniform answer has been, No. I have once or twice seen an old chair in a bothy, and I have had my eye a long time on one, to see what its fate would be; and although it has often changed rough masters, it is still as good as ever, a pet chair! A man comes in worn out by his heavy toil; he has nothing to sit upon, most likely, but the lid of his trunk, and nothing to lean his tired and perspiring back against for support,

but a cold damp wall ; or, to avoid this, he throws himself, as he generally does, filthy clothes and shoes and all, down upon his ill-assorted bed. But what a bed it soon becomes !

Now, to avoid all this, every bothy ought to have a cooking and a sleeping apartment—the one furnished with a strong table, and chairs with high backs, well bolted and stayed with iron rods ; and the other with small iron bedsteads—*one for each man* ;—both these apartments of healthful dimensions and construction. The sleeping apartment floored with wood—well lathed on the walls, quite free of damp, warm, yet well ventilated with ventilating flues.

Giving each man his own bed, I am confident, would of itself work a mighty reformation in the habits of ploughmen, as it certainly did in the habits of our soldiers, when each of them got a bed wholly to himself. I had collected abundant evidence of this fact long ago ; but to make it all fresh, I wrote the other day to a quartermaster of some forty years' service, and still serving, this pointed question :—Was there a sensible improvement on the habits of the men when they got each man a bed to himself ? and his answer to it is :—“ *There was a very decided improvement.*” Indeed, the thing at once speaks for itself, to every one who has any idea of decent and cleanly habits. I have asked many ploughmen how they would like such a thing, and their uniform answer has been, that they would like it above all things ; for then “ a clean man could keep himself clean, and would have a pride in keeping himself clean ; but, at present, although one would be clean, another dirties everything, and then they all get regardless ; ”—but the conclusion of these interviews was,—“ It will be no easy matter to get farmers convinced of all that.”

Now, if with all the rigid inspections and punishments of a barrack as to spots and stains, the departure from the doubling-up system in beds had a decided effect on the habits of the men, would it not have a like good effect upon ploughmen, who, it is proved, make the best soldiers in every way ? I know I shall at once be answered, You want the training and the inspection of a barrack-room in a bothy. True ; but if we had only the order and the comfort of a bothy within a hundred degrees of a barrack-room, it would be a mighty reformation ;—and by arrangements and divisions which a barrack is entirely devoid of, the superior superintendence of the latter might be, in a measure, compensated for. By separating the sitting and cooking apartment from the sleeping one, and also by surrounding each bed in it again by a wooden fixed screen, bothies might be made so as not to be a disgrace and a remnant of barbarism in our country. I say in our country ; for there are bothies in other countries not a disgrace to them, because

they are entirely on a different and on a civilised plan. Samuel Laing, Esq., in his book on Norway, compares the very superior social comforts of the labourers there with the comforts of the same class in Scotland:—"The Scotch bothy," says he, "which a rural economist stigmatises as disgraceful to a civilised country, and which, from the total want of cleanliness, is ruinous to the domestic habits of the labourer, is so inferior to the accommodation of farm-servants here, that the Scotch gentleman who sees the latter must blush when he remembers how his own farm-servants are lodged. There is a bothy here, as in Scotland, called a *borststue*—a separate house detached from the main one—and better than many of the dwelling-houses of many respectable farmers in Aberdeenshire and Mearnsshire paying considerable rents. It consists of one large well-lighted room with four windows, a good stove or fireplace, a wooden floor, with benches, chairs, and a table. At the end is a kitchen in which the victuals are cooked by a servant, whose business it is to attend to the *borststue*, and to cook for the people. The space above is divided into bedrooms, each with a window, and the doors lead into a covered gallery, open at the side, such as we still see in some old inns in London; and in this gallery the men's clothes are hung out daily, whatever be the weather. The whole house is washed every Saturday, the floors sprinkled, according to the custom of the country, with green sprigs; and in every respect, except an article or two of furniture, these rooms are as good, and are as warm, clean, and cheerful, as those in the main house." Now I would hold such an erection to be a model bothy; and cannot the farming in Scotland afford to give what it affords to give in Norway? But much less than all this would do; and before I read Mr Laing's description of the Norway bothies, I had made a sketch of an improved bothy, which I now venture to lay on your table, in the hope that it may attract the favourable notice of this Association. And you will be pleased to observe, that there is one of two floors for four men, and one of one floor for two men. Vainly imagining that perhaps I had discovered something new under the sun, I set a-hunting over all the country, as well as writing, to see whether any thing of the kind was in practice. At last I did come on one having a large kitchen substantially furnished; and then above this a large well finished, lighted, and ventilated room, with six iron beds in it for six men. At a window stood a large writing-desk, on which lay an arithmetic book, with a slate, having on it the solution or work of a question in vulgar fractions. Now, this little fact even of itself tells what these men would do if they had something better than the lid of their trunk for all purposes. Most of them are fond of writing and counting.

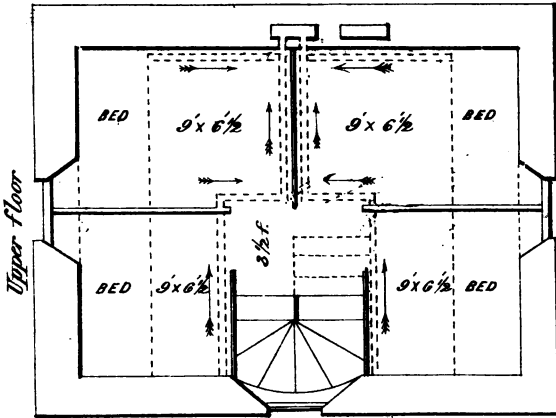
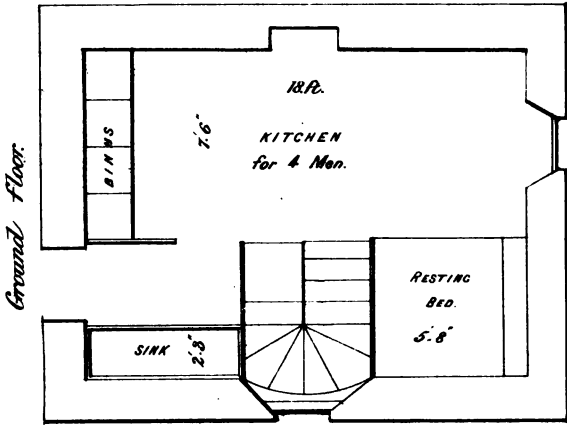
Writing letters to their friends would have the very best effect upon their minds, as it has upon the minds of soldiers; and some officers commanding them encourage this practice by all manner of means with this view; for it has the next best effect on them to personal social intercourse with their friends, but which neither they nor ploughmen can often have. Yet what convenience has a bothy lad for this? Only down on his knees to the lid of his trunk, or on the bellows, or on a slate stone upon his knees. I fear good correspondents as we all may be, and valorous scribbler as I myself am, I much fear, however, our letters would be greatly fewer and farther between, and my addresses much less wearisome, if we had to take this way of it.

In the plans I have presumed to lay before you, the beds are in closets, each 9 feet by $6\frac{1}{2}$. The partitions are of wood, instead of lath and plaster, for the obvious reason, that they will not break as plaster does. The walls of the sleeping-room are all lathed and boarded up some $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet above it, to save the plaster. The partitions are all of three-fourths well seasoned boarding, tongued and grooved, and closely and strongly jointed. Ventilating pipes, of wood two inches square bore, fixed up in the cornices, and each closet has a door.* I have also put in the back side of the kitchen what labourers rested themselves on in old times, and called "a *dais*," but which in my plan is in the form of the guard-bed, used by soldiers for a like purpose. This convenience will keep a cleanly man from lounging in his bed during the day, besides resting his bones at his ease; and the lads all say, this will be "a grand thing for them." Since making this sketch, I was glad to have the practicability of my ideas established, not only by Mr Laing's account of the Norway bothies, but also by a description a clerical friend, who labours hard among the farm-servants, sent me the other day of a bothy in Perthshire.

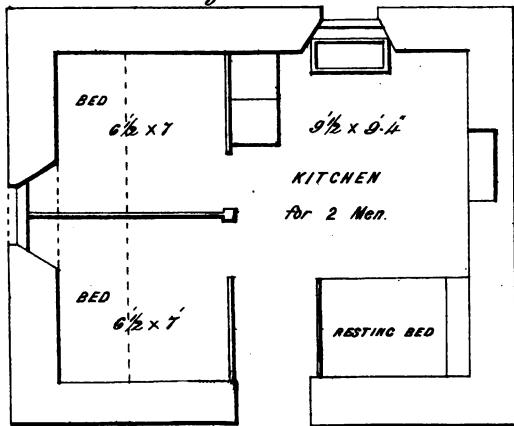
"But the reformation," says my friend, "must begin with the dwellings. The Earl of Mansfield has erected on his home farm "in this parish, a bothy which, in some respects, might serve as a

* Above all things put in the ventilating flues, and do not trust to doors and windows ever shut; and I beg special attention to this plan of ventilation. It is always self-acting, drawing from the corners where foul air is likely to stagnate. The wooden flues are the best and cheapest, if closely put together, as they don't chill down the hot foul air, and make it fall back into the apartment, as metal and stone flues do, foul air, when cold, being much heavier than fresh air. Then these wooden flues join into a vent in the wall, close beside the fire vent, which will keep it always warm, and produce a strong draught in the wooden pipes. If the grip between the ventilating and fire flues is built of fire brick, it will be a great improvement, as producing greater heat and draught in the former. I have tried this plan in a prison with success.

Farm Bothies.



Bothy for 2 Men.





“ model one. He built last summer a very neat picturesque cottage for his foreman, attached to which is the bothy, and separated from it by a wire fence. The ground floor of the bothy, a large room well lighted, is substantially and neatly paved with flags. Along one side of it are binns for their meal, with a padlock on each; a press for their clothes, and two cupboards or wall presses for their crockery or cooking utensils. 2dly, The floor above, a passage runs through it up the centre, with two small bedrooms on each side of it; in each room is a small neat iron bedstead, and most comfortable bedding. Each man has thus his own room, and a key to his own door.” I regret much I had not time, after getting this notice, to go and beg a sight of this bothy. Some one here may have seen it. I mean to see it next week; and I humbly think it is as well worth going to see, in its own way, as a steam plough or a reaping machine. By all manner of means, surely, let us encourage the invention and construction of these; but by all manner of means also let us encourage the construction of houses to preserve in their best efficiency our old ploughers and reapers, till we can, if ever we can, be otherwise appointed.* I am aware that a landlord may very properly erect on his home farm, houses he could not be called upon in equity to erect on the farm of a tenant; and likely such a bothy as that on Lord Mansfield’s could not be built and furnished for a sum much short of L.100. Yet even this, L.25 per man, is not surely so extravagant for comfortably lodging four men in the very prime of their efficiency. If any man is entitled to a comfortable resting place to recruit his strength, it is the agricultural labourer, by far, according to Dr Adam Smith, the most productive of all labourers. And on the bare question of thews and sinews only—if there be any truth in the principles and findings of

* I have since had the privilege of inspecting this bothy,—and a most patriotic erection it is. It abuts back from the grieve’s house, and both are of a highly ornamented style,—so that, for common farms, externally it can be no model. Internally it is excellent,—only the bedrooms are too far up into the roof, and therefore too hot in summer; and there is no provision for ventilation but the sky-light windows. By a little planning in the stair much less of a house might have done. In the plans hereto attached, windows with wooden cross mullions are put in, on which the partitions inside close up; and then the upper part of each half turns on a horizontal pivot, after the plan of that by Stevens, Burn, and others, for such places. I had the bothy for four men by this plan valued by an extensive carpenter house-builder; and the whole, chairs, beds and everything complete, with highest and fullest prices, come to L.78, 7s. 6d., say L.80.—N.B. I found an open Bible lying on one of the beds in the bothy at Scone. Now, this speaks volumes in favour of such bothies. It could not have been put there on purpose, for the door was locked, and a visit from any one totally unexpected.

animal chemistry, on which you now house, and bed, and curry, and feed your cattle—such refreshing places would pay you the best of any. “Damp, nasty, unwholesome habitations,” says a writer on agriculture, “depress the spirits and enfeeble the exertions, not only of man, but of “brute animals.” Yet such, I venture to assert, are the habitations of nine-tenths of the ploughmen of Scotland. And no wonder that they sit sour and sulky, as we are told they do, in the midst of them,—and no wonder if they have recourse, as we are also told they often have, to ardent spirits, when the north winds “blaw cauld and raw” through and through them. If an unmarried man, as I am told, be L.2 or L.3 cheaper to the farmer a-year than a married man, surely the sum that is required to build a comfortable house for one or two of the latter need not be grudged for the comfortable lodging of four of the former, for they pay as good to the farmer in this way as from L.8 to L.12 a-year of rent for it.

But then the increased expense of bedding. I am convinced that this, on the separate bed system, would in the long-run be actually less. Two beddings for two single beds only cost both of them but one-third more than one bedding for a double bed; and I have no doubt that the Board of Ordnance could show that the troops are more cheaply bedded now on the single, than they were on the old double and dirty plan. Besides, many a spirited lad would carry his own blankets and sheets about with him, as so much provided for his own comfort and for his marriage. And many a small farmer would let his sons away to the plough on a large farm, to learn its ways, who cannot now brook the idea of their sleeping with every fellow they may meet with in a bothy; for I have often heard of, yea, seen instances of sad skin diseases spreading in them.*

The *separate-bed-and-closet-plan* I hold to be the very pith and marrow of all bothy reformation; and it is, I know, so far recognised by some in this county, that they are getting up or have got up bothies, at least so that every man shall have his own bed.

How the bothy lads manage to dress, when they do dress, of a Sunday,

* I met a boy lately taking his brother's clean shirts to him in a distant parish, when I asked if his brother lived in a bothy, and whether he went to church,—“Ay, he lives in a bothy, but he canna gang to the kirk for a sair head. Nane o' us has ony hair i' our head,” and then he burst into a violent fit of tears. I asked him to take off his cap, but such a pitiable sight! I'll not go farther in his artless account of the accommodation at home, reader, in case you should not get it out of your mind, as I cannot yet get the weeping lad out of my mind, so as not to sadden me. He had walked good twenty miles barefooted on that hot, dry, hard day,—and it was the Sabbath.

and turn out all so smart and clean—how they can go through such a toil with such a toilet, I cannot conceive, yet this shows decidedly what they would be, if they could be, for untoward circumstances. But yet I am told that many of them, jaded and worn out, on the Sabbath morning, rather than go through the task of dressing, with every inconvenience to dress with, just remain at home from church, all dirty as they are. And no wonder, all things considered. I fear it would require the strongest pull of the christianity of the best of us, to start and to dress in such a place, in a cold frosty morning. Were I now addressing these Sabbath-profaning lads, I would tell them that, in so doing, they are committing a grievous sin, notwithstanding; but as I am now only addressing those who throw this stumbling-block in their way, by their niggardly negligence; my present duty only lies to declare, on the authority of the Lord of the Sabbath, that they who cause their weak brother thus to offend, will find themselves in the same coming condemnation with him for that offence. I beg here to call attention also, that I am not now discussing their religious, but their social condition only, and not how pure and undefiled religion elevates, and is absolutely necessary to be in them with power, before you can elevate their social condition to real comfort to themselves, and profit to you; but only what it is, which is, in your power, as their secular employers, to do, if you only vigorously will, to improve their social condition, by physical appliances, and thus, let us, whose office it is, to perfect it by sound religious teaching, get them in the favourable circumstances needful for so doing. *But then they are used to it.* The more is the pity; for if they were not, they would have the fine and the sensitive feelings and ideas, for the lack of which we are so loudly complaining of them. And I know that they are men of right good feelings, if they were not chilled down, or if they were only called forth. I have seen them called forth in hundreds of instances, and still, if but rightly touched, killed down as their feelings are, they seldom fail to rise and to respond to fair play and kindness. And just but look at their class, of which many, no doubt, have been country labourers. When the Birkenhead went down, did not about 300 of them go down with her, and that calmly and steadily, as one man, in obedience to their superiors, to give a few women and children the first and the best chance of escape? Could any class of men, who could ever have once claimed to be their masters when they laboured to them in civil life, have done the appalling thing better? *But then they know no better.* They do know better, and many of them have been taught better. It is because they think they will never get any better till they are able to get it of their own, that they are so regardless. And when they do

get a house of their own, and a wife that can keep it at all, if the bothy has not, ere they can do so (as it often does), filthified them beyond all recovery. Have they not a pride in getting things as decent as their scanty means will allow? If a man who has lived long in a bothy marry a woman that has worked from her childhood in the fields, and, it may be, lodged in a bothy, what can their house be, except for a wonder, but just like a bothy? "When," says Mr Hugh Miller, now of great distinction as a writer, and as a geologist, and who, in his speeches and writings on the working classes, and in the greatness of his mind, often tells us that he wrought as a stone mason, and lived in a bothy, and whose views on elevating those he knows so thoroughly, are all so sound and so practicable,—“when the mind has become habituated to filth, and has lost the taste for a comfortable dwelling, the supply of money only goes to satisfy the appetites that remain.” What these appetites are, and how many thousand gross instances of their filthy supply could be given, I stop not, by so doing, to reflect on your every-day observation. And when they do get used to the filth and squalor of a bothy, can it be to their employers' advantage? What state is that country in, and what are its labourers worth to a farmer there? Who can live on salt and potatoes, herd together in mud huts, and are content with filthy rags? If it be true that a man's mind gets like the people he lives among, it is just as true that his body gets like the place he lives in. And it has been found, that before you can civilize men to a high tone of fine feeling, you must awaken in them, by some means, a taste for many personal comforts beyond the bare necessities of life; but how many of these comforts are given to a ploughman, or is he encouraged to procure, let the solitary iron pot, and the everlasting and unwashed brose dish, and the unfurnished and unswept bothy, testify. “The natives of New-Zealand have dwellings,” says Mr Laing, already quoted, “more suited to the feelings and decencies of civilized life, than the peasantry of the greater proportion of Great Britain and Ireland, who live in dark one-room hovels, in which not only household comfort and cleanliness are out of the question, but the proper separation of the sexes can be scarcely maintained. Can any person doubt, on reflection, that it is an important advantage to the labouring class of a country, that their standard of living is pitched high as to lodging, food, and clothing? It is the most effectual check on pauperism, and over-population.”

But, then, they are all so healthy notwithstanding—Ah! yes; just as a regiment on parade, or in front of the enemy, is healthy, the sick and wounded all being in hospital. And farmers are blamed, too, for looking more to their physical power than to their moral qualities at

engaging them. Why! none but men of such power could stand a bothy. The weary and the weaklings are all somewhere else; and I could give you instances of disease contracted in a bothy—neglected in a bothy—speedily removed from a bothy,—but sending its victims, under feelings of utter employ-neglect, to a premature grave! And it has ever appeared to me a solemn mockery to be looking for certificates of their moral qualities specially, except for such certificates as are of the most general description, and which are of no earthly value practically, (and who, in these law-glib times, will venture to specify faults, or even refuse a good general certificate, for the sake of peace,) when you will not give them the conveniences that all other classes must have for cultivating and for keeping up those moral qualities which a congregated life of the young, as in a bothy, has ever a tendency to injure and to destroy?

Now, screening off a snuggery, as is proposed, for each man to himself, would enable every one of them to retire from the general din and fun and frolic of the kitchen of the bothy, to improve his mind in various ways. It is by far too much to expect of these lads, after a long day's heavy work, that they shall, after this, sit down on the lids of their trunks, in a filthy den, and in solemn silence, like so many monks in a cell, each man with his book in his hand, and holding down his head to the light of the fire (for in general they are allowed no better), the wind and the drift chilling their backs from behind, the smoke curling back in their faces and smarting their eyes from before, while the light on the hearth, at every other turn, is dying away. And then when bed-time comes, that each man with his Bible shall go down on his knees—on the filthy damp floor, and in presence of his bed-fellow, laughing him to scorn, it may be, and with the light of the fire, if it still burns, go through his devotional exercises. Yet to do all this, we do, as in duty bound, frequently exhort them; and when we do exhort them to do this, it is to do that which, to their minds at least, is a moral impossibility. But give to each man a comfortable place of retirement, of which he can shut and lock the door behind him, and call his own, and if such a man does not improve himself in every way, the sin must then lie at his own door. Indeed, I would fain call such a divided bothy the *new-model-school bothy*, for such a functionary then as a bothy teacher might be engaged for a few months in winter to go round among them in the evenings, and put the lads in the way of improving their generally very scanty school education. And the minister of Inshture kindly informs me by letter that Lord Kinnaird, who has done and is doing so much to improve their cottages on his own property, and who has also erected a bothy on his home farm on

the separate-bed-and-closet plan for each man, did last winter employ such a teacher. "Wherever," says my reverend friend, "the farmer takes an interest in his servants, it is much prized. Some, for instance, have been in the habit of giving lessons in the winter in reading, writing, and arithmetic, &c. And this last winter Lord Kinnaird sent a young man to all the farms to teach writing and arithmetic at his own expense; this the men prized greatly, and the masters in several instances seconded the matter. It is intended to resume it next winter."* And when I acted for seven or eight years as a garrison chaplain, I have known hundreds of them on newly joining a regiment, at my advice, at once to attend the regimental school, soon qualify themselves for non-commissioned rank, and many of them soon attain it after. *And they would* still in general so improve themselves. Yea, I have known lads do much good to others, and even to teach them, in a bothy. Let such lads, then, be singled out from a country side, and have the honour of your best distinctions, bestowed upon them for this their philanthropy; for such lads, by a weekly visit from a bothy teacher, could carry on the lessons of his less taught comrades. They really have a kindly feeling for one another, which indeed pervades their whole class to a most wonderful degree, and would rise still higher, if only properly fostered, as in olden times, when the death of a friend in a hamlet of cottars was the solemn signal to the whole to fling by the wheel, and to cease all work, and to read the scriptures, till the last duties were done to the remains of the departed! Now, I have seen, but only once or twice, a modern farmer's horses in the yoke half-an-hour after he breathed his last. This cannot be the way, surely—call the old idle-feeling system by what name you please—to train servants to take an interest in their master. It is really carrying the improvement of time on so as to banish all thoughts of death, judgment, and eternity.

These lads, with the full tide of life's blood at its height, must have their companions, and their laugh, and their joke, and their merriment for their refreshment, when they have all got together, just as we must have our cheerful talk, too, for our refreshment, when we are got together; and one would then, to see them at all this, think them very thoughtless and reckless; but get them, one by one, apart from his fellows (and a clergyman can do them little or no good but in this *solitary* way), and you will, ten to one, find them to be sensible, well-inclined lads, although in careless habits, and although they have but very little to say about the matter. Why! I have seen a very Hercules of a man sitting, with the perspiration pouring off him, and hanging his

* See Appendix, No. VII.

head like an abashed child, and unable to open his lips to answer a simple religious question that he knew quite well, and all just because his master and comrades were sitting by to hear him. The feeling is a natural one; we have all experienced it on many occasions, and have required strong bracings up of the mind to overcome it.

Now, if bothies were constructed on the closet plan, when a clergyman visited it, it would be his own fault then if he had not special and close dealing with every one of its occupants. For my own part, I confess that at present it is all so very up-hill and forbidding work, that I am not so often in them as I otherwise would be. One often visits a bothy without being able to do more than to slip a tract under the door, the men being all out; and when they are at last found unoccupied—either not cooking or sleeping—they look when I go in as if they were both ashamed of the place and of themselves, and very often make themselves scarce when they see the minister coming, and no great wonder, all things considered.

Presbyterian as Scotland is, and telling on the Scottish peasant's heart, as its naked form of sound words has ever generally been, there must be a degree of bodily comfort and of outward decency before religious instruction can be given with much beneficial effect. And will Scotland, to save annually but a few thousand pounds, let this be wanting, to the very men who not only have ever raised, and are raising to her, with the sweat of their brow, the staff of her life, but who have ever maintained, and, at the expense of their blood, may again have to maintain, what is yet dearer to Scotland than her life, her long boasted national independence?

But they are better fed than they were in old times, when they fought so well. Better indeed, immensely so, truly; but, as Mr Laing observes:—"A population may be in a very wretched condition, "although the country is very well farmed (and therefore well fed), "or they may be happy, although bad cultivators," (as I showed in the outset); and will any people fight well unless they are both happy and grateful to their superiors who lead them on? But then they are not complaining. As Dr Adam Smith shows, country labourers cannot combine as those in town to do so, and make themselves to be heard; and, therefore, as they have ever suffered, and must suffer in silence, they deserve to be all the more readily and generously attended to. The emigration lists tell a complaint in the ploughman's own way, viz. leaving in dogged silence when aggrieved. And this list seems to go on swelling in compound ratio, by the remittances and representations of silent grumblers that are on before, and well settled in a foreign land, and more genial, as they think, to their feelings.

But suppose all this arrangement were gone into, the question arises, How is it to be kept in decent order? I am confident it would manage itself, in a great degree—that the men would vie with each other as to the smartness of their berths, and the foul birds would at once be known, shunned, and shamed. Besides, those who have the philanthropy to get up such bothies will also have the energy to look after them. It would, no doubt, require that they became general before they would sensibly tell upon the habits of the men; and I have heard, but only heard, of men whose minds were so brutalized in other bothies, as want only to destroy the comforts given them in their new one. This may be so, and naturally so; but a righteous decision or two from the Sheriff, in such cases, would soon render it, that the many good should not so suffer for ever, because of the few bad. Let each man take his turn of doing up the bothy, but let that man be allowed a little time to prepare the fire before the others come home from their work, and let the master see that he does so; or, better still, on a large farm, let the jobbing or “orra” man be engaged to look upon the keeping of the bothy as one of his special jobs. Let him cook for it and clean it, and encourage something better in its fare from our now cheap groceries, especially on a Sunday, than the ever-returning “bicker” of brose; and let this Association encourage and reward such bothy-keepers.*

Let there be, in short, prizes for the best built bothies—prizes for the best furnished bothies—and prizes for the best kept bothies—and, above all, prizes to the lads who are known to do the most good to their comrades in the bothies.

Some, indeed, have suggested, that much of the money still given for prizes on the breeds of cattle, should now be given for philanthropic purposes. This I would consider a very short-sighted policy, as it would prove the ruin of such Associations as this, by the help of which chiefly these reforms can be stimulated. It is not safe, in any plan for improvements, to draw too much on man’s high-souled disinterestedness; it is by far a much longer-working way to leave a broad margin on such plans for putting down a “good something” to

* There was a lad once in my parish, but a good many years ago, who kept up family worship at night in a bothy of some five or six men. Those who newly joined at the term generally tried to turn it into ridicule; but, being a strong fellow, he barred them out till it was over. He had not, however, to do this above once or twice, when they joined in it too; and several blessed the day he had so dealt with them. Now, such a man was worth the highest public honours his circumstances could admit of, and without tending to puff him up. His name was Hendry, and his friends still live in Oathlaw. His father was a crofter of the old way.

the "agreeable" of the selfish feelings. I would, therefore, humbly suggest, that this Association do appoint a Committee, to form parochial and district associations over the county for the improvement of bothies and cottages, and the better working of savings banks, and of the training in schools for social capabilities, both for boys and for girls, at a very low price of membership, so as to take in all the well inclined to "the good of their neighbour." And let some popular lecturer be also sent round, to enlighten the people in the advantages of such helps as savings banks for promoting their social comforts in a high degree, and let him join them with such other subjects as may be attractively illustrated by the help of such things as a first-rate magic lantern, and models of agricultural inventions. And as he perambulates the country, gathering for lecture, the ploughmen of the districts together, don't let him stilt himself up in the midst of them, as if he were a Liebig, a Lyell, or a Lyon Playfair, but let him lecture on homely things, in homely phrase, to homely but sensible people.

Having got thus far, I have now in my mind's eye two of the three requisites realised, which the shrewd Lothian farmer, already quoted, said were so needful for the comfort and the efficiency of a farm labourer,—"A good wife, and a good cow, and a good razor." I fondly hope we shall get the cow and the razor for them, or, in other and more words, well furnished, clean, comfortable cottages, with a liberal supply of all those things without which a family can neither be healthfully brought up, nor trained for future usefulness and happiness; yet still I feel that I want the main-spring that can only make all this outfit and moral mechanism continue in good working order; I still want the wife—a *good* wife. If the farmer had not been so true to the shrewdness of his order, so knowing and so observing, and had he not put the word good before that of wife, he would have, perhaps, saved some of us some expense and some trouble. There is, indeed, no lack of wives for labourers; but then of what kind in general are they? I know that there are very many of them, nice, clean, sensible, well-trained active women; but this is not the rule, now that they are so much employed either in field labour or on the loom, and this too from their very childhood. I am not blaming these poor women for their "shiftless" managing; I say it is not *their* fault that they are so. The time allowed for the schooling of even a labourer's boys, is very short, and very broken; seldom more, at an average, than three months a-year in winter, and this but for a very few years only (it was different when they staid with their fathers till they were grown-up lads); but the time allowed for the schooling of a labourer's girls, is still more shortened and broken in upon by a thousand house "jottings" that come up every

other day to keep them from school. I need not particularise to you the many chances that the daughters of a labourer run, of just getting no education at all, unless their mother be a superior minded or educated woman herself, and teach and train her daughters herself.* But this probable and melancholy fate of girls of this station, has been so often commented on, and to such good purpose, by so many able and practical writers, that I need not now say more to attract attention to it. There is a first-rate little work on this very subject, by a very distinguished labourer's daughter, and who is indeed an honour to this, I believe, her native county; I mean the authoress of the "Pearl of Days," and which cannot be too widely circulated and studied by all classes. "The health and purity of the social system are placed under "the immediate guardianship of women," says this practical and pious writer; and the great Fenelon supports this proposition well, when he says:—"The education of women is more important than that of men, "since the improvement of men is always their work." Now, has it been ever made important with us, the schooling and training for social duties of our working females; has this ever been made important in our land? Let the miserably small number of female schools, and the miserable provision that these few generally have to maintain them, answer this most important question. I have been for many years deeply impressed with the great loss that arises to the social condition of people in humble life, for want of female training schools—liberally and plentifully established, in every parish and in every district—and of the great moral power of well-trained females on the conduct of men; so that, when requested, some twenty years ago, by the then Secretary at War, and much in the same way as you requested me to draw up this document, to prepare for him a similar paper on the social discipline of the soldiery with whom I then did duty as a chaplain; after commenting and suggesting on some dozen of the items of a soldier's management,

* I never yet saw a well-educated and well-trained mother but who, in some way or another, would get her children educated, all either by the schoolmaster or by herself. And I do believe, from good observation, that if mothers were better trained, the attendance of labourers' children at school would be much more numerous and constant than it is. Why, it requires a continued poking up, before many of them can be got to school after they move from one parish to another, (and this they do almost every year,) and much time is lost ere they attend at all. You may build a school on every farm, and yet you will have many children that should be in it, but who will not after all be in it, if matters among females, as to work and schooling, continue as they are. In establishing girls' schools, care of course would be taken that the interests of the boys' schools should not suffer, as they would not in the long run. The boys would be more numerous, and the fees infinitely better paid, than at most schools they now are by the moving classes.

I had specially, for one of these, "The Influence of Women on the Discipline of the Army." Yes, I have known a well-behaved, well-educated married woman, have the greatest moral influence over the thoughtless unmarried lads, even in a barrack-room, and who could make them do many things for their own good, over which an officer's authority would have had no effect.* What effect my paper had, I do

* See a very fair specimen of a good soldier's wife—and of her influence on the men—such as I now allude to, in the "Bleak House," by Dickens, who well describes a not uncommon and most useful character in the British army; and had our male labourers but only such wives, how different would their social state be in from what it is now! and girls' schools and Savings Banks is the only way to such; but Mr Barclay, Sheriff of Perth, remarks:—"That farm servants seldom take advantage of Savings Banks. If you look at the statistics of the Savings Banks, you will observe their comparative improvidence. At the last meeting I contrasted the number of depositors belonging to that class, with others. It appeared that domestic servants amounted to 681, whilst there were of farm servants only 147, who had put a farthing in the bank." (Evid. Poor Law Commiss.) "I apprehend this arises for want of a proper agency—some kind of way by which their loose money could drop into the bank without any trouble to them." When addressing the Secretary at War twenty years ago, on the necessity of savings banks, I made this remark:—"Perhaps one of the greatest temptations to dissipation, and by it to crime of all sorts, is the loose pocket-money of the soldier (receiving a few pence every night, the balance of his messing, he does not know what to do with them, save to buy a pot of beer, and this introduces him to the dissipationists of the town, who give him perhaps six times more for his stories of sights and service). He knows not how to add little to little. He thinks the pence not worth saving, and he never has pounds. To be sure, he may lodge money with his captain (the savings bank then). He seldom has as much at a time as he would presume to trouble his captain with, and that little goes before more comes. Nothing would give soldiers a more provident turn of mind, while in the service, and prevent them from being prodigals, as they usually are, when out of it. Were they once taught a frugal turn of mind, it would stick to them, as it grows the more one gathers. The writer is well acquainted with the rise and progress of a country parish savings bank. When it began ten years ago, scarcely a person would put a shilling into it, or thought he had one to spare. Their zealous clergyman, determined on their temporal as well as on their spiritual good, went about among the servants, and took the spare shillings they had in their pockets to make a beginning. The thing soon took root; the habit of saving grew, and now that bank has upwards of L.3000 belonging to the labouring classes, of about 2000 people, now much more sober and industrious than ever. A similar result, it is anticipated, would accrue to regiments, &c., &c. The pay-sergeants should be made the collectors of saving banks, with a small commission on the amount saved, to encourage them to exert themselves in getting the men to let their arrears in their hands go to the savings bank. But the first springs of the machine would require to be well looked to before starting."

Now, this is just what has been done. I examined a pay-sergeant's company's saving bank book lately, and most sure and simple it was. In fact, the arrears of the daily pay of a soldier, putting into it, is never drawn from Government at all.

not well know, further than to stir up the appointment of a Commission of Inquiry into the discipline of the army, as the best way of beginning to deal with its social evils. And before this commission, I upheld the influence of women, and of properly managed savings banks, then unknown in the army, as being two of the best collateral means to a continued enforcement of sound religious principles on the men, for keeping down drunkenness, and thereby also crime. And now there are first rate girls' schools, endowed with some L.20 or L.30 a-year, in every regiment, and a beautifully managed savings bank for the whole army. And for the cure of the social evils that prowl about our own doors continually, not any other two things of man's devising would it delight my heart so much to see, well established over all Scotland, as just these two now named. I am not vain enough to imagine that it was any humble suggestions of mine that brought all this about. I only venture to state the fact, to show that I am not now propounding some new, crude, and impracticable theory that has got up in my mind of yesterday,—when I now also take leave to maintain, that until properly equipped girls' schools are established in every district, so as to be convenient to the daughters of your labourers and ordinary farmers,—all schemes for raising your labourers to the social condition they *should be in*, will be in a great measure defeated. You have, it is true, a set of as able and useful male teachers, both parochial and non-parochial, as I could well wish to see for the kind of work they have to do in the country; and all that they want is, better provision, and more of your visits and countenance, to make their schools more of the training kind, but which they cannot be to any great extent, so long as you continue hardly ever to enter them, to encourage and advise both the teacher and the taught. And I regret much that I have not time to notice more fully the great unseen efforts of these deserving men to educate your labourers. Still there is a schooling and a training needful for girls in their peculiar social condition, which no male teacher, however excellent, can impart. In visiting the labourers' houses over the country, of late, and inquiring at the labourers' wives about their early training, when I would ask them how they would

Put the farmer or clergyman in place of the sergeant, and the banker in the next town in place of the Secretary at War, and you have the machinery for collecting savings complete.

The amount in the army savings bank is no great criterion of the amount saved, as soldiers are always being discharged, or sending money home to their friends; and many a poor widowed mother is the better for them, as are their sons too, while they give her the money. They are generally very mindful of their mother, and nothing touches the better feelings of a man in the black hole more, than to say to him, How would your mother like to see you here?

have got on had they not been at a sewing school, or how they would have got on if they had, those who had been at one uniformly said, they just could not have got on at all with so many "bairns" to clothe; and those who had not been, as uniformly expressed their regret of the want of such an early privilege. And I cannot yet better and more shortly bring out my mind on the subject, than by an extract from an Evidence I gave before the Poor Law Commission, some ten years ago.

" Quest. Are you satisfied with the means of education ?

" Witness is *not* satisfied with the means of education in the parish.
 " There is no girls' school. Witness is satisfied that poverty is very
 " much increased by the neglect of female education and training.
 " Where a woman is well educated, taught to sew, and brought up in
 " tidy and industrious habits, she can make her husband's earnings go
 " much farther than one who has had no such education, as she can do
 " nothing in keeping her husband's clothes in order, and has almost
 " no turn for cleanliness or neatness in her house. Witness has been
 " chaplain in the army, and he always observed, that the married
 " women who had been properly educated, with the same means kept
 " their husbands and families in much greater comfort than those who
 " were uneducated. The character of the women had undoubtedly
 " a great effect on the discipline of a regiment. A well-educated
 " woman has every thing comfortable about her husband, and he has
 " no inclination then to leave his quarters for drink, while those who
 " have ill-educated wives, slatterns, who keep every thing uncomfort-
 " able, are always going from home, and indulging in dissipation.
 " The same is the case among civilians. The men who find the most
 " comfort at home would be the most steady, their means would be
 " better husbanded, and their distance from poverty would be the
 " greater. The Queen has obtained a grant of L.30 a-year, to be
 " applied to the education of females in each regiment, and witness
 " has no doubt that it will produce the best possible effects. Witness is
 " of opinion that the connexion of female education with the increase
 " or diminution of crime and poverty, ought to be seriously studied.
 " He is certain, from his experience, that it has a very great influence
 " on both. Since he left the army, he has been in the practice of go-
 " ing into penitentiaries and prisons, wherever he travels, and he is in
 " the custom of acting* gratuitously as chaplain to the jail of Forfar;
 " and in his intercourse with persons of all grades, he never fails to
 " perceive the great effect of the want of education in women upon

* I did so from 1839 to 1846, and wished to continue to do so, but the General Prison Board would not allow prisons of any extent to depend upon gratuitous sacred services, and an allowance of L.10 a-year was accepted.

“ crime. Male young prisoners may deny at first that they were
 “ led into crime by bad women, but there is scarcely a case in
 “ which he does not discover it to be a fact, before he leaves
 “ them; and in his visits to female penitentiaries, into which he is
 “ in the habit of going as often as he has an opportunity, he finds
 “ the inmates, with scarcely an exception, very badly educated. It is
 “ very seldom that he finds a person with a tolerable education
 “ amongst them. Witness has further to state, that he conceives no
 “ system of education will prevent poverty or crime, without instil-
 “ ling into the minds of the people sound religious and moral prin-
 “ ciples.”

I have drawn on my old papers again, not only to shew what my present recommendation would be in this important matter, but also to shew farther, that it has long had possession of my mind.

I now beg also to quote the opinion of one who is entitled to much greater consideration—I mean Dr Gilly, vicar of Morham, and canon of Durham, in his truly excellent little book on the peasantry of the Border, for on this point he expresses my views and wishes exactly. “ Among other expedients,” says he, “ for the amelioration of the hind’s condition in particular, we must endeavour to secure good education, near at hand, for his children, and especially for his daughters. The advantages of female education are not yet sufficiently appreciated or understood. Sewing, mending, making, and habits of housewifery, so essential to the character of a cottager’s wife, are not to be learned in our village schools, as they are at present constituted. A schoolmistress is wanted as well as a schoolmaster; and if you cannot have one in every parish, at least let there be some provision made for girls’ schools in central spots, for the accommodation of a district; and then you will see a rapid improvement take place in the appearance and manners of the female population. We demand the services of our young females in the fields; and to counteract the rude tendencies of field service in females, we should be more anxious to educate them in a manner worthy of their sex. Wherever there is a girls’ school, you are sure to discover its effects in the deportment and habits of the children and their mothers.”

Now, to test this last assertion still farther, than I had seen of late, and having visited with Dr Crombie, the minister of Scone, about a year ago, a female school on a large and highly equipped scale, from the generosity of the Earl of Mansfield, and who personally, as I had the privilege and delight of witnessing on that day, pays it very great attentions after the kindly but dignified manner of the nobility of the old school, and as many of our aristocracy still practise, I wrote Dr Crombie

to state to me the effect this school was producing upon the parishioners, and this is his obliging answer :—

“ The Earl of Mansfield’s school is doing much good. No girl is allowed to come into the school without clean hands and face, tidily combed hair, and clean clothing. No rags, rents, or holes in frocks or stockings are permitted. If any child shall come (which very rarely happens) with any of these deficiencies, she is forthwith sent home to get the necessary remedy applied. This, of course, trains up the children themselves to habits of neatness, and tidiness, and cleanliness ; but it does more—it teaches the mother to attend to these things also. No mother likes to have her child sent home (from the presence of four-score other children) for a fault which so strongly reflects on herself. This sort of discipline gave (as you may suppose) a good deal of offence at first, and I had in some cases to interfere in support of the mistress ; but now all difficulty on this score is completely got over. The houses of the villages generally exhibit a very different aspect as to tidiness, since the opening of this school.”

I conceive stronger proof cannot be required than the above evidence of these two devoted and discerning clergymen, of the prodigious change that properly equipped female schools would have on the social condition of our labouring peasantry. They would be a mighty boon also to the most of your farmers, who often have to incur great expense, and run great risks as to health, in sending their daughters to town ; and, besides, if kept long enough in a town to educate them properly, they often lose all turn for the “jottings” of a farm-house when they return. At whose expense such schools are to be erected and maintained, I will not venture an opinion, farther than that my own impression has always been, that Government would require to step liberally forward, to get them done in sufficient numbers, and well. Yet though Government did all the paying and building part, still if the landlords and their ladies did not pay them special and unremitting attention, they would not continue to be social training schools after all, more than the boys’ schools are at present ; and that just for want of this aristocratic inspection. Some may say—why, no fear of that, if the teachers and ministers would only do their duty. As to what the clergy can or can not do in this way, it does not become me, as one of them, to say ; but I do know, that in general your country teachers can do no more in this way, unless they are backed up, as I have already hinted, by the gentry of their district. I once tried the training system in my own parish school for a whole winter, when the school was necessarily vacant, by the appointment of the teacher to a church. Being strictly on the free attendance principle (certainly

not a good one), I had some eighty scholars to work upon. The first week or two there was a great deal of trouble, both as to clean hair and clean hands. I remember I found fault with one boy, again and again, for coming with dirty hands. At last I sent him home, as is done at Scoone, to clean himself. In an hour his mother was at the school door demanding his books, and complaining loudly of "thae new kicks." Being the minister, I could act with a higher and a firmer hand than most teachers would do, or even be allowed (now-a-days) to do, and I sent her off without them. The school was then a small ill-aired, confined, dirty place, and the children could not keep themselves clean in it, although they came so in the morning; and by night both they and I were perfectly exhausted with the foul air of it. The ringworm broke out also to a frightful extent, but by driving a tunnel under the cold stone floor, to admit air, I made the atmosphere a little more endurable. In spring I represented all this to the heritors, and they generously, and at once, allowed me to rebuild the school-room to my own plan, without farther trouble. From the thorough ventilation and comfort of the school-room, I have observed, that while fevers, &c., prevailed among children in other parishes round and round, where the schools were of a bad construction, we have had no such visitations among ours since the school (ten years now) was rebuilt. That winter was worth a great deal to me, as giving me a better insight than I could otherwise have obtained, as to how the training of children at school affects their parents at home; and also of the great difficulties country teachers have to contend against in any system, and especially in carrying the system properly out. The "canna be fash't" principle is ever crossing and hindering it in their own homes. For instance, I wanted to train the children to make up the time taken from one thing to do another, and no doubt it was to accommodate myself as well, as I had parochial duties calling me away occasionally. To make up for an afternoon hour, I would have said, "all those that wish "to become active young men and women in the business of life, stand "up, (the whole school at once got up). Then you appear here all "nice and clean to-morrow morning at 8 o'clock." I allow that this was coming it rather too strong in a short dark winter morning. The parents, I understood, grumbled terribly, but the children liked it exceedingly. I state all these very little egotistical incidents, to show what a training teacher, for social purposes, would, in the country, likely have to contend with, unless those in secular or lease-holding power over the children's parents, were to give them every support.

And just the other week, I was visiting a training-school got up at great cost and with great taste, by a gentleman of this county, and who

is every other day, I believe, looking after it. I said to the teacher, "Now, could you of yourself carry on and out all this, if Captain C—— was not constantly visiting the school?" "No," said he, "I am sure I could not."* Besides, we all require moral stimulants from without, to get on as we ought, with such a constant, drudging, wearing-out duty, as teaching a country school of some twenty classes is. Such a school might be a nine days' wonder for a time, but even under the most energetic teacher, it would soon dwindle down to the old routine of mere well-drilled lessons. It is easy for an amateur to get on as a training teacher for a few months; but it is a very different matter to continue through life, from day to day, under many down-drawing influences—often sickness—and not the least, and the worst of all, the bad air of a wretchedly ill-constructed school. I once knew a first-rate teacher, the father of a motherless young family too, blame nothing else—and it was truly enough—for cutting short his very useful days, but his confined school! There are, indeed, many excellent, newly-built schools throughout the country; but there are still not a few that, if renewed, would save the health and efficiency of both teacher and taught, in a high degree. And as concerns our present purpose, when boys and girls are mingled, and packed thick together in a confined school, the trickeries that go on between them are anything but decent and improving. Whereas, in a large, well-aired, well-heated hall, the two sexes can be kept almost entirely apart. Everything is at once observed, and the work goes on with order and spirit, there being no foul air.

Some one may say to all this "up-getting," Well, but how were the labourers' and crofters' wives schooled and trained, of whom you have said so much as being so virtuous, so frugal, and so happy? They were trained by their own fathers and mothers, with whom, or

* After witnessing a very interesting and telling lesson of the kind of training I have in view—by the distribution of some 30/ among the children, for catching six or seven hundred wasps (giving each according to his catching), and whose carcasses had been stored up till the day of reward came—(care being taken to make them understand the difference between killing a destructive and a fast multiplying wasp, and a harmless fly)—I asked the teacher if he could carry on and out such a system, if Captain C—— were not thus encouraging it and visiting it often. "No," said he, "I am sure I could not." It is clearly the heritors' duty and their interest to give to those who are educating their labourers, every encouragement in their power, both as to school-rooms, and their furniture, books, and maps, and *personal visits*. Poor teachers are much out of pocket often for books, &c. I have almost never seen an heritor at the annual visitation of a school; surely it is as well worth coming to look at the match of the young ploughmen in the moral field, as at the match of the elder ploughmen at the turf field. Yes, and it will pay as well too, by bringing greater conscientiousness, and intelligence, and humanity upon your turf fields, and the horses that break them up.

next door to whom, they constantly lived (no mean school then), and no "feckless" teachers, with no frivolous lesson-book, for that book was the best book that ever was, or shall be, in the world, having the promise of the power of the Spirit of God to render it effectual. Their work was then nearly all within doors, at the spinning-wheel. There was then a sort of private mutual training female system went on, and, as I said, this system lasted some twenty or thirty years longer in my native county than it did in this, till it was starved out there also. I remember, in my childhood, begging sometimes of my mother to be let go, and get tales and songs from the lasses, in the croft-houses, at their wheel. Very often some three or four of them convened, and span in a neighbour's, for company to each other. There was there no end of songs, and ballads, and stories, and legends, and counting of pedigrees, battles, and marriages, sweethearts, and sermons, just as the idea was started. I heard many a heroic ballad then, which I could never see in print. There was a great deal of mirth, but as much of innocence, and no rude fellow dared to set his nose in at the door to take any undue freedoms. There was the Bible, too, with the Shorter Catechism, lying on the "stock o' the wheel;" and when a parochial visit was expected from the minister soon, for weeks before, it was all the learning of Catechisms, and Psalms, and verses of Scripture,—every one trying to outdo her co-spinner in getting "by heart" the Scriptures. And to be out of the kirk on a Sabbath, either for lad or lass, was to their own feelings a moral and social degradation. They had but few books, but they were good: I do not recollect of ever hearing of or seeing an improper one among them. They did not read therefore extensively, for at that time books were not to be had; but a book was not then thought to be made a good use of unless it was nearly all "gotten by heart." Their memories were, in consequence, great and retentive. And therefore they learned much at church, and from their betters, in this way,—as witness the powers of memory to this day in the Highlands, especially among the pious people. They were not accomplished women, it is true, but they were not shallow or superficial women for all that. From their continued singing, and even manufacturing themselves, of heroic songs,* they imbibed a very chivalrous spirit; so that I was

* I well remember hearing my grandfather often tell how, when taking a near cut through the Grampians by Lochlee, home to the north of Aberdeenshire, he lodged a night with Ross, the schoolmaster of the parish, and the poet of that glen, being his kinsman. Ross started next day with him, to convoy him over Mount Keen; and to beguile a resting hour, at the foot of this very steep mountain, when they had crossed it, Ross, with great hesitation, pulled a paper out of his pocket, and read it to my grandfather. It was a poem in English verse.

not greatly surprised when, on inspecting my session records when settled at Oathlaw, to find the very first minute of them all to be one in the year 1715, bringing to discipline some four or five high Jacobite working dames for pulling the then minister of the parish out of the pulpit, for daring, in their presence, to pray for the Royal Family from Hanover. They cleared the church, and locked the door, no doubt getting some help from their admirers. They certainly, on that occasion, allowed their chivalry to overtopple their religion, if they had any. And yet, many of that time and strife took up "the cause" as a religious one in their own way. And, shocking as their conduct in this matter of the minister certainly was, yet, I verily believe, they would have also pulled out the eyes of any man in like fashion, if he had dared an indecent familiarity with them. The working females then were women of strong, energetic reasoning, and well inclined minds, with a deep feeling of self-respect. They were not superficial women, although they were not what may be called well-informed women; for they made the little knowledge that they had go somehow infinitely further than we now can do for real good use. And surely those women were not of a shallow social training, although their rank and their means were small, who, when the old crown of Scotland was in jeopardy of being carried off, took the flax they were spinning, rolled it well round the threatened crown, and hid it under the kirk pulpit—the strong but enlightened refuge then of our peasants in their day of trouble, by which they were enabled to mount up to a higher Rock still, where they considered themselves free from every enemy, and

When he had done reading—"Your poem," said the traveller, "Mr Ross, is delightful, and you are nearly as good at the English as you are at the Latin (Ross being a first-rate Latin scholar, and no bad poet in it too). "You are trying, I see, to imitate some of these great English poets; but it will not go down just yet to speak of Scotch fashions to Scotch people in the English tongue. "Gae awa hame, man, an' turn it into braid Scotch verse; and gin ye print it, "the not a jot will my lassies do at their wheel, and some thousands mair like them, "till they have read it five or sax times o'er." The poet took his advice, and this poem turned out to be the once popular "Fortunate Shepherdess."

Men and women then seemed fond of poetry, in all classes. I recollect well once, rummaging through a mass of old papers in some of my grandfather's drawers, when I came on a great number of songs and ballads, &c., written by his ploughmen, and dedicated to him as their master. Almost nothing worth speaking about seemed to happen in the district then, but some half-dozen men and women must chronicle it in rhyme, after their own fashion, and all the country-side must commit their effusions to memory. If this did no farther good, it exercised the intellects of some and the memories of all; and the not a few that I have seen in manuscript (printing then was never thought of), and heard recited or sung, seemed very chaste, and to have no "small wit" besides.

safe from every danger. Nor was that lady, whom it is needless to name, wanting in such requisites either, although far removed from all high boarding-school refinings, who saw, personally and alone, and without the breath of a suspicion on her virtue, safely out of a distracted country, and all the cordons that were surrounding him, and after many untold hardships and wanderings and narrow escapes, "a head" which was laying claim to this same crown as its "ain," although a price on this head was set and offered, to the amount of thirty thousand pounds!

A person who can master the Book of Proverbs,* which was then

* I have often regretted that the ^{Book of} Proverbs was out of use in schools. I used it the winter I taught my own parish school, but I had some trouble in getting copies of it. I do not see how a labourer's child can now-a-days get a good knowledge of his Bible, unless he reads it much in some way during the few months he is at school. Away from his parents to herd, as soon as he is able—and herds seldom get to a Sabbath school—he soon forgets the smattering he 'got of it at school. How soon do we forget a language, however well drilled in it at school! I would not be for making the Bible a drudging lesson book. Yet our fathers seemed to have no dislike to it on this account, their only school book generally; but I would open and close every school with all the pupils reading, around, the Scriptures in large portion at a time, as in family worship. It is very difficult to strike a medium in a country school, between the way of teaching children that can remain steadily for seven or eight years, and those that can remain only but so many months. With the latter there is no time to lay a proper foundation. As to the question whether the power of secular instruction be sufficient for social purposes, my experience says decidedly, No; neither for time nor eternity is it sufficient, given in any way or to any degree, and I implore you not to trust to it. The social state of our best artisans should decide this, as I do. I cannot better express what I mean, than by this extract from the P. L. Comⁿ.—"There is a class "of meaner crimes against which intelligence is a guard; but it is no guard "against another class, not so generally thought mean, but which has just as much "tendency to draw men into pauperism as the former."—(Mr H. Millar's Evidence.) When the 93d Highlanders were first raised, all Sutherlandshire young men, parentally educated on the Bible, they went out to the Cape of Good Hope. They declined the services of the military chaplain there, and engaged and paid a minister of their own, and appointed a regular kirk-session. The kirk-session carried on the defaulter discipline of the corps, so that there was never any need of a court-martial of any kind; in fact there was no crime. They had only one blackguard, and he was got rid of by a collection in the regiment to purchase his discharge. When other regiments were turned out to witness punishments, the 93d were exempted, as having no need of the example.—(See Stewart's Hist. of H. Regts.) I once did duty as chaplain for some eighteen months to about 200 of the 93d, about twenty years ago, and certainly the Highland part of them fully sustained the religious and moral character of their fathers. The 93d is a sort of family regiment,—whole families used to be in it,—a father and three or four sons; and they were always saving up money to send home to poor relatives. If this does not speak decidedly in favour of Bible and parental training on it, I do not know what would.—(See also Evid. of Lieut.-Col. Sir D. McGregor, 93d Regt., Comⁿ.)

the universal elementary teaching book, work its maxims, and principles, and proverbs, each a volume in itself, into his heart, so that it cannot get quit of them, and act upon them in practice, is not a superficial person, more than their inspired "wisest" author was; and this, both men and women then generally did. A very aged relative of my own—who, I believe, could repeat off nearly all the Bible—one day, when I was reading to him while a little boy, out of this wonderful book of Christian and social ethics, said—"Ah! my bairn, take my "advice, and get that book all by heart, as I did; and if I had not, I "do not see how I could have got so well through the world, as God "by it has enabled me to do." I have heard others say the same thing, who were schooled in this their own way at that period. So that I was quite prepared for the statement, the present Very Reverend Principal of Edinburgh College made, a good many years ago, to a Committee on Education—That many thought Scotchmen owed all their shrewdness and moral uprightness to the fact that they were well versed in the Book of Proverbs, from its being the only elementary school-book of Scotland for a long period. The little innocent home-manufacturing coteries of old times were then chiefly our female training schools; and to their training, Scotland owed, in a high degree, the chivalrous spirit that prevailed among the lower classes; and this from the songs and fine spirit of its working females. What would a lass then have thought of a lad that was not ready on the shortest notice to buckle on his claymore and follow the laird to the field? That chief knew men, and the making and managing of them well, who is said to have held the maxim, "That it is the mother that makes the man;" and he knew equally well also how to "stir a man's blood" when his mother had him made, when he wanted the making of the man's country songs to himself, as the most powerful means of doing it. From the days of Tyrtæus to those of Dibdin, it has been so, and will be so, that such things as songs, although apparently trifling in themselves, on *Military Punishments*, 1835.) I once had a fine specimen of a Bible-trained labourer, who broke stones on the turnpike road in my parish for twenty-seven years, a John Sutherland, from Sutherlandshire. Without at all reflecting on others, I felt it to be my most refreshing privilege to stop John at his stones, and have a soul's-concern-conversation. John had served in the Aberdeenshire Militia. John, on being discharged, had a tempting offer to go as a servant about an inn, which he sternly refused, for fear of drink and Sabbath-breaking. He broke stones for twenty-seven years—was never out of church on Sabbath—had to leave his house, as it was wanted for a farm servant—got another, but not convenient or comfortable, and his wife died. John made the best possible husband, and had a noble and feeling heart—John was no longer able to work, and, alas! he is away too; and the minister of Oathlaw lost a most constant, intelligent, and devout hearer, and, worst of all, his many earnest prayers.

yet have collectively a mighty influence for good or for evil on a nation's mind and manners, and especially when coming through female influence and training; and whether Sparta's women sung *Tyrtæus'* songs, I am not sure, but they were the bravest of *the brave*. It was not only in this way that the female mind then got a virtuous and social training among the working classes, but the daughters of gentlemen-farmers, and small proprietors, were trained in much the same way too. The farmer generally read to his daughters while they plied their tasks at the wheel. I remember when I began to read Virgil at the school, by help only of a small Latin dictionary—for learning was not made easy then,* far less that of Latin and Greek—being sorely puzzled about the history of the heroes and the geography of the places; and I made my complaint to my kind mother, when I found she knew Dryden's Virgil and Pope's Homer, to repeat very much of them from memory. On asking when and how she came by all this—"Why," said she, "Harry, when I and my sisters were girls, our father read as we span, and the old poets were our favourite books; and so, what with him constantly reading them over, and ourselves peeping into them, we had the most of them by memory." †

* The improvements in the mode of communicating instruction now-a-days are many and great. One may nearly get all at a well-taught country school, as to Latin and Greek, Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, necessary to fit him for most professions. Our way of it then was just as different from the way of it now, as that of men toiling in a stone quarry from that of men working in a pleasant garden. Which way is the best for training mental vigour and invention, I will not say. I have often thought a mixture of the two mortars would build up the man to stand the war of the elements of our present social condition the best.

† I know something also of the education of boarding-schools in those days, as my mother had two aunts who kept one in Cromarty; and as their father had suffered in the "cause," they received every encouragement from those Highland chiefs who favoured it, and suffered for it too. My mother and aunts had the advantage of being taught and trained at this Jacobite school, coming home full-fraught, of course, with the spirit and the tales that prevailed in it. It seems to have been really a training as well as a teaching school for the "tug-rug" of domestic life. Whatever it was, it gave me a mother, to whose advice and early teaching I do owe more for real useful living, than to all the schools I have ever been at, and all the books I ever read of a secular kind. Although for many years a very great invalid, and living in strict seclusion, she never for a moment lost either her strong practical sense or her cheerfulness. And I do thank God that He never allowed me either to propose or to take a single step in my life, without consulting her, if at all possible, till some five years ago, when in great suffering, but in a strong, cheerful, blessed hope, she turned her head on my arm, and said, for the last time, and with her last words, "May the Lord bless you, Harry!" Oh! it is a wretched modern division of labour, when parents in any rank of life give all their time either to their spending pleasures or to their paying business, and turn

Now, it is some such schools as these, to train them to work both with hands and head in a house, that we want. The wheel is away, and I fear much of our chivalrous spirit is away in consequence; and our long boasted self-sustaining-to-the-last spirit is gone with it too; and nothing now, generally, have we to give our work-women but the drudgery of the fields, and the lodgment of a bothy, or with those persons who care almost nought for them, and at last the Parochial Board. Last century, the women had plenty of work, and the men had very little, nor did they know how to find it, as they did not know how to till the ground.

The next best thing would be for Government to establish parochial or district schools for the social training of our country girls. It is not for me to say what these schools should or should not have or do. But they should have the services of a thoroughly educated and socially trained governess—well paid and countenanced. They should have also, and I beg it to be marked, a washing establishment attached, where our ploughmen could get their things well done, at a cheap rate, and not hold them, as now, wandering over the country with bundles of clean or dirty clothes on Sabbath, when they ought to be hearing the Word of God in His house, for the “cleansing of their hearts from all filthiness of the flesh and of the Spirit.”* And

over entirely the greatest and most profitable, yes, and the most pleasurable (if they would only enter heartily into it), business of life, to tutors, and schools, and governesses, however able and faithful, the education and training of their children, and thus depriving them of the most agreeable of all recollections. Parents may not teach them to know so much, but they will teach them to do more, and to feel infinitely better.

* If any one in this county wishes to see the sad effects to women from neglecting their early religious and social training, they have only to visit that admirable institution in Dundee, called the “Home for unfortunate females.” There also they will see what proper religious and social training can do for them, even after years spent in a sad, downward, and heart-hardening sinful process. And they will likewise see the working and paying of something like a washing establishment, which might be attached to girls’ schools in the country, not only to train them well in this very necessary working-female accomplishment, but also to convenience the young ploughmen, and keep them from desecrating the Sabbath, as they now do (pleading a work of necessity) to a lamentable extent, by going and returning with their foul and clean shirts,—one Sabbath away for shirts, another at home in turn for the horses, and a third for company to some one, leaves but little time for church-going. Good old social reforming Nehemiah would have in some way put a stop to all this on the Sabbath (Neh. xiii.) Go, ye modern social reformers, in power, and do likewise. But, above all, in this institution they will see the very benign effects of that which throughout this paper I have been pleading so hard for, when such an institution is made the unremitting, personal, daily, and generous heart-charge of one in the higher ranks

to this very clean-shirt-going on Sabbath I have traced, to my melancholy satisfaction, much of the great indifference to church-going that now prevails among our young men.

I know I have all the while now been putting my hand, rather deeply, I fear, into the pockets of the landlords, and been drawing on their returns pretty freely; but I now am prepared for coming to an account for it.

And I have been a good deal discouraged by a talk of five, and six, and seven per cent on all outlays on cottages and bothies, or nearly the same return for money on them as for a house in a town. If this is to be insisted on, in "clear clink-tell-down," in addition to rent, either from farmer or servants, I fear I have now spent your time in vain. I should rather say three per cent, and the rest of the per cent in greatly increased serving efficiency. Land, certainly, to a certain extent, ought to be treated, as to its outlays and returns, like any other raw material of manufacture, but this only to a certain extent.

I could easily show, did time allow, and were it necessary, as I hope it is not, from the original and chief design of the earth by its great Creator,* as well as from the whole spirit and moral bearing of His Word, that he who owns any part of it as a landlord has moral obligations entailed therewith upon him by its Creator, of a higher order far than those which can attach to any other kind of property, and which he is personally bound to discharge to those who cultivate that part of it calling him its landlord, with the sweat of their brow. He is to see that their comforts bear a due proportion to his own, and that the means of their religious, social, and moral improvement be adequately afforded them. Nor can the landlord delegate these obligations to a tenant unreservedly—a tenant's term of occupancy, or of expected occupancy, being in general too short to enable him properly to discharge them; and, with all the risks of loss to which farming is so liable, it is too much to ask a tenant to discharge these high and permanent obligations, however trustworthy he may be, even to the labourers on his own farm; and, of all things, he is not to delegate the building of the bothies.

The *live-and-let-live* system may be a quite good enough one between landlord and tenant, but it is not a comprehensive and a generous enough one as regards the relation of labourers to landlord and

of life,—as this one is so well known to be made by its patroness, Lady Jane Ogilvy of Inverquharity.

* "For thus saith the Lord that created the heavens, God himself that formed the earth, and made it; He hath established it, He created it, not in vain, *He formed it to be inhabited.*"—Is. xlv. 18

tenant. The latter two classes must not only let the former class live, but they must show *them how to live*, and also enable them to follow up this showing. Landlords and tenants have the means of improvement in their own power, or within themselves—the labourers have not these means within themselves, therefore these must be afforded them from without by their employers, and that not up to a niggardly and stunted standard of life's necessaries, or even to their own wishes of living, but up to the full standard of their relative positions of duty, of usefulness, and dependency, and the progress of the age.* Now, can it be said that our cottages and bothies, in general, bear any fair proportion in these respects to the castles, and mansions, and farm-houses of the country? I trow not.

But, besides its being a moral obligation on landlords, that cannot be severed from their properties, personally to see to the comforts and the best interests, in full measure, of the labourers on their own estates, but, on all sound economic principles, it is no less their interest than it is their duty so to do. But I shall allow the question only now to be, “to pay, or not to pay.”

With the returns of the tenant the returns of the landlord must ever rise or fall; and what can enhance the returns of the tenant more than a class of well-cared-for, healthy, happy, well contented, and faithful labourers. Why! a writer and geologist, already quoted, and who, in the greatness of his mind, often tells us that he once worked as a stone-mason, and while doing so, often lived in bothies, in an able paper he wrote on the banefulness of them some years ago, mentions the case of a large farmer whom he knew to have been in a state of bankruptcy, apparently from the recklessness of his servants, and that recklessness brought on by their usage in the bothy,—this bothy a filthy, dilapidated den, frequented by poachers,—sheaves of corn left rotting in all directions, &c. And need we wonder, when we consider the great amount of delicate and expensive animal power and of property which is for ever in their hands and at their mercy? And I am everywhere told, that the loss on horses alone, from the incessant change of their reckless workers, is very great indeed. And this, even of itself, is a very serious matter.†

There are many things done on a property or farm which can only pay in the long run; and much may be laid out often that may never pay in any way. The outlay now proposed may not pay immediately, but ere long it must pay—yes, it will pay, not only five but fifty per cent, in the immensely greater efficiency of those who enjoy it. When

* See Dr Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, vol. iii. pp. 392-396, Ed. 1793.

† Appendix, No. VIII.

looking about for a great and un rebuttable practical example of what I now am so bold as to assert, a friend put into my hand a report of the great achievements of a Mr Wilson, in Price's patent candle-work, near London, and the whole of which might well be applied to our present objects in view. "I was also to state," says Mr Wilson, "the amount of direct pecuniary advantage to the Company. This I find to be impossible. One can only say generally, that the whole spirit of a factory such as ours is becoming, will be different from that of one in which the giving and the taking of wages is the only connexion between the proprietors and the people. One feels instinctively, the moment the idea of two such different factories is presented to one's mind, that the difference does, and must, by the very laws of human nature and of religion, ensure to the one much greater prosperity than to the other, although it may be impossible to trace out the details of this, and to say, such and such an L.100, spent at such a time on boys, has brought back L.200 at such a date afterwards."—And, "Go," said a shareholder of this factory to his copartners, "if you think my picture over-coloured, and inspect the night-light factory for yourselves; and I think you will be convinced, from their great improvement, how much the *morale* of the workers has to do with the efficiency of the work done, even when, as is the case with us, everything that can be done by piece-work is done in that manner."

Now, if the *morale* has so much to do with the efficiency of those who work with and upon inanimate matter only, how much more must this *morale* have to do with the efficiency of those workers who have to work, to the utmost of their strength to train the finest, the most spirited, yet the most costly and easily injured, of all our domesticated animals?

"What are the duties of the directors of a trading company?" says Mr Wilson again (and surely landlords and farmers will allow that they are in a similar, if not in a much stronger and higher, relationship, both to each other and to their labourers, than a trading company). "Is such a company," says Mr W., "only bound to give an honest people, who work for it, their bare wages, leaving all other care of them to the general institutions of the country, and to parental and other individual exertion? or, is it bound to take also a moral charge of them, and to provide, in *the factory system itself*, counteracting influences to those evil ones which are sure to spring up and to spread rapidly in every collection (and by the mere fact of its being a collection) of young people of this class, if left to take care of themselves?" These are the opinions, not of a mere philanthropic

theorist, be it well marked, but of one who has drawn the world's admiring eyes upon him for effecting physical and moral religious reforms in a class of labourers surely more hopeless far than are our bothy labourers. And the main secret of all his success seems to have been, a first and a due attention to their physical privations. And this is a first thing that, in our case, is at once to be heartily gone into, if any good worth speaking of is to be done. And the question with us to be solved is, how can three classes, landlords, and tenants, and labourers, all living apart, and moving now in distinct spheres of life, yet so deal by each other as that each one of them shall regard the other two with the best feelings, and in the best way strive for one another's best interests; for it is evident that the interest of the one, the most humble of the three even, cannot suffer, without, in a just and in a direct ratio, injuring that of the other two. But it is the duty of the two first and higher classes to afford many advantages to the last and the lowest, and without which advantages this lowest class can neither be put into, nor kept in, the best training for enjoying life, or for benefiting their employers. In mere manufacturing labour, there are only two classes in this position—the shareholder and the labourer. The overseer's responsibilities are of a different and a lower category than those of the tenant-employer and overseer; but in agriculture there are three parties under the highest responsibilities as to each other's weal. These, beginning on the part of the landlord and tenant, are to be fully discharged (by far the highest and most unshiftable resting on the first of these two), towards the labourer's weal; and he, in his turn, rendering back with usury their outlay for his own good, thus come from them upon him. Yet—as in the resolution and balancing of three unequal forces, to work together in a certain given direction from three different points, the adjustment is very difficult, so as not to destroy one of them, especially the weaker of the three, altogether, by the conjoined and collisive power of the other two against it—so it is, in this matter, as to how much each ought to do, and is actually doing, of good or evil, to one another. The two weightiest of the three influences in this social problem, or movement in the direction to the point of the greatest good, for time and for eternity, to one another, are evidently the landlord and his tenant; the weaker, then, is the labourer. The interests and influences of these are just as evidently much more directly conjoined together, and are in a variety of ways more attracted to each other, than is the influence of the last with that of either of the two first; therefore the last, the labourer's best interests and influence for good (the weakest), is so much the more in danger of being destroyed or overborne by the two

first—the landlord and his tenant. Now, how stands the present and practical result? Let the evidence of undoubted testimony tell and discern. At present the three look as if they were acting separately in the matter in question: the landlord leaving it to the farmer, and the farmer again leaving it entirely to the labourer to improve himself for the greatest good of all the three, and also leaving it entirely to the labourer's own moral protective power within himself, to preserve his own best interests from suffering by any plans and practices that the two others (having naturally, and by position, immensely stronger powers than his) may deem the most profitable for their own interests; it must, therefore, be mere accident (as we vulgarly call it), or from some other influence, coming in another direction from some other quarter (such as the religious and educational institutions of the country), if any good, to the above effect, be done by these three parties at all.

However, to obtain a good practical answer to this momentous question is our present great concern—How three such great parties in the country, and who have as yet been, when united harmoniously together, its mainstay, may now live separately, as if they had entire separate interests, and yet work together harmoniously, and with the best heart, and be still the country's mainstay as heretofore, under any circumstances? What is really wanted, is not a continued spinning of fine theories as to the relationship that ought practically to obtain between these three linked, *yet separated*, powers, but some strongly and heartily combined, truly thoroughgoing, and long-working moral framework, with power gathered from all right-hearted parties, guided from on high, whose duty it shall be, and whose interest also it may be, to overcome these mischievous obstacles, which, in the course of time and of change, have arisen between the outgoings of the relative concerns and duties and feelings of the upper and hiring classes, and the sympathies of the lower and hired classes, for their social comfort and their highest interests. It would require a volume and the ablest pen to show how such a vigorous movement is both to begin and to be carried onward with probable success, and also a Wilson of Price's candle-work to carry it on. Our fathers were not highly accomplished and polished men, as education and training now go; but they were mighty shrewd practical men for the things they had to grapple with, as the light of their day also was; and they did grapple in right earnest when they once began, with any threatening of coming harm to the best interests of their country; and therefore we, their great-grandsons, live in our freedom, our ease, and our luxuries; but they took care to have the great bulwark of the heart, of their land-occupants and labourers "leal and true" to them at their back. There was but one way then, as there is now and ever

will be, of getting a grip of man's heart, in whatever grade of life he may be, if that heart is worth having at all, and this is, by palpable kindness and felt respect, courteously and personally paid to it. Your forefathers, as I have very imperfectly shown, took this way, like wise and right-hearted men as they were, and the upshot of it was, Scotland's name is famed among all nations of the world for her shrewdness in managing, and for a united home-spirit of independence that could not be overcome by any adverse power whatsoever; and I must just take leave to tell you, Gentlemen, but with all deference, that if you would work up the hearts of your labourers to back you under all circumstances, you must bear yourselves towards them in your daily intercourse and dealings with them in some such way and spirit as did your noble grandsires. The plan is a very short and simple one. Do more of your business with them personally, and less of it delegatively,—for this was indeed their condescending yet truly dignified way, and never, I believe, was it encroached upon by their humble dependents. How could it? Their humble dependents had their hearts and their manners so politely trained by this way (the best high-social training school of all), as rendered it morally impossible. For instance, should any of them transgress on your policies, but to no serious or designed injury, do not allow your overseers to send a stern policeman upon them, especially if they are your "ain folk," to degrade them for life after, but settle it with them yourselves in your "ain ha'," and sure I am you will not have this to do often. "Gang awa' out, laird," said his lady one evening to a small landholder of last century, "I hear them breaking a' your wood." "Hout, my dear, never mind them, we are het an' they are cauld." I am just old enough to hear the very "auld wives" who were breaking these withered branches, the crack of which had reached my lady's ears, tell this with a deep sigh, that after a', "the gude Laird o' B—— had to sell his lan'." He sold his land, I know, to pay an expensive lawplea with a more powerful kinsman about some property, and I was still young and fortunate enough, when visiting in the district the other year, to witness the delight of the grandchildren of that unfortunate laird's neighbours and tenants, when his grandson succeeded, some seventy years after, to the vast domains of the kinsman who had thus ruined him.* And the noble Peer, whose tenantry were

* I remember well a very old blind woman, who had been very near-sighted all her life. She had gone to the wood one day to gather a "pickle" sticks. When she had her "birn" (or burden) all right and ready to lift, hearing a footstep near her, she cried, "Come awa, whaever ye are, for I canna see ye, and help a pair body up with their birn." The summons was at once obeyed, and "the birn" lifted in most easy and comfortable style. "My blessin's o' you, for I hinna had

so devoted to him in his misfortunes, as I have already stated, for many a long year—as did his noble father before him—collected his rents, unassisted by any clerk or factor, himself; and it took him a whole week, the whole of each day, twice a-year, to do it. On these occasions he never allowed one single word to be spoken to him; if there was anything wanted, any morning when at the castle at another time, the poorest and meanest of them would find him. Many thought this was to save the expense of a man of business; it was indeed no such thing. I had it from his Lordship himself, that it was to enable him to recognise at once his numerous small tenantry, wherever he might meet them, so as to speak a kind word in passing. “It was,” said his Lordship, “no doubt irksome to sit so long without speaking a word, but my father—who was very shrewd in his way of managing men—advised me to it, and almost made me promise to do it. And “it has lately,” alluding to the strong attachment of his tenantry manifested in his reverses, “amply repaid my trouble.” His noble father was still more a thorough business, frank, and free man than he, by much; and he is spoken of to this day, in the district, as the finest nobleman that ever was in all the country, although he closed his career some sixty years ago.

I also recollect, in support of the good effects of personal dealings with a peasantry on the part of their superiors, when some eighteen years ago, I was summoned to London, as knowing the feelings and habits of soldiers, to give evidence before a commission sitting on the discipline of the army; and when fishing in all probable sources for information on all and every point of a soldier’s proper management, or social condition, if it can be so called, I consulted a retired officer of the old school, as to the practice of his time. “Whatever you may tell them,” said the old veteran, “tell them to make these young idle bucks o’ captains pay their men themselves; to give them their pay

sae little trachle in getting up my birn this mony a day.” A neighbour being at a little distance, came up to the woman of sticks, and says, “Ken ye wha lifted your birn, woman?” “Indeed no; but he did it weel, and it must hae been a man.” “Aweel, ye may think muckle o’ yoursel, for it was just Lord A——himsel.” And if there is anything worth in being remembered in this world, after it has become all to us as if we had never been in it at all, this kind-hearted nobleman has a name among the great-grandchildren of his old tenantry, just as fresh as it was on the day when he lifted this trespassing “birn.” Yet he was right stern with them in many things, for all that; but wherever he found an honest man, he at once let that man see and feel, that such a man, although in the humblest cot, was regarded by him, and treated by him in his dealings with him, as the “noblest work of God.” I was very intimate with some of his factors, that lived to a great age after him, and they never could keep off speaking about him.

“ out of their own hands, instead of giving it through a pay serjeant ; when I had a company, I always paid my men myself, and others did so too, who wanted their men to like them, and to behave well. We never allowed a word, you know, at the time of paying, it might have confused our accounts ; but it had the best effect.” I requested him to explain the reason for this practice. “ The reason,” says he, “ is in human nature itself. It is natural for an inferior to like a superior that allows him to come near him, and to speak to him in any way almost, especially where the rank is strict and high as ours is, from that of a private ; and it increases the poor fellow’s self esteem, to be known by head and horn to his exalted superiors. I cannot well tell you what it was, but our companies were the ‘ crack ’ ones for good conduct in the regiment.” *

But I cannot help giving another more modern illustration of the good effects of the old way of treating peasantry. I think it was in the year 1826, or somewhere thereabout, that the “ Laird o’ Grant ” stood for the membership of either the county of Elgin or its burghs. The Ladies of Grant Castle were then staying at Grant Lodge, near Elgin. As they were walking on the streets of Elgin, some low fellow of the opposite election-side party called out, “ Down with the Grants.” The “ sough ” o’ this went over to Strathspey, somehow, the same day, and by ten o’clock next morning the whole of the men of Strathspey that could manage to walk so far, appeared before Grant Lodge, to the tune of “ The Haughs o’ Cromdale,” drawn up as a regiment on parade. They mounted a strong guard around the house, and bivouacked most orderly and quietly on the grounds for three days, or till the election was over ; the commissariat of cart-loads of provisions having followed up in the rear with all convenient speed. The Ladies Grant, of course, came out and thanked them, and they returned home without a single low brawl with any one. Having spent a week, some years after, with a gentleman in the heart of Strathspey, I heard him and his old cam-

* I find I have only given the half of the old captain’s advice. “ One day,” says he, “ a young captain who had just received his company, complained to me that his men were behaving ill. Said I, ‘ pay your men yourself, man, and give o’er these idle airs of yours. You will never know your men, and they will never know you, till ye pay them yourself.’ ” He is a very simple person who cannot read a man’s mind in his face when he is giving him money, although he may never exchange words with him. This is really the secret, and the philosophy, and the advantage of the whole thing. A look—how much may be done by a look ! “ He said nothing, but oh ! how he looked,” is a very common remark. The severest reproof of any may be given by a look, and the reproof that will touch the heart the most. Or the greatest encouragement may be given by a look. “ He did not speak a word, but he looked quite pleased.”

paigning guests and neighbours talk the whole thing over, and they spoke of it as the finest and most orderly thing they had ever seen in the many scenes they had witnessed in all parts of the world. On asking my gallant host if he went with them—"Went with them!" said he, in great surprise and vehemence; "why, I was from home when the whole district moved, and did not come home to know of it for some two or three hours after. I mounted immediately the best and freshest horse I had; yes, and I had to be my own groom, too, for every man child was in the 'gathering.' And I rode, and perspired as I galloped along, feeling I should not be able to hold up my head again in Strathspey, if I let the 'gathering' into Elgin before me." Any one who has travelled in Strathspey must be struck with the refined politeness of every peasant that he meets on the road. Now many in these our class-separating and starched-up days may think that stating all this is but wasting time and paper. Whatever it may be, in my humble opinion it contains the real philosophy wanted for the removal of a matter that may soon be a grievance in the land too heavy for it to bear. I mean the estrangement, and the consequent social harm to them from it, of the minds and feelings of our agricultural labourers from our country landlords and their tenantry. And just let but only some twelve landlords in this county, backed by their farmers, set vigorously, but prudently, to work upon the agricultural social evils that may prevail in it;—let them show their labourers, in a way telling upon their senses, and good feelings, and self-respect, that they have their real good constantly in view, as being a reflective power for their own advantage also;—let them not treat them either in a childish or in a pauper way in bestowing any boon upon them or mark of attention; for most assuredly they are generally much more sensitive on these two points than most of their superiors seem to be aware of. And when the day comes that they lose all this quick-sightedness, as to your own interests being as much benefited as theirs, by your favours to them of service comforts, and lose, too, their hurt-sensitiveness of a made-felt mighty act of condescension on your part, from your slight passing notice of them; as certainly, on that day, will they return your constrained favours, and your negligent and stinted compliments, by a legal pauper's notice to you, that now they want not your favours or your recognitions either, but a much more comfortable bodily keep from you still, than they could ever get, when, in their days of hope, they could have appreciated them, and been cheered on in life's struggle by them,—while they earned your money by the sweat of their brow. In short, in all your acts of kindness and of condescension to them, let

the old chief's maxim,—“It is their due,”—already quoted, show its spirit, in some way or other, agreeable to the feelings of these your humble but really feeling labourers.

You may now, by the outlay of a few thousand pounds here and there over all the country, and by personal attentions, conciliate the feelings of your labourers, or you may let them expatriate themselves, and they will never complain for your refusing them. Yet, if but such a spirit be manifested towards them, as that now alluded to, in your grants to them, and in your recognitions of them, not many years will pass when your own interests will be guarded with heart and with hand, and that not for hire only, as now, but, as your due, over and above that hire, in return for your kindness and condescension to them. And then you may hand your pauper-roll back to the Kirk-Session, its old homely but faithful custodier, as the bagatelle, which it was once considered to be, and which, under the returning of the old self-supporting-to-the-last spirit, the Kirk-Session can well manage again for you, on “the plate at the door only,” the names on it getting so few and far between, in consequence of your improved social system with your labourers.

Let landlords, also, who are at the cost of building houses for their labourers, by a few weeks' observation and talk with their own masons jobbing about their own doors (for this your fathers generally did too), make themselves judges of a wall that will keep out damp, and let them not, for want of this truly country-squire, and most useful and comfort-making accomplishment, leave the real health-giving build of their cottages altogether, either to the fancy, as to their externals and internals, of an architect, or the outholding power of the cement of their walls, as to moisture, to the mercy of the desperation of the competing estimate of a contractor.

Let these cottages have yearly, and termly, and timely, and personal inspection from you, and not leave all, both as to damage and to repairs, to the end of a long “nineteen;” for, meantime, for want of some mere trumpery repairs in that time, many a cold may have been caught that could not well, if ever, be cured, and even then leave them all to the settling of a powerless factor and a rack-rented farmer only, the voice and the privations of its humble occupants receiving, it may be, but slight consideration amidst the many “renewing” and costly demands of the leaseholder; and if, from any cause over which you have no control to remove it, you must leave these visitations to the stewards of your lands, have them properly instructed not to regard them as a petty bye-job, but as affecting your heart as well as your interests. And should, also from similar causes, the leaseholder have

the sole charge of them in your absence, take him bound in his lease to do by your moral field as you take him bound to do by his crops and rotations, that a certain comfortable amount of human housing shall be upheld on it. Yes, let these fabrics even have as much of your personal care as your roads and your bridges and fences, your stables and your dog-kennels. And surely the great patriotic Lords of Scotland will never allow themselves to be outdone by any of the philanthropic tallow-chandlers, ragged-schoolmen, and model lodging-house builders of London! And let, therefore, also all the various schools receive like encouraging visitations from you; and if, in the spirit of friendly but dignified bearing, you do carry out and on some such "lookings in" upon all and every one that have their "all," for weal or for woe, upon your estates—yes, although in these your inspections of schools and of cottages you give nothing more than a kindly pat to a child's head, and although you never speak a word to their humble occupants even, on such business-like occasions—yet the very fact, as I have shown in similar cases—yes, the simple fact of their being *their own selves* known "sae weel to the laird himsel'," and of their having had his "honour and *the lady*" in their "ain house"—seeing that they were all right and well in it, will so raise their feelings of self-esteem, and attach their hearts to you, that, as it was in the days of feudal tenure and of foreign strife, so will it be again in these days of free tenure and of free trade—if that foreign strife should ever again threaten the invasion of your domains, you will only have to unfurl your banner "o'er your hie castle wa'," to have it surrounded with brawny arms and brave hearts, all beating high to follow you cheerfully from the reaping to the battle-field, even as their humble fathers did follow your noble fathers with heart and with hand, both leal and true, to war and to victory!

APPENDIX.

No. I.

BESIDES finding this great change stated over and over by the statisticians of the time, I had it painfully confirmed by my own observations about twenty years ago, while doing the duties of a home missionary for a short time in one of the poorest localities of a large town. I was astonished to find that the greater part of the inhabitants of that locality were the children of those who had been obliged to remove to town about this transition-period. Some of their parents were even yet alive when I visited them. I took down in writing the history of very many of them; and knowing pretty well the history of the districts from which they came, in what they called their "better days," I had not a few very heart-touching scenes with them, when at any time I first told them that I knew well about a relative or an acquaintance, or a place in the country, with which either they or their fathers had been familiar. Indeed, it was my practice, before I paid any of them a first visit, to find out from their neighbours what parish they originally belonged to; and the simple question, as an introduction on going into their miserable abodes, "If they knew such and such a person or place in it," always secured a hearty welcome. They were almost all so sunk in poverty, that they, for want of clothes, could attend no church. It occurred to me, if I could get a place something like their own wretched condition, and allow no well dressed person to come to it, while I assembled them in it for Divine service on Sabbath, they could be got together. I soon got an old waste warehouse that had been turned into a school, to suit. I went round among them, leaving a small handbill stating where it was, and that only those in their every-day clothes would be admitted. (A decently dressed person would have been as good as a scarecrow to them, and I actually refused to admit some ladies one night, who wanted to see the scene, it being something quite new then; however, they smuggled themselves in on another night among the chimney-sweeps; or under very old cloaks and bonnets). It was, indeed, a dismal place, in a dismal close; yet, in a few weeks, it was filled with these poor creatures, some of them Roman Catholics; and all because I could speak to them, on my week-day visits, about their "*ain country side*, and their fathers, and their ain fook!" In my rounds I often came upon worn-out labourers just come to settle in towns with their families, and it made me very sad to see how ill they were taking with their new wretched quarters, and how ill off they were for almost every thing—

especially for seats in a church—and how soon the men's spirits generally sank, and they either died or *took to drink*, and how often their children, especially the girls, *went to the bad*—their simple country training not being a match for the town's satanic designing. And I am still very sad when I see old farm labourers (as they all generally must do) retiring to towns; for little good, either for body or soul, awaits them there. They have a great reluctance to do so; and I have seen sad heart-bursting struggles while it was a-doing; and I have often thought, surely if landlords but knew all this, they would try many a plan, and forego many a profit or per centage, to prevent the misery and woe that is generally consequent upon the final exhaustion of bodily strength, in cultivating their lands. And oh! my country friends, when the towns at any time do ask a little help from us to support their churches and schools, and home missions, let us not think that these are matters there, that but little concern us here. Why, on the best evidence, I venture to affirm, that the good of the great bulk of such collections goes to those, our old friends, acquaintances, and servants, who spent their time and their strength in ministering to our wants, and whom we ought to have retained amongst us, when they had done this, to minister in return to their wants. It will not do to say, that they were well paid for all their trouble. Yes! but there are certain laws of nature which must not be broken through for any price, or on any agreement. And, surely, this is one of them, that a man is not fit to begin the world anew, and that in a field and in a way that is altogether abhorrent to his habits and feelings, when his bodily strength has been thoroughly exhausted. There might be little to say, if we could send them away with sufficient strength and time to undo those habits of up-bringing and of service, without which they would have been wholly useless to us; and to acquire a new set of habits, without which they are just as useless for profit to any employers in the towns, or for comfort to themselves. It would even break their lamentable fall a little, if, on their arrival in town, *experienced clergymen* could at once attend to their wants, and advise with them as to the best way now of beginning life in old age over again; but it is well known that this can seldom be reckoned on, and that just because we and others begrudge the means to supply such ministers in sufficient number. If we cannot or will not, as we ought, give them houses in the country, and a house of God as before there, let us give them, as we best can, the house of God in the towns; and this could be done, if we would heartily make the *halfpennies* into *whole pennies*, that we now give hesitatingly for such an obligatory object. How can we expect that the social system of our labourers towards us, will rise and improve to a higher and a holier degree, when, at every turn, and over all the land, and in a matter that cuts them to the heart, we at once, and without a word of regret, snap asunder, with hundreds of them, the highest and the holiest of all social ties, viz. that of "bearing one another's burdens in the spirit of Christ's gospel," by giving them, after they have borne our burdens till nature refuses strength any longer so to do, no habitation with us, lest we in turn should have to bear their burdens likewise!

No. II.

If the principles of animal chemistry be nearly the same in their application to the feeding of the human, as well as to that of the brute animal, it is clearly a question of agricultural interest, *the healthy up-bringing of the ploughman's children*. And if, as is the case, the boy makes the man, the proper feeding of that boy claims the special attention of those who profess to promote the best working efficiency of our labourers. I have occasion to see much of their children, and to hear often from their mothers, that they are not "thriving,"—perhaps not down-rightly ill, so as to require medical advice, but so ill as to hinder the best physical development of their infant frames. And how can they thrive, when all night they breathe a damp, foul air; then all day tumble among pig-sties and dung-hills about the doors, and are fed on little better than oatmeal and water in different forms? I read lately a very elaborate analysis of Prison Dietary, by Professor Christison, in which he shows, that a certain quantity of milk is necessary for proper nourishment with oatmeal. Let premiums then be given to those farmers who keep most servants' cows on their farms. I find that servants often move, because they cannot get a sufficient quantity of milk for their children. What is a pint and a half among a family of five or six for the day?

No. III.

It was not till towards the end of last century, that there was any great security, either of life or of property, in Scotland, from bands of caterans, and cairds, and gypsies, that continually traversed it. In a small pamphlet, printed by Mr W. Burness, Edinburgh, in 1847, we have a very interesting story, and well authenticated, of the last foray that took place in this county in 1707, when a youth of nineteen years of age, the son of a farmer in the parish of Fearn, who had settled there, from Aberdeenshire, a few years before, at the head of a small party of some eighteen ploughmen, overtook and overthrew, with considerable slaughter, at the water of Saughs, half-way between Fearn and Lochlee, a band of caterans, with a gigantic leader, who had carried off their cattle. It was a very brilliant exploit on the part of M'Intosh, and the Earl of South Esk, then the proprietor of the parish, bestowed special marks of favour on him as a tenant, besides appointing him captain of the parish, as an honorary reward—a very great honour then, as it gave him the right of being their leader, when any such emergency should arise. This is the way that the independent spirit of our peasantry was fostered in those days; for Leadenhendry, the name of M'Intosh's farm, would be little better than a good croft now-a-days.

No. IV.

I THINK every expedient ought to be tried to change the system of feeing markets, or to lessen the evils of them. Although what keeps down these evils may not root out the cause of them, yet anything is good, and ought to be well supported, that helps to keep their outbreaks in tolerable order. Nor ought we to be prevented from trying an expedient, because it may soon lose its effect, if it does but some good in the meantime. Those who profess to cure the diseases of the body, practise on the principle of palliatives, to give more time, and more quiet to administer eradicates. And why should not those who try to cure the diseases of our social body do likewise? What does good in the bye-going, ought to get a hearty cheer on from all sides as it goes by. I went to Stonehaven, and enquired into the effects of the temperance tent kept open at last feeing market there. I have also enquired, through the county police, into their effect, at Pennycuik, and at Mid-Calder, and a uniform and strong testimony has been borne in their favour. I found that an immense improvement took place at Mid-Calder, after the public houses were ordered to be all cleared out and shut at 11 P.M., and that the lads from the hills were as bad to manage as any at the markets. Many farmers strongly recommend tents, where a good dinner might be had, and a bottle of good beer along with it, but nothing more; that most lads would be satisfied with this. Gentlemen cannot give these things, and such as these, too much encouragement, especially *farm libraries*, and good country shops, where the most of their fee would be either expended or put in the savings bank before the market. Servants should get a day occasionally, between terms, to do their own business, and to wind up their strength. This was also strongly recommended, and is sought for by themselves. The rest of the Sabbath is not even sufficient for this to a hard and constantly-toiled man; besides one day in seven, he would now, as work goes, need one day in thirty over and above, to recruit him thoroughly. And this is the experience of a gentleman whose opinions we have already often given, and which may be confidently relied on as being quite sound.

No. V.

SONGS, either good or bad, and many of them are of the latter kind, if they get a circulation and a standing in a country, must express some sentiment that is generally allowed to have foundation. There is a well known old song put in a labourer's mouth, which I fear expresses correctly enough what a labourer's feelings are when his wants are neglected and his feelings not respected.

“ And aye the burden of his sang
 For ever used to be,
 ‘ I care for naebody, no not I,
 If naebody cares for me.’ ”

If this from a man in jolly circumstances, what from a man under the reverse of these. And when visiting the old retired labourers in town

as a home missionary, I came upon several that were avowed dissipated infidels, with their heart and their hand against every man; and that just because, on coming to town, they fell in with those persons who pretend to be man's best friends, while they lead men, through a feeling of discontent, to imagine that the world is oppressing them. And yet, by leading them back to their former country life while talking with them, I never failed to awaken their better feelings, and to bring them out to my place of worship open for them.

No. VI.

WHATEVER it may be to the landlord, the practice of "outfarms" is most injurious to the servants. However good the overseer or principal man may be, he cannot be like the master himself. When the residence of the farmer cannot be on the farm, he would require to be much more particular as to the servants he placed on it, and especially as to their overseer. Indeed, on outfarms the servants should invariably be all *married men*; and certainly no better thing can landlords do to improve their social condition than, when they are letting their farms, to *weigh well the moral and religious character of the farmer*. Much evil has arisen from inattention to this.

No. VII.

LORD KINNAIRD has solved, practically, a difficulty which has long puzzled and distressed me. It is, how these bothy lads can obtain some help either to keep their smattering of school knowledge from entirely vanishing away—as it often does; or how to increase and improve it? These lads will not go any distance to an evening school, in winter; and although they would, I am not sure if congregating them so would be at all prudent, for many reasons.

Their ignorance is often truly deplorable, in a few years after leaving school. Their work being so heavy all day, they get drowsy at night, and cannot sit up to read; but very many have no convenience—both as to light and quiet. I had, a few years ago, a very melancholy duty to perform in attending a bothy-man while under the sentence of death. He was condemned chiefly upon a word in his confession, which he himself did not understand, as being guilty of premeditated murder—the word was *resolved*. I tested his sense of it again and again, while he was reading to me—he said he thought it was to promise something. The way of taking down such a man's confession by putting questions, and then substituting the words the magistrate uses in putting the question for the criminal's simple yes or no, as if these words were his own, is surely, with such ignorant men, a very dangerous one.

I would strongly recommend farmers to afford their men good newspapers, and to have a small farm library for them of their own, kept in the farm house. I am always anxious they should buy little books of their own

—Mr Wilson, in Price's candle-work, strongly recommends this—and they would buy them if they came in their way. Some years ago, I recommended a book—a “Help to Family Worship,”—published by Messrs Blackie and Company, from the pulpit. It cost just L.1; and I was astonished, when Mr Blackie told me some time after, that thirty copies had been taken in my parish of only 420 people.

I would again urge good country shops, having good groceries, cloths, and books and book-stalls in all the markets.

No. VIII.

LAND can never be treated like any other raw material in its manufacture, on this very account, that it must be manufactured by animal power. Animal power is as yet, and likely to continue generally to be, the moving power in cultivating the ground. Last century, animal power was the chief moving power in manufactures, and the whole of Scotland then was just like a large spinning-mill, only its spinning-frames were very slight and simple, and scattered, and the moving power was the tread of the feet of its working females. I have heard of ten and twelve threads being spun at the same time in one house, and one hundred and forty-four on the same farm of crofters. But when steam became the moving power, these women could no longer compete with it, and then crofts and farms became of very little value, and they had just to leave them, and join in company with the steam-engine.

And if steam could be substituted for horses, it would not matter so much to their employer what the *morale* of farm labourers was, as to profit; and the farmer, in a commercial way, would have all the latitude of dealing with them and of treating them that those have who work up their raw material by steam power, and which the good or evil state of the minds of his workers cannot affect. It is very different with the farmer. His chief moving-power is not only a very costly, but a very delicate and also a very easily injured one, and its safety and efficiency must depend, in a high degree, upon the moral feelings of those who manage it. He has but one way, then, of dealing with them, if he would keep them in a proper state for the best working of this animal power. And that way never can be made a cheap one, without rendering their feelings, and their treatment of this power, hurtful and losing to him, in an untold way and degree.