

Report on the condition of the poorer classes of Edinburgh and of their dwellings, neighbourhoods, and families : prepared by order of a public meeting of the inhabitants, held in the Council Chamber, under the presidency of The Right Honourable the Lord Provost, on the 15th April 1867, and adopted and ordered to be published, at a meeting held on the 28th of February 1868.

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REPORT
ON
THE CONDITION
OF THE
POORER CLASSES OF EDINBURGH
AND OF THEIR
DWELLINGS, NEIGHBOURHOODS,
AND FAMILIES.

*Prepared by order of a Public Meeting of the Inhabitants, held in the
Council Chamber, under the presidency of The Right Honourable
the Lord Provost, on the 15th April 1867, and
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	} <i>Joint Secretaries.</i>

EXCERPT from MINUTE of MEETING of SUB-COMMITTEE
on the Sources and Extent of the Misery and Destitution
too generally prevailing in certain parts of Edinburgh,
held in the Committee Room, Council Chambers, on
10th February 1868.

“A Draft Report, prepared by the Chairman, which had
been previously printed and circulated among the Members
of Committee, was held as read, various points therein were
discussed, and additions and emendations were made. It
was then resolved to report to General Committee as soon as
possible.

“On the motion of the Rev. Dr Begg, seconded by the
Rev. G. Rigg, a vote of thanks was unanimously given to Dr
Wood for the great trouble he had taken in the preparation
of the very valuable Report he had submitted.”

Extracted from the Minutes by

JAMES COLSTON,	} <i>Honry.</i>
JOHN P. COLDSTREAM,		Joint Secys.

EXCERPT from MINUTE of MEETING of COMMITTEE on the
PUBLIC CHARITIES of EDINBURGH, and for other Pur-
poses, held in the Council Chamber, on Friday, February
28, 1868, at One o'clock.

The Right Honourable the Lord Provost was called to the chair.

"Dr Alexander Wood, Chairman of the Sub-Committee on that subject, gave in the Report on the Condition of the Poorer Classes in Edinburgh.

"It was moved by Sir James Y. Simpson, Bart., and seconded by Charles Cowan, Esq., of Loganhouse, 'That the Report be approved of generally, and published, and that the Sub-Committee be discharged.'

"Which motion having been put to the Meeting, was unanimously approved of.

"Mr William Dickson, Chairman of the Sub-Committee on that subject, gave in the Report on the Amalgamation of Charities.

"It was moved by the Rev. Dr Maxwell Nicholson, 'That the Report be approved of generally, and published, and that the Sub-Committee be discharged.'

"The Rev. D. F. Sandford seconded the motion, which was carried unanimously.

"It was moved by the Rev. W. H. Gray, 'That a Public Meeting be held within one month from this date, to bring the recommendations of the Committees prominently before the inhabitants of Edinburgh, and that the following gentlemen be appointed a Sub-Committee to make arrangements for said Meeting, viz., Dr Alexander Wood, David Dickson, Esq., Rev. Dr Begg, Rev. Dr Nicholson, Rev. George D. Cullen, Rev. D. F. Sandford, Councillor Colston, J. Coldstream, Esq., W.S.'

"Which motion having been seconded by Mr Archibald Gibson, C.A., was carried unanimously.

"A vote of thanks was, on the motion of the Right Rev. Bishop Strain, unanimously accorded to the Lord Provost for presiding."

Extracted from the Minutes by

JAMES COLSTON, } *Honry.*
JOHN P. COLDSTREAM, } *Joint-Secys.*

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- 16. The sixteenth of the following is a list of the names of the persons who have been elected to the office of Assessor of the City of New York for the year 1882.
- 17. The seventeenth of the following is a list of the names of the persons who have been elected to the office of Surveyor of the City of New York for the year 1882.
- 18. The eighteenth of the following is a list of the names of the persons who have been elected to the office of Engineer of the City of New York for the year 1882.
- 19. The nineteenth of the following is a list of the names of the persons who have been elected to the office of Fire Marshal of the City of New York for the year 1882.
- 20. The twentieth of the following is a list of the names of the persons who have been elected to the office of Police Commissioner of the City of New York for the year 1882.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Committee appointed to "enquire into the sources and extent of the misery and destitution too generally prevailing in certain parts of Edinburgh," in presenting their Report, deem it right, in the first place, briefly to state the circumstances which led to the enquiry being made.

For many years past attention has, from time to time, been directed to the deplorable condition of our industrious poor, as well as of our pauper population. Not to speak of the efforts of Dr Chalmers to awaken public attention to their condition, the Reports of Royal and Parliamentary Commissions on the state of matters south of the Tweed, preliminary to the passing of the English Poor Law Act, led philanthropists here to examine our own position.

The late Professor Alison was one of the earliest to enter the field, and in numerous pamphlets, and in two Reports drawn up by him for a Committee of the Royal College of Physicians,* as also in a Report presented to the Police Com-

* These Reports were unanimously approved of by the College, and published on 19th February 1848, and 1st May 1849, respectively. Among others whose names will be remembered along with that of Dr Alison in the earliest history of this movement, are those of Dr Guthrie, Dr George Bell, Dr Begg, and Dr Foulis. Dr Stark and Dr Alexander Wood also were associated with Dr Alison in preparing these Reports for the College of Physicians. At a later period we had the late Mr Johnstone, Dr Cowan, Mr Knox, and many others, all calling attention to the subject.

mission by the gentleman now acting as Chairman of this Committee, the existing evils were pointed out, and appropriate remedies were suggested. The first result of the movement was the thorough, though far from systematic, drainage of the town; but, with the passing of the Poor Law Act, public attention slumbered again.

It was rudely awakened on the 21st October 1861, when a house fell in the High Street, burying many in its ruins, an accident which proved fatal to 35 of the inmates. People wondered at the number of persons found to be inhabiting a single house, and advantage was taken of the awakened interest again to direct attention to the subject.

A public meeting of the inhabitants was held on the 25th February 1862, and one of the results of that meeting was, that a deputation was appointed to wait on the Town Council, to urge on that body the appointment of an Officer of Health. The deputation was successful in its object, and Dr Littlejohn was soon after appointed; and in 1865, he published his admirable Report on the Sanitary Condition of the City of Edinburgh, which aroused the attention and stimulated the zeal of many who were before ignorant of the condition of things thus prevailing in our midst.

The impression produced by Dr Littlejohn's Report was still further increased by the unusual poverty which prevailed in our city during the winter of 1866-1867, by which public attention was especially directed to the actual condition and circumstances of the poor. The painful details which were given by the many excellent people who visited among them, and the graphic descriptions which were published in our daily journals by gentlemen who were known to have an habitual, thorough knowledge of the scenes and circumstances they described, awakened a wide-spread sympathy, and greatly

strengthened the conviction which had previously prevailed, that our present charitable arrangements are very imperfectly adapted to existing circumstances, and that far more effective measures are required to deal with the steadily accumulating mass of poverty, wretchedness, and disorderly tendencies which now surrounds us.

Very opportunely, about the same time, attention was drawn by a gentleman from America, residing temporarily in Edinburgh, to certain well-organised charitable measures which are being employed with marked success in different Continental and American cities. By several drawing-room lectures, and by means of a pamphlet on the subject, which was prepared and published with the aid of a lady who is interested in the scheme, public interest was deepened and extended, and upwards of one hundred influential ministers and laymen, together with all our leading journals, cordially concurred in commending the charitable measures explained in the pamphlet to the attention of the public.

The Lord Provost had long formed a resolution to originate a movement for the purpose of instituting an inquiry into the operation of the several charities in Edinburgh, with a view, if possible, to some rational amalgamation and concentration of effort. He therefore, as a first step, issued numerous invitations, requesting the gentlemen to whom they were addressed to take part in a meeting to consider the "practicability and expediency of adopting measures to simplify, economise, and concentrate the action of the public charities of Edinburgh, as well as to improve the condition of the really deserving poor."

His Lordship's invitations were cordially responded to in every quarter, and a large number of ministers and laymen,

of all parties and denominations, assembled in the Council Chamber, on the 15th of April 1867. The Lord Provost presided, and, in explaining the object of the meeting, drew attention, in very emphatic terms, to the unsatisfactory organisation and results of our charitable system. Without for a moment inferring that our public charities are badly or recklessly administered, and while giving their managers all honour and credit for their efforts to succour want and infirmity, he deplored the absence of all systematic action, and pointed out how, "by our insufficient arrangements, we may be absolutely nourishing the diseases which it is our intention to assuage; and that, in consequence of the present desultory system, it is to be feared that we encourage imposture, while many of the really deserving and modest poor are left in obscure holes and corners to suffer the pangs of misery and neglect." He illustrated the need of more united action, and of well organised systematic measures, by explaining at some length what serious evils results, not only to the poor, but to all classes, from the deficiencies of our existing charitable arrangements, and he declared "the whole system now pursued to be fraught with what is painful and reproachful, and that it could not fail to damage the best interests of the city."

His Lordship desired a free expression of the opinion of those present, and he proposed that, if it proved to be in accordance with the general conviction, a Committee should be appointed to investigate the facts, and prepare a Report, embracing suggestions to be submitted to a future meeting. "In the meanwhile, he recommended those interested in the subject to peruse the well-written pamphlet (already referred to)—'How to relieve the Poor of Edinburgh without increasing Pauperism: a tried, economical, and successful plan,'"

adding, "that though the scheme it proposes is perhaps not workable among us, it certainly touches on the root of the evil." His Lordship concluded his remarks with the assurance, that if the meeting determined on appointing a Committee of Inquiry, it would give him, and, he could confidently say, the other Magistrates, great happiness to promote the object.

The meeting was afterwards addressed by numerous ministers and laymen, whose practical knowledge of the operation and results of our charitable administration led them to concur with his Lordship, and enabled them to present many facts from their extensive observation and experience, illustrating the serious evils which result from our present desultory system, and the need which exists of more systematic and effective arrangements. The proceedings were brought to a conclusion, with the unanimous approval of the meeting, by the appointment of a Committee of upwards of seventy ministers and laymen, representing every shade of religious and political opinion.

The very influential and catholic character of the meeting, and its strong recognition of the necessity for, and its readiness to initiate, more united systematic charitable action, greatly deepened the public interest, and awakened most favourable anticipations, as is well illustrated by the following extracts from leading articles of our daily journals :—

"The meeting held yesterday may be regarded as the inauguration of a great and good work. The tone of the meeting was so cordial and harmonious, the speeches, for the most part, so practical and sensible, and the feeling of a necessity for action so strong, that much is to be hoped from the appointment of the Committee with which the proceedings

closed. Should the Committee now appointed succeed in so re-arranging our existing no-system, as to make it one of full and true charity, they will confer an inestimable boon upon the city, and set an example which cannot fail to be followed throughout the country generally."

"Whatever shape the reform may assume, whether it results in the institution of a new and comprehensive scheme, such as that advocated in the pamphlet ("How to Relieve the Poor," &c.) to which we have several times adverted, or in the amalgamation or re-casting of existing societies, it may safely be assumed that almost any change must be for the better."*

"The public of Edinburgh seem at last to be awakened to a sense of the poverty and wretchedness that exist in her midst, and to the inadequacy of the numerous charitable institutions, as at present organized, effectually to meet the evil. . . . The catholicity of the movement, so far as it has gone, augurs well for its success. We do not remember any local scheme which, from its origin, was so free from sectarianism. At the meeting referred to, there were present the representatives of all shades of religion and politics. . . . The inquiry on which they (the Committee) are about to enter, cannot fail to be productive of good results. It may not be a very pleasant inquiry, but it will not do to shut our eyes to the gigantic evils which are sapping the foundations of our social system. Rather let a clean breast be made of it at once; and, while relieving the poor, which, at best, is but lopping off the branches, let us also go to the "root of the matter," and endeavour to effect a cure as far as possible."†

* The "Scotsman," April 16, 1867.

† The "Edinburgh Evening Courant," April 17, 1867. The Editors of all our leading journals further present, in these and other able articles, facts and arguments that are very conclusive regarding our great need of improved

The first meeting of the Committee was convened at the City Chambers, on the 18th of April. The Lord Provost presided, and it was determined, in order to obtain a more definite knowledge of the existing circumstances, and of the particular measures which are adapted to them, that two Sub-Committees should be appointed, one to ascertain whether any amalgamation of our public charities is practicable, and the other to inquire into the sources and extent of the misery and destitution prevailing in Edinburgh.

The last-mentioned Committee have at length completed the work assigned to them, and have prepared the following Report, which will be found to embrace the results of their investigations into the state of the poorer classes in Edinburgh, and the causes which have led to their present deplorable condition.

They have also suggested a number of remedial measures, recommended not on account of any novelty which they possess, but because they have been tried and found beneficial in similar circumstances in other towns. Some of them are already in operation in Edinburgh, and only require extension and systematic application to make their benefits more fully available. The only one of these which they would recommend the citizens to take up at present is the thorough and systematic house-to-house visitation of the poorer districts of Edinburgh.

Your Committee feel satisfied, that if this is gone about in a right spirit,—if once the wealthier classes are brought into direct contact with the poorer, and are made to understand

charitable arrangements, and strongly commending the systematic plan to which reference has been made.—*Vide* The "Scotsman" of April 8th, 15th, and 16th; The "Edinburgh Daily Review" of April 15th and 16th; and The "Edinburgh Evening Courant" of April 15th and 17th, 1867.

the real and fearful evil of the existing state of things, there will be no need to press the adoption of remedial measures on their attention. The last part of this Report may then prove useful as a guide to what are the measures which have proved effectual in similar circumstances elsewhere.

It is of importance that it should be distinctly understood that there is no necessary connection between the two branches of enquiry which were assigned to the two Sub-Committees respectively. Even should the Committee on the existing Charities report that their amalgamation to any extent is, meanwhile impossible, the remedies recommended for the misery and destitution revealed in this Report seem to be all the more imperatively called for. Independently of the fact that the plan for the systematic visitation of the poor, on which the Committee chiefly rely for effecting an improvement in their condition, will occupy a ground peculiarly its own, and one not thoroughly overtaken by any existing agency; it may be so arranged that the central office, which must be established in connection with it, will afford facilities for communication between the different societies in regard to the recipients of their aid. No amalgamation will be insisted on, no interference with the management of existing societies will be attempted; facilities will simply be given for co-operation, and for such an amount of mutual understanding as will prevent a useless expenditure of charity on the part of the givers, and diminish, if it does not altogether remove, the fraud and imposition on the part of the receivers which the present system, or rather no-system, fosters and encourages.

R E P O R T.

"THE LAPSED CLASSES" is an expression of painful import, which has of late years been applied to those whose state and condition your Committee have been appointed to investigate. There is a world of meaning in the name. It seems to imply, that by no violent disruption, by no sudden or powerful disintegration, but rather by a slow and gradual sliding process, a considerable portion of the population have lapsed or fallen away. Fallen away from what? From the class above them; from the purifying influence of the family and the home; from their privileges as members of a Christian community; from the social habits and decencies of life; from the source of all real happiness in time, and of all solid hope for eternity. It is well known that such a class exists in considerable numbers in Edinburgh, that its numbers are increasing,—partly by additions from the class immediately above it, but chiefly by the fearful rapidity with which a population, freed from the ordinary restraints of prudence and morality, increases, despite the number who are prematurely swept away through neglect, want, and privation.

Your Committee have been appointed to enquire into the state and condition of these lapsed classes, and to present to their constituents such a Report as should inform them on the extent and nature of the evil, and its most probable causes; and also to suggest the measures that seem practicable for its alleviation and cure.

To make this Report as complete as possible, your Committee determined, not only to avail themselves of existing documents likely to throw light on the state and condition of the poorer districts of Edinburgh, but also to select certain specimen districts, which should be fully and accurately examined,—satisfied that the returns from these districts would

afford a very fair average on which their deductions might be based.

The districts selected are fifteen in number. They were chosen by Dr Littlejohn, the Medical Officer of Health, and the Rev. Mr Miller, Superintendent of the City Mission, along with the Chairman of the Committee, and are as follow :— Kay's Court, Crosscauseway ; Hatter's Court, Pleasance ; 116 and 118 Cowgate ; Middle Mealmarket Stairs ; East Mealmarket Stairs ; 8 Cowgatehead ; Plainstone Close, Grassmarket ; Skinner's Close, High Street ; Covenant Close, High Street ; Midcommon Close, Canongate ; Morocco Close, Canongate ; 2 Greenside Place, 9 Greenside Place, 17 Greenside Place, and north side of Jamaica Street. Warden's Close in the Grassmarket, where Dr Foulis tried his celebrated experiment of renovation, has also been reported on, that your Committee may have the advantage of being able to compare it with the others. To Mr Smith, the Governor of the Jail, to Mr Macdougall of the Royal Infirmary, to Mr Nelson, of the House of Refuge, and to Mr Craig, the Inspector of St Cuthbert's Parochial Board, the Committee are also indebted for valuable and painstaking returns. They regret that they failed to obtain any from the Workhouses of the City and Canongate Parishes, which has rendered this Report less complete than it would otherwise have been. In the visitation of the districts, and in making up the returns from them, your Committee were aided by a body of gentlemen accustomed to the work, as visitors of the Destitute Sick Society, the Indigent Old Men's Society, and other local charities. Besides this, to secure as much accuracy as possible, each return was carefully revised and corrected by ministers of religion, city missionaries, Bible-women, and others familiar with the districts. To all these, your Committee would desire to tender their cordial thanks.

Your Committee are of opinion that the results of their enquiries will be best brought out under certain separate and distinct heads. Under these they would propose, as far as can conveniently be done, to classify the information which they have received :—

SECTION I.

THE LAPSED CLASSES, THEIR STATE AND CONDITION.

1st, *Their probable number.*—However desirable it might be to ascertain accurately the number of the “Lapsed Classes,” all that can be expected is a very loose approximation. These classes are chiefly found in certain well-known districts, and the population of these districts, and other particulars regarding the population, are easily gathered from the trustworthy tables appended to Dr Littlejohn’s full and able Report on the Sanitary Condition of the City of Edinburgh.

Discarding the division of Edinburgh into three districts, as adopted under the Act for the Registration of Births, Deaths, and Marriages, because quite unsuitable for comparing the sanitary state of different parts of the town, Dr Littlejohn divides Edinburgh into twenty districts. From these your Committee select the four worst, for the purpose of exhibiting the population, the rate of mortality, the rate of births, and the amount of population concentrated in a given area. The part of the table referred to at present is the first column, giving the actual number of inhabitants; the others will be referred to in a subsequent part of the Report.

