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CONDITION OF THE LABOURING POOR, AND THE MANAGEMENT OF PAUPERS IN SCOTLAND.

In the course of our advocacy of a Poor Law for Ireland, and discussions on the condition of the working classes, we have frequently adverted to the state of the paupers in Scotland as the worst in any civilized country; Ireland, pre-eminent in misery, always excepted. We have formerly had occasion to examine, more or less cursorily, the condition of the poor of France, Prussia, Holland, Switzerland, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, from statistical information and other authentic sources; and have been compelled to acknowledge that, wherever a Poor Law exists, which is the case in all the above countries, the destitute, the aged, the impotent, and the orphan poor, are in a better condition than in Scotland; where the form of a Poor Law is too often found the most efficient instrument of evading whatever ought to be contemplated by the spirit of a Poor Law. A variety of circumstances have lately concurred to awaken attention to the real condition of the indigent in Scotland; and, among others, the rapidly increasing wretchedness of the great towns, and the appalling rate of mortality from contagious fever. A number of tender-hearted and benevolent persons, placed, themselves, in comfortable or affluent circumstances, have, it appears, been taken quite by surprise, and are not a little shocked to learn that, in the very heart of enlightened, well-educated, moral, religious Scotland, nay, around their own habitations in the metropolis, there exists an aggregation of misery, an extent of absolute destitution, with the unfailing concomitants—filth, low vice, mendicity, disease, and a high rate of mortality—which is not to be paralleled in any civilized country, save, again, by the sole exception, the blot of Christendom, Ireland. These facts, in few words, are what Dr Alison has lately, and, as a matter of conscientious duty, told the people of Scotland; and certainly no one has had better opportunities of acquiring intimate knowledge than he has found during his long and daily rounds of unwearyed philanthropy. The student and reasoner of the closet or the pulpit, however benevolent,

has, in this painful search, no chance whatever against the medical explorer of the lanes and blind alleys, the scaler of the garrets, the excavator of the cellars,

Where sickening anguish pours the moan,
And lonely want retires to die.

To him human misery, in its most painful form, is hourly familiar, yet without indurating the heart, or abating the hope that, through God's blessing on simple and practicable means, this complicated mass of suffering may, in the first place, be assuaged, and, in the next, effectually alleviated by the steady application of preventive remedies. It did not require great penetration to discover the actual state of things among the poor of Edinburgh; though considerable moral courage was necessary to announce the unwelcome and unpleasant fact, that social evils of such magnitude and portent were existing and increasing, and must be abated, unless our fellow creatures were to be left to perish before our eyes in lingering misery, and the social fabric eventually shaken to its basis. How the renovation is to be accomplished, by what element of healing, by what class of remedies and course of treatment, is the point in dispute between parties who may be represented by Dr Chalmers, with those who adopt his theory, and the majority of the landowners of Scotland, on the one side,—and, on the other, Dr Alison and the public; for the party wedded to the old system, whether by prejudice or selfishness, or, at least, to some visionary modification of it, profess to have the very same object in view with Dr Alison—namely, the raising of the poor from their present acknowledged state of degradation and physical suffering, and the permanent improvement of their social and moral condition.

The extent of destitution in the great towns of Scotland, and the consequently high rate of mortality, especially in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee, &c., from fever, is fully established by statistical evidence; and, when contrasted with

the healthy state of the towns of England, where the necessitous have the provision of the poor law to fall back upon, becomes not more alarming than it is reproachful to a Christian land:—but fever has one good effect, in somewhat quickening the apprehensions of the more affluent classes, and teaching them, from their own danger, to take greater interest in the sufferings of their less fortunate fellow-creatures. Under the influence of such motives, and of humane sympathies which only required to have their natural object presented to them to be quickened into life, a meeting of highly respectable gentlemen, of all politics and religious denominations, was held in Edinburgh some months back, and an Association formed to promote inquiry into the causes and extent of the alleged suffering, and generally into the management of the poor of Scotland. As it is, and will, we apprehend, ever be found impossible to institute any extensive and efficient inquiry of this nature without the authority of Government, the Association, it was surmised, proposed to pray the Executive for an official inquiry into the nature and administration of the poor law of Scotland, which, it was imagined, might be conveniently and appropriately conducted by the Poor-Law Commissioners for England. At this the Scottish *heritors*, as the landed proprietors are called in their parishes, took instant and angry alarm. A meeting, called by circulars, issued to all parts of the kingdom, was held in Edinburgh, of which the Earl of Lauderdale was chairman, and at which as many of the nobility and landed gentry as could be conveniently mustered, attended, to protest against official inquiry, or any inquiry that should, in plain terms, not be conducted by themselves; but, above all, to oppose the main object of the Association—“efficient inquiry”—which, as we have said, to be efficient must be official. The existence of considerable distress was not disputed: but there was no destitution which the poor law of Scotland, as administered by the kirk-sessions and heritors, did not meet, or was not empowered by law to meet. The noble chairman opened the meeting in a decided speech; the Earl of Dalhousie also addressed the meeting; the Marquis of Tweeddale, who could not attend, cordially approved of its object; and Mr Dempster of Skibo, a proprietor of land in Sutherlandshire, in moving a resolution which had been allotted to Dr Chalmers, announced that the meeting had been occasioned, not by the distress of the poor, not by the increase of pauperism and the spread of disease, but by the formation of an Association for inquiry into the causes of these acknowledged evils; which body he charged with wishing to introduce the English Poor Laws into Scotland, and “to put the Poor Law of Scotland, as it were, upon its trial for life and death;”—as if it were not already, over half the kingdom, a dead letter. If inquiry were necessary, “the landlords, and citizens, and clergy of Scotland, could enter into a full inquiry:—it was their duty to do so, and he had not heard it said that it was not their inclination.” Farther, this proprietor observed, that, “as to the

amount of destitution, he (Mr Dempster) was of opinion that, with the exception of *some parts* of the western coasts, the amount of destitution in the mainland of the Highlands was exaggerated. Destitution, however, undoubtedly existed in the islands.” This could not well be denied, in the face of the subscriptions going on over all the country, but especially in London, Edinburgh, and Glasgow, for the relief of the starving Highlanders in the islands; but destitution did not end with them. In the parishes in which this speaker’s estates lie, and where he has his residence, (those of Dornoch and Criech, in Sutherlandshire,) there is extreme destitution. And there has also been inquiry, which has brought a part of the existing misery to light, and that through means which Mr Dempster will not impugn:—it is by the established clergy of Scotland. During the sitting of the General Assembly in 1838, the Lord High Commissioner communicated a letter from the Home Secretary, having, for its object, to obtain returns in regard to the maintenance of the poor in Scotland, for the years 1835, 6, 7. This could not decently be resisted, although there had been an inclination to do so; and the result is before the world in the Report given in to the General Assembly in 1839, containing the returns made by the ministers of all the parishes in Scotland. Though furnished in every instance by parties deeply interested, those who almost universally approve of the existing poor law, and who are by statute appointed to administer it, this singular Report furnishes of itself, to every impartial mind, a body of evidence condemnatory of the existing law, and goes far to supersede any farther inquiries into the Scottish system; of which, in the words of a correspondent of Dr Alison, “The grand object kept in view, by almost every parish, is the possibility of *evading* the duty of relieving the poor. The point most earnestly sought after by them [the kirk-sessions] is not whether there is a certain amount of pauperism, calling for an equally definite amount of relief, but what is the smallest practicable amount which they can possibly be obliged to give.”—The same gentleman, Captain Thomson, who is Treasurer to that most useful supplementary charity, the House of Refuge, in Edinburgh, remarks—“I have frequent, almost daily occasion to observe the apathy, indifference, and total disregard of the poor laws, manifested on the part of the parish functionaries towards persons having claims on them for relief.”

The Report of the ministers of the different parishes, drawn forth by the General Assembly giving effect to the Secretary of State’s letter, enables us, among other facts equally remarkable, to ascertain that, however it may fare with the poor on the west coast and in the islands, there must be destitution in *Criech*, the parish in which Mr Dempster resides, and of which he is a large heritor, since, by the tables of the Report, 137 paupers, the number, on the average, for the three years specified, have had £17 : 4 : 10 divided among them annually; or, on the average, they have been allowed, at the lowest rate,

something less than *one farthing a-week*, and those who have the highest allowance less than *three-fourths of a penny*. In the exact terms of the "Report by a Committee of the General Assembly, on the Management of the Poor of Scotland," page 98, the paupers of *Criech* have, at the highest rate, 3s., at the lowest, 1s. a-year each! To this parish our special attention has been called by its heritor who so warmly repudiated a Government inquiry—"a commission perambulating the Highlands"—but surely in gross ignorance of the condition of the poor of his own neighbourhood, which urgently requires looking after; and of the clerical returns recently published. We shall afterwards have occasion to notice the specialities of the parish of *Criech*, and the state of the poor in some of the other parishes, in which the principal orators at that meeting are heritors—the "natural guardians of the poor"—"deeply interested in their welfare." The meeting at Edinburgh was followed up by county meetings in several quarters, some of which decided that nothing could be better than the existing law and its administration; and no time was lost in endeavouring to defeat, in Scotland, such an inquiry as had been instituted in England and Ireland; very strong opinions being everywhere expressed of its danger, impolicy, and insulting character to the country.

Scotland will never, unaided, obtain an efficient inquiry into the management of the poor, though the measure may be enforced by the British Legislature; and, in the meanwhile, we shall avail ourselves of the strong case for inquiry which we conceive to be made out by the Scottish clergy,—if their Report, when properly sifted, does not indeed make farther inquiry unnecessary. We have, it is true, but one side of the case before us:—no poor man, no labourer, no dissenting minister, no schoolmaster, no medical man, no one whatever conversant with the actual condition of the poor, has been examined or consulted in that Report, which consists of mere tabular details; and yet, by an impartial inquirer, it will be held conclusive against the perfection of the existing system. Having first given a very imperfect glimpse of the depth and width of the all-pervading wretchedness which has arisen under that system, with a very few illustrations, we shall endeavour to describe its nature and tendencies, and then get to the Report itself, and to its commentary, the *NEW STATISTICAL ACCOUNT OF SCOTLAND*.

The destitution and suffering among the working classes in the great towns of Scotland, but especially in Edinburgh and Glasgow, have been frequently brought before the world by philanthropic individuals, but never more efficiently than, this year, by Dr Alison, an eminent physician, and a medical professor in the University of Edinburgh, who, after more than twenty years of daily experience among the poor, and the poorest of the poor, has become convinced that their sufferings "here and in Glasgow, and in the other large towns, are much greater and more general than in any towns of equal size in the well-regulated parts

of Europe." His ultimate conclusion was, that the opinion generally entertained in Scotland as to the best mode of relieving the poor—namely, by church collections and what are called voluntary assessments—is very erroneous. Under this mode of relief, destitution is, as Dr Alison proves, increasing; disease is spreading; mendicity and vagrancy are growing; and the poor-rates are becoming, in the great assessed towns, an intolerable burden, though the destitute inhabitants are very inadequately supported. Dr Alison has come to the farther conclusion, to which every man, who looks abroad on society as it is, must come, as soon as the glowing, poetic visions of youthful benevolence are dissipated, that, if the poor are to be effectually relieved at all, it must be systematically, and by compulsory assessments:—he farther considers that, even in most of the legally assessed parishes of Scotland, and they amount to 238 of the entire parishes, the amount raised for poor-rates is, in general, quite inadequate.

The operation of the present stringent poor law, or mockery of all law, in the country parishes, has tended to throw a great additional burthen upon the towns; in which, as throughout the whole kingdom, the amount of destitution has been swelled by a variety of causes. We shall not here enter into questions affecting the wages of labour, and the price of the principal necessaries of life, nor yet the unequal burden of taxation. It is enough that the wages of agricultural labourers, in the most highly improved districts of Scotland, average, by all that we can gather from the New Statistical Account of Scotland, about 8s. 6d. a-week. The wages of *hinds*—that is, farm servants hired by the year—amount, when all their perquisites are reduced to money, by the Reverend Reporters, to from £20 a-year—the lowest rate which we notice for East Lothian—to £28, which is the highest anywhere: £23 is the sum most frequently named. This includes their whole emoluments in every shape; and it is not easy to point out how a married farm-servant and his family can manage "to enjoy a reasonable share of the comforts and advantages of society," and provide, out of this income, against illness, casualties, old age, and infirmity. With the common day-labourer and rural artisan, fever and failure of employment,—both the cause and consequence of destitution,—considerably swell the amount of pauperism. So do the families of the able-bodied, who, from profligacy, or, as often, from want of employment, desert their wives and children. Cholera left a legacy of misery to the great towns; and the fluctuations and depression of manufactures produce, even in the legally assessed towns, where temporary want is but inefficiently met by scanty relief, great distress, and keep a large class of labourers constantly on the verge of pauperism. The ejection of small tenants, and the consequent throwing of many farms into one, and sweeping away the cottages, is another cause of pauperism which has long been in operation, and of which the consequences are not yet overcome.

There is one universally operating cause of destitution, in old age, leading to pauperism, which no prudence or foresight can avert. It applies to women. Female labourers in the country are even less able to provide against seasons of illness and the wants of old age than males; and, in consequence, a great many of the paupers, now half-starving on parish allowances, are single women, who, in youth, and while vigorous, may, in field-labour, have earned from 6d. to 9d. a-day when employed; but who, in premature infirmity, are often compelled to apply to the parochial charities, niggardly as they are. Formerly such persons, when in advanced life, earned a part, or the whole, of their subsistence, by spinning, in their own houses, flax or wool, or knitting stockings. This source of employment, by the improvement of machinery, has utterly disappeared, and no substitute has been found. Even when such females, in their days of youth and vigour, might, by rigorous self-denial, save a little in service or at out-door work, some aged parent, or widowed sister, or orphan niece or nephew, generally require all they can spare; for parochial help is never so excessive as to render such aids unnecessary. The widows of aged labourers, and the widows and children of those cut off in the prime of their days, by the fevers now so prevalent—and which are too often to be attributed to the meagre maintenance of the labourer, and to what we consider the neglect of a secondary but most important object of a poor law—must become paupers.

But it is needless to enumerate all of even the obvious causes of poverty, destitution, and pauperism in Scotland; since no one longer denies that these exist to a frightful excess, however they may differ about some of the causes and nearly all the remedies. The source from which the mendicity and pauperism of Edinburgh, Glasgow, and the other great towns, are continually fed, are the country parishes, whence the poor come in quest of employment, and from which they are as often literally starved out; the superiority of our poor law to that of England being, as one of its warmest eulogists says, "*the smallness of the sums paid in Scotland*" to the poor when they are allowed anything at all.

In the parish of *Criech*, the paupers are only one in nineteen of the population, whereas in the city of Edinburgh they are one in seventeen; but then the far greater number are strangers, who, from the easy law of settlement which, in the meanwhile, fortunately for these wretched outcasts, exists in Scotland, speedily establish a claim to parish relief in the places to which they resort. From a statistical table, drawn up by Professor Wallace, it appears that, of 871 out-door paupers in the old city, only 259 are natives; while of 432* inmates of the workhouse, only 143 have a claim from birth. Of 282 inmates in the House of Refuge, last spring, only ninety-one were natives of Edinburgh, and most of the others had come but recently to the

town, and when past their labour. The same thing holds of all the towns in Scotland, and of all the charities, and especially the medical charities. Thus the native poor, or those having a claim, are half-starved even in the highly-rated towns; because upon them is thrown so much of the burden of the previously half-starved in the country parishes. Thus vagrancy, mendicity, recklessness, low profligacy, and disease, perpetuate each other in the bosom of society, and amidst scenes of want and suffering, often originating in causes which neither human industry nor virtue could avert, and which it is impossible to contemplate without the deepest compassion, not untinged with shame that such things should be. Localities and houses once occupied by the aristocracy of Scotland, or the respectable of the middle class, and, until within the last twenty years, occupied by the decent poor, are now become the common receptacles of the squalid misery thus described in Dr Alison's pamphlet:—

"In many of the closes leading from the High Street to the Cowgate, every stair and every vacant apartment becomes the depository of everything that is filthy. One flat alone, situated in Foulis' Close, may give an idea of the extent to which dunghills within doors and in houses inhabited by poor families are sometimes carried. However dirty and confined this close is, it is, in many respects, superior to Blackfriars' Wynd. Every attempt at a description of the latter would come so far short of the truth, that we must abandon it for the present, in the hope that some curious visiter will, at a future day, contrast its former splendour with its present filthy and wretched condition, and give an idea to the world to what stage misery and wretchedness may be brought."

The next is from the evidence given by the Rev. Dr. Lee, minister of the Old Church,* before the Commissioners of Religious Instruction, 18th February, 1836, on the state of another portion of the Old Town. "I have seen much wretchedness in my time, but never such a concentration of misery as in this parish. Some of the Irish in it are very wretched, but by far the most wretched are Scotch. I have seen a mother and five daughters, with another woman, in a house where there was neither chair nor table, stool, bed, or blanket, nor any kind of implement for cooking. She had the largest allowance given by the Charity Workhouse, 2s. 6d. a-week." "I frequently see the same room occupied by two married couples, neither having a bed." "I have been in one day in seven houses where there was no bed, in some of them not even straw. I found people of eighty years of age lying on the boards." "Many sleep in the same clothes which they wear during the day. I may mention the case of two Scotch families living in a miserable kind of cellar, who had come from the country within a few months, in search of work. Since they came they had had two dead, and another apparently dying. In the place they inhabit, it is impossible at noonday to distinguish the features of the human face without artificial light. There was a little bundle of dirty straw in one corner, for one family, and in another for the other. An ass stood in one corner, which was as well accommodated as these human creatures. It would almost make a heart of adamant bleed to see such an accumulation of human misery in a country like this."

We might multiply such cases; and we might cite, from many other sources, similar facts; but the great extent of pauperism in Edinburgh is as nothing when compared with the actual mendicity, and, above all, with the silent, patient, unrelieved destitution; and of this mass of suffering, fever too often forms the climax. It is

* Thirty-one of these are from the thinly populated distant county of Sutherland.

* Now Principal of the University.

remarked by the Irish physicians, and corroborated by Dr Alison, that when the Scottish and Irish epidemic raged among the poor, "it was the heads of families who, almost without exception, became the victims, while the rest escaped," and were, of course, left too often miserably widows and orphan paupers. Dr Alison states—

In the last situation in which I have seen fever prevailing epidemically in Edinburgh, (new land at the foot of the Old Fishmarket Close,) I find, on inquiry, that five families, out of the inhabitants of twelve rooms in the two upper-flats of the house, have been rendered fatherless by it.

Some of the most eminent of the medical faculty, and many medical students connected with the University of Edinburgh, have been, within a few years, cut off by this scourge of the poor, originating so often in destitution, and always extended by privation and want; and every other distress of the poor is aggravated by fever, which, by the testimony of a medical inquirer in Glasgow, is believed "to present great obstacles to the improvement of their condition, and an amount of human misery credible only to those who have witnessed it." Dr Alison, after shewing that fever uniformly follows extreme want, contrasts the health of the great towns of England, where fever is little known, with those of Ireland and Scotland, and argues—

I presume it will not be denied that the ordinary diet, and all the comforts of the lowest orders of society, in those English towns which are so little liable to fever, are much better than in Scotland; and that, in Ireland, where the disposition to fever is strongest and most constant, the diet and comforts of the lowest class of people are habitually the worst. The simple fact of the habitual *cleanliness* of the English poor, as compared either with the Scotch or Irish, is sufficient evidence on this point. That there are differences in nations, as in individuals, in this last respect, independently of their differences in other comforts, is admitted; but that the lower ranks of a whole people should be habitually cleanly, and yet much impoverished,—or should be habitually destitute, and preserve any habits of cleanliness,—may be fairly asserted to be moral impossibilities. The Chief Secretary of Ireland, in describing to Parliament the great epidemic fever of Ireland in 1819, expressed a hope "that the lower Irish would be better prepared in future to guard against such a calamity: that they would be *more cleanly* in their persons and *domestic habits, fumigate their houses, and change their bedding and clothes.*" This really recalls the remark of the French princess, who expressed her astonishment that any of her father's subjects should not have lived on bread and cheese rather than have died of famine. A medical observer of the disease, more practically acquainted with the poor Irish, observes with perfect justice: "It may be asked, 'How can those wretched beings, scarcely able to procure a 'meal's meat,' be expected to be more cleanly in their domestic habits; or how can they, who have scarcely a rag to cover them, and who are obliged, for want of bed-clothes, to sleep under the raiment they wear by day, 'change their bedding and clothes?' Before we can be justified in using such language towards the poor of Ireland, we must remove the causes of their poverty, and then allow half a century to eradicate the bad habits of ages."

But fever is not the only disease which want engenders, and under which the virtuous, and temperate, and provident poor of Scotland, are doomed to suffer through causes which the wise and benevolent believe may be removed—and

among the principal means, by an efficient poor law.

We are no admirers, in the abstract, of poor laws, and still less of workhouses and compulsory assessments; but perceiving their utility, nay, in the present condition of society, their absolute necessity, we have repeatedly, upon former occasions, exhausted the most cogent arguments which knowledge and experience have adduced, for their adoption, both as correctives and preventives of the many ills to which, the more that the relations and interests of society enlarge and complicate, it is the more exposed. But, in Scotland, it may be said there is already a poor law, fondly clung to by the people of that country, and esteemed superior in its principle and tendencies to any known system. We apprehend that, when fairly probed, the great recommendation will still be, that it imposes no burden on those who should contribute for the maintenance of the poor which it does not, at the same time, enable them to elude. Again, many Scotsmen object, on principle, to all legal provision for the poor, save in times of sickness, which, under such a system, would undoubtedly occur pretty frequently. We fervently wish that society were in, or could be brought to, that sound and wholesome state which would give force to their really specious objections to this mode of alleviating social ills.

Meanwhile, we have a poor law which presents many strange anomalies; and it is the main purpose of this article to shew, from the accredited Report of its administrators, what are its nature and susceptibilities, and how it operates. Ere we have done, we anticipate that a good many of our readers will be convinced that the Scottish clergy have already, of themselves, satisfied every rational mind as to the inefficiency of the present poor law; that the case is complete and closed even by their own shewing; and that the country may, without farther inquiry, go to the Legislature for reform of the system, either in its principle or its administration, but more probably in both.

The poor of Scotland have been virtually, for above two centuries, at the mercy or caprice of "their natural guardians," the heritors and the clergy:—it is about time that they were placed under the protection of the law. For the present, we leave to others to adduce general arguments for the utility of poor laws:—we need not repeat them ourselves; and our case is with the cruel abuses practised under the poor law existing in Scotland, and extolled as the perfection of human wisdom.

The poor law of Scotland is nearly as old as that of England, from which it differs in being under the control of the rural clergy in their respective parishes, with the assistance of the church functionaries named elders, (who, with the minister, form the kirk-session of each parish,) and of the magistrates in boroughs. The maintenance of the sick and impotent is made compulsory by statute; but between the Scotch and English poor law there is this grand distinction, that the able-bodied are not legally entitled

to a maintenance, or to be "set to work," as in England; though this difference is more apparent than real, as a very considerable amount of the funds collected for the poor is, in fact, distributed among what are described as *occasional* or *industrious* poor, which signifies able-bodied persons suffering under illness, or accident, or who are out of employment. A poor law which rigidly, and in all circumstances, excluded the able-bodied, it is plain, would not work. Thus, in the Report for the years 1835, 6, 7, the *occasional poor* amount to more than a third of the whole paupers on the permanent roll; but the higher rate at which the occasional or able-bodied poor are relieved, would make the proportion higher in the funds than the numbers, save for the temporary nature of the supply which they obtain. In the statutory denial of relief to the able-bodied poor, one main excellence of the Scottish poor law is imagined to consist; they have no *legal* claim, but practically they are relieved; not adequately, indeed—few of the poor of Scotland are so—but at a higher rate than widows, deserted families, or the impotent poor. Thus one boasted provision of our poor law is practically dormant; for the able-bodied are relieved. The relief to all classes of paupers is universally out-door, there being no workhouses in Scotland, save in Paisley and in Edinburgh; in which, however, only a small proportion of the whole paupers are maintained.

The number of paupers admitted on the parish rolls, whether permanent or occasional, seems to rest entirely at the discretion of the kirk-sessions, the numbers not being necessarily measured by destitution, age, or infirmity, but by the amount of funds voluntarily contributed, or that can be easily obtained without having recourse to legal assessment. We notice some of the ministers in the New Statistical Account saying that there are in their parishes many more necessitous persons, paupers in short; but the funds are too small to divide, and so they cannot be enrolled. In the parish of Kilmuir, in Skye, for example, the minister reports that the whole funds of *two years*, amounting to £6 : 3 : 6, were divided among sixty-eight paupers; but, had the funds been sufficient, instead of restricting the number of paupers to sixty or seventy, it would have been found necessary to admit 200 paupers on the roll! In many districts, the clergy make a merit and boast of "keeping down the roll;" and this, not by the proper sifting of the claims of applicants, and the necessary discrimination of character, means, and condition, and the causes which have produced poverty, but often with a view to the parochial funds. To measure the actual destitution of Scotland, therefore, by the number of paupers either on the occasional or permanent roll, is quite fallacious. Let the reader keep in mind the parish of Kilmuir, where the sixty-eight ought to have been 200, had it been practicable, at the end of two years, to divide £6 : 3s. among 200. Relief may also be, and we have no doubt, often is, matter of favouritism, and especially the amount of relief granted.

When a pauper is at last admitted on the roll, he makes over all his effects to the kirk-session; and the value received for the goods and chattels of deceased paupers, occasionally forms an item in the parochial funds. These funds arise from many sources, but principally in non-assessed parishes, which are still nearly two-thirds of the whole number, from the weekly church collections and extraordinary collections at the sacrament; from small fines for the commutation of offences incurring ecclesiastical censure; and mortcloth dues—i. e., a trifle paid for the use of the pall at funerals, and the rent of seats in churches which belong to the poor. All this, of course, comes chiefly from the poor themselves. Part of the funds sometimes arises from bequests and gifts of money, or meal and coal, to the poor; and from the interest of what are called *mortifications*, or sums sunk in perpetuity, by benevolent individuals, for the use of the poor of any particular parish. Happy are those parishes in which there are *mortifications*; for there the heritors, the "natural guardians," are relieved of their "onerous duties to the poor." The object of the donor, generally some adventurous and lucky Scot, sprung from the poorer classes, may have been to increase the comforts of the aged and disabled poor of his native parish; but the relief of the heritors seems the only interest consulted in the disposition of these funds. The poor, no doubt, get them—for there is no jobbing in the slender parochial funds of Scotland—though not as an extra gratuity, but solely as a portion of their scanty allotted pittance. These funds are, in short, employed, as if the gratuities to schoolmasters, from the Dick Bequest, were paid over to them, in lieu of their salary from the heritors of the parish, instead of being a reward and encouragement to learning and the discharge of their duty. We can now see the propriety of so many of the English specifically devoting part of their benefactions to an annual good dinner to the parish poor. When the church collections, fines, dues, mortifications, and legacies, fail to supply the lowest possible number of poor at the lowest possible rate, recourse must be had to assessments, which, in general, are, in the first instance, what are called Voluntary; that is, each heritor agrees to contribute according to the extent of his property in the parish, or, at least, he promises to do so, leaving, however, in general, his tenants to pay the one-half, as proprietors and renters seem to pay exactly at the same rate. But when misunderstandings and collisions—the natural growth of selfishness put into activity—proceed a step farther, the voluntary are converted into legal assessments. It is then that, in general, the heritors first step in; for, while they have little or nothing to pay, they permit the kirk-sessions to manage the poor exactly as they see fit; aware, probably, that they could not, with good grace, manage half so economically themselves. It is, at least, evident that, in legally assessed parishes, where the heritors, feuars, &c., step forward, the allowance

to paupers is rather more adequate to their maintenance than in the parishes where the heritors, not being troubled, leave the kirk-session to act as a vanguard in defending them from the encroachments of the poor, and never interfere. The expense of raising the assessments and of managing the funds is very considerable, even where the poor are not managed gratuitously; which economy is one good feature, though it does not necessarily belong to the system. That the poor are somewhat better provided for in the legally assessed parishes than in the others, is seen by the tables of the Report; and this higher rate of allowance, low as often is that higher, is made an argument against legal assessments. In the 238 legally assessed parishes, the average rate of annual allowance to each pauper on the permanent roll, in the three dear years 1835, 6, 7, was £2:14:9½; certainly no very extravagant sum, when it is remembered, too, that, of those receiving, a considerable number have children and others depending on them. But, in the voluntarily assessed parishes, the rate was only £1:19:1½; while, again, in the non-assessed parishes, which are by far the most numerous in Scotland, the rate of annual allowance sinks to £1:0:4½. Until the rate of allowance shall be, on the average, at least doubled, and some approach made to equalization, we shall, in this consequence of legal assessments, see a strong ground for preference, not for condemnation. The *occasional* poor also are rather better supplied in the legally assessed parishes. Indeed, the tendency of legal assessments is, as stated in objection to them, in the Report, to create "a more liberal expenditure." The maintenance of pauper lunatics from the assessed parishes of the Merse and Tiviotdale, in asylums, now costs, on the average, £19:3:5½, whereas we see their expense in non-assessed parishes is about half that sum, and often less. We have no doubt that these tables will prove exceedingly alarming to many of the Scottish heritors and other rate-payers, and confirm every argument used against compulsory assessment; though the true national question is not which mode is lowest in actual expense—for there non-assessment has every advantage,—but which is the system best adapted to the end in view;—the relief of the miserable, the improvement and elevation of the moral and physical condition of the labouring poor, and the keeping down of pauperism.

The price of the necessaries of life is nearly the same over all the country parishes of Scotland; but we see the extraordinary operation of the existing poor law in the rate of annual allowance to permanent paupers, varying from 1s. a-year, as in the parish of Criech above cited, to £4, £5, £6, £8, £10, and, in some cases, to so high as £12 or £13 a-year, which is allowed in some of the parishes of the south—though the rate of pauperism is often very high in the south—amounting, in the old city of Edinburgh, to one in seventeen of the population. Yet, in the legally assessed parishes, the annual burden to each

individual of the population is only 1s. 4½d. small, indeed, compared with England, even under its amended poor law. The burden on every individual in some of the non-assessed parishes, it would be somewhat difficult for an expert algebraist to calculate. But legal assessments, it is said, in particular parishes, lessen the amount of church collections for the poor; and so they ought, when it is no longer the poor who are left almost unaided to support the poor, and sink themselves into the degradation of pauperism, while striving to relieve paupers. The poor law of Scotland, or rather its administrators, do not, save of special favour, exempt a common labourer at 1s. 6d. a-day, and with a family to maintain, from also supporting, or in part-supporting, his aged parents; though, in doing so, he should pauperize his children. The grand and vaunted principle is, that the parish is to pay as little as possible, by whatever means the pauper is subsisted. The expense of maintaining paupers in the few workhouses of Scotland is, comparatively, not low, because there they must be solely maintained; and the rate, a-head, consequently appears magnificent, when compared with that of out-door relief; because, in the latter case, the paupers are expected to scramble about for the greater part of their wretched subsistence—to work if they can, to obtain the aid of friends, or to beg, thieve, or do anything that may lessen the burden on the funds.

The Report of the General Assembly notices what is called another "striking peculiarity in the system." It is this: that "in all cases remarkably moderate, [certainly so,] it varies according to the situation and circumstances of the parties to be assisted;" as if this were not the regulating principle wherever out-door relief is given. But it certainly has some peculiarities. When a pauper is to be admitted on the roll, after agreeing to give up all his property to the parish, the kirk-session first considers the amount of his claims on his relations, and the sums he receives, or may receive, from the charity of his neighbours, before the rate of alimony—always "remarkably moderate"—is fixed. And this, we are told, cherishes a spirit of independence; it being less degrading, we imagine, for a poor disabled person to burden his charitable poor neighbours, than to claim his *right* from a body of wealthy heritors! We are told, in a former Report, that, "even in cases of extreme poverty, the relations and neighbours of paupers have a *pride* in providing for their necessities, either in whole or in part." We do wish they could communicate something of this pride to landlords, whether resident or absentees; that they too, instead of throwing their natural dependants upon the charities of great towns and the bounty of England, shewed any feeling of pride in their comfortable condition, and in relieving their necessities. If it ever was the case that relations and neighbours, in extreme poverty themselves, felt this pride, we are convinced that such feelings have wholly ceased, even where the spirit of independence is kept alive by its present

potent supporters—non-assessment and scanty allowance. Pride and tenderness may combine to induce relations and kind neighbours to preserve a respectable indigent person from soliciting from the parish the miserable pittance which it yields; but once he receives any parish aid, that either relative or neighbour desires longer to bear any part of the burden, is extremely unlikely. In a former Report to the General Assembly, it is this pride, taken by the poor in bearing those burdens which ought to fall on abler shoulders, which is said to explain the fact “of the sums given in many country districts being so disproportioned to what the real necessities of the paupers would require.” This must, therefore, we presume, be accepted as a key to explain the state of the parishes of Kilmuir and Criech, and many more, in not quite so happy a condition as regards the independent feelings of their poor, to which we shall have occasion to refer. Any one but those grave reporters would imagine that true independence did not consist in leaning to the charity of a poor but generous neighbour, but in depending on that wise law which secures to the industrious poor, when disabled, the humble means of subsistence. The Scottish poor law, as practically expounded, and, indeed, as formally set forth, is one to give the impotent poor a right merely to what they cannot obtain by any other means, and no more: not a right to a subsistence, but to a half, a fourth, a sixth, or fiftieth part of what is considered a subsistence; leaving them to scramble for the rest in any way they choose; the charity of their poorer neighbours being especially recommended to them.

It is now our purpose to shew what the actual average condition of the industrious poor and of paupers is, over all Scotland. In so wide a field, we can be at no loss; and it shall be our endeavour to deal impartially, taking the best with the worst.

In selecting a few samples from the bulk, we seek no better authority than the Old and New Statistical Accounts of Scotland, so far as the latter work has yet gone; and the “Report to the General Assembly on the Management of the Poor of Scotland” referred to above, and drawn up by a committee of the Assembly; in which it is understood that David Monypenny, Esq., of Pitmilly, took an active part, wrote out the Report, and superintended the tables drawn up from the Returns to the Queries addressed by the Assembly to the ministers of the different parishes. Our authorities are thus unimpeachable; and the cases are selected, in the fairest way possible, from parishes in every locality, and under every variety of circumstances. We may premise that, as a body, the clergy of the Church of Scotland are opposed to the principle of a Poor Law which shall enforce compulsory assessment, or withdraw the management of the poor from the kirk-sessions; though there are many exceptions, chiefly among those who have given themselves the trouble to think upon the subject, under the guidance of

actual observation and experience; and it must not be forgotten that Mr Monypenny is the earnest advocate of the existing system, sincerely believing it the best that the world has ever seen.

The richest and most highly improved agricultural districts in Scotland, are the shires of Haddington, Berwick, Roxburgh, and Dumfries. In these counties, husbandry has been carried to great, if not to the highest, perfection; produce has been doubled and trebled; and rents have risen, within from forty to twenty years, in the same, or even in a greater, proportion. From the county of Dumfries, we, in the first place, select the parish of Ruthwell; as, among its other advantages, this parish has been, for forty years, under the pastoral care of Dr Duncan, who, besides the discharge of his sacred functions as a parish minister, is understood to be thoroughly versant in rural and social economy, and who has the honour of having introduced Savings' Banks into Scotland, an establishment of this kind having existed for thirty years in Ruthwell.

Dr Duncan describes his parishioners as “a sober, virtuous, and well-informed population,” possessing and improving the means of ordinary and religious education. The population of Ruthwell is 1216. The real rental is not stated; but the annual amount of the raw produce is £10,000. The landed proprietors, of whom the principal is the Earl of Mansfield, are, with one exception, absentees. The wages of labour are not stated—an important omission; but they are probably the rate of the country, which seems, over all Scotland, to be, on the average, about from 1s. to 1s. 8d. a-day, according to the season. No attempt is made, in any of the parochial returns, to estimate the number of idle and of broken days, from the state of the weather and other causes, which go to be deducted from the labourers' wages in the course of the year; though these must be very considerable. The number of paupers, out of the population of 1216, is twenty-six; and these are mostly very aged and infirm women. But as Ruthwell, from the long incumbency, and the character and peculiar acquirements of its minister, may be considered as a pattern or model parish, where the poor are managed as well as the existing system admits, we shall go fully into Dr Duncan's report; nor would we desire a better illustration of the condition of the Scottish poor, and the working of the Voluntary system, than the details before us. The first entry on the roll of twenty-six, is a woman, of eighty-one, “old and feeble, and no children,” who receives from the kirk-session £1 : 5s. a-year, and whose other means of subsistence are “lodging vagrants.” The second case is another woman, of eighty-five, with one son, and no means of support, who was allowed £1 : 2s. a-year; which the session afterwards recovered, by legal process, from the son. The third case is an old, blind woman, with one married daughter, who receives £1 : 19s. a-year; from which comparatively liberal allowance we

must infer that the daughter is unable to assist her mother, save, perhaps, by offices of kindness in domestic affairs. A feeble woman of seventy-four, with a daughter deaf and dumb, gets £1: 9s.; another, with a widowed daughter, £1: 5s.; and a paralytic woman of sixty-one, whose "children work a little," receives £1: 9s. A woman of eighty-nine, "feeble and blind," with "a son who has a large family," receives £1: 5s.; another woman of forty-seven, in very delicate health, and with no relations, receives £1: 4s., and "spins a little," which may probably double her income, though this is a high estimate. These are specimens of the manner in which parish paupers are maintained by Voluntary charity, in what may be presumed one of the best parishes for the poor in the south of Scotland. We are also permitted to see what is deemed sufficient, or at least what must suffice for the entire maintenance of one of the most helpless of human beings.—"A man of eighty-one, blind and paralytic, who has no relations," and who, of course, requires constant attendance or nursing, is "chiefly supported by the kirk-session" paying £3: 18s. to the persons who take care of him; the smaller proportion—the above being the chief maintenance—coming from some unnamed source. The highest sum paid in any case, by the kirk-session of Ruthwell, is £7: 16s. for the maintenance of a female lunatic, aged sixty-one, who has no means, and who requires constant attendance. To meet the expenditure for relieving these and the other paupers, there are the church collections, amounting to £25, and about £28 contributed by the five heritors. But £47 in all is divided among the twenty-six paupers. From the condition of this parish and the persons on the pauper-roll, who are nearly all aged females, there must either have been mendicity, or the destitute must have resorted to the great towns, increasing the burdens of those assessed by the addition of some of the poor of Ruthwell; or else applicants must have been rejected who were really in destitute circumstances. Dr Duncan complains that two of the five absentee heritors pay very little to the support of the poor; yet the kirk-session "choose rather to throw themselves upon the generosity and good sense of those who are willing to give them, than by calling legal meetings, to bring a permanent and necessarily increasing poor rate on the parish." There does, however, seem an immediate necessity for, not an increase, but an instantaneous doubling or quadrupling, by compulsory assessment, of the present scanty sum extracted from the pockets of the generous, who are much less able to contribute, to save those of the heritors; and it will be time enough to talk of an "increasing poor-rate" after we start from the point which affords anything like an adequate subsistence to paupers. Of the labouring population of Ruthwell, when in their best state, Dr Duncan remarks:—"The day-labourers, especially those who have families, suffer numerous privations with exemplary patience. They are, in general, sober, active, and industrious; but the

want of constant employment prevents them from acquiring many of the comforts and conveniences of life, and not unfrequently subjects them to severe distress." To arrest the prevalence of this distress, and to improve the condition of the poor creatures who languish out the last years of a hard life on the pittance specified above, Dr Duncan suggests no remedy.

Our next parish shall be taken from nearly the opposite boundary of Scotland; and it also ought to be a very favourable specimen of Scottish parishes. It is the parish of Golspie in Sutherland, in which stands Dunrobin Castle, and which is under the immediate care and auspices of the munificent family of Sutherland, the late Duchess Countess having usually spent the summer months there.

The Duchess of Sutherland was, when the Report was written, the sole owner of the parish, as she was, indeed, latterly, of nearly the whole county. When the old Statistical Account was written, the rent of this parish was estimated at about £700; the population was about 1600, of whom sixty-five were considered paupers, and among whom was divided £6: 10s. a-year, being the amount of the collections at the church-door, and also the interest of £60, making in all about £9. The writer of that report says—"The trustees of the poor's money sometimes find a difficulty to give as much money as will purchase a pair of shoes to enable them to go about to beg their bread."—"The farmers and others, of every denomination in the parish, serve their indigent fellow-creatures as liberally as they can afford with food." When the noble family arrived at Dunrobin, besides contributing part of the £6: 10s. of church collections on Sundays, "the poor got a fat meal on different days of the week at Dunrobin." During a year of scarcity, the agents of Lady Sutherland purchased and sent home grain to the parish; and it is observed "that, whatever she might have lost in interest of money, she gained as much in having relieved the distressed." In short, Golspie was thus, in many respects, in the condition of an Irish parish before the institution of poor laws, save that the noble proprietors were sometimes resident. Since that period, the population has decreased by the ejection of the small tenantry; and, beyond a doubt, the destitute of this parish, and of Sutherland generally, must have swelled the mendicity, vagrancy, and, finally, the pauperism of the towns of the south. But the population is again increasing, and already amounts to about 1200. The wages of labour are stated in the New Statistical Account at 1s. 6d. in the long, and 1s. 3d. in the short day; the number of idle days, from want of employment, is not mentioned. Mechanics get from 2s. to 2s. 6d. a-day. The real rental of the parish is not stated; and, indeed, a good deal of it is in the hands of the proprietor: but the annual value of the raw produce, exclusive of a salmon fishing, is stated at £10,030—which indicates a great increase since the rental was £700 a-year. The husbandry is of

the best description ; the breeds of cattle are excellent ; and everything has improved rapidly, save only the condition of the poor, and the funds for the alleviation of their distress. The number on the roll of paupers, which, it must be remembered, in no part of Scotland is, by any means, the measure of the real poverty and destitution, is sixty, who receive, on the average, "8s. a-year," and "occasionally some meal." The funds divided arise from the church collection, £19, £7 interest of money belonging to the poor, and £6 a-year subscribed by the Duchess of Sutherland to the parochial fund. From this slender fund, however, the precentor, kirk-officer, and treasurer, get a small annual stipend, so that very little can remain for the occasional dole of meal. It would appear that the same sum of £6 was the regular amount contributed by the late noble proprietress to each of the parish funds in the county in which she had property, "but all depending on her good will:" in fact, a voluntary contribution, which may or may not be continued by the present Duke. Among the other parishes in Sutherlandshire, we find Criech, where from 1s. to 3s. a-year is given to 140 paupers, from the church collection and the interest of £150. The Duchess does not appear to have contributed her usual £6 to this parish, though the gratuity was given to *Rogar* parish, where eighty-four paupers, from that and the church collection, received 4s. 9d. a-year. Of *Lairg*, another Sutherland parish, we were glad to read, on the authority of the minister, that "the poor are comparatively well provided for;" that is, 137 paupers, with their children, get £12 of church collections, and the Duchess' £6 is divided among them besides: but the main source of their good provision is an annuity of £25, left them by a Captain Hugh Mackay, the son of a former minister of *Lairg*, who made a fortune in India. Curious to see to what the comparatively good provision might come in sterling money, we turned to the Report of the General Assembly, and find that it is 19s. a-year at the highest rate of allowance, and, by the lowest, 4s.; that is, one set gets 4½d. a-week, and the others less than one penny! In *Farr* parish, to which the Duchess has for twenty years given her stated gratuity of £6, £27 are annually distributed among, on the average, seventy-six paupers; so that the rate at which they are maintained may easily be reckoned. In the parish of *Durness*, forty-five paupers receive among them £20, to which it does not appear that the Duchess of Sutherland contributed anything; her benefaction of £6 having been limited to those parishes which were solely or chiefly her own property. The annual value of the raw produce of *Durness* is £8,000; the real rental is estimated at £2,550. From the reports of all the Sutherland parishes, we gather, that the noble proprietress contributed gratuities to the parochial funds of the county, managed by the kirk-sessions, for the maintenance of the poor, to the amount of about £50 a-year; though, as this sum would cover eight parishes, probably less.

From the proceedings of the public meeting in Edinburgh, referred to above, we were led to hope that, however it might be with the paupers in the remote Highlands and islands, in Sutherlandshire, but especially in Criech and Dornoch, they were in the land of Goshen. Mr Dempster is the principal resident proprietor, though Dunrobin Castle, the seat of the Sutherland family, is in the adjoining parish.

Dornoch, from its position, possesses several both natural and artificial advantages. Agriculture and rural economy, in all departments, have been immensely improved in that district. We see no attempt made in the returns to estimate either the annual value of the raw produce or the real rental of the parish; but take as data, that, on the estate of the Sutherland family alone, there are 4,000 acres arable, 2,000 acres in course of improvement, 2,500 acres planted, besides 300 acres of natural wood, and the fact that the rent of arable land is £1: 5s. on the average, and of the land under improvement, 5s. The rate of wages is rather lower than in the south; "able-bodied men for day-labour get from 1s. to 1s. 6d.; women 6d., save at harvest-time, when they get 1s.; but no victuals in either case." So that Dornoch is another of those parishes where everything has improved rapidly save the means of the labourers, which bear no proportion whatever to the general march of improvement. "Potatoes have become the principal article of food here," says the minister, as indeed they are throughout the Highlands. "They serve as the chief subsistence of the people during half the year, and with some two-thirds." Many of the people come from a considerable distance to gather cockles, of which abundance may be had on the sands of Dornoch. To this circumstance we alluded when mentioning the natural advantages of Dornoch. It is always a great blessing to the poor Highlanders, as to the Irish, to be near the sea-shore, where they may pick up shell-fish to "kitchen" their potato-diet. It must not be forgotten that potato-diet has kept exact pace with the improvement of the soil, by the labour of the potato-feeders, and with the growth of those abundant crops of wheat, oats, and barley now sent to Leith. Yet, in spite of ejections, considerable voluntary emigration, and vagrant destitution, the new population of potato-feeders has, as in Ireland, increased. As among the Irish, "there is," says the parson, "a general inclination to marry young. When out-farm-servants, (the occupiers of the bothies,) of whom the number is considerably increased by the erection of large farms, get *barracks* for themselves, they marry; when a young man gets a croft he marries; when a fisherman becomes possessed of a quarter of a boat, he builds a house (query, hovel?) and marries." Nay, the Dornoch people not only marry all, and marry young, but they marry a second, and third, and one couple, (and both parties,) married a fourth time, "and contribute to increase the population." Nor is such reckless improvidence in the labour-

ersat from 1s. to 1s. 6d. a-day—the potato-feeders and cockle-gatherers namely—to be attributed to a legal assessment, which encourages them to marry improvidently, knowing they have the parish to fall back upon. No such thing is known in this highly-improved and spirited locality, where “the natural guardians of the poor” provide for paupers in this wise:—The population in 1831 was 3,380, and was rapidly on the increase. Of this number, from 120 to 130, on the average, receive parochial aid. This they obtain from the rate of less than 1½d. a-week, to the extent, in some cases, of rather less than 6d. a-week; or, in the words of the minister, the lowest is 6s. (a-year)—the highest £1 : 5s.; and even at this very moderate rate, there is “a strong tendency, among the lower classes, to apply for relief to the parish funds.” These funds consist of £39 : 10s., arising from the church collections on Sundays, marriage and mortcloth dues, and are, consequently, chiefly contributed by the poor themselves; with the £6 a-year contributed by the Duchess to each parish where she was the sole or principal heritor, and from £25, the interest of £500, left to the poor, not by the “noble family,” or the fact would have been certified at full length; and we are very characteristically told “that the late Duke, who did not need to borrow money, very humanely took this sum from the kirk-session, and allowed the above liberal interest for it.”

Such is the condition and prospects of the poor, and the state of pauperism in the parish of Dornoch; and we leave our readers to judge whether or not one of its principal heritors, Mr Dempster, was warranted in so warmly representing the alleged intermeddling of the enlightened and humane in Edinburgh with what was properly the concern of “the natural guardians of the poor,” the landed gentry, who display such tender concern for their natural charge, the labourers on their estates. But a considerable extent of Mr Dempster’s property lies in the neighbouring larger parish of Criech, where, in a population of (in 1831) 2,562, there are 140 paupers who receive, as was stated above, from 1s. to 3s. a-year; or from less than one farthing to rather more than a halfpenny a-week, from the small sum collected at the door of the church and mission station. It was unhappy for this gentleman to come forward so prominently in the metropolis as the mouth-piece of the Scottish system. We include one more Sutherlandshire parish, Assynt, where, out of a population of 1760, about sixty are admitted as permanent or occasional paupers, and have £14 a-year divided among them, or, on the average, about a penny a-week.

It happens that several of the parishes of Berwickshire are included in the same volume of the New Statistical Account which comprehends the above parishes of Sutherland; and they are thus placed together before us:—One parish is Lauder, which, in 1831, contained 2,063 inhabitants, an increase of 222 from 1821, or in ten years. Yet here there is no legal assess-

ment, the paupers being supported by what is called a voluntary assessment; i. e. the heritors and kirk-session meet together every half-year, and arrange, as in other parishes, how much (or, more correctly, how little) may suffice for the paupers for the next six months. The annual value of the raw produce of this parish is estimated at £29,270. The real rental is not stated. Here there are three resident great proprietors, the Earl of Lauderdale, the chairman of the Edinburgh meeting, and two more. The parish, like the whole county, is highly improved. Wages are, what we consider, low; the wages of a *Hind* or farm-servant being, “with all its advantages fairly computed, 9s. a-week, or £23 : 8s. a-year; each *Hind* being, besides, bound to keep a *bondager*,” or woman, to be, according to the system of the south of Scotland, at the call of the farmer, to work at hay, turnips, &c., at the rate of 8d. or 9d. a-day, *when* her labour is required. In many cases, the keeping of a *bondager* must deduct considerably from the wages of the *Hind*; and it is generally considered a hardship and grievance, though, as a condition of the bond, it must be submitted to. The *bondager* system is also considered a source of domestic heart-burning and even immorality. In the parish where the raw produce is of value £29,270, and the inhabitants amount to 2,063, there are twenty-two persons receiving parochial relief; “one, fatuous, 4s. per week; one, ‘old and feeble,’ 3s. 6d.; and another, with a young family, also 3s. 6d.: these being the highest sums given to any of our paupers,” says the minister whom we quote. “The remaining nineteen get from 1s. 3d. to 2s.; and the whole expense of maintaining the paupers—fatuous, old, and feeble, and those burdened with young families, included—is £119 : 3 : 4 a-year; though, with expenses of management, the heritors really assess themselves in £150. But it is,” continues the minister of Lauder, “an object steadily kept in view by the managers of the poor to keep down as much as they can the legal assessment, [meaning the voluntary contribution, to ward off assessment;] and their efforts ‘have hitherto not been altogether unsuccessful. The assessment is, indeed, still considerable, but at no distant period it was larger;’ and he acknowledges that as yet, in general, the poor of Lauder ‘do not seek parochial relief till involved in real indigence.’”

Fuel is dear in this parish. The minister gives the people the character of being contented with their condition; and affirms that “they enjoy, in a reasonable degree, the comforts and advantages of society,” which, by the way, seems the stereotyped answer from the great majority of parishes to the query regarding the physical condition and comforts of the working class. They do not *poach* very often in Lauder; and they go to church on Sundays pretty regularly when they do not go to the Seceder Meeting. They send their children early to school; though we should think them not very able to bear the expense of education. There was a Friendly Society,

but it has been given up; and the only thing which their minister appears to desiderate for the poor of his flock, is what we should reckon, save in the case of house-servants, a perfect superfluity:—it is “a Savings’ Bank, to promote the industry and frugality of the labouring classes, and nourish in them the spirit of independence.” Where are Hinds, with 9s. a-week, and children to feed, clothe, and educate, and day-labourers with less—where even are married artisans, with 12s. a-week, when in employment, to find money to deposit in the Savings’ Bank, if they indulge in “the comforts and enjoyments of society?” Throughout Scotland, we find that the depositors, where there are Savings’ Banks, in the rural parishes, are unmarried servants, living in their masters’ houses, and principally women. We may farther notice, that Dr Duncan of Ruthwell, the founder and zealous promoter of Savings’ Banks, now doubts if they be really so useful to the poor as they were once imagined; because, as he justly remarks, “it is to be feared that these institutions have, in many instances, operated to the injury of the Friendly Societies—kindred establishments, which every person acquainted with the circumstances and wants of the lower orders must regard as useful auxiliaries, not as rivals. The latter are, in truth, the only protection to individuals belonging to the labouring class of the community, in the event of their being overtaken by sudden illness or disability before they have made any considerable accumulation in a Savings’ Bank.” It here appears that the originator of the Savings’ Bank would have the Friendly or Mutual Assurance Society preliminary, though an adjunct, to the Savings’ Bank; and, while the able-bodied poor are almost wholly left to their own resources, as at present, the opinion is sound.

To shew how the system varies, we take a neighbouring parish, Greenlaw, in Berwickshire, where the paupers are maintained, as in Lauder, by the heritors and kirk-session meeting twice a-year and agreeing to a certain rate of contribution. The annual value of the raw produce of this parish is not equal to half the produce of Lauder. It is £13,160. The real rental is £6,836: 3s., and three times more than it was fifty years since. Wages are stated as rather higher than in Lauder, to the extent of 2d. a-day for hired labourers, whether men or women; and masons and carpenters, 2s. 4d.; tailors 1s. 6d. a-day, without food. In a population of 1442, there are, on the average, 28 paupers, who receive, on the average 2s. a-week; whereas the rate of Lauder is from 1s. 3d. to 2s. But yet the voluntary assessment for the poor of Greenlaw amounts to only sixpence in the pound on the real rental; which, though more is given in a week than in the northern parishes in a quarter of a year, or in a whole year, is, after all, no alarmingly heavy burthen.

To prove the fallacy of the assumptions regarding legal assessments, we would request that instances of its truth may be adduced from the Report of the Assembly and the New Statistical

Account. In what parishes, legally assessed, has pauperism rapidly advanced, unless under very extraordinary circumstances; or what warrants the general charge of improvidence in assessed parishes more than in the voluntary? One of the earliest of the assessed parishes is Yarrow, which locality has since been exposed to the suffering ever attendant upon the consolidation of farms; yet there has been no increase of pauperism, no marks of improvidence in this parish, which we shall now describe.

There has been a legal assessment for the poor of Yarrow for nearly a century. The population, kept down by throwing a number of small farms into one, and sweeping away cottages, was, in 1755, reckoned at 1180. In 1831, it was 1221. The number of paupers appears to have fluctuated with dear years, and from other temporary causes which cannot be now ascertained; but, in 1751, it is stated at twenty-eight; and, six years later, at fifty-one: in 1800 and 1801, both very bad years, the number of paupers was sixty; while the average of the last seven years is thirty, (given in the New Statistical Account,) on a larger population. But neither have the assessments risen to any alarming extent; nor, when the changed value and the price of wages and food are considered, have they risen at all. In 1757, the assessment of Yarrow was £90. In one year, 1800, it had increased to £360; when owing, probably, to the dearth, a high rate of allowance, £6, was temporarily adopted; but the average assessment of the last seven years is lowered to £160—a much smaller sum, relatively, than £90 in the year 1757, though there is a larger population. The average allowance for the last seven years has been £5: 7s. a-year for each pauper; which is very high as compared with the average of the parishes of Scotland. The minister of this parish, though affected with the contagious horror of legal assessments, acknowledges “that pauperism has not made much progress in Yarrow.” It has made, we should say, a retrograde progress. The persons on the pauper roll are chiefly old women, or widows with helpless young families, and persons weak in body and intellect. In the face of the actually decreased amount of pauperism, the Chalmerian theory, so generally admired by heritors, leads the writer of the account of the parish to affirm that “the tendency of the system, however, has been partially felt in relaxing industry and encouraging improvidence; in loosening the ties of the nearest kindred and lowering the tone of independence; and leading to insolence and ingratitude.” These are serious consequences, evolved after the experience of a century; and, if they mean anything, should lead to the total abolition of stated relief to the poor in any form, whether compulsory or voluntary. The rental of this parish is now £12,000; and must have been at least quadrupled since the period, 1757, when £90 a-year, now increased to £160, was levied for the poor.

Very frequently, in the former Statistical Account of Scotland, do we find the clergymen re-

commending assessments. Thus, in Dornoch, then a miserable and still a miserable parish for the poor, many of the people, as in most of the Highland parishes, were mendicant vagrants. The clergyman who had witnessed their condition and its consequences, says—"It is to be wished that the poor were universally confined to their own parishes; that, by assessments upon heritors, tenants, and others, in proportion to their several interests, holdings, and circumstances, a certain provision were made for their subsistence; and that employment were furnished them, suitable to the measure of strength and ability they may possess." This wise prayer remains unanswered to this day. The paupers of Dornoch have, however, in these improved times of production and rent, (though without scope for begging, as of old, among the small farmers,) from 1½d. to 5d. a-week, instead of less than 1d., which was the maximum in 1791; so true it is that poor-rates are rising: here they are quadrupled in fifty years! The former minister of Dornoch concludes these hints by remarking that, "by his plan, the condition of the poor would be improved, and the burden fairly divided among all ranks and characters, in place of falling chiefly or solely upon the humane and benevolent, and often on those least able to bear it." The present minister, according to his Report, appears quite contented with things as they are; the church collections, the Duchess' donation of £6 a-year, and the young people marrying as early as possible, with the prospect at worst of a fair supply of potatoes and cockles in their wigwags; parish pay offering here no encouragement to improvident wedlock.

One parish of the Merse, St Bathans, has been legally assessed for 115 years; the population is 122; the yearly value of the raw produce is estimated at £2,555; and £4:18s. is levied for the support of the two parish paupers, in addition to £3 of church collection. This is not appalling, after above a century's experience. The only objection is, that the two aged female paupers cannot be very well off, though allowed twice as much as in many rich and respectable voluntary parishes, and ten times as much as in Sutherlandshire. But this objection could easily be removed, by at once doubling the rate levied, and no great hardship be incurred by the rate-payers after all. In the parish of Bunkle and Merton, rents have lately risen from £3,200 to £8,000: the population is 740; of whom, on the average, about eighteen or twenty are admitted on the roll of paupers; and for their maintenance the heritors and tenants are equally assessed in £70 yearly. The paupers receive, on the average, 1s. 6d. a-week. £70 for the poor on a rental of £8,000 is surely a very moderate assessment. Lord Douglas is here the principal heritor. Some of the farmers of Bunkle pay £1600 a-year in rent. What a stride between the farmer and the hind, since the recent days when the same roof covered them, and when they ate at the same board! And is it surprising that, while society is in this state

of violent transition, destitution and pauperism should increase? One of the temporary causes of this increase in the country parishes is the diminished number of small resident proprietors, as well as of small farmers.

In the neighbouring parish of Chirnside, the writer of the old Statistical Account was in amazement at the rent of land having, in his time, risen from 3s. to 12s.; and from 5s. to £1 per acre. Now it has risen to £2, £2:10s., £3:15s., £4:4s., and sometimes more, per acre. But how have wages risen? In what corresponding ratio have the comforts of the producers increased? There is a tablet in an old wall in the church of Bunkle, a church as old as the days of Popery, on which is inscribed, "HELP THE PVR." Its lesson is thus attended to:—Out of a population of 1248 there are fifty-five paupers, for whose maintenance, on a real rental of £8,504, the sum of £270 is levied by legal assessment, and in equal proportions from landlords and tenants. This parish has been legally assessed beyond the memory of man. In speaking of *Bunkle*, and several other assessed parishes, we are far from meaning to speak disparagingly. On the contrary, we say, once for all, that the rate of allowance in them is, comparatively, to be highly commended. In many circumstances it may even be ample; for £5 a-year must be a great sum indeed to an individual pauper, when the whole income of a married common day-labourer, or a *hind*, ranges from £18 to £23:8s. a-year.

The minister of Ayton, a Border parish, legally assessed, complains loudly that the labouring poor will not avail themselves of the Friendly Society and Savings' Bank established at Eyemouth, and thus spare the heritors, instead of looking to them for parochial aid in their destitute old age. The wages of a labourer are here 1s. 6d. a-day; those of an artisan, that is, a mason or carpenter, 2s. to 2s. 6d. But in every year there must be many idle days, materially reducing the apparent amount of wages, so that, upon the whole, if the labouring class of Ayton, like their fellows throughout the Lowlands of Scotland, "enjoy a fair share of the comforts and advantages of society," it defies our calculation to discover how they can, to any extent, accumulate for old age. This parish is sadly annoyed and burdened by vagrant poor, "sent back in cart loads from England, to the tender mercies of their 'natural guardians' in Scotland." The minister of Ayton speaks very reasonably on this subject; and cases like those which he cites should lead the country clergy to have some consideration for the oppressed rate-payers of Edinburgh and Glasgow, and the other towns which form the refuge for those destitute persons who wander from the country, either to seek employment, and with the hope of bettering their condition, or because, however urgent their distress, the rural kirk-sessions cannot afford to raise them into the happy state of parish paupers, without having recourse to a compulsory assessment.

The Duke of Buccleuch is an extensive proprietor in Dumfriesshire. He is generally, and,

we believe, very justly, esteemed a liberal landlord ; or, if he cannot be called exactly a liberal landlord, while the political existence of his tenants is annihilated, and they are puppets in his hands, then as a kind and indulgent *Chief*, gratified to witness the happy and prosperous condition of his dependents. But the poor and destitute worn-out labourers on his estates do not always share in this prosperity. We have elsewhere noticed several parishes, of which the Duke of Buccleuch is an heritor, such as Hawick and Yarrow ; but in Dumfries he is sole heritor of some parishes, and in others nearly so. The parish of *Kirkmichael* is of the latter description. Since the last Statistical Account was published, the rental of Kirkmichael has risen from £2,500 to £6,445 ; value of raw produce, £20,917. The population is 1226, of whom twenty, on the average, are paupers, receiving, on the average, less than 6d. a-week, or £1 : 4s. a-year.* The minister of the parish states that " very great, judicious, and expensive improvements have been made by the Duke on his beautiful and valuable barony of Ross, in this parish, by building very excellent and even elegant farm-steadings, &c., &c., &c.," but the above are the amount of funds raised by collections for the destitute and infirm poor.

Of Morton parish, in the same county, the Duke of Buccleuch is sole proprietor. The population is 2,140, of whom thirty are paupers, who are supported by £40, contributed in church collections, and the interest of £60 belonging to the poor, which, with other occasional contributions, allows the paupers, on the average, from £1 : 4s. to £4 each, a-year. We need not say that, in all such cases, by far the greater number rank under the lesser sum. By the Report to the General Assembly, the permanent poor of this parish receive from 9s. to £6 : 4 : 4 a-year ; and both accounts may be correct, the latter probably referring to the late dear and severe seasons.

Of *MOFFAT* parish, the real rental has risen, since 1791, from £2,300 to £8,000. There are fifty paupers, among whom are divided £50, and £60 raised by assessment. This is somewhat better.

Parish of *APPLEGARTH* : value of raw produce, £21,291 ; population, 999 ; paupers, 10 ; among whom £30 : 10s. of collections, which, with other aids, amount in all to £44 : 2 : 8½, are divided. The rental of this parish, which, forty years since, was between £2,000 and £3,000, is now £7,000, and was lately £8,000. The poor here are better maintained than in Kirkmichael or Morton, and yet their pittance off that increased rental is not much to boast of.

There is another Kirkmichael, besides the

* We find the above at page 76 of the Statistical Account of Dumfriesshire, which we mention, as there is an apparent discrepancy betwixt it and the Report to the General Assembly, which makes the paupers, occasional and permanent, fifty-three ; among whom £55 a-year are divided ; the highest being allowed £2, and the lowest, 12s.

above—in the north—*Kirkmichael* and *Cullucuden* in Ross and Cromarty—which is blessed with a number of proprietors, chiefly absentees, not one of whom gives a farthing to the parochial charities, so far as appears, save one gentleman, who, in lieu or recompense of the share he obtained of a common lately divided, allows the poor of the parish two bolls of oatmeal a-year, for which the minister, the Rev. Mr Sage, lauds him, as, comparatively, he well deserves. In this parish, somewhat less than £30 a-year—raised by the *ladle*, that emblem and only efficient implement of voluntary charity in the Scottish landward parishes—is divided among the fifty poor ; need we say to those who know these districts, the miserably poor.

In *LOGIE EASTER*, a neighbouring parish to the above, about £25, chiefly arising from the same potent implement, the *ladle*, is annually divided by the kirk-session among seventy stated and occasional poor. The minister of this parish states that the funds " are utterly inadequate to afford the poor any material relief." This clergyman seems to feel for the poor of his flock, who have no " regular employment except in harvest." The agriculture of this parish is in a very advanced state, and wheat of excellent quality is now grown by those whose principal food is potatoes. The rental of Logie Easter must have been trebled within the last forty years. The principal proprietors are Sir Charles Ross of Balnagown, Mrs Hay Mackenzie of Cromarty, and Hugh Rose Ross, Esq.

As a relief from these chilling latitudes, we shall come back to Fife, which ought to be taken as rather above an average county as respects the condition of the peasantry, and, generally, of the working class.

FORGAN.—Estimated annual value of raw produce, £16,490. Wages of labourer, 1s. 6d. to 1s. 8d. Ploughmen, with all their perquisites, from £20 to £28 a-year.* Population, 1090. Of the regular paupers, from four to six, on the average, receive an allowance of from 1s. a-week up to 1s. 6d. or 2s. Twelve or fifteen more receive occasional relief in money, and regular supplies in meal and coals ; which, taken altogether, are not likely to come to so much as the lowest allowance of the permanent poor. The value of the raw produce of this parish is, as above stated, £16,490 ; and the annual cost of the support of its paupers, and of two pauper lunatics in the Dundee asylum, (which are a " heavy charge,") and a fatuous person—is altogether £87 : 17 : 1, collected at the church door, which, if collected by assessment, would be no great per-centage on the above amount of produce.

KILMENY.—With some feeling of curiosity we turned to the statistical report of this parish, in which, from happy experience, Dr Chalmers may be presumed to have imbibed his strong opinions on the wisdom and goodness of leaving the destitute, impotent, and aged poor, to volun-

* When the wages are as high as £28, the person is generally a kind of overlooker or confidential servant on the farm.

tary alms, but securing a legal and ample endowment for the clergy. Kilmeny is a favourable specimen of a rural Scottish parish: it is compact and productive. The proprietors are small, and are generally resident, and several of them farm at least a part of their own estates; and are thus brought into immediate contact with the labouring class and the destitute. Within the last forty years, agricultural improvement has made rapid advances; and the annual value of the raw produce is now above £30,000; the real rent from £8,000 to £9,000. The population, which has been decreasing, amounted, in 1831, to 701 souls. The people have ever received the highest praise from their successive pastors. They "are temperate, healthy, and strong; possessed of much natural talent, great industry, and pious and amiable dispositions." Wages are stated as about the average of the country; common labourers from 8s. to 9s. a-week in winter, and in summer from 9s. to 11s. But there are destitute persons to be found even in Kilmeny; and though they, like many of the other destitute of Scotland, long endure the utmost privation, some at length are forced to bear the brand, and avail themselves of parochial aid. Among fourteen permanent and occasional poor, the sum of £93 : 11 : 5 was distributed in the dear and severe year of 1837-8, and 15s. 6d. was paid for medical advice. "Call the average," says the minister, "£30; and this sum cannot be said to be extravagant upon a rental of from £8,000 to £9,000, although the heritors paid every farthing of it;" but that they do not. They have taken warning from their former minister, Dr Chalmers, and they do not voluntarily pay one farthing of it, save, perhaps, some trifle to the church collection of £14 : 8s. The rest of the miserable voluntary fund comes from the interest of bequests, mortcloth dues, &c. &c. Yet there have been, the minister owns, deficiencies; and the heritors at one time assessed themselves to the extent of from £30 to £35 every alternate year. But now, lest the poor should be injured or degraded in their feelings by knowing that they have a trifle to look to in their infirmity or destitution, the heritors have resolved that until Mr Gillespie's legacy to the poor of £45 is expended, they will not contribute! This resolution appears to have annoyed the minister, who is afraid that such proceedings on the part of the gentlemen drawing the £9,000 of rent, may force on a legal assessment, which, alas! "will destroy here, as elsewhere, that independent and noble spirit which spurns at parochial relief." This gentleman ought to be consoled by the reflection, that if a legal assessment could degrade the Scottish destitute poor more than they are already degraded, and punished too, by the wretched pittance on which they, at present, drag out life, it may tend to improve the charity of the gentry; or, at least, force those to be somewhat just who will not be at all generous.

The vicinity of England has "a bad effect" on the Scottish poor. So the minister of Hutton reports. It "renders them dissatisfied with their

allotted pittance," which we can easily believe. "They are continually referring to the more profuse system of England; and hinting at what persons in their condition would receive there." The kirk-sessions and heritors are, however, not very apt to take such hints. They admit no one on the permanent roll of paupers in Hutton, save the sick, aged, and infirm; though they occasionally assist unmarried women and widows. "Their wants are carefully attended to." Let us see what this tender care amounts to in sterling money. In a population of 1099, there are thirty-four persons receiving parochial aid, at the average rate of 2s. a-week. This looks high for Scotland; but there are at present in the parish, several heavy cases of destitute persons with large families, which temporarily swell the rate. Yet about £180 for the poor, in a parish of which the raw produce amounts to £19,657 a-year, is not so very enormous. The real rental is not stated. The minister of the parish, after affirming that the people enjoy, "in a reasonable degree, the comforts and advantages of society," contrasts them with the agricultural population in the most highly improved districts of the north—the married hinds in their cottages with the unmarried men who herd in the *bothies*; and justly asserts the superiority of their condition, morally and physically. The *bothy* system has indeed no parallel, save the original logwood-fellers in the Bay of Honduras, the first, by the way, of the buccaneers, for which *bothies* are fit nurseries. In the greater part of Berwickshire, it is said, the hinds have a cow, and a patch of ground to grow vegetables. Their cottages are cleanly, and so is their dress. Something of this they probably learn from their English neighbours, as well as their dangerous admiration of a high allowance to paupers. But if the cottages of Hutton are comfortably built as well as neatly kept, this by no means holds in many of the most highly improved and the most highly rented districts of Scotland; where the dwelling of the farmer, and the farm offices, are substantial and even elegant. In Haddingtonshire, the very garden of Scotland, we meet with complaints of the wretched accommodation afforded to the labourers; complaints not made by such incendiaries as Cobbett, but by their clergy, who are always the last men to complain of heritors, save, perhaps, in some process for augmentation of stipend. To the manner in which whole families are huddled together in one wretched room, several of the ministers impute the immorality which abounds in their parishes. The minister of Salton, after stating the rate of wages of a *hind*, when reduced to money, at £23 a-year, and the average allowance to paupers at 1s. 9d. a-week, with a variety of other information, illustrative of the condition of the working classes in Haddingtonshire, where squires have become nobles, and farmers squires; and after remarking that "the comforts of the people here, as elsewhere, have been increased by the increased cheapness of the commodities in general requisition," which we presume refers to clothing and hardware, for

it cannot mean food, exciseable commodities, nor yet shoes, education, &c. &c., proceeds to say—"The chief, or almost the only social vice which still exists is that of illicit connexion, a vice, it is to be feared, unhappily prevalent in almost all the rural districts of Scotland. The secondary causes, to which," as appears to the writer of these remarks, "the prevalence of this vice in this part of the country is chiefly owing, are, in the first place, the very inadequate accommodation afforded by the dwellings of the peasantry, few or none of which contain more than a single apartment, in which the whole members of the family, though of opposite sexes, are obliged habitually to reside; a circumstance, it is obvious, which must naturally produce a disregard to the modesty of domestic intercourse, and consequently lead to a relaxation of social morals." This is repeated in many instances by individuals who, as a class, are little apt to complain of the social condition of the poor of their flock. In respect of decent accommodation, the hovels of the serfs of the richest agricultural districts in Scotland are not superior to the kraal of the Hottentot, and certainly are much inferior to the wigwam of the American Indian. In a series of general observations appended to the Statistical Account of Haddingtonshire, by Robert Hope, Esq. of Fentonburn, that gentleman, in discussing the pauperism of the county, remarks,—"Every circumstance that has a tendency to degrade the tastes and habits of the working classes, necessarily paves the road to immorality, and ought, therefore, to be sedulously guarded against, as far as is practicable, by every well-wisher of his country. The state of the cottages of the district is, under that impression, well deserving of consideration. These cottages generally consist of only one apartment, where all the members of the family live and sleep, without regard to either age or sex. In cases where the family are grown up to men and women, such a condition must be anything but conducive to that delicacy of feeling, especially among females, so essential to sound morality; and when sickness happens, the want of fresh air, from the small window being frequently incapable of opening, renders the little crowded apartment alike pernicious to both the moral and physical welfare of the inmates. *A man or*

woman accustomed to such misery can have no great apprehension about pauperism; and, consequently, such people have generally little hesitation in throwing themselves on their respective parishes." "The natural guardians" have been somewhat remiss in their tender care in the particular instance of lodging; nor is this a solitary case.

Of HUTTON and CORRIE, a parish in Dumfriesshire, overrun with vagrant mendicants, and in which there is no assessment for the poor, who are, consequently, not extravagantly supplied, the minister, among other things, remarks:—"The general condition of cottagers is far from comfortable. The old clay, stone, and turf houses are disappearing, and substantial cottages, built with stone and lime, and slated, are rising in their stead; but these last do not rise in sufficient numbers, and the accommodation of great numbers of families is very wretched. It is not uncommon to see *two* families, each pretty numerous, living in one of these old cottages; one small apartment, which must serve for all purposes. It is most distressing to witness one of these families when fever and other contagious diseases visit them. And not only is the accommodation wretched, but an exorbitant rent is frequently demanded, more especially when a family has a cow grazed—an object about which families with young children are solicitous. The tenants allege that landlords *rack* them, and that they are under the necessity of acting the same part to their dependents." This is exactly Ireland over again: one might fancy one was reading an Irish Report.

The minister of Hutton and Corrie has a violent counter-blast against the use of tobacco, or "the nuisance," as he terms it; which it is quite true the working classes, as they are paid, can ill afford. The only thing not grudged to them is a monopoly of some of the higher virtues, and particularly that of self-denial, mortification of the flesh, and tender charity to their fellow-sufferers. They are, in the midst of the increasing general luxury of society, to remain so many stoic philosophers, overbrimming with the tenderest social charities, but keeping a steady eye, all the while, to their future prospects and accumulating interests in the Savings' Bank.

(To be concluded in our next Number.)

LINES ON LEAVING EDINBURGH.

BY L. H. SIGOURNEY.*

THE tinge is on thy brow, sweet land,
The tinge is on thy brow;
For Autumn rends away the crown
That summer gave but now.
I journey to a greener clime,
Where England's oaks appear;
Ye, oh! the tear is on my cheek,
For thee, Edina dear.
There may perchance be richer realms,
Where pride and splendour roll;
But thou hast aye the wealth of heart
That wins the Stranger's soul.

There may perchance be those who say
That Scotia's hills are dear;
Yet still the tear is on my cheek,
For thee, Edina dear.
And when, my pilgrim wanderings o'er,
I seek my forest land;
And, by my ingleside once more,
Shall clasp the kindred hand,—
And tell my listening children tales
Of lands of foreign fame,
Their grateful tears with mine shall flow
At dear Edina's name.

* We need scarcely say the celebrated American poetess, who lately visited Scotland. The lines are adapted to the air of "Jeek o' Hasledean."