Canongate
Tron
St Giles
Grassmarket

TABLE I.

Showing Number and Density of Population, with Birth and Death Rates.

Names of the Districts.	Population in 1861.	Total Mortality in 1863.	Death-Rate per 1000.	Total Births in 1863.	Birth-Rate in excess of Death-Rate.	Proportion of Population to each inhabited Acre.
Canongate,	12,200	381	31.23	537	12.78	219.8
Tron, . .	11,636	402	34.55	490	7.56	352.6
St Giles, .	15,967	460	28.8	600	8.77	234.8
Grassmarket,	5,227	170	32.52	247	14.73	237.6

If we sum up the population of these four districts, we have a total of 45,030. If we were to deduct from this number all those whose circumstances are comfortable, and add to it all those from other districts who are in a reverse position, we should probably not materially alter the general result; and, therefore, we may approximately estimate the number at 45,030, or about one-fourth of the population. That this is rather an under than an over-estimate, will be apparent when it is stated that it is shown by the Census of 1861 that 13,209 families, or, allowing the average number to each family, 66,000 individuals, considerably more than one third of our whole population (170,444), were actually living in houses consisting but of a single room, and that 1,530 of these single-room houses have from six to fifteen persons residing in them.

The following table, compiled from Dr Littlejohn's XI. Table, shows the actual number of paupers or persons receiving legal aid in these four districts:—

TABLE II.

Number of Persons in receipt of Parochial Relief in each of the Four Districts.

Canongate.	Tron.	St. Giles.	Grassmarket.	Total.
566	676	820	304	2366

It cannot fail to be remarked how, notwithstanding the high death-rate, the birth-rate is in excess of it in these districts, which all statistics have found to be the case where extreme poverty prevails.

Your Committee have not the means of giving any return

of those committed for crime in Edinburgh, classified according to districts; but the information received from intelligent criminal officers goes to show that the great majority of those convicted for crime in Edinburgh come from these districts*—a fact also pointed out in Mr Hill's Report of Prisons in 1858.

From these statements, then, the following conclusions may be safely arrived at:—

1st, That the proportion of the "Lapsed Classes" in Edinburgh is very considerable.

2d, That their tendency is to gravitate to certain districts of the town.

3d, That three classes of society are crowded together in the darkest and most obscure parts of the city, those where they are farthest removed from the observation of the classes above them in the social scale—A The abject poor. B The abandoned. C The criminal, who form, accordingly, the bulk of the population in the four districts specified in Table I.

The Visitors who kindly procured the information from the districts selected by your Committee, were furnished with printed questions, calculated to elicit information on the following subjects:—

- I. The State of the Family.
- II. The State of the Dwelling.
- III. The State of Education of the Children.
- IV. The State of Attendance on Church.

Your Committee propose to follow the same arrangement in their Report.

* Since this Report was in the Printer's hands, Councillor David Lewis has published his "Plea for Sanitary Reform." The appendix to this valuable pamphlet shows the state of crime and of pauperism in three of the blocks, the improvement of which is contemplated in the City Improvement Act. This table shows that 47 prisoners, 1 per cent of population, and 167 paupers, 17 per cent of whole City Parish were found in the Blackfriars' district. Ten prisoners, or 3 per cent of population, and 101 paupers, or 10 per cent, in North College Street district. Eleven prisoners, or 3 per cent, and four paupers, or 4½ per cent, in Physic Gardens district.

2d, Condition of the Head of the Family.

TABLE III.

Condition of the Heads of Families.

Name of Street or Close.	Kay's Court, Cross Causeway.	Hatter's Court, Pleasance.	116 and 118 Cowgate.	Middle Meal- market Stair.	East Mealmarket Stair.	8 Cowgatehead.	Plainstone Close, Grassmarket.	Skinner's Close, High Street.	Covenant Close, High Street.	
Number of Heads of Families,	41	39	53	12	18	28	14	58	50	
A Married,	29	25	39	10	11	16	12	35	35	A
B Single,	1	1			2	1		4	1	B
C Widowed,	10	11	14	2	5	11	2	16	13	C
D In work,	25	11	8	7	11	9	8	21	23	D
E In partial work,	15	20	33	3	2	14	5	25	23	E
F Idle,		3	10	2	3	4	1	3	3	F
G Average rate of wages—										
Number of Heads,	31	29	38	9	11	18	11	27	45	
Weekly Average,	15/8	14/4	7/11	12/6	15/10	9/9	13/2	10/4	12/9	G
H Moderately comfortable,	22	9	5	8	11	10	12	9	36	H
I Poor,	13	6	39	2	5	14	2	34	13	I
K Destitute,		2	10	2	1	3		1		K
L On Poor Rate,	7	1	3	1	1	7	1	8	6	L
M Once ditto, but not now,	1	1	4	4	2		4	10	7	M
N Steady in habits,	15	6	49	8	18	27	1	15	31	N
O Dissipated,	9	4	4	4			1	22	18	O
P In good health,	21	20	34	10	14	17	12	20	37	P
Q In bad ditto,	5	6	19	2	4	10	2	11	12	Q

Name of Street or Close.	Midcommon Close, Canongate.	Morocco Close, Canongate.	2 Greenside Place	9 Greenside Place.	17 Greenside Place.	North Side Jamalca Street, under flats.	TOTALS.		Warden's Close, Grassmarket.	
Number of Heads of Families,	29	54	6	20	22	36	480		9	
A Married,	20	43	5	16	14	20	330		7	A
B Single,	4	2		1	1	1	19			B
C Widowed,	5	9	1	3	7	15	124		2	C
D In work,	11	33	3	11	19	20	220		8	D
E In partial work,	6	15	2	5	2	7	177		1	E
F Idle,	10	4		4	1	9	57			F
G Average rate of wages—										
Number of Heads,	11	44	4	14	19	27	338		2	
Weekly average,	14/6	13/8	14/3	15/9	15/7	12/3	12/6		15/1	G
H Moderately comfortable,	11	33	3	3	9	27	208		8	H
I Poor,	14	13	1	1	2	8	167		1	I
K Destitute,	3	1		2			25			K
L On Poor Rate,	1	2			2	7	47			L
M Once ditto, but not now,		2				2	37		1	M
N Steady in habits,	18	31	2	9	6	34	270		9	N
O Dissipated,	7	9	2	10	2		92			O
P In good health,	24	35	4	5	13	21	287		8	P
Q In bad ditto,	4	7		1	4	15	102		1	Q

This table (No. III.) is intended to supply information as to the heads of families in the fifteen districts which were selected for examination.

Of these heads of families, numbering 480 in all, 330 are married, 19 are single, 124 are widowed,*—220 are in work, 177 in partial work, 57 idle,—average rate of wages is about 12s. 6d. per week,—208 are represented as moderately comfortable, 167 as poor, 25 as destitute,—17 are in receipt of Parochial relief, and 37 have been once on the poor roll,—270 are represented as steady in habits, 92 as dissipated,—287 in good health, 102 in bad health.

3d, Condition of the Family.

TABLE IV.

Condition of the Family.

Name of Street or Close.	Kay's Court, Crosscauseway.	Hatter's Court, Pleasance.	116 and 118 Cowgate.	Middle Meal Market Stair.	East Meal Market Stair.	8 Cowgatchead.	Plainstone Close, Grassmarket.	Skinner's Close, High Street.	Covenant Close, High Street.	
Number of Wives,	28	25	39	10	11	16	12	35	35	A
Do. do. at Work,		1	9	8	2	1	1	2	7	B
Average Weekly Wages of do. . . .		2/	3/	4/3	1/9	3/	3/	3/9	3/8	C
Number of Widows,	9	8	11	2	4	7	1	15	13	D
Do. Children under 5,	25	7	28	8	23	10	13	25	30	E
Do. do. between 5 and 15,	28	13	58		15	23	18	37	43	F
Do. do. between 15 and 20,	15	13	17	5	1	5	1	26	21	G
Do. do. above 20,	7	6	15	2	4	3		3	5	H
Do. do. under 15 at Work,	7	3	4	3	1		1	4	4	I
Average Weekly Wages of do. . . .	2/5	2/	4/	2/6	1/		3/6	3/	3/7	K
Number of Children under 15 at School,	22	5	23	10	11	15	5	20	34	L
Do. do. between 5 and 15 Idle,	4	17	34	4	5	10		13	8	M

* Where the figures are not found to correspond with one another, it is because some of the individuals are not fully reported upon.

TABLE IV.—*Continued.*

Condition of the Family.

Name of Street or Close.		Midcommon Close, Canongate.	Morocco Close, Canongate.	2 Greenside Place.	9 Greenside Place.	17 Greenside Place.	North side Jamaica Street, under flats.	TOTALS.	Warden's Close, Grassmarket.
A	Number of Wives,	20	43	5	16	14	20	329	7 A
B	Do. do. at Work,	3	10	2	4	1	1	52	2 B
C	Average Weekly Wages of do.,	1/6	3/2	2/3	4/	2/	1/	3/2	2/6 C
D	Number of Widows,	3	10		3	6	14	106	1 D
E	Do. Children under 5,	11	43	1	3	11	11	249	12 E
F	Do. do. between 5 and 15,	27	49	7	27	24	35	404	13 F
G	Do. do. between 15 and 20,	9	13	3	7	7	10	153	5 G
H	Do. do. above 20,		6		5	3	10	69	1 H
I	Do. do. under 15 at Work,	5	6	2	3	6	5	54	1 I
K	Average Weekly Wages of do.,	1/6	2/9	3/	4/3	3/6	3/3	2/10	K
L	Number of Children under 15 at School,	18	32	1	14	15	29	254	12 L
M	Do. do. between 5 and 15 Idle,	9	16	4	5	3	4	136	M

While from our third table it is seen that of the 480 heads of families 330 are married, it is shown by Table IV. that there are 106 widows; 249 children under five, 404 between five and fifteen, and 153 between fifteen and twenty; 69 above twenty years of age live with their parents; of the 404 children between five and fifteen, 54 are at work, 254 at school, and 136 idle.

If we contrast the first columns in this table with the last, which shows the state of Warden's Close in the Grassmarket, as renovated by Dr Foulis, reported on for the sake of contrast, we find in it that there are 9 families, comprising 7 married persons, 12 children under five, and 13 between five and fifteen. Of these 12 are at school, and 1 at work, none being idle. All the heads of families in Warden's Close are reported steady in habits, 8 are moderately comfortable, and 1 poor. None are destitute, and none are on the poor roll, and the average rate of wages is 15s. 1d., or 3s. 6d. per week above the general average.

4th, State of the House.

TABLE V.
Condition of the Dwellings.

Name of Street or Close.	Kay's Court, Crosscauseway.	Hatter's Court, Pleasance.	116 and 118 Cowgate.	Middle Meal-market Stair.	East Meal-market Stair.	8 Cowgatehead.	Plainstone Close, Grassmarket.	Skinner's Close, High Street.	Covenant Close, High Street.	
A Number examined	38	35	53	12	18	25	15	52	50	A
B Do. with 1 room	28	29	49	12	13	20	10	48	36	B
C Do. with 2 do.	10	6	4	..	3	4	4	3	12	C
D Do. above 2 do. ....	..	..	..	..	2	1	1	1	2	D
E Average size of rooms....	..	12 by 9	..	15 by 12	17 by 17	..	15 by 13	14 by 11	16 by 12	E
F Largest number sleeping in one room— { Males ..	5	2	5	5	4	2	3	3	3	F
{ Females	3	5	5	3	3	5	5	5	4	
G No. supplied with water..	..	11	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	G
H No. do. with water closet	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	H
I No. capable of ventilation	31	25	39	10	13	21	15	10	42	I
K No. with stair light .....	..	2	..	12	..	..	5	..	..	K
L No. with stair dark	7	6	52	..	18	26	10	6	50	L
M Average rents, and how paid	5s. 6d. month	1s. 5d. week.	1s. 3d. week.	1s. 6d. week.	1s. 7d. week.	1s. 6d. week.	1s. 7d. week.	1s. 5d. week.	6s. 8d. M monthly.	M

Name of Street or Close.	Midcommon Close, Canongate.	Morocco Close, Canongate.	2 Greenside Place.	9 Greenside Place.	17 Greenside Place.	North side Jamaica Street, under flats.	TOTALS.		Warden's Close, Grassmarket.	
A Number examined	29	53	4	20	19	35	458		9	A
B Do. with 1 room	24	28	2	10	7	16	332		..	B
C Do. with 2 do.	5	22	2	10	9	17	111		7	C
D Do. above 2 do. ....	..	3	..	..	3	2	15		2	D
E Average size of rooms....	12 by 9	12 by 13	13 by 8	..	13 by 10	11 by 10	14 by 11		10 by 8	E
F Largest number sleeping in one room.. { Males ..	3	5	2	3	4	3	5		4	F
{ Females	4	2	1	3	3	2	5		3	
G No. supplied with water..	..	43	..	6	6	31	97		9	G
H No. do. with water closets	..	24	..	..	2	32	58		9	H
I No. capable of ventilation	29	48	4	15	19	35	356		9	I
K No. with stair light	3	8	..	..	..	13	43		4	K
L No. with stair dark	26	2	..	20	19	22	264		5	L
M Average rents, and how paid	1s. 10d. week.	1s. 11d. week.	22s. 6d. quart.	1s. 7d. week.	1s. 8d. week.	47s. 8d. h.-year.	1s. 7d. week.		84s. h.-yearly.	M

From the fifth table it appears that 458 separate houses were examined by the Visitors appointed by your Committee; 332 of these had only one room, 111 two rooms, and 15 above two. The average size of the rooms was 14 ft. by 11 ft., and the average of the maximum number sleeping in one room in each house 7. Of the whole 458 houses, only 97 were supplied with water, and only 58 with a water closet. Only 356 were capable of ventilation, and only 43 were approached by light stairs, the access to 264 of these dwellings being dark at day-light. The average rent was 1s. 7d. per week, or £4, 2s. 4d. per annum.

5th, State of attendance on Church.

TABLE VI.
Attendance on Church.

Name of Street or Close.				Kay's Court, Crosseauway.	Hatter's Court, Pleasance.	116 and 118 Cowgate.	Middle Meal Market Stair.	East Meal Market Stair.	8 Cowgatehead.	Plainstone Close, Grassmarket.	Skinner's Close, High Street.	Covenant Close, High Street.
A	Number attending	Established Church,		15	13	1	...	...	...	...	25	43
B	Do.	do.	Free do. ...	11	12	3	...	...	8	...	2	18
C	Do.	do.	U. P. do. ...	9	7	...	...	...	10	...	18	2
D	Do.	do.	Episcopalian do. ...	...	...	2	1	1	...	...	...	2
E	Do.	do.	Roman Catholic do.	3	8	101	33	34	25	21	14	30
F	Do.	do.	Any other do. ...	6	1	26	...	2	1	2	4	1
G	Do.	do.	No Church,	27	12	1	...	...	2	...	21	13

Name of Street or Close.				Midcommon Close, Canongate.	Morocco Close, Canongate.	2 Greenside Place.	9 Greenside Place.	17 Greenside Place.	North Side Jamaica Street, under flats.	TOTALS.	Warden's Close, Grassmarket.
A	Number attending	Established Church,		9	18	2	22	21	59	228	A
B	Do.	do.	Free do. ...	4	15	2	2	4	21	102	B
C	Do.	do.	U. P. do. ...	2	5	...	...	6	16	75	C
D	Do.	do.	Episcopalian do. ...	2	4	...	...	3	6	21	D
E	Do.	do.	Roman Catholic do.	4	25	7	4	2	2	313	E
F	Do.	do.	Any other do. ...	1	...	...	2	2	5	53	F
G	Do.	do.	No Church,	33	28	6	13	2	...	158	G

NOTE.—In some cases the gentlemen, who visited these 480 families, were not able to obtain satisfactory answers to all the queries contained in the Schedules from which the above Abstract is taken.

If our sixth table could be relied on, it would show that 792 individuals from these districts attended some place of worship, and only 158 did not.

Unfortunately, however, these people have some idea that to report that they attend church will secure them some charitable aid, and, accordingly, they are all eager to assert themselves to be church-goers. We have had the returns from two of the closes examined by a Visitor who thoroughly knows every family in them, and while the returns obtained by your Committee show 89 attending church, the amended report reduces the 89 to a solitary unit.

Probably a more accurate estimate is to be found in a pamphlet, entitled "Our Outcasts, and the Duty of the Church

towards them, by the Rev. Dr George Johnston, minister of the United Presbyterian Church, Nicolson Street." It was published in 1850; the state of matters has certainly not improved since then:—

"According to the census of 1841, the population at that time, of the city of Edinburgh, was 132,000. There must now (1850) be not less than 140,000. The Churches of all denominations in the city, with the exception of the Unitarian Chapel and Jewish Synagogue, which I hold not to be Christian, are 98. The average attendance in each of these is less than 500; but call it that number. This makes a total of 49,000 persons in the city who wait upon God in the ordinances of his house. Of the whole population, two-thirds, or upwards of 90,000, should be found connected with the Church. But there are fewer than 49,000 so connected, leaving nearly 50,000 in Edinburgh who attend no place of worship whatever. This number, however, is greatly below the truth; for it is known by those who have taken pains to inform themselves on the subject, that there are at least 60,000 immortal beings in our city who are living in utter neglect of Gospel ordinances, and consequently without God and without hope."

6th, State of the District.—What a different aspect does Edinburgh present to the casual visitor, and to the indweller, who has probed the depths of its "sins and sorrows," and is familiar with those portions of it where the labouring-classes are *compelled*, for want of other habitations, to dwell.

Occupying for its site a congeries of hills and swelling grounds, a more charming situation for a city could scarcely be found, enhanced, as it is, by the beautiful views of the surrounding country, which almost every street commands.

Nor is this openness of the streets to the lovely scenery of the country pleasing to the eye alone; it gives the town a free ventilation, and a command of fresh and pure air, such as few cities possess; while there are other accessories which ought to make it one of the healthiest of towns, but for the singular errors of its construction, which have more than counteracted its natural advantages.

Edinburgh, in proportion to its population, covers a larger area than almost any town in Britain. The streets in the New Town are wide, and the houses, generally speaking, spacious and comfortable; while its undulating surface and proximity to the sea give it unusual facilities for drainage, according to our modern and wasteful system. This description, however, is only applicable to the New Town. In the more densely-peopled districts of the older parts of the city are to be found an amount of overcrowding, with its natural

concomitants of vice and disease, which are not surpassed, if they are equalled, by any town in Britian.

The Parliamentary boundaries of Edinburgh include within their circle 4191 acres. The population of this area was, according to the Census of 1861, 170,444, which gives only a ratio of 40 persons to each acre, a wonderfully sparse population, and one which should give Edinburgh an amount of salubrity almost equal to that of a country district. The advantage Edinburgh possesses in this respect will be seen by contrasting it with some other large towns—as,

Liverpool, 93 ; Glasgow, 83 ; Manchester, 79 ;
Dublin, 66 ; Birmingham, 41.

These Parliamentary boundaries, however, include a large amount of unoccupied space. In them we have, for example, Arthur's Seat, rising 822 feet above the level of the sea, presenting to the city a precipitous, nearly perpendicular surface, and on the other side, rolling away over a base of nearly a mile. Thus, within reach of a rifle shot of the worst parts of our city, we have a noble hill, having secluded glens, where you might fancy yourself hundreds of miles from the haunts of men; and possessing no surface which, without prodigious labour, could ever be made the site of any suburban extension of the city. This hill alone occupies 243 acres of the space. There is also the Calton Hill, 344 feet high, nearer still to the town, and made in part available for rows of beautiful houses, though a great extent of it still remains free of building, with the exception of one or two public monuments, while the numerous squares and gardens which so healthfully decorate the New Town, tend still further to reduce the density of the population.

But minuter inspection reveals a very different state of matters, and shows that there is no city in the empire where the inhabitants are more closely packed together in some districts, where there is a higher death-rate, more disease, more abject poverty, more vice and wretchedness, than are sheltered in the miserable dens of the Old Town, which are seldom visited by the well-to-do inhabitants of our palatial abodes.

While in such districts as those of the Lower New Town, or Broughton (adopting Dr Littlejohn's divisions), the mor-

talities are only 15·47, or 17, respectively, per 1000 ; or, while in the district of the Grange, it falls even to 13·78 per 1000 ; in the Grassmarket, it is 32·52 ; in the Tron, 34·55 ; or, in the aggregate, 37 ; or, as Dr Littlejohn shows in some particular closes, it actually reaches 60 per 1000. Nor is it difficult to account for this. In the Lower New Town, the population is only 95·4 per acre ; in the New Town, 21·2 ; in the Grange, 7·5 ; in the Grassmarket, it is 237·6 ; in the Canongate, 206·7 ; in the Tron, 314·5,—a density of population in some of these districts unequalled in any town in Britain. Looking more closely still, we find another state of matters, accounting, in fact, for the density of population, but revealing horrors which it is fearful to contemplate. In most cities the streets only horizontally cover the area occupied by the city, but in Edinburgh, what are called “common stairs,” are, in fact, little streets, carried perpendicularly upwards ; and strangers who are taken to admire the picturesque aspect of these lofty structures, have little idea of the misery sheltered under their roofs.

In the Middle Meal Market Stairs are 59 rooms, almost all separate dwelling-houses, entered by a steep, dark, stone stair, common to the whole. In these dwell 248 individuals (adults, 197, children under five, 51), divided into 56 families. And in this huge congeries of dens, there is no water, no water-closet, no sink. The women, living in the fifth or highest floor, have to carry all their water up the close, and up these stairs. It is not difficult to imagine the state of wet and filth in which they must continually be. In the Old Meal Market Stair, there are 31 rooms, 22 families ; 14 children under five, 96 adults ; 110 in all. It also has neither water, sink, nor water-closet. In Birtley Buildings, Midcommon Close, Canongate, *a modern tenement, erected especially for dwellings for the poor*, there are 35 rooms, 33 families, 24 children under five, 101 adults. This building also has neither sink, water, nor water-closet. Take along with this the size of the dens inhabited by each family, and one who hears it all for the first time may well be amazed to learn that human beings are permitted to herd together in such miserable and abject wretchedness. These are not exceptional cases ; there

are hundreds of others as bad ; indeed, the Census for 1861 brought out distinctly, that in Edinburgh, despite its boasted piety and refinement, there were actually 13,209 families living in houses of but a single room ; these families comprehending 66,000 individuals, or considerably more than one-third of our whole population. Of these single apartments, 1530 were occupied by from six to fifteen persons ! No fewer than 121 of these houses had no windows, and, as appears from a later police return, upwards of 900 were cellars, most of them damp and utterly dark !

It must not be supposed that these 13,000 families embrace the vicious and abject poor only. Among their number are to be found nearly all our common labouring-class, who are compelled, by the impossibility of obtaining houses of a better construction, or in a more healthy locality, to dwell in "dens," where cleanliness is impossible, decency is necessarily constantly outraged, and the laws of health are hourly violated ; nay, cannot by any possibility be observed.

As a necessary consequence, the epidemics which assail us from time to time find in such localities their fitting hot-beds, where they germinate, and from whence their prolific seeds are diffused over the whole town. Dr Littlejohn's Report, to which we are largely indebted for many of the above facts, clearly shows that in our two epidemics of cholera, as well as in the many we have had of fever, these over-peopled districts were the first and the most severe sufferers.

Does not this condition of things fully explain the amount of physical, social, and moral evil which prevails in our midst ?

Is it any wonder if, according to careful calculations, it appears that in our city from 400 to 500 preventible deaths annually occur ?—deaths which, being preventible, must be charged to some neglect.

Such are the stubborn facts which your Committee have ascertained, and which should rouse all who have a spark of humanity to give of their time and of their substance to aid in ameliorating the sad condition in which so many of our fellow creatures are sunk. They may discourage, but they should not paralyse us. They seem to show not only the

necessity for immediate action, but for action sufficiently wide-spread, and sufficiently well organized, to enable us to cope with an evil so gigantic in extent—so fatal in result.

Your Committee may well ask how long are these abominations to be tolerated in our midst? How long is this accursed and bloody sacrifice to be offered at the shrine of Moloch? Even selfishness might rouse us to efforts in their behalf. While a population in such a state of degradation is a disgrace to any civilized community, it is also a prolific source of danger and expense. The unkempt, untaught children, who to-day swarm about our streets, will become, in a very few years, the tramps, and vagrants, and criminals at our doors. In these unwholesome dwellings, are generated the epidemics which ever and anon break forth, carrying death and desolation in their course. Chiefly for such a population are jails, prisons, and police-offices provided, and all the machinery of our criminal law put in operation. They necessitate the erection of hospitals and poorhouses, and tax the resources of our dispensaries to minister to their wants when stricken down by disease. For them chiefly are our innumerable charities organised; and it has been estimated that on them, throughout the United Kingdom, is annually spent a sum more than sufficient to pay the interest of the National Debt.

SECTION II.

CAUSES WHICH HAVE PRODUCED THE PRESENT DEPLORABLE STATE OF MATTERS.

1st, Crowded together, without association with a better class.—Where a higher motive to virtue is wanting, the surroundings of a man will often keep him outwardly decent. But this restraining power is altogether absent where multitudes of the weak and the vicious are crowded together, in circumstances which make virtuous living almost impossible, and where vice can easily hide its head without being oppressed by the sense of shame.

2d, Neglected by our law-givers, and also by their employers.—Until a comparatively recent period in our history, the discussion of social questions was not supposed to be any part

of the duty of our rulers, nor the state of the lowest stratum of society to entail any responsibility on the governing and the employing classes. The necessity of education was not fully recognised; indeed, its diffusion among the lower orders was frequently discouraged; no check was put upon the demand which capital made on labour; the genial and Christianising influence of the home was destroyed;—in our manufacturing districts especially, wives had been tempted from their domestic duties to add to the family earnings, and paid for it in comfortless homes, neglected children, and tattered garments; children, too, found employment at an age when the training of school was all-important for them. As a nation we have, in these respects, long been sowing to the wind,—can we wonder that we now reap the whirlwind?

3d, Outgrowth of Christianising influences.—Partly from apathy, partly from the absence of strong faith in the means of regeneration which God has himself provided, partly from the unfortunate sectarian differences which have been such a barrier to good in our land, the population has been permitted to outgrow the means of superintendence and instruction in religion. There has been no true recognition of, no encouragement given to, that principle in man which asserts its divine origin, pointing him to a higher life and nobler aims, and lifting him out of that brute condition which is the inevitable consequence of living in disregard of the dictates of conscience and reason, and submitting only to the guidance of the lower instincts.

4th, The want of education.—All evidence goes to show that the pauper and criminal classes are the worst educated in the community. Mr Linton, in his valuable Report on the state of Crime in Edinburgh, gives us the following table, which shows, that of 239 boys and girls under sixteen years of age, who were convicted of, or committed for crimes during 1866, only 1 could read and write well, 98 could not write, and 54 could neither read nor write. He also shows, that of 951 criminals above sixteen years of age, only 53 could read and write well, 356 could not write, and 183 could neither read nor write.

State of Education among those convicted in the Police Court of Edinburgh.

	MALES.										FEMALES.										BOTH SEXES.																			
	Neither read nor write.					Read only.					Read and write im- perfectly.					Read and write well.					Neither read nor write.					Read only.					Read and write im- perfectly.					Read and write well.				
	No.		Per Cent.		Totals	No.		Per Cent.		Totals	No.		Per Cent.		Totals	No.		Per Cent.		Totals	No.		Per Cent.		Totals	No.		Per Cent.		Totals	No.		Per Cent.							
	No.	Per Cent.	No.	Per Cent.		No.	Per Cent.	No.	Per Cent.		No.	Per Cent.	No.	Per Cent.		No.	Per Cent.	No.	Per Cent.		No.	Per Cent.	No.	Per Cent.		No.	Per Cent.	No.	Per Cent.		No.	Per Cent.	No.	Per Cent.	No.	Per Cent.				
Under 10 years of age	21	8	38	4	19	9	43	..	..	4	1	25	1	25	2	50	..	..	25	9	36	5	20	11	44	..	..	25	9	36	5	20	11	44	..	..		
From 10 to 14 years of age	108	29	27	25	23	54	50	..	..	22	6	27	3	14	13	59	..	..	130	35	27	28	21	67	52	..	..	130	35	27	28	21	67	52	..	..		
" 14 to 16	71	6	8	9	13	55	77	1	2	13	4	30	2	16	7	54	..	..	84	10	12	11	13	62	74	1	1	84	10	12	11	13	62	74	1	1		
" 16 to 20	108	17	16	13	12	72	66	6	6	44	11	25	12	27	21	48	..	..	152	28	18	25	17	93	61	6	4	152	28	18	25	17	93	61	6	4		
" 20 to 25	124	20	16	14	11	82	66	8	7	81	16	20	23	28	41	51	1	1	205	36	18	37	18	123	60	9	4	205	36	18	37	18	123	60	9	4				
" 25 to 30	85	9	11	9	11	62	73	5	5	67	13	19	14	21	38	57	2	3	152	22	14	23	15	100	66	7	5	152	22	14	23	15	100	66	7	5				
Above 30 years of age	268	49	18	32	12	158	59	29	11	174	48	28	56	32	68	39	2	1	442	97	22	88	20	226	51	31	7	442	97	22	88	20	226	51	31	7				
Number of persons of all ages	785	138	18	106	13	492	63	49	6	405	99	24	111	27	190	47	5	2	1190	237	20	217	18	682	57	54	5	1190	237	20	217	18	682	57	54	5				
Total number under 16 years of age	200	43	21	38	19	118	59	1	1	39	11	28	6	15	22	57	..	..	239	54	22	44	18	140	59	1	1	239	54	22	44	18	140	59	1	1		
Total number above 16	585	95	16	68	12	374	64	48	8	366	88	24	105	28	168	46	5	2	951	183	19	173	18	542	57	53	6	951	183	19	173	18	542	57	53	6				

The same is also brought out in Mr Smith's Report on the inmates of Edinburgh prison.—See Table VIII., pages 18-19.

5th, Intemperance.—Often the cause of degradation, but also often the effect of other evils with which it is associated, and which are always silently, but surely, filling up the ranks of the drunkards. When educated persons fall into the ranks of the “Lapsed Classes,” intemperance is almost invariably the cause. Intemperance operates in many ways.

A. It produces neglected education among the children, by taking the money for drink that should pay for schooling.

B. It destroys the comfort of the home: bit by bit the furniture that adorns the little apartment disappears to satisfy the insatiable craving, and where drink becomes a necessity, home comforts cannot be procured.

C. It brutalizes the person addicted to it.

“Experience has shown,” says Mr Beggs, “that when the passion for stimulating drinks is once produced, there is no folly, no madness, no cruelty, no barbarity that may not be perpetrated under its influence. No being is so savage and so reckless as the man debased by drink.”—(*On Juvenile Depravity*, page 83.)

D. It is a great cause of crime.

Mr Linton’s Report on Crimes in Edinburgh, already referred to, informs us, that from 1852 to 1866, “from about 40 to 50 per cent of the persons apprehended for crimes and offences were drunk when they committed them. The lowest percentage was 37 in 1852, and the highest 52 in 1858. The percentage for 1866 was 44.

TABLE X.

Number of Persons of each Sex apprehended for Crimes or Police Offences during the last fifteen years; and Number and Percentage who were Drunk when they committed them.

		1852	1853	1854	1855	1856	1857	1858	1859	1860	1861	1862	1863	1864	1865	1866
Apprehended	Males	4864	4620	3892	3448	3240	3369	3516	4194	3609	4099	4708	5019	5297	4963	5200
	Females	4496	4913	4076	3711	3719	3337	3392	4237	3629	3976	3905	4077	4279	4277	4145
	Both Sexes	9360	9533	7968	7159	6959	6706	6908	8431	7238	8075	8613	9096	9576	9240	9345
Drunk when Apprehended	Males	1774	2014	1802	1590	1374	1580	1829	1999	1678	1958	2058	2177	2360	2185	2293
	Females	1626	1989	1764	1491	1392	1331	1744	1871	1508	1746	1513	1535	1786	1695	1830
	Both Sexes	3400	4003	3566	3081	2766	2911	3573	3870	3186	3704	3571	3712	4146	3880	4123
Per cent. Drunk	Males	36	43	46	46	42	47	52	48	46	48	44	43	44	44	44
	Females	36	40	43	40	37	40	51	44	42	44	39	38	41	39	44
	Both Sexes	37	41	44	43	39	43	52	46	44	46	41	41	43	42	44

The Twelfth Report of the Inspector of Prisons contains a table relative to the cause assigned by prisoners for being led into crime. "Drink" is the general reply.

E. It pauperizes. Mr William Clark, Inspector of the Poor at Aberdeen, says:—"In more than half the cases in which parochial relief is applied for, the necessity for it arises from the dissipated habits, either of the parties themselves, or of the parents who ought to support them. The money which we pay away in relief is often taken at once to the whisky-shop. It often happens that the mother of a number of children expends the allowance in whisky, commits a breach of the peace, and is sent to prison. The children are thus thrown on our hands, and we are frequently obliged to pay a second time for their support in the Industrial School. The offence of deserting wives and children is much on the increase. In most cases, I could show that the offender is wasting upon drink more than sufficient to support his family."

It is impossible to visit the sick and infirm wards in any of our poorhouses without seeing how much drink has had to do with the broken-down constitutions there exhibited.

The Rev. David Macrae, in a paper read before the Social Science Association at the Liverpool meeting, expressed his conviction, founded on fourteen years' intimate acquaintance with the class from which ragged school children are drawn, "that most of the ignorance, wretchedness, and vice which have led to the necessity for such institutions might be traced to intemperance."—(*Transactions for 1862, page 527.*)

6th, Drinking customs and other causes leading to intemperance.

Your Committee place this under a separate head, because, in considering the remedies, it will require to be dealt with separately. The 5th head refers to those who love drink for its own sake; this one would rather seek to ascertain the means by which that love of drink is fostered and encouraged.

Mr Dunlop, in his "Philosophy of the Artificial and Compulsory Drinking Usages," has shown the effect which the rules of certain Trade Societies have in promoting this pernicious vice. At the date of his apprenticeship, at his intro-

duction to each new department of the business, on every occasion when a tolerable excuse could be found for it, a fee, varying from one to five shillings, is exacted from the learner, which, added to by the men, is spent by them and the boys in a "jollification" in the public-house. To refuse, is to be subjected to the process now so well-known as "rattening." It has also been long known that the over-crowded state of the dwellings of the lower orders is a powerful means of inducing intemperance. This is well put in a paper on "The Modes and Obstacles in the Repression of Drunkenness among the Poor," read in 1861 before the Glasgow meeting of the Social Science Association. Mr Macleod says:—"The view that drunkenness is a voluntary evil, something that men deliberately choose to yield to, is daily becoming less satisfactory." Among other causes, the polluted atmosphere in which so many have to live; the absence of comfortable dwellings, of good food, and the means of temperate refreshment; unhealthy and exhausting occupations; and the facilities for getting drink afforded by the crowd of public-houses, coming to the very door of the poor man's hovel, and offering him light and fire, brightness and warmth, in exchange for the putrid air of his wretched dwelling-place, exercise a powerful influence.

7th, The Licensing System.—The present method of licensing public-houses is calculated to foster the evils it was intended to suppress. In Liverpool, where great social improvements have of late years been made, the unanimous feeling of dissatisfaction with the present licensing system induced the Borough Magistrates to appoint a deputation, the Mayor being one of them, to the Government on the subject. Under the present system, the Magistrates are supposed to decide—1st, Whether any sale of drinks is needed; 2d, Who are to be allowed to sell. It is not found that the former of these questions forms an important element in the consideration; for no one can visit the poorer localities of the town, without seeing the unnecessary profusion with which public-houses are distributed. Mr Hill, Inspector of Prisons, says, 50 per cent of the drinking houses are in these districts,—our 11th table shows the actual number. The effort made some years ago

to reduce the number has, to some extent, diminished drunkenness, as Mr Linton's tables show; the evil of "Shebeens," as unlicensed drinking-houses—which are generally also brothels—are called, continues, however, largely to exist, and they are, if possible, more dangerous. The more numerous the public-houses in any district, the more numerous are the "shebeens" found to be. The proportion of licences withdrawn bear no proportion, in some localities, to the number of houses, the keepers of which have been convicted of disorderly conduct. Our whole licensing system requires reconsideration, and some general principles should be laid down to guide those with whom the responsibility of granting licences lies.

8th, *Pawnbroking*.—As Mr Macrae has well remarked, "there is probably no agency at work in our country so gigantic and so deadly in its influence as pawnbroking."—(Paper on Pawnbroking read before Dublin Meeting of Social Science Association, 1861, *Transactions*, p. 619.) "The first pawnbroking office in Scotland was opened only in 1806." In 1833 there were 52, and within the five years following, they increased at the enormous rate of 70 per cent. In Edinburgh there are now 32 licensed pawnbrokers, besides 192 known brokers, and a multitude of "wee pawns," of which no accurate return can be obtained. In 1836, Dr Cleland found, that in one pawnbroker's in Glasgow, the bed and body clothes were nine times more numerous than all the other articles put together. Husbands pawn their wives' clothes, and wives those of their husbands and children,—bedding, household furniture, everything that gives character and comfort to a house, soon disappear. Again, trusting that any special pressure will be met by raising a loan on their household effects, improvidence is encouraged, and workmen in the receipt of good wages are tempted to spend them all in dissipation; and when sickness, accident, short time, or dissipation makes an extra call for money, the children's clothes go first to the pawnbroker's, rendering it impossible for them to attend school. The Governor of the Glasgow Reformatory, quoted by Mr Macrae, says:—"But for the 'pawns,' thousands of homes would not be the dreary dens they are; nor would so many of our

children find their way into the jail. There is no cause more prolific in the production and perpetuation of juvenile crime."

The number of these Pawnshops, which are always in close proximity to public-houses, will be seen at a glance from Table XI., supplied to your Committee by the kindness of the Authorities through Dr Littlejohn.

If possible, more dangerous and more widely spread are the "wee pawns" and marine store dealers. These pests of society, and great corrupters of the lower orders, bear the same relation to the licensed pawnbrokers that the "shebeens" do to the licensed public-houses, and they are all the more dangerous that they are under no control. Nothing is too small to escape their rapacity, no interest too exorbitant for them to charge. They supply the means of drunkenness and vice! they run riot among the comforts of the home! No language can be strong enough to convey an idea of the misery, the wretchedness, and the degradation they produce.

TABLE XI.

Particulars regarding Pawnbrokers, Brokers, and Public-Houses in the Destitute Districts.*

	Number of Pawnbrokers.	Brokers and Wee Pawns.	Licences granted in 1864.	Licensed Lodging Houses.	Public-Houses Licensed.	Proportion of Population to each Public House.
Canongate, .	3	10	54	33	28	434
Tron, . . .	2	48	46	87	24	484
St Giles, . .	10	43	85	142	54	295
Grassmarket & West Port, .	1	20	38	131	15	348
Total,	16	121	223	393	121	1561
Other Districts,	16	71	570	2	223	552
Total in Edinburgh, . .	32	192	793	395	344	2113

* Since this Report was printed, we have been shown a careful statement of the evils of pawnbroking in Edinburgh, by Mr T. Knox, J.P. The facts

9th, *The Operation of the Poor Law*.—No one can attentively observe the effect of a legal provision for the maintenance of the poor, as at present administered, without becoming convinced that its whole tendency is at once to augment both the number and the expense of paupers, while it has very little effect in mitigating their suffering, or improving their condition. Nor need this excite any surprise. The system is at utter variance with those laws by which the social body is kept together, and with those principles in political economy which the soundest heads and clearest intellects have enunciated. For—

A. It takes the earnings of the industrious to support the idle and the dissolute.

B. It makes no distinction between that poverty which has resulted from misfortune, and that which has originated in vice.

C. It tends to diminish industry, by giving to every pauper a *right* to maintenance whenever he sinks to a certain depth. The old Scotch Poor Law, on the contrary, proceeded on “the principle that every individual is bound to provide for himself by his own labour as long as he is able to do so; and that his parish is only bound to make up that portion of the necessaries of life which he cannot earn or obtain by other lawful means.” *

D. It tends to diminish frugality, and relax the provident habits of our labouring classes, by leading them to trust for support for the future rather to legal provision than to the efforts of their own prudence and carefulness.

E. It destroys the ties of relationship. It leads parents to desert their children, and children in their turn to neglect their parents, “It has thus,” says Dr Chalmers,† “poisoned the

brought out by this well-known philanthropist are so striking, that we have reprinted them in the Appendix, page 124

* First Report of General Assembly to Select Committee of House of Commons, 1817.—Signed by the late Reverend Sir Henry Moncreiff.

+ Parochial Economy of large towns.

strongest affections of nature, and turned inwardly towards the indulgence of an absorbent selfishness those streams, which else would have flowed out on the needy of our own blood and our own kindred."

The First Report of the General Assembly, before quoted, says:—"Even in cases of extreme poverty, the relations and neighbours of the pauper have a pride in providing for his necessities, either in whole or in part. That this circumstance will account for the small number of paupers in some very populous parishes," (*i.e.* under the old law), "and serves at the same time to explain a fact which is obvious in so many returns from the country districts, that the sums given to paupers appear to be so disproportioned to what their real necessities require. A small sum given to aid their other resources affords them the relief which is necessary, and it would both be against the true interests and the moral habits of the people if a more ample provision were made for them from their parishes."

F. It has lessened the sympathy of the wealthier for the poorer classes, by giving to the latter a legal claim on the former. "There is a mighty difference of effect," says Dr Chalmers, "between an imperative and an imploring application. The one calls out the jealousy of our nature, and puts us upon the attitude of steady and determined resistance. The other calls out the compassion of our nature, and inclines us to the free and willing movements of generosity."—(*Ibid.* p. 404.)

G. It has destroyed the sympathy and aid which even the poor naturally extend to one another.

H. It has tended to destroy, in a great measure, one of the great peculiarities of our Scottish education.

In 1816, one who had carefully studied the subject, writes:—"While in the southern division of the kingdom, poorhouses and other charitable establishments for the reception of the aged and indigent come down like extinguishers on the better feelings of the heart, debarring the grandchild, and the niece, and the nephew from sharing the company, taking advantage of the experience, or clinging in childish fondness round the

knees of age."
 "It is more immediately under the eye of age," he continues, "under the tuition of the patriarch or matron, of the aunt or grandsire that, in Scotland in particular, a decided and overruling bent is given to the character of children. When the father is employed in the field, and the mother is occupied with household arrangements,—when play in all its variety of pursuit has ceased to possess interest for our childhood,—it is then that the hoary-headed inmate of our Scottish cottage becomes a loadstone to attract, a chronicle to amuse, and a philosopher to instruct and to discipline our inexperience."

In Scotland *now*, the family is deprived of this advantage; the effect of the Poor Law has been to teach that the aged relative is a burden to be consigned to the cold charity of a workhouse.

I. It tends to cause the working-classes to leave or to be driven from the rural districts, and to settle in the towns, rendering it more difficult to get suitable labour in the former, and tending greatly to increase the unproductive population in the latter.

This fact is indisputable. It prevailed more or less under the old system, it has increased under the new one. Dr Alison tells us that the Directors of Public Charities in the large towns allege that many of the most distressing cases that come before them are from the country or the smaller towns, that one-third of the persons relieved in the House of Refuge are *bona fide* objects of parochial relief in other parts of the country. In Glasgow, one-third of the Scotchmen with families who applied for parochial relief in 1837 were from the country." "In the Report on the Pauperism of Ayr," says the same authority, "it is complained that other parishes in a manner half starve their poor in order to prevent their increase, and save expense;" and finally, Dr Alison, in a footnote, observes:—"Some doubt having been expressed on this point, I made a little enquiry, and in a few hours found 14 families—about 40 persons—who believe themselves to have a claim on distant parishes, but prefer living in Edinburgh (al-

though in extreme destitution), and burdening its voluntary charities."*

What was then done by shirking the relief, is now, since the introduction of the Poor Law, accomplished in another way, and the effect is, that, while the population of our towns and the number of our mechanics has increased, the population of our rural districts and the number of our agricultural labourers have diminished. This may be ascertained by a study of the Census of 1861. "Of 921 districts or parishes, 481 (more than one-half of the whole) show a decline of population, whilst only 440 show an increase, large or small. As in this number of 440 is included every considerable urban district, with the exception of Inverness, it follows that the country, as distinguished from the town, must have become less populous to a very considerable extent."† In no fewer than twelve Scottish counties there are fewer inhabitants than there were ten years ago. In fifteen counties the male population has diminished between 1851 and 1861. In five of these the females have increased, but the result is:—Decrease of males, 4·9 per cent; decrease of females, 2·6 per cent. Where an increase is found at all, it is chiefly due to the females, as in four agricultural counties, where the population has increased between 1851 and 1861, the increase is at the rate of 3·8 per cent of males, and 7·3 per cent of females. Looking at it from an agricultural point of view, Mr Skirving points out how the "boasted peasantry" of Scotland has decreased, so that "the soil is now to no inconsiderable extent cultivated by the poorest, the most destitute, and too often, I fear, the most degraded class of Irish immigrants."

Mr Skirving puts this question (page 13), "Why should the miner, the manufacturer, the shipowner find no want of hands, while the agriculturist lacks?" He answers it—"Because he is refused one of the first necessities of life—a house

* "Observations on the Management of the Poor in Scotland, and its effects on the health of Great Towns," by William Pulteney Alison, M.D., F.R.S.E.; also, reply to Mr Money Penny's pamphlet, by the same.

† This sentence, and a number of the arguments which follow it, are taken from an admirable little work—"Landlords and Labourers," by Robert Skirving, Esq., published by Messrs Blackwood in 1862.

to shelter him, a place where to lay his head." "The cause," he says, "is a grievous and increasing want of houses for the working population." "It does seem to me," he adds at page 16, "that this want of houses is one chief cause from whence flow many of those evils which are so loudly and justly complained of in agricultural districts, and not in agricultural districts only; *it has aggravated the miseries that afflict the towns, as the poor, the weak, and aged, are driven from the country to swell the mass of wretchedness that crowds the dim, dirty, alleys of towns and cities.*" But what has become of the cottages? Mr Skirving shall again answer, and his practical acquaintance with the subject makes his evidence invaluable:—

"It seems, unfortunately, to have got into the heads of most of the owners of the soil, that all the old houses should be pulled down, and it does not seem to have occurred to them that an equal number of new ones should have arisen in their stead. The work of demolition, which was at first confined to houses that were not required, or which were absolutely in the way, has been continued, and houses which *were* required and which were *not* in the way have been pulled down. The systematic destruction of cottages having once fairly begun, it has been ruthlessly carried on, the motives for so doing being entirely changed. Formerly a house was pulled down because it was a useless obstruction; it is now levelled for the avowed purpose of driving away the inhabitants. . . . Increase of appetite has grown with what it fed upon; and after such proprietors have levelled every old house they could lay their hands on within their own possessions, they have actually purchased houses, petty hamlets, and portions of villages, situated in their neighbourhood, and immediately on getting possession, have warned out the occupants, and pulled down the dwellings."—(pages 16 and 17.)

Again, "It is believed if labourers are allowed to settle on an estate, the parish will soon be burdened by an additional pauper; . . . they may go where they will, but on no account are they to remain on the property—(page 24.) It is frequently made a matter of boast, that while the

total poor-rate of Scotland has prodigiously increased, many rural parishes are almost free from pauperism. Of course they are. If every man is driven into the town for want of a house the moment his strength begins to fail, he will certainly not be a resident pauper in the place in which he has spent his vigour; and, as he may manfully struggle with his position for years, he very probably becomes an urban and not a rural pauper. Were it not for the constant succession of human beings who follow each other from the country into the town, the evil of terribly overcrowded closes would soon cease. The natural increase of cities could not maintain the number in the face of the existing rates of mortality." (*Ibid.* page 33.)

Of the 458 paupers in St Cuthbert's Workhouse (the only one from which your Committee have got a return) only 227 were natives of Edinburgh.—See *Table IX.*, page 20.

Table XII., compiled from very full documents, kindly supplied by Mr Macdougall, the talented and obliging Superintendent of the Royal Infirmary, brings out a similar result; showing that, of 406 patients in that institution on a given day, only 93 were born in Edinburgh, and only 54 had passed the prime of their life there, while 259 had been supplied by the country and other districts:—

TABLE XII.

Return of Patients in Royal Infirmary on 8th January 1868.

	Males.	Females.	Total.
Born in Edinburgh,	58	35	93
Born elsewhere, but who have passed the prime of life in Edinburgh, . .	29	25	54
Born elsewhere, and who have not passed the prime of life in Edin- burgh,	156	103	259
Total,	243	163	406

This is also borne out by Table XIII., taken from the last Report of the House of Refuge:—

TABLE XIII.

Return, showing the Number of Houseless Poor, and the respective Localities in which they were Born, Sheltered, and Relieved in the Night Refuge, Queensberry House, during the Years ending 30th September 1866, and 30th September 1867.

	1866.	1867.
Edinburgh, St. Cuthberts, and Canon- gate Parishes, - - - }	8,786	8,849
Leith, - - - - - }	206	187
Dalkeith, Duddingstone, Musselburgh, and Portobello Parishes, - - }	273	207
Lanark and Renfrew Shires, - -	558	822
All other parts of Scotland, - -	1,181	1,295
England, - - - - -	247	251
Ireland, - - - - -	485	669
Foreign, - - - - -	50	58
Total, - - - - -	11,786	12,338

While the City Parochial Board have not furnished returns for the use of this Committee, in compliance with the request made by the Lord Provost, they published, in 1861, the following table, which is extremely valuable, as showing how Edinburgh is taxed for the support of paupers who were neither born nor long resident within her bounds.

From this Table (XIV.) it appears that in 1860, the rate-payers of the City Parish were taxed for the support of 2035 persons and 325 illegitimate children born within its bounds; and for 1189 persons and 10 illegitimate children born in other parishes in Scotland, for 1288 paupers born in Ireland, and for 51 born abroad.

TABLE XIV.

Abstract of Return to Parliament as to Birth Places of Paupers chargeable to the Parish of Edinburgh, and Cost of Illegitimacy, for the year to 14th May 1860.

Total number of Paupers chargeable to the Parish during year ending 14th May 1860.				Number of illegitimate children returned during same period.	Amount of Paid Relief, for illegitimate children.		
Adults.	Children	Total Paupers.	Place of Birth of each of these Paupers.				
951	655	1606	Edinburgh proper,	322	£	s.	d.
178	140	318	St Cuthberts,	2	1020	6	1
62	49	111	Canongate,	1	3	9	4
					7	0	0
1191	844	2035	Edinburgh, comprehensively	325	1030	15	5
819	370	1189	Born in 268 other parishes,...	10	25	2	1
118	37	155	Born in England,	8	16	10	6
689	599	1288	Born in Ireland,	1	1	12	0
31	20	51	Born abroad, .....	...		
249	229	478	Unknown,	8	25	15	0
3097	2099	5196	Total,	352	1099	15	0
			Add proportion of expense of management at 12½ per cent. .... }	.....	137	10	0
					1237	5	0

The returns from the Night Asylum for the Houseless confirm the experience of all the other charitable institutions in this respect, as it appears by Table XV., that of a total of 313,015 received in twenty-six years, 73,466 were from Edinburgh, 267,307 from other parts of Scotland, 28,216 from England, and 43,735 from Ireland.

TABLE XV.

Statement of Nights' Lodgings given each Quarter, and throughout the Year, showing the the total number since the Asylum was opened, 10th February 1841 to 1st January 1867, distinguishing those given to the Inhabitants of Edinburgh from the Counties of Scotland, and from England and Ireland.

QUARTERS.	City of Edinburgh.	County of Edinburgh.	Aberdeen.	Argyle.	Ayr.	Banff.	Berwick.	Caithness.	Clackmannan.	Cromarty.	Dumbarton.	Dumfries.	Fife.	Forfar.	Haddington.	Inverness.	Kinross.	Kirkcudbright.	Kincairdine.
First	83	126	21	5	32	5	5	4	2	..	11	5	49	56	13	28	..	1	3
Second	80	62	26	19	44	2	6	9	..	..	23	19	27	54	20	24	1	..	..
Third	81	51	34	20	47	7	4	3	1	..	14	19	33	53	17	78	..	2	1
Fourth	21	44	34	12	93	6	7	3	1	..	9	13	74	52	15	93	..	..	..
Totals	265	283	115	56	216	20	22	19.	4	..	57	56	183	215	65	223	1	3	4
Totals for { 26 years }	73,466	19,216	5116	3876	7950	492	3107	1224	808	195	2171	2859	7675	9005	5768	3567	428	429	449
QUARTERS.	Linlithgow.	Lanark.	Moray.	Nairn.	Orkney.	Perth.	Peebles.	Renfrew.	Roxburgh.	Ross.	Selkirk.	Stirling.	Sutherland.	Wigton.	England.	Ireland.	Foreign.	Totals.	
First	12	252	8	..	1	43	..	44	16	3	2	124	5	3	180	266	6	1429	
Second	27	418	3	2	4	34	3	46	5	3	3	75	..	..	180	405	26	1650	
Third	29	531	4	2	1	42	4	93	21	2	9	37	..	8	285	483	17	2033	
Fourth	17	355	2	1	..	23	6	73	23	6	3	36	..	5	231	257	13	1588	
Totals	85	1556	17	5	6	142	13	256	65	19	17	272	5	16	876	1441	62	6670	
Totals for { 26 years }	3201	45,219	794	187	2263	8227	1291	11,459	3322	5410	603	7190	651	1139	28,216	43,735	291	813,015	

There have been no Parliamentary Committees to investigate the extent to which the practice prevails in Scotland. There is no reason, however, to believe that we are any better than our neighbours south of the Tweed. The general practice of English landlords to pull down cottages on their estates, to keep down the assessment for the poor, was thoroughly made public, in the Reports of Parliamentary Committees, and in discussions in Parliament on the "Union Chargeability Bill," which was a remedy applied to meet the evil.

To corroborate the truth of this statement, your Committee append a few extracts from the speech of Mr C. P. Villiers, President of the English Poor-Law Board, on moving the second reading of the Union Chargeability Bill in the House of Commons on the 27th March 1865:—"It has always been a great object, therefore, in particular parishes, in order to keep down the poor, to prevent them from residing in those parishes; and for that purpose their dwellings are pulled down, and no new cottages are built. But where the poor have got dwellings in a parish, the next best thing is to get them out and into a neighbouring parish, in order to shift the burden there, and yet not lose the benefit of their labour." Again, Mr Charles Baillie, a former President, "appointed Commissioners, whom he sent throughout the country to verify the statements made before the Committee (of 1847), especially upon those details of injury said to be done to the poor by being driven out of one parish and induced to reside in another, where their dwellings were miserable, and much over-crowded. These Commissioners were fairly chosen. Many were inspectors under the Poor-Law, then in the service of Government. I presume they were trustworthy and honourable men, because their reports were especially referred to by Sir Robert Peel and Sir James Graham."

"The evidence collected by these Commissioners went far beyond that given before the Committee. It established beyond question all the evils that followed from the system of Parochial settlement—the clearing of parishes—driving the poor out of them, and thrusting them into places already

over-crowded, and into dwellings more fitted for brutes than for human beings." Again, "There cannot be the least doubt of the fact, after the evidence that has been so repeatedly adduced, that there is a strong desire in rural parishes to get rid of the poor, and to compel the labourers who might become chargeable, to reside elsewhere. This is very detrimental to the interests of the poor, who have to live at a distance from their work, and to get lodgings or houses wherever they can. They find these dwellings in towns and large villages, where the rents are high, and with the view to economy, they get crowded together in a manner that has a most injurious effect upon them physically and morally."

"This is supported by evidence that cannot be disputed."

To the same effect Mr Caird, late Member for the Stirling Burghs, writes—"It is the commonest thing possible to find agricultural labourers lodged at such a distance from their regular employment that they have to walk—an hour out in the morning, and an hour home in the evening—from forty to fifty miles a-week. Two hours a-day is a sixth part of a man's daily labour, and this enormous tax he is compelled to pay in labour, which is his only capital. Nor is this the sole evil of the practice, for the labourers are crowded into villages where the exorbitant rents frequently oblige them to herd together in a manner destructive of morality and injurious to health."

Lord Malmesbury, when examined as a witness before a Committee of the House of Lords in 1851, gave as evidence—"The proprietors of close rural parishes can, and do, transfer their poor population to a neighbouring parish, thereby reaping all the advantage of their labour when efficient, without the responsibility of their maintenance when impotent."

K. *Tends to increase enormously the number of the Poor, and the expense of maintaining them.*—"Until nearly the middle of last century, the funds derived from church collections, and other voluntary contributions, were found to be

sufficient for the maintenance of the poor in the whole of Scotland."*

About twenty years after the first secession from the Established Church, which took place in 1733, the diminution in the collections first began to render the voluntary contributions insufficient. This insufficiency was still further increased by the rapid development of the population in certain districts without a corresponding extension of the ecclesiastical Establishment, with its machinery for supervising the poor. Some parishes then began to assess themselves, but it was not until 1846 that the present compulsory Poor Law came into operation.

Your Committee would desire to draw attention to the change which has resulted from its establishment. According to the Second (1839) Report of the Committee of the General Assembly, the average number of paupers, exclusive of lunatics, in the three years, 1835 to 1837, was 57,969, being at the rate of 2·50 to each 100 of the population.

The *whole* poor (permanent, occasional, lunatic), on the average of three years (1835-37) was 79,429 in a population of 2,315,926, being at the rate of 3·42 to each 100 of the population.

At that time, the whole funds were raised in four ways:—1st, Collections at church doors. 2d, Other voluntary contributions, partly consisting of gifts and bequests, or a voluntary assessment made by the heritors in a certain rateable proportion, had recourse to rather than a permanent rate. 3d, Session funds. 4th, Certain customary dues, as at funerals, marriages, &c.; the proceeds of any property left on behalf of the poor, or accumulation of surplus of income over expenditure in former years. The amount of these is given in the Assembly's Report, at the period of the First and Second Report.

* Second Report by General Assembly to Secretary of State on Maintenance of Poor in Scotland, 1839, p. 5.

TABLE XVI.

Average Amount raised for Support of Poor in Scotland during two periods previous to the passing of present Act.

How raised.	1807-1816.	1835-1837.	Increase in latter period.
Collections, . .	£34,069 10 3 $\frac{1}{4}$	£38,300 10 2	£4,230 19 10 $\frac{3}{4}$
Other voluntary contributions, .	10,702 6 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	18,976 10 2	8,274 3 8 $\frac{1}{2}$
Sessional Funds, .	19,705 10 7	20,604 12 10	899 2 3
Assessment, . .	49,718 10 5 $\frac{3}{4}$	77,239 19 0	27,521 8 6 $\frac{3}{4}$
Totals,	£114,195 17 9	£155,121 12 2	£40,925 14 5

It appears, that before the imposition of the Poor Law in Scotland, the average annual sum required for the support of the poor was £155,121, 12s. 2d.; that the funds were administered by 7542 persons, giving their services gratuitously, and by 532 paid agents, of whom 330 were employed in levying the funds, and 202 in the management of the poor.

No sooner did the new Poor Law come into operation, than an immediate rise took place. In 1846 £295,232 were expended, while during the year ending 14th May 1866 the expenditure was £783,127. In 1867 it reached the sum of £807,631, 5s. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. It is important also to observe how much of this increase is absorbed in management. While, under the former system, this item of expenditure was, on an average of three years (1835-7), only £2968, 8s. 3d., it last year reached the enormous sum of £90,328, 6s. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.!!!

In the three years reported on in the Assembly's Report, the average yearly rate of voluntary contributions in non-assessed parishes was 4s. 11d. for each individual. In 1847 the total expenditure was £433,915, being a rate per head on the population of 3s. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ d., or a rate per cent on real property of £4, 13s. In 1856, nine years thereafter, the total expenditure had risen to £629,348, being a rate per head on the

population of 4s. 4½d., and a rate per cent on real property of £5, 7s. 6½d. In 1866, £783,127, a rate per head of 5s. 1½d., and a rate per cent on real property of £6, 13s. 10½d. The following table will show this enormous increase at a glance, and also the average payment to each pauper.

TABLE XVII.

Showing the Number of Paupers, the Total Annual Expenditure on account of the Poor, and other relative particulars at different periods.

Year.	Number of Paupers, exclusive of Dependants.			Average Allowance to each Pauper on Roll.	Total Annual Expenditure.	Rate per head on Population.	Rate per cent. on real Property.
	Registered.	Casual.	Total.				
1807-16*	...	...	44,199	...	£114,195	£0 1 3¼	...
1835-37*	59,081	20,348	79,429	£1 18 6½	155,121	0 1 3¾	...
1847	85,971	60,399	146,370	4 10 9	433,915	0 3 3½	£4 13 0†
1856	99,363	38,020	137,383	4 17 11½	629,348	0 4 4¼	5 7 6¾†
1866	97,166	44,093	141,259	6 1 5¾	783,127	0 5 1¼	6 13 10½†

The last Report of the Board of Supervision, issued since this table was prepared, shows that the numbers relieved in the year 1867, were, of registered poor, 100,756, and of casual poor, 48,519, together 149,275,† and that the total expenditure amounted to £807,631, 5s. 6½d., being equal to

* The information as to these years is taken from the General Assembly's Report alluded to at page 38, and the average allowance to each pauper does not include that made for lunatic paupers.

† While the calculations as to the rate per cent on real property in 1847 are based on the valuation of 1843, those of 1856 and 1866 are based on the valuation of 1856. In the interval between 1843 and 1856, property had risen considerably in value, but had it been otherwise, the rate per cent would have been respectively:—For 1856, £6, 15s. 0½d., for 1866, £8, 8s. 0½d.

‡ These figures represent the number of Poor relieved, but do not include their Dependants. According to the Report of the Board of Supervision, the number of such Dependants last year were—Registered Poor 63,648; Casual Poor (undetermined settlements) 6,680; all other Casual Poor 35,977;—in all 106,305. The same remark is applicable to the figures in Table XVII., which do not include Dependants.

a rate per head on the whole population of 5s. 3½d., and a rate per cent on real property of £6, 18s. 0½d., calculated on the value in 1856.

In 1837 workhouses existed only in Edinburgh and Paisley ; in addition to which there was the Poors Hospital in Glasgow. There are now 57 in Scotland in operation, and six in course of erection. We observe that the large poorhouse of Sutherland, with its full staff of officials, has only one inmate ; Skye combination, however, can boast of four ! !

But where is this enormous and ever increasing expense to stop ? Is it doing any good to the poor in proportion to the heavy burden it is laying on the community ?

Let Mr Walker of Bowland, the indefatigable Secretary of the Board of Supervision for the Relief of the Poor in Scotland reply. In a paper read before the Social Science Congress in 1863, he observes—*Transactions*, page 725—"It is now a matter of trite observation that all poor laws have an inherent tendency to foster pauperism, to increase the expenditure for the relief of the poor, and to deteriorate the character of the population among which the law is administered." Or, listen to the following extract from the speech of Mr Currer, for so many years the enlightened chairman of the City Parochial Board, delivered only on the 6th of January 1868:—"I have long thought that the present Poor Law system is not worthy (as some friends told us recently of another department of it) of the enlightened age in which we live. It is self productive, it creates the paupers it relieves. In the course of a few years, unless some salutary check is applied, every parish will, I fear, be necessitated, in self-defence, to convert their poorhouses into parochial workshops." Or, take the testimony of a newspaper which has of late contributed many admirable articles on social subjects, and especially on the best means of relieving the wants of the poor. In a leading article of the *Scotsman*, on the 17th December 1867, the following remarks occur:—After showing that the natural tendency to increase which springs from eleemosynary aid was "only kept in check by the expensive machinery of workhouses, with

their obnoxious rules and regulations," the writer proceeds :—
 "Notwithstanding the protection thus thrown over the pockets of the rate-payers, the cost of pauperism will, in a year or two, be double what it was when the Poor Law was introduced. But," he asks, "is the result which has been achieved at all commensurate with the addition that has thus been made to our burdens? What do we get for the annual expenditure of a sum which now exceeds £800,000. Increased happiness and comfort to the poor? What answer do we get from the back slums of our cities, and the squalid cottages of our manufacturing villages? In what degree has this magnificent expenditure accomplished any good beyond the temporary relief of a class whose pauperism is the result of vice, ignorance, or improvidence? and where is this expenditure to end? The very endeavour to keep it within bounds is one of the most fruitful sources of its increase. Already the cost of management exceeds £90,000, or more than 11 per cent of the total expenditure; and this rate goes on increasing with the erection of every new poorhouse, and the addition to the staff of officials which then becomes necessary."

The 14th table presented by your Committee affords matter for the gravest consideration, showing the large proportion of the funds which are given to the Irish. The population of Ireland to that of Scotland is as 5 to 3 in round numbers, and yet the expenditure for Poor Law relief in Scotland is actually greater than in Ireland !!*

In fact, a compulsory system for the relief of the poor, administered chiefly by a salaried agency, is regarded now, by all competent and unbiassed authorities, as having utterly failed, either as a means of abolishing its misery or of checking its growth.

How long is this state of matters to continue? how long are

* The population of Ireland at the last census was 5,798,967; the number in receipt of relief in 1866 was 23,093; the amount expended, £611,891, 11s. 5d., being a rate per cent. on real property of £4, 13s. 9½d. The population of Scotland in 1861 was 3,062,294; the number relieved (exclusive of dependants) in 1866 was 141,259; the amount expended, £807,631, 5s. 6½d., being a rate per cent on real property of £6, 13s. 10½d.

we quietly to submit to a tax so enormous, which but perpetuates and increases the evil it was imposed to relieve?

10th, *Indiscriminate Private Charity*.—Your Committee are satisfied, from all the enquiries they have made, that there is no surer way to minister to the worst vices of the lapsed classes than indiscriminate alms-giving, either by individuals or societies. They can fully endorse the emphatic deliverance of Dr Chalmers:—

“There is not a more striking vanity under the sun than that the substantial interests of the poor have suffered less from the malignant and the unfeeling than from those who give without wisdom, and feel without consideration.” The beggars who ask for alms in the streets, or who importune you to purchase articles which they proffer for sale, are almost, without exception, not real objects of charity. One of the attractions for such people to a town like Edinburgh, is the facility with which alms can be obtained for the mere asking, almost without enquiry.

Those who thus openly solicit alms are notoriously the idle and the vicious, and every penny carelessly bestowed in the way of promiscuous charity is only fostering that idleness and vice.

Archbishop Whately is reported to have remarked, a short time before his death:—“I have given away £50,000 in charity; but there is one thing with which I cannot reproach myself—I never relieved a beggar in the streets. I take care so to administer relief as not to encourage vice, or its mother—idleness.”

11th, *Want of Method among Charitable Societies*.—The great array of charitable societies apparently founded to meet every want and to relieve every form of distress, would lead any observer of the surface of things to suppose, that in no country is benevolence carried farther, and in no town could there be less suffering, than in ours. And yet those who have practical knowledge of the work among the poor will be the

first to admit, that for want of that thorough system and method which we apply to our business affairs, the administration of charity is in a most unsatisfactory and confused state.

The agencies of the existing societies are, with few exceptions, totally inadequate to maintain that frequent and systematic visitation of the poor in their own homes, by which alone that thorough knowledge of their character and habits can be obtained, which is indispensable, on the one hand, to guard against imposition, and, on the other, to discover the really deserving, and to ascertain their actual requirements. Nor is this all the evil, for, owing to the want of communication between the various societies regarding those whom they assist, many persons obtain aid from several institutions, while others, who are less clamorous, but often more deserving, are left in want.

Even our humourist *Punch* finds matter for grim amusement in the way our charitable institutions are managed, as the following paragraph, taken from the number for February 8th, 1868, will show:—

“HOW IS IT DONE?”

Writing on distress in London, a competent authority says, “There are no Jews suffering. A Jew mendicant is as rare as a black swan or a white elephant. The Hebrews relieve their own poor.”

Just so. We were thinking of advising all distressed persons to become Jews, only that the Hebrews do not care about proselytes. However, it may come to that. Meantime, would Dr Adler, or [some other eminent Jew, tell us how the relief is managed? The Christian way, we would tell him, is to establish twenty or thirty separate associations, which, by the natural laws of rivalry, become antagonistic, will not work together, and relieve one street a dozen times, while they neglect the next altogether. . . .

Since the above was written, there is news of a Reform. The Societies, weary of imposters and blundering, adopt a system. Good. They have learned something from Judæa.”

The fact that there are seldom if ever any mendicants or applicants for Poor-Law relief among the Jews or the Quakers, even in our largest cities, is undoubted, and the explanation

is to be found in the admirable and systematic arrangements which are adopted by the prosperous among them to succour the distressed, and to supply them with suitable counsel, encouragement, and employment, which effectively prevents them from falling into abject poverty.

It would appear that £112,500 is raised and expended annually in various ways for the support and relief of the poor in Edinburgh, being a tax at the rate of 13s. per head for every man, woman, and child in the city ; and yet, at the meeting called by the Lord Provost, and held on the 15th April 1867, one and all of the speakers bore testimony to the small amount of good which all this money had produced owing to the want of method in its distribution ; and many cases were narrated, from the personal knowledge of the speakers, tending to show that a great deal of what was given had a positively mischievous and demoralising effect. What enlightened Christian or man of humane feelings can rest satisfied that he has discharged his obligation by merely subscribing to one or more of these societies, and leaving them to dispense his alms. Your Committee cannot do better than quote on this subject part of an article which appeared about a year ago in the *Daily News* :—

“Instead of following the example of the few devoted men, who each, in their own district, go about doing good, and so make sure that the work is well done and the money well spent, and the value of every penny doubled or trebled in benefit to the receiver and the giver both by the bond of natural human friendship between them, which it draws closer, the British public draws its cheques and incloses them (not indeed by stealth), to this, that, or the other society, or association, or committee, almost as much at random as it would give to passing beggars in the streets. Doubtless the sums doled out so profusely day by day in this indiscriminate and easy fashion do good, and much good here and there. But let us beware of that subtlest form of selfishness, which calms its nerves and preserves its appetite by giving without stint to shocking cases, while it shrinks from

the severer and the nobler duty of seeking out the distress in person, and succouring it on the spot regularly, systematically, thoughtfully, devotedly, according to some fixed purpose and plan. One of the conventional boasts of the British public is the business-like, orderly method of conducting its affairs. The great painter, who thought himself a greater fiddler, was not more mistaken. In no civilized country in the world is the anarchy, the disorganisation, the confusion which renders the best institutions powerless and useless, more notorious than it is in England at this moment."

12th, *Overcrowding*.—Your Committee, in describing the state of the districts, have been necessitated to speak of overcrowding already. It prevails over a large part of the Old Town in two ways.

A. Overcrowding of Districts.—A very much larger number of dwellings are erected within each acre than it is capable of containing with due regard to the health of the inhabitants.

B. Overcrowding in dwellings.—The small rooms, the average size of which has been shown, in the districts examined, to be 14 ft. by 11 ft., each of these dens being occupied on an average by 7 individuals. It has been calculated that 500 cubic feet of air is the very least allowance that should be given to each person, and that would require perpetual renewal. How is this to be provided in houses of so small a size, so overcrowded, one-fourth of which are incapable of any ventilation, and the remaining three-fourths can have it but imperfectly? The overcrowding in houses, especially when inhabited by the poor, is recognised by all competent authorities to be one main cause of excessive mortality; it tends to break down the healthiest constitution, and renders it liable to take on diseased action from comparatively slight causes. What the effect must be where diseases, and especially those which are infectious, exist, imagination can scarcely picture,—the healthy, the diseased, the dying, and the dead, crowded together in a single small room, present a condition of misery of constant occurrence, but which only those who have witnessed it can

possibly realise. What must be the effect, on a comparatively healthy neighbourhood, of working-men and women coming to it from such dens, with their persons and clothes loaded with their infectious miasmata?

But that the moral disease engendered is even more awful than the physical will readily be supposed. How can morality and decency be preserved among a population so circumstanced? Every notion of propriety revolts at the bare idea of numbers of men, women, and children thus herding together! Is it any wonder that, with a population living under such circumstances, illegitimacy should be so fruitful a source of poverty? Our Table VII. shows the number chargeable on St. Cuthbert's parish from illegitimacy. In one year, in the City Parish, 322 illegitimate children received relief.—(See Table XIV.) Dr Southwood Smith says:—"If you reduce men down to the level of the brutes, you will soon find manners appropriate to the degeneration." That this is no fancied picture will be apparent by a reference to the tables with which this Report is interspersed.*

Those who take an interest in the state of these houses and their inmates, are referred to a paper read by the Chairman of this Committee before the Architectural Institute, on the 13th of January 1862, Appendix A, or to the admirable and graphic descriptions of Mr Anderson, first published in the *Courant*†

* There are 120 brothels known to the police in Edinburgh, besides what are called "sly places." "The number of fallen women has been estimated at 1500. Ignorant servants from the country, orphans, and even children of tender age, are drawn into the well-laid snares of these fowlers."—See *Knox's Glimpses*. See also *Appendix*, page 108.

† Your Committee feel it due to our public press to bear testimony to the admirable articles on Social Questions with which they have, in recent years, favoured the public. Those of the *Scotsman*, dealing with the higher problems of the support and maintenance of the poor, and the best means of dispensing charity, founded as they are on careful and painstaking observations, merit a careful study; the *Courant* has done much to make the upper classes acquainted with the state of the inhabitants in the worst districts of our City, and to point out their claims; while the *Daily Review* has taken several opportunities of pressing strongly on its readers the urgent necessity which exists for at once remedying the present state of the dwellings of the poor, which is so deplorable and disgraceful.

newspaper, and since republished separately, under the title of "The Poor of Edinburgh and their Homes." Your Committee would also direct attention to a speech, delivered at a Meeting of the Trustees for the City Improvements, by Councillor David Lewis. While this Report has been going through the press, Councillor Lewis has republished his speech as a pamphlet, entitled ("A Plea for Sanitary Reform among the Lapsed Classes in Edinburgh."—Wm. Oliphant, 1868), and it well merits perusal.

13th, *Want of Water*.—Only 97 out of 458 houses visited were supplied with water, and many of the inmates of those which do not possess it have to carry it from a considerable distance. Whenever poverty becomes abject, the tendencies of the unhappy victim are all downward, and the loss of self-respect, as evidenced by inattention to personal cleanliness, is a marked symptom. Of the effect of want of water on the health your Committee will speak elsewhere.

14th, *Want of Light*.—Light is one of the agents which act powerfully on the human body, and its presence is essential to healthy development. The children reared in our dark cellars and dimly lighted alleys are distinct alike in form and in feature from the well conditioned of the middle classes. Examine the juvenile inmates of our jails and reformatories, or the city Arabs that may be seen in the Meadows on a summer Sunday, and the physical deterioration is apparent. Brought up in squalid poverty, deprived of the free access to light and air, no wonder that their physical organisation is inferior, their growth stunted, their constitutions scrofulous, their mental power deficient, or quickened into preternatural activity; yet the low-browed visage and sullen aspect of so many of the inmates of our reformatories gradually improve as the mental darkness is dispelled, and the hopeless spirits and vicious tempers are generally overcome under wholesome influences. What strong encouragement have we to extend our efforts in their

behalf from the fact that, according to official returns, more than seventy out of every hundred who are placed in our reformatories turn out industrious and useful members of society.

15th, Want of proper Arrangements for removing Offensive Matter.—If the condition of the air we breathe be one of the most important circumstances affecting health, and if, as your Committee have already shown, that pure air cannot be maintained in the small overcrowded apartments in which the poor are forced to live, what an additional evil must be inflicted by these houses being utterly unprovided with any means for removing the excreta of their inhabitants, and the other offal that collects within their habitations! Concealed all day under beds, or in dark corners,—thrown out of the window at night into the narrow ill-paved closes and courts, sending forth filthy and pestilential odours, can anything more horribly offensive, more polluting to the atmosphere, more injurious to health, be conceived? Yet such a condition of things prevails throughout the districts where not only the abject poor, but the greater proportion of our labouring classes pass their lives. Dr Littlejohn states, that from some of the closes not less than a ton of filth is removed daily.* “On the faith of a return from the proper authorities, Mr William Cowan stated some time ago that the number of houses in the City without water-sinks and soil-pipes amounts to the surprising total of 14,196, and may be computed to contain a population of not less than 70,000 persons.”†

16. Summary of Causes.—Such is a brief exposition of the state of matters which the investigations of your Committee have disclosed. They have found that, in this city, whose beauty attracts strangers from all parts of the world, there are a vast number of dwellings, the wretchedness of which is not exceeded by any in Christendom. In these abodes, in which it is impossible

* The violation of physiological laws in the structure and arrangement of these dwellings is more fully brought out in Dr Wood's paper, Appendix A.

+ “Glimpses at the Social Condition of Edinburgh in 1865,” by Thomas Knox, J.P.

to maintain habits of decency and cleanliness or health, are crowded together not merely the abject and dissolute, but the great majority of the labouring men of the city, who, being unable to find dwellings in other districts, are thus forced with their wives and children to associate with the depraved and vicious, where they too soon become utterly lost to a sense of degradation, and live in a state of filth, misery, and abandonment. That in these districts "where," according to Mr Hill (Report on Prisons, 1848), "73 per cent of the crime is committed, and more than 50 per cent of the drinking houses are situated," the parents spend upon drink and other indulgences the money that should purchase home comforts, and pay for the education of their children, thus becoming active agents in the demoralisation of their own offspring: That parents are living utterly improvident as to their future, either in time or in eternity, and that in these dismal dens there are several thousands of families, including often fathers and grown-up daughters, brothers, sisters, and even strangers (lodgers) stowed together in such a way as to outrage all the laws of decency and health. Their children, poor, neglected, almost homeless, wander about the closes and streets ragged and hungry, excluded from wholesome instruction, and constantly surrounded with examples of vice, their minds distorted, their moral sense corrupted, alienated by neglect from all love of home, driven by harshness to stubbornness and intractability. They have found that from these prolific hot-beds come the chief inmates of our hospitals, poorhouses, and jails; and that from these spring the pestilential diseases and polluting influences that extend to the houses of a different class, and among people of a different character.

Your Committee have further endeavoured to ascertain the causes which have originated, and which still perpetuate, this stifling and reeking mass of misery and profligacy. The principal of these causes they have reported; but they think it right to state that it is impossible to ascertain which is the first link in the chain of causation. The truth is, in some cases bad dwellings make bad inhabitants, while in other

cases the converse holds true. Some ascribe all the evils to the want of education, others trace them exclusively to intemperance. The truth seems, to your Committee, to be that, as in a patient who has long laboured under a chronic disease, so many organs and so many functions become ultimately involved, and each acting and reacting upon the other, increases the mischief and the suffering, till it becomes impossible for the most skilful physician to say where the germ of the malady has first appeared, or in what organ the departure from health has commenced ; so, in this terrible chronic affection of the body politic, it is impossible to discriminate the influence of each of the recognised causes, so as to decide, without very careful consideration, how our aid would be best applied ; probably, were each case closely investigated, it would be found that several causes had concurred to produce the lamentable result.

But has nothing been done to check a state of matters so deplorable, so pregnant with evil to the City and the State ? Yes. We have had our state doctors applying the Poor Law, which we have shown to have increased rather than diminished the evil. And we have had also indiscriminate private charity fostering and encouraging it. And we have had various benevolent societies, all doing some good, no doubt, but still, for want of method and co-operation, making little impression on this slough of despond, into which they are throwing, year by year, treasure which, more judiciously applied, might long ago have bridged it over at least, if not filled it up ; and we have had zealous and active clergymen, missionaries, and Bible-women, aided by energetic laymen, working hard and laboriously in isolated districts, and doing good. Their work, however, loses much of its efficiency from its very isolation, just as one favoured spot in a garden, however diligently cultivated, would suffer, were the remainder left to the undisturbed possession of the briar and the thorn.

It has, moreover, been brought forcibly under the attention of your Committee, that the evils engendered by the "overlapping" of private and public charities are not merely of a

negative character. From the absence of all harmonious action, and systematic communication between the agents of these charities, the same individuals, if brazen-faced and impudent, or if cunning and hypocritical, often obtain aid from several individuals or public charities, while others, who are more modest and retiring, and generally more deserving, are left without assistance. It would be a difficult task to estimate the waste of resources, and the encouragement of idleness, fraud, intemperance, and every vice, which result from the utter ignorance of the Directors of one public charity regarding the relief which is afforded by those of another.

SECTION III.

REMEDIES CALCULATED TO RESTORE THE LAPSED CLASSES.

If your Committee have been successful in indicating, with any approach to truth, the principal causes which have led to the degraded state of so large a proportion of our city population, it will be at once seen that remedies suited to their nature will be naturally divisible into three classes—

1st, Remedies which can only be applied by law and by authority.

2d, Remedies which can only be applied by those who are superiors to the sufferers in the social scale.

3d, Preventive measures which can be applied by the working-classes themselves, either by their unaided efforts, or with the encouragement and assistance of others.

Your Committee propose to consider each in detail.

I. *Remedies which can only be applied by Law and by Authority.*

Your Committee have no hesitation in stating, that much of the misery, wretchedness, and vice which prevails, arises from a defective state, and imperfect administration of the law; for, while it is impossible by its means alone to enforce morality, the true position of our rulers seems to be to

enforce and maintain those external conditions which render morality possible, and to suppress those by which immorality is directly or indirectly promoted.

It is matter at once of satisfaction, and of encouragement, to see how thoroughly our present Lord Provost and his colleagues in the Magistracy and in the Council seem alive to their responsibility in this respect, and how well they are provided with the means in the Edinburgh Police Act, the Public Health Act, the Edinburgh Improvement Act, and the Provisional Order. Their first duty has been auspiciously commenced by their determining to run a new street through one of the worst districts of the town. By this means (*a*) many unsuitable habitations will be removed; (*b*) light and air will be admitted to the outside of the dwellings; (*c*) the impenetrable darkness of the district will be removed, and the misery and vice which now seeks to conceal itself there will be dragged into the light, which must tend to dissipate it, and to bring the degraded indwellers into contact with a class superior to them, a result which must, to some extent, at least, influence them for good.

While there appears to have been an effort to rid the rural districts of those classes who might possibly become paupers, there has been a corresponding attraction for these classes towards Edinburgh, which two causes conspiring, have greatly aided in bringing about the circumstances we deplore. Not to go into minute details, the attractions of Edinburgh are of two kinds. *First*, the hope of getting employment of some kind, both for parents and children; failing which, the hope of getting succour from public and private charities,—the distribution of soup and coals during winter, and at all times the dispensing of medical aid and medicines gratuitously, being alone powerful motives to crowd into the town. *Second*, the practicability of getting house-room, however wretched, in and about the Old Town. The very durability of the tall buildings in this ancient city has proved a misfortune. In various parts, there are clusters of houses four hundred years old; very many are three hundred, and a still greater number

two hundred years old. They have belonged to, and been inhabited by, successive classes of people, till they have passed into the hands of mere jobbing capitalists—"ruins' lords," as they have been called—who, buying them for an insignificant sum, let them out through the agency of factors to the most debased classes, at rents varying usually from fifteen to eighteenpence per week for a single apartment. These rents are exacted with merciless rigour every Monday morning, on pain of being turned out instantly to the street. Cases have come to our knowledge of women hurrying to the pawnbroker with their only petticoat to procure the required eighteenpence to satisfy the house-factor on making his weekly rounds. It is confidently alleged that the rents so squeezed from the occupants of a tenement during a single year are sometimes equal in amount to the whole price paid for the building. While tenements of this old and semi-dilapidated class exist, they offer so many harbourages for all-comers. They are, in fact, creators of poverty. As long as they endure, the condition of things in the Old Town can never be greatly different. Benevolent schemes to build houses of a better kind for the artizan classes, no doubt serve a good end; but all such projects totally fail to clear the old houses of their tenants. It may, indeed, be said that the erection of a better class of dwellings only aggravates the evil, for the withdrawal of those who are able to pay the higher rents necessarily demanded leaves the clusters of vice and misery just so much more intensified.

No doubt the carrying of new streets through the denser blocks of the Old Town, as proposed in the Lord Provost's plan for City Improvement, will secure the demolition of many of the worst of these houses. But large and expensive as is the Lord Provost's scheme, it will not touch the interiors of the wretched habitations that will still remain, nor protect the helpless poor against the greed of exacting landlords, who erect for them these wretched dwellings, and refuse even to keep them in repair. Our rulers must be urged to set themselves vigorously about certain other duties:—

1. *Shutting up unsuitable dwellings.*—All houses reported to them, on competent authority, to be unfit for human habitation, and to be incapable of being rendered fit, should be shut up at once and for ever.

In Liverpool, between 1842 and 1849, 4,700 unsuitable houses were shut up, and 20,000 inhabitants *gradually* removed, manifestly to the sanitary improvement of the town.

2. *Improvement of Dwellings.*—All dwellings at present unfit for human habitation, but which can be rendered fit, should at once be put in a suitable condition, at sight of the "Inspector of Streets," or some other competent authority. There is no property in Edinburgh which yields so large a percentage on the purchase price, and therefore none that can better afford to pay for its own repair.

Peculiar facilities are given for this by the Act of Parliament for promoting the building of dwelling-houses in Scotland, which passed in 1865. By it power is given,—if due notice has been given to the proprietor of any house, that it is either faulty in its original construction, or has fallen into a state of dilapidation, or is in an unsanitary condition,—to compel the sale of the property at a fair valuation to any duly constituted improvement association.

3. *To secure that the abodes of the lower classes are not rendered dangerous to life*—(a) *by overcrowding*; (b) *by filth*; (c) *by disrepair*.

Why should this be thought and talked of as a tyrannical interference with the rights of property?

(a.) *By overcrowding.*—If the proprietors of stage-coaches and omnibuses are prevented from overcrowding these conveyances without the cry of tyranny being raised, why should the proprietors of a house, where helpless men and women and children spend, not a few hours, but their whole lives, not be similarly dealt with?

If the butcher and the fishmonger be prevented from selling unwholesome meat, why should the landlord not be prevented from letting unwholesome houses?

If we regulate, for the public safety, the number of people which our public conveyances are allowed to carry, why should we not also regulate, for the public safety, the number of human beings who may be crowded for days and nights together into one room?

If science tells us that a certain amount of air is as necessary to a man's life as a certain amount of food, and that, if he does not obtain it, he sickens, and eventually dies, are we to allow men, who make their living, and often their fortune, by grinding the faces of the poor, to squeeze them into places in such numbers that the necessary air cannot be supplied, that decency is outraged, and the very foundations of morality sapped? The *Times* newspaper truly said, in a recent article, "They (our rulers) must interfere, at least, on behalf of the innocent victims of their own and their neighbours' negligence, by fixing a minimum of breathing-room in cases where such protection shall be proved to be most needed." The Glasgow Police Act has a clause empowering the Magistrates to fix the number of inmates any house is capable of containing.

(b.) *By Filth, and (c.) by Disrepair.*—But the duty of the landlord does not stop when he has made his house once fit for habitation, and the duty of the magistrate does not stop when he has regulated the number of people who can safely be sheltered in it. Public safety requires that it should be kept clean and in good repair, and the Magistrate should see that there exist in every house the means of removing those noxious matters which too often poison the air, being retained under beds or in dark corners until the shades of evening permit them to be thrown over the windows into the close, where, sinking into the soil, or harbouring in the broken roadway, they poison a whole neighbourhood, and render the ordinary means of ventilation unattainable. Further, cleanliness is impossible without a due supply of water. It is much to be regretted that in Edinburgh the supply of this essential

to healthy and decent existence should be in the hands of a public company, who cannot be expected to sacrifice the interests of their shareholders for the public good. When water, instead of being freely provided as an essential to health, is made a luxury to be paid for, the worst consequences follow, as neither the person, the clothes, nor the house can possibly be kept in a proper sanitary condition. The surface of our skin is furnished with innumerable pores, which are the outlets of a system of drains by which noxious matter is removed from the blood. Shut up these drains by coating the skin with filth, and the noxious matter is either retained, poisoning the whole circulating system, or is removed by other organs, which, burdened with an additional share of duty, become diseased from overwork. Your Committee leave their readers to imagine what must be the effect of clothes washed in a scanty supply of water, and then hung up to dry in these miserable and noxious dens, and what the state of the family living in such a condition. The last evil might, to some extent, be remedied by—

4. *The Erection of Public Washing-Houses*, where women who have no convenience for washing and drying their clothes at home, could attend and wash their clothes for a moderate charge, which should also secure the use of a bleaching-green or drying-press. These institutions should be self-supporting, and might also be resorted to by women who take in washing as a means of livelihood.

This experiment has been partially tried in Edinburgh, and largely in London and other towns. In London public washing houses and baths have proved a great benefit and comfort to the lower classes. Most of them are self-supporting, and some have more than cleared the cost of their original erection.

To give an idea how largely the lower orders avail themselves of these establishments, your Committee append a return for one week of an establishment in London, kindly forwarded to them by Lord Dunfermline, whose interest in this, as well as in other means of benefiting the poor, is well known :—

TABLE XVIII.

Return of Public Baths and Wash-Houses, Saint James',
Westminster, for the Week ending August 3, 1867.

	BATHING.					WASHING.		
	First Class.	Second Class.	Swimming.	Number of Bathers.	Receipts.	Number of Washers.	Hours Washing.	Receipts.
					£. s. d.			£. s. d.
Sunday.....	49	222	97	368	3 16 8			
Monday.....	52	225	340	617	5 18 2	113	306½	2 11 1
Tuesday.....	60	162	204	426	4 8 11	160	637½	5 6 3
Wednesday.....	84	165	240	489	5 6 8	203	837½	6 19 7
Thursday.....	71	158	116	345	3 18 5	212	906	7 11 0
Friday.....	88	241	118	447	5 1 6	235	712	5 18 8
Saturday.....	275	682	384	1341	15 10 3	242	747	6 4 6
Soap, &c., Sold.....					1 18 5			1 3 11
Totals.....	679	1855	1499	4033	45 19 0	1165	4146½	35 15 0
Same Week, 1866.....					49 17 4			36 19 7
Same Week, 1865.....					41 16 2			31 1 2
Same Week, 1864.....					66 6 10			30 11 3

JAMES PANTON, Superintendent.

5. *Suppression of Street Begging.*—No forbearance should be shown to street beggars, tramps, and unlicensed hawkers, who victimise the charitable, corrupt our servants, and are usually vicious and dissipated. There is law enough to put them down, and it should be exercised.

6. *Providing the Means of Thorough and Complete Education.*—Chiefly in this must be our hope for the future. Long acquaintance with misery, degradation, and vice, has, in adults, almost destroyed the ability to feel and to regret their low social position, and a race of young im-

mortals is rapidly treading in their steps, to become more degraded still.

As the whole subject of national education must soon engage the attention of Parliament and the nation, your Committee do not propose to enter upon it here; they will merely note a few general principles which they believe to be applicable to the education provided for that class, into the necessities of which they have been appointed to enquire.

(A.) The cause of the neglect of education is not, in every case, the want of good schools and sound teachers, but arises very frequently from a want of appreciation among parents of the advantages education confers—perhaps, we should rather say, from a hideous selfishness, which makes them oppose anything that will interfere with their own low and sensual tastes.

(B.) While intellectual education will do much to elevate the taste and refine the mind, it is moral education which the children of these neglected districts chiefly need. Alas! no school can impart that in the way it is learned in the earliest years in a virtuous home, or counteract, during the few hours spent within its walls, the pernicious influence of vicious and abandoned parents or associates. Restore the home, re-establish the family, and you at once produce the moral elevation of those who are to come after us.

(C.) Education, like all the other benefits intended for this class of people, must not trust to its attractive, but to its aggressive power. It must not only be brought within their reach, it must also be pressed on their acceptance.

(D.) The law may interfere in the regulation of those "trades and businesses in which," to quote the words of Lord Shaftesbury, "the children, who may be counted by thousands, are, by the excess and nature of their toil, excluded from all hope or possibility of education, or even of repose; a state of things destructive alike to their souls and bodies." Of course, to restrain this may be opposed as an undue interference with the claims of the labour market. Well, the labour market undoubtedly has

claims ; but have helpless children no rights ? What is the use of law, unless to protect the weak against the selfishness of the strong ? What is civilisation, but the subordination of individual freedom to the general good ? The law prevents a selfish parent from starving the body of his child ; why should he not also be prevented from starving his mind ? Why should one section of the community, in order to lessen the price of labour, and to manufacture goods more cheaply, burden the other classes with the maintenance of the ignorance, poverty, and crime, which their selfishness has engendered ?

(E.) In the districts reported on by your Committee, it would appear, that out of 1685 of a population, 254 were at school, being in the proportion of one scholar to 6·6 of population.* But the amount of education attained by those at school must be small when their irregular attendance is taken into account, and when it is borne in mind that two years is the average period during which school is attended by the children of the working-classes.† So long ago as 1834, a pamphlet was published by the Rev. George Lewis, entitled “Scotland a Half Educated Nation, both in the Quantity and Quality of her Educational Institutions.” This work shows the following results, which your Committee place in a tabular form:—

* It is too likely that the same influence operated to swell the number of scholars that gave such a wonderfully good church attendance.—See page 16.

† Your Committee have not thought it necessary to say a word in favour of such universally recognised and efficient institutions as Ragged Schools and Reformatories. Their establishment has inaugurated a new era in social improvement, and their extension will be the means of operating on the young, the section of these lapsed classes chiefly capable of having their moral nature moulded and formed.

TABLE XIX.

Number of Population Attending School in certain Districts
in Scotland in 1834.

District.	Amount of Population.	Number at School.	Proportion of Population.
Highlands and Islands,	504,954	53,009	9.5
Aberdeen, Banff, Elgin, } and Moray, - - - }	215,260	19,970	10.8
14 Parishes in Presby- } tery of Auchterarder, } Perthshire, - - - }	24,025	2,811	8.5 *
Parish of Old Machar,	25,107	1,000	25.1
Dundee, - - -	50,000	3,700	13.5
Canongate, Edinburgh,	10,175	827	12.3
Abbey Parish, Paisley,	31,088	1,711	18.2

* The average of the various proportions of the whole 14 parishes.

It is satisfactory to find that there is considerable improvement in this respect, as appears from the following table, which shows the state of matters as reported by the Royal Commission on Education last year. It is, therefore, the latest authentic information we have on the subject.

From it (Table XX.), we find that in some counties a ratio nearly equalling that of Prussia is obtained,—as Selkirk, 1 in 6.1; Banff and Forfar, 1 in 6.9. As we go north, however, this favourable state of matters disappears—Argyll, 1 in 8.1; Ross and Cromarty, 1 in 8.4; Sutherland, 1 in 8.6; Orkney, 1 in 8.7; and Shetland, 1 in 18. The average over all Scotland is 1 in 7.9. But if the quality of the education be considered as well as the quantity, our inferiority would be more apparent.

TABLE XX.

Showing the Number of Scholars in each County in Scotland, with the Proportion to the Population as at the Census of 1861.

COUNTY.	Population. See Note below.	Number of Scholars on Roll.	Ratio to Pop- ulation, 1 in	Number of Scholars in Attendance.	Ratio to Pop- ulation, 1 in
†Aberdeen, . . .	148,146	23,786	6.2	20,655	7.1
Argyll, . . .	83,859	12,934	6.4	10,252	8.1
†Ayr, . . .	166,900	24,753	6.7	19,278	8.6
Banff, . . .	56,020	9,288	6.0	8,016	6.9
Berwick, . . .	36,488	6,342	5.7	5,423	6.7
Bute, . . .	16,331	2,396	6.8	2,066	7.9
Caithness, . . .	42,200	5,593	7.5	4,398	9.5
Clackmannan, . . .	20,122	3,385	5.9	2,916	6.9
Dumbarton, . . .	54,179	6,926	7.8	5,632	9.6
†Dumfries, . . .	62,381	10,693	5.8	9,142	6.8
†Edinburgh, . . .	46,622	7,399	6.3	6,088	7.6
Elgin, . . .	44,218	7,117	6.2	6,001	7.3
†Fife, . . .	147,416	24,905	5.9	20,563	7.1
†Forfar, . . .	115,086	19,099	6.0	16,507	6.9
Haddington, . . .	37,626	6,049	6.2	5,074	7.4
†Inverness, . . .	66,629	9,251	7.2	6,845	9.7
Kincardine, . . .	34,854	5,329	6.5	4,535	7.6
Kinross, . . .	8,731	1,256	6.9	1,120	7.7
Kirkcudbright, . . .	42,495	7,284	5.8	6,116	6.9
†Lanark, . . .	229,638	32,547	7.0	25,617	8.9
†Linlithgow, . . .	33,261	5,655	5.8	4,350	7.6
Nairn, . . .	8,347	1,177	7.0	1,016	8.2
Orkney, . . .	32,395	4,501	7.1	3,700	8.7
Shetland, . . .	31,670	2,223	14.2	1,756	18.0
Peebles, . . .	11,300	1,811	6.2	1,565	7.2
†Perth, . . .	107,104	16,454	6.5	13,977	7.6
†Renfrew, . . .	71,755	9,467	7.5	7,265	9.8
Ross & Cromarty, . . .	82,427	12,142	6.7	9,752	8.4
Roxburgh, . . .	53,722	8,100	6.6	7,039	7.6
Selkirk, . . .	10,410	1,908	5.4	1,685	6.1
Stirling, . . .	88,138	14,081	6.2	11,569	7.6
Sutherland, . . .	24,157	3,629	6.6	2,784	8.6
†Wigtown, . . .	35,397	5,315	6.6	4,387	8.0
Total,	2,050,024	312,795	6.5	257,089	7.9

N.B.—The population of the several Parishes and Districts from which no Returns by the Registrars have been received, is deducted from the total population of the Counties in which such Parishes and Districts are situated,—the Counties in question being indicated in the above Abstract by a †. The figures in the Abstract thus apply to the actual population from which Returns have been received.

Compare with this, the state of foreign countries, where the law obliges the children to attend school, regarding ignorance as a crime against the community. In Switzerland, *one-fifth* of all the people are in regular daily attendance at school; in Prussia, Denmark, and Germany, generally *one-sixth* of the people attend the school regularly.

7. *Abatement of the temptations to drink.*—The great fact has been shown in this Report, that drinking, misery, and crime are invariably associated, and that intemperance not only promotes every kind of evil, but interferes with the progress of education, sanitary reform, and all good. It does more to destroy the wholesome influence of the family, and ruin the character of the home than all other causes put together. If something be not done to check the prevalence of this pernicious vice, all the other remedies your Committee may suggest will prove inefficacious.

Our whole licensing system must be revised. If public-houses are necessary, they are necessary evils, and should be so distributed as simply to supply a public demand, and in doing so, to prove as little of a temptation as possible. The work of reducing their number is vain, if, in proportion as some are weeded out in a given locality, the remainder are permitted to enlarge their premises.

Your Committee commend this subject to the attention of those on whom the Legislature has thrown the responsibility of granting licences. Some uniform system should be adopted, and steadily adhered to.

With regard to the "Shebeens," which, in Edinburgh as elsewhere, have become an alarming social nuisance, we much fear that their utter suppression will be a most difficult task; at the same time, we are satisfied that there is law sufficient to exert a salutary influence in their diminution, and your Committee regard with satisfaction all efforts on the part of the Authorities to put that law in force. These places, more demoralising than the open dram shop, have not grown up in consequence of the reduction of the

number of public-houses, as is too generally supposed. They are supplements, not substitutes. They are places to which the dissolute resort when the public-houses are closed, and where they are enabled to gratify their depraved appetites, and prolong their drunken orgies commenced in the public-house.

Your Committee have also spoken of the effect of the "drinking usages" which prevail among our artisans. Every effort should be made for their abolition by those in authority, as well as by employers of labour, and by all interested in the welfare of the working-classes. To promote this end, the following declaration was subscribed some years ago by nearly 2000 of the principal employers in London:—

"ARTIFICIAL AND COMPULSORY DRINKING USAGES."

"We, Subscribers, believe that the drinking usages of the factories and workshops, such as compulsory drink fines and footings, lead to extensive evil."

"That their imperious character is contrary to all true liberty."

"That such an extensive system of cruelty and injustice is not kept up, so far as we know, in the social customs of any other nation."

"That by means of this compulsory or artificial system, young men are often in a manner forced to become drunkards."

"That drunkards, who would wish to reform, are, by these domineering and arbitrary customs, prevented from putting their good resolutions in force."

"That hereby a dangerous and mischievous tax of many millions a year is imposed by workmen on one another without consent of the parties paying."

"We consider the following penalties instituted to keep up the drinking, and paying of fines and footings, to be of the most revolting and oppressive description, viz.:—Sending men to Coventry, putting them out of the pale of good will and friendship and kind assistance of brother workmen, inhumanly refusing to teach apprentices work, their drink footings being unpaid, constraining starving men, who from sickness or otherwise have been out of work, or, indeed, any parties whatever, to pay journeymen's drink footings by threats and other means, secreting men's clothes, and dirtying, tarring, cutting, and destroying them, gapping, notching, or otherwise injuring tools, or sending clothes or tools to the pawnbroker's shop, and, in a felonious manner, pledging

them for the regulation drink fines, forming conspiracies to force out of workshops and factories men who decline to pay footings, maltreating respectable men on this account by a variety of insults, blows, and other injuries."

"We farther express our disapprobation of any pecuniary connection between the foremen of factories and workshops and individuals who keep public-houses, or foremen keeping public-houses themselves, and all bribing of foremen and others by drink to bestow work."

"We object to payment of wages in public-houses, as having a more extensively ruinous tendency, and also to clustering or grouping men together with large bank notes or gold, leaving them to procure change where they can; and, in conclusion, we bear testimony, from our constant and painful experience, to the injurious consequences of the careless and unmeaning connection that has been constituted in this country between business and strong drink in a variety of ways too multifarious to be here enumerated."

8. *Making existing educational establishments more available for the poor.*—There are probably few towns so rich in educational endowments as Edinburgh. It is surely worth enquiring whether the citizens get all the benefit from these that their pious founders intended. Take the oldest and richest of them all, Heriot's Hospital, founded in 1659. By the will of George Heriot, the funds which he bequeathed for the Hospital were "to bee ymployed for the mainetenance releife bringing vpp and educacōn of soe manie poore fatherlesse boyes freemens sonnes of that towne of Edonburgh." George Heriot gave power to Dr Balcanquall, Dean of Rochester, to frame statutes for the government of the Hospital, and he seems to have extended the terms of admission considerably beyond those contemplated by the testator. It is provided in these statutes—"We doe chaarge the consciences of the electouris in the Lord that they chuse no Burges childreine into these places if thair parentis be weill and sufficientlie able te manteyne yame since the intentioun of the Founder is onlie to releive the puire." Do the inmates of that magnificent monastic establishment all answer to that description? Are not some of them the sons of well-to-do shopkeepers, who are taken from the family and home

influences, to receive in charity an education for which their parents are quite able to pay? And even the day schools have not, in every instance, been planted in the most destitute districts; while many of them educate gratuitously children whose parents were before able and willing to pay for their schooling, thereby inflicting a moral evil probably incalculably greater than any good they can confer.

9. *Reconsideration of the Poor Law.*—If it be true, and cannot be denied that our legal provision for the maintenance of the poor is extending and deepening poverty, and pressing as a heavy burden on the nation, without diminishing suffering and distress, surely it were wise to reconsider the whole of our arrangements regarding it. We can conceive no fitter subject of enquiry for a Parliamentary Committee or Royal Commission; and, certainly, our Civic rulers are armed with sufficient facts to warrant them in demanding it. At all events, the unequal pressure of the burden, and the evils engendered in that way, might be got rid of by procuring for Scotland a measure similar to the Union Chargeability Act of England. Many suggestions might be made for altering the present system of relieving the poor, but as your Committee have resolved in this Report not to insert a single recommendation which has not stood the test of experience elsewhere, they say no more on this subject.

10. *Appointment of a Sanitary Committee of the Town Council.*—Could such a committee, composed of those who understand sanitary matters, and who are not likely to be influenced by the selfish clamours of house proprietors, be appointed, a reasonable hope might be entertained of the Town Council, on their recommendation, seriously taking up and carrying out remedial measures founded on the foregoing suggestions.

II. *Remedies which can only be applied by those who are superior to the sufferers in the social scale.*

Your Committee have traced much of the domestic misery which exists in the abodes of the poor to the destruction among them of the hallowed relationship of the family, the natural corrective which divine wisdom has provided for the selfish tendencies of human nature. Just as the due regulation of the household suffers from the neglect of family ties, so the due regulation of the community suffers when men forget their duty to their fellow-men. If reckless expenditure on selfish gratification be the cause of much misery among the poor, it is by no means confined to that class, while they are also made to suffer by the avaricious hoarding or luxurious wasting of those who might otherwise have reached out to them a helping hand. Was it not because he saw the prevalence of a tendency to neglect their duty to those beneath them in the social scale that the aged Paul, instructing his youthful follower, enjoined him to "charge them that are rich in this world that they be not high-minded, nor trust in uncertain riches, but in the living God, who giveth us richly all things to enjoy; that they do good; that they be rich in good works, ready to distribute, willing to communicate, laying up in store for themselves a good foundation against the time to come, that they may lay hold on eternal life."—(1 Tim. vi. 17—19).

1. *Systematic house-to-house visitation.*—It is too often overlooked that money is, by no means, the only talent for which the upper classes in society have to give an account. Part of their time must also be dedicated to the poor, and ought not all to be absorbed in avaricious acquisition, or the search after selfish gratification. It is not by merely sending money, it is not by merely opening refuges and means of elevation, that the lapsed classes will be restored. "We know," says Dr Chalmers, "of no expedient by which this woful degeneracy can be arrested and recalled, but an actual search and entry

upon the the territory of wickedness. A mere signal of invitation is not enough. In reference to the great majority, and in reference to the more needful, this was as powerless as the bidding to the marriage feast of the parable. We must have recourse at last to the final experiment that was adopted on that occasion, or, in other words, go out to the streets and the highways, and by every fair measure of moral and personal and friendly application, compel the multitudes to come in."—(*Christian Polity of a Nation*.—*Collins' Edition of Works*, xiv. 84.) The principles he proclaimed with trumpet tones of solemn warning, and urged with affectionate earnestness, he also put in practice; and the result of his operations demonstrated, that, if a well-organised voluntary agency can be brought to bear on a vicious and neglected population, it can achieve, at a minimum expenditure of time, labour, and money, a maximum of good, which no salaried agents or legal provision for pauperism could ever accomplish.

Although the general correctness of his views has been fully recognised by many in this country, yet the people of other lands are far in advance of us in giving them a practical application. From France and Germany, and from beyond the Atlantic, we hear of the great good which results from the operation of principles identical with many of those he enunciated, in so far as the bringing to bear an "aggressive" agency, and a systematic and well-organised house-to-house visitation of the poor is concerned. Reasons, however, exist in these countries, and are far from being inoperative in Edinburgh, which led those by whom these agencies were established, not to intermeddle with religious teaching, but to limit their operation strictly to the relief of the temporal wants of the poor.

Three advantages are gained by this limitation—

1st, Every man, whatever his religious opinions may be, is free to unite with others in prosecuting this great work of charity, which can only be successful when promoted by that systematic and thorough co-operation by which such great

results have been achieved in other departments of human labour.

2*d*, It sets free ministers of religion, missionaries, and Bible-women, whose peculiar duty it is to attend to the spiritual wants of the poor, from stimulating that tendency to hypocrisy and dissimulation which is sure to follow the footsteps even of the most discerning minister of religion, when he seeks to act also as the distributor of his own or others' charity.*

3*d*, In so far as the efforts of lay agencies are successful in alleviating the temporal condition of the poor, they remove many obstacles to the reception of the Gospel, and open the way for the ministers of religion to exercise their more peculiar functions; for, to whatever extent the sense of neglect and the pressure of severe want is removed, to that extent will the ground be the better prepared for the reception of the precious seed which it is the privilege of the Clergy to sow.

* To strengthen the opinion of the impolicy and danger to the poor of the same agents being employed to minister both in temporal and in spiritual things, your Committee request special attention to the three following extracts :—

Dr Chalmers said—"Your ladies go about among the poor with a tract in one hand and a shilling in the other. How *can* their eye be single? It just keeps veering from the tract to the shilling." And again—

"It has never been enough adverted to, that a process for Christianizing the people is sure to be tainted and enfeebled when there is allied with it a process for alimentering the people; there lies a moral impossibility in the way of accomplishing these two objects, by the working of one and the same machinery."

Dr Guthrie, in his address delivered in London in December 1867, thus endorses the same sentiment :—"Experience has taught me, and many besides, that when the minister of religion is known as an almoner of charity, it leads to an extraordinary amount of pretence and hypocrisy, to something no better than prison religion; and of all religions that which prisons foster is the worst."

Mrs Raynard, the founder of the Bible Women's Mission, says :—"We never think it right to dispense relief by the hand of a Bible-woman, if we can help it. It is not that we do not trust her, but it hinders her true usefulness."

It may be further noted, that the "Scripture Readers' Society," and other societies in England, have been forced, by experience, rigorously to adhere to this principle.

Your Committee may thus describe the origin of the plan which is in operation in America :—

About a quarter of a century ago, a number of philanthropic citizens of New York, being impressed with the failure of the efforts of all existing societies to grapple with the increasing pauperism which prevailed there, appointed a committee of their number to enquire into the causes of the acknowledged want of success of the existing charities, and also to devise, if possible, a better scheme of dispensing relief. This committee traced the evils of the then existing system to four great heads :—

First, The want of discrimination in giving charity.

Second, The want of concerted action among the various charitable societies.

Third, The want of sufficient personal intercourse, sympathy, and counsel, between the giver and receiver of charity.

Fourth, The want of any ability in the State Poor Law to remove the causes of poverty, and its tendency, therefore, to increase the amount.

The remedy this committee suggested, and which was carried out, and has been in operation since 1844, was the formation of the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor. It may be described in a single sentence as a union of the whole city, without reference to sect or party, for the purposes of thoroughly and systematically investigating and relieving the temporal wants of the poor. It in no way interferes with any agencies for imparting spiritual instruction, or with any societies already established for rendering temporal aid to the needy ; but rather by promoting co-operation among them, and by affording them a ready means of communication in regard to their work, it enables them to avoid "overlapping and thwarting each other's efforts, so that by its assistance their means have been economised, and their operations facilitated."* Your

* For a full account of the results, principles, and methods pursued by this interesting Association, we refer our readers to a paper by Dr Norman Macleod, in the number of *Good Words* for August 1866, also to a pamphlet

Committee are satisfied that no one who is ignorant of the facts and arguments contained in the pamphlets referred to in the footnote, is qualified to pronounce a judgment on the recommendations of this Report. The scheme is not a utopian one; it has been worked in New York for upwards of twenty years, with a success that may well encourage a trial of it in other places.

It must be borne in mind, also, that in New York the hindrances to the successful operation of the scheme far surpass any which it could encounter in Edinburgh. The city government there is acknowledged to be corrupt and inefficient; the sanitary condition peculiarly unfavourable; while nearly a quarter of a million of emigrants arrive there annually, many of whom are taken from the most depraved and criminal class of our European cities.

Your Committee understand that plans, more or less similar, are beneficially carried out in different cities of the United States. But, as the condition of things in those places is far more favourable than in New York, or probably than in Edinburgh, your Committee will briefly refer to the experience of European cities. In Paris, where systematic measures of visitation and relief of the poor have been employed for many years, the proportion of pauperism, according to the last returns, is stated to be now only one pauper to every 17·12 inhabitants; while the economy of the system employed is such, that it has been carefully estimated, that were it practised here, there would be an immediate money saving almost equal to the entire amount of our voluntary charitable contributions.* It must not be supposed that this great saving of

just published by Dr Norman Macleod, entitled "How can we best Relieve our deserving Poor?"—Alexander Strahan, 1867—in which he eloquently advocates the application of the scheme to our own neglected cities; and also to the admirable pamphlet referred to in our prefatory note, entitled "How to Relieve the Poor of Edinburgh and other great cities, without Increasing Pauperism, a tried, economical, and successful plan"—Edmonston & Douglas, 1866.

* *The Poor of Paris*.—A recent return of the indigent class in Paris gives us the following particulars;—In the population of Paris in 1866, there

funds is effected through any neglect of the needy. Travelers and competent authorities all concur in the testimony that, during recent years, there is scarcely a semblance of poverty to be observed in that great city, compared with the fearful destitution and misery so apparent in Edinburgh, where the recipients of relief are twice as numerous as in the French capital. This result in Paris is mainly to be ascribed to the voluntary, but thoroughly organised efforts of several hundreds of benevolent persons of both sexes, and of various ranks, some connected with the Court, others engaged in professions and trades, none of whom necessarily belong to any religious order. These visitors have each a small district in the poorer quarters of the city under their charge, where they search out, encourage, and properly aid the industrious deserving poor, and thus preserve them from falling into the ranks of the lapsed classes.*

Not only in France, but in different German cities, most encouraging results, during recent years, have been realised, from the adoption of systematic charitable measures. In the Prussian city of Elberfeld, which now contains upwards of 61,000 inhabitants, pauperism had, during several years, gradually increased, until at last it had reached such an alarming extent, that every ninth or tenth person was in receipt of relief,—a proportion as great as that to which it has attained in Edinburgh. The citizens, moved by the misery around them, and burdened by the augmenting taxation and demands for charitable aid, resolved, with the co-operation of the authorities, to adopt measures for the systematic and

were 40,644 families, comprising 105,119 individuals, or one person out of every 17·12 was a registered and relieved pauper. The richest quarter is the "fashionable 9th arrondissement" (l'Elysee), in which there is only one pauper out of 53·65 inhabitants; the poorest is the "Gobelins," where one out of 6·21 get relief. It appears that three-fourths of the persons seeking relief in Paris do not really belong to the city, but are country people, tempted to Paris by what seems to them—persons totally ignorant of the increased rate of living here—fabulous wages.

* Children of Lutetia, by Blanchard Jerrold.

regular visitation and relief of the poor. The result has been that within a few years, according to official estimates, the entire poverty of the city has been reduced more than two-thirds, notwithstanding that the population, during the same period, has increased at the rate of more than 1000 a year.

An official published report, procured for your Committee, and courteously furnished by the Ober-Burgermeister (chief magistrate) of Elberfeld, and which was prepared by the President of the Poor Law Board of that city, states that "the population in 1855 amounted to 50,612 persons. Relief was extended to 4224 in their own homes, and to 600 in charitable institutions; the whole number relieved was therefore 4824; consequently, of every hundred of the population, nine and one-half received relief. In December 1864 the population amounted to 61,000; relief was given to 1250 poor in their own homes, and to 550 in charitable institutions;—whole amount 1800 persons: consequently, in every hundred of the inhabitants, less than three received public relief." The report furnishes conclusive evidence that within the brief period of nine years, the poverty of the city was permanently reduced more than two-thirds. It also contains detailed information regarding the annual expenditure for the poor, which shows that the entire sum spent in out-door relief, and by the various charitable institutions, including the hospitals and orphanages has, during late years, been less than one-half the amount which was expended before the systematic measures were brought into operation. The circumstances of the city during the years referred to were extremely unfavourable. The Rev. W. Fleming Stevenson, who has given special attention to the operation and results of philanthropic work in Germany, informs us that while the experiment was being tried "there was a continuance of hard years, when prices were high and work was slack. There was misapprehension, and the difficulty of an unfamiliar project. The accumulating poverty of half a century had to be contended with. When these things are considered, it will be found that the figures are

under a true estimate of the gain. Nor has it been impracticable to maintain an efficient staff of visitors. Last year the number of applicants for visitorships far exceeded 252; instead of requesting persons to act, the board have always been in a position to select. At first, it was almost at the peril of the visitors' lives that they went among the poor; now, they bring a joy into every household. And the impulse has reacted upon them. They have learned *how* it is more blessed to give than to receive, they have an unselfish doing of good daily asserting itself against the absorbing force of business and careful worldliness, new lights have broken upon many, new sympathies been stirred in them, the harsh repulse of class to class is disappearing, there is mutual knowledge and reliance between the rich and the poor." It appears that while the number of paupers has been reduced two-thirds, the amount of expenditure has been only diminished by one-half. This is to be explained by the fact that the poor are now so thoroughly and effectively relieved, that little or no room is left for the operation of private charity. Supposing equally effective measures to be employed with a like result in Edinburgh, where, according to careful calculation, upwards of £112,000 are now raised in various ways, and expended annually for the relief of the poor, the annual saving which would be effected cannot be estimated at less than from £50,000 to £60,000.

Reports recently published in America give a most favourable account of the results of the systematic visitation and relief of the poor there. Among these reports there is one from that rapidly increasing city of the far west, Chicago, which has now a population of upwards of 200,000; and although the measures referred to have been in operation there but a comparatively short time, they are already producing satisfactory results.

Your Committee, with such examples before them, and having regard to existing circumstances here, are unable to see any adequate reasons for believing that the adoption of like measures in Edinburgh would not prove equally effective.

And if results even approximating to those we have mentioned were realised here, what cause should we have for profound thankfulness! If even one-half of the fearful poverty which now prevails, with all its attendant evils, could be utterly swept away within a few years, surely it would afford us a rich compensation for whatever personal effort may be required. Considering the remarkable success which has attended the application of these remedial measures in other towns, your Committee beg strongly to recommend that an effort should be made to secure their application to the suffering poor of our own city; and they, therefore, respectfully suggest that a committee of gentlemen be selected, without reference to sect or party, carefully to consider and mature the details of a scheme of house-to-house visitation, adapted to the local requirements of Edinburgh.

The steadily increasing, and already truly appalling amount of poverty, misery, and wretchedness, which prevails in many parts of Edinburgh, and which all the existing charitable arrangements have hitherto failed to arrest, clearly indicates, in the opinion of your Committee, the necessity for the application of the most systematic and business-like correctives which can be applied, and which the experience of other cities has proved are admirably suited to meet the requirements of such a population.

While your Committee can scarcely anticipate that all will fully recognise the importance or practicability of introducing improved charitable measures, they trust that, considering the admitted inadequacy of existing arrangements, few will be disposed to hinder, in any degree, the efforts of men, of all parties and denominations, who are ready to unite in making a systematic effort to overcome that increasing pauperism and misery which all must sincerely deplore; and your Committee cannot doubt that the many experienced men, who are interested, will be able readily to arrange and bring into operation such practicable measures as will secure results approximating at least to those realised in other places. Your Committee duly appreciate

the many difficulties of a local character which must be encountered, especially at the commencement of any really useful comprehensive effort; but they do not deem them so discouraging as many which have been readily overcome in other places, especially as they believe that Edinburgh possesses as much practical sympathy and administrative ability as other cities, where the scheme is being efficiently carried out.

One of the most valuable features of this plan is, that it brings the rich and poor more together, and thus counteracts that separation of classes, the evil influence of which has been already deprecated. The importance of this is admitted by all who have studied the subject. It was the key-stone of Dr Chalmers' system; it seems to be the secret of the marked success which has attended the plan your Committee have shown to be carried out in France, Germany, and America. Mr F. C. Tufnell, one of the most intelligent Commissioners the English Poor Law Board ever had, thus wrote in 1833:—"The personal attention of the rich to the poor seems to be one of the most efficient modes of preventing pauperism. It is a subject of perpetual complaint, that the poor do not receive the charities of the rich with gratitude. The reason of this appears to be that the donation of a few shillings from a rich man to a poor one is no subtraction from the giver's comforts, and, consequently, is no proof of his interest in the other's welfare. It seems natural and reasonable that there should be some proportion preserved between the gratitude felt for a favour conferred, and the difficulty or inconvenience that the doer of it is put to in conferring it. If the rich give their time instead of their money to the poor, they part with a commodity which the poor see is valuable to the givers, and, consequently, esteem the attention the more, as it implies an interest in their prosperity, and a feeling seems to be engendered in their minds of unwillingness to press on the kindness of those who thus prove themselves ready to sympathise with them in distress, and to do their utmost to relieve it. This feeling acts as a spur to the exertions of the poor;

their efforts to depend on their own resources are greater; and, consequently, the chance of their becoming dependent on the bounty of others less."

If, as your Committee confidently believe, the enlightened and humane men and women of Edinburgh are found willing to do what the French, Germans, and Americans recognise to be at once their duty and their privilege, and will steadily, under well organised agency, work out such a scheme of house-to-house visitation, the poor will be taught that, though vulgarly talked of as "hands," they are not outcasts, but are recognised as having hearts open to human sympathies, and souls that may be lost or won. It will also teach the visitors the happiness of knowing that helping those of our fellows who require our aid, brings with it a rich reward; and that the time redeemed for this purpose from the pursuit of wealth or pleasure, will be "twice blessed—blessing both him that gives, and him that takes."

Independently altogether of the direct advantages springing from the establishment of such an agency, many of an indirect character also would, in Edinburgh, as in other places, flow from it; the wants of the poor would become definitely known which would lead to the adoption of various measures which would enable the poor to help themselves, and would thus not only be beneficial to them, but would also economise the resources of the benevolent. It would also provide a central office, where every one could refer all applicants for aid, and where, after the careful examination of such applicants by the Visitors of the district where they dwell, those found to be worthy objects of benevolence could be directed to any charity that specially met their case, or, if there were none such, might be relieved out of a central fund; and where all cases of doubtful character could be referred for thorough investigation, so as to protect the benevolent from the wiles of the impostor.

For further details regarding the advantages of this scheme, we must again refer to the pamphlet, "How to Relieve the

Poor of Edinburgh," &c. What is wanted is to have here, as in other towns, where the plan is in successful operation, a Lay Society, confining its attention to the temporal wants of the poor; distributing its visitors methodically and systematically over the city, in very small readily visited districts, so that all needy persons may become known, and, as far as possible, aided to help themselves before they sink from neglect into disease and pauperism; a Society managed by men who will command the confidence of all parties; having its operations conducted in the most economical and business like manner; setting free the clergy and other spiritual agents to attend to their proper vocation; interfering in no way with private or legal charities, or the societies which dispense them, except to aid, by the knowledge it possesses, when that aid is sought. If such an organisation has been found, in other cities, to have prevented imposture and waste; to have suppressed mendicity; to have promoted habits of temperance, providence, and thrift; to have lessened pauperism and crime; to have induced the poor to avail themselves of educational advantages for their children; if work has been provided for the industrious, and shame made to stimulate the idle; if a friendly intercourse has been re-established between classes of society, too long regarding each other with hatred and distrust, surely, with the admitted failure of all that has been previously done to cope with the gigantic extent of the evil, a sufficient case has been made out for trying the remedy in Edinburgh.

While we have been investigating, reporting, and talking, benevolent men in London are commencing action, and have already brought into operation some of the leading features of this scheme. Within the past few weeks, the supporters and managers of various charitable agencies, which have hitherto worked independently of each other, have decided to establish a Union Relief Organization, for the districts where destitution especially prevails, in order to avoid overlapping each other's operations. The plan proposed is—

"To receive and examine all applications for assistance ; to organise a house-to-house visitation, and secure that the dwelling of each recipient of relief be from time to time visited by some member of the organization ; to determine the source through which relief should in each case be granted ; to organise kinds of work suited to the ages, strength, and skill of the applicants ; to provide superintendents of labour, and to keep regular accounts of all their expenditure."

It is intended that assistance should be given only to those who have not as yet fallen into the pauper class, and that all cases of chronic indigence should be referred to the Board of Guardians, between whom and the Local Relief Committees it is expected that a cordial understanding will exist. The numerous philanthropists of all denominations who have concurred in the arrangement, anticipate that it cannot fail to accomplish great good, by enabling the different charitable agencies to avoid the serious evils which have resulted from the absence of their concerted action, and that it will, in various ways, prove highly beneficial to the poor, and advance the interests of all classes in the community.

III.—*Preventive measures which can be applied by the working-classes themselves, either by their unaided efforts, or with the encouragement and assistance of others.*

It is on this class of remedies that our greatest reliance may be placed, and it is by their power to recommend and enforce them that the lay visitors will be most successful in the work of moral restoration.

In suggesting them, your Committee are of course limited by the character of the public meeting, as well as of the instructions given to them. Believing, as they do, that there is but one instrumentality capable of thoroughly changing a corrupted nature, and imparting new life to souls dead in trespasses and sins, they are not, on that account, to forego the employment of auxiliary, if less thorough and effective, means.

A. *Promotion of habits of Temperance.*—In the first rank, your Committee would recommend that all available and judicious means should be employed to protect the poor from temptations to form habits of drunkenness, and to impress on them the advantages of temperance; for, with the prevalence of this virtue, other improvements may be readily realised; whereas, unless this is maintained, but little good can result from other means of reclamation that may be adopted.

Your Committee can further only briefly notice a very few of those institutions which, by cultivating provident and careful habits, have been found efficacious. Some recommended by your Committee may seem more suited to a class above that regarding whom they were specially appointed to enquire; but if institutions which foster habits of self-reliance and providence were introduced among our working-classes generally, the augmentation of the lapsed classes from the ranks of those above them would be, to a great extent, prevented. At the same time, every one of these societies to which we shall refer, however largely it may bulk now, had but a small and insignificant beginning—so small, so insignificant, that no district can be too poor to imitate it. Your Committee have also been careful to mention no scheme which has not proved thoroughly successful elsewhere; so that, however utopian some of them may appear to those who are not familiar with the habits of working-men, your Committee can meet objectors with the argument, that surely there is nothing in the national character of the Scotch to make them less cautious or less provident than the English, and therefore that there is no reason why schemes that have been eminently successful in Manchester, Birmingham, or Yorkshire should utterly fail when introduced into Edinburgh or Glasgow. Philanthropists, in striving to teach the poor how to retrieve their poverty by helping themselves, are fain to call in the aid of schemes which owed their origin to the genius, and their success to the energy, of the working-man.

“Clearly the legislation embodied in the Benefit Building Societies’ Act, and the Industrial and Provident Societies’ Act,

and in those that have grown out of the latter, has been anticipated by the spontaneous efforts of the working-classes.* The Building Society, the Co-operative Society, is not the creature of Parliament, but the workman's own creation. Each has—as the Friendly Society, the Loan Society, the Savings' Bank had before, as the Trade Society, the Arbitration Council is having now—a pre-Parliamentary history, culminating, or to culminate, in some “Blue Book” of a Select Committee, which ends by recognising the fact that the institution exists, and has succeeded in maintaining itself outside of the law, and deserves, or requires to be brought within it.”†

1. *Savings' Banks*.—The first and simplest plan for calling out the prudence of the working-man is by inducing him to be a DEPOSITOR IN A SAVINGS' BANK. The Post-office banks will tend to bring these conveniences more within reach of all classes; but the rate of interest appears too small, and the prospect of ultimate benefit too remote, to prove very attractive to the working-classes. The depositors in these institutions are chiefly clerks with small salaries, petty tradesmen, and domestic servants. In Edinburgh, where savings' banks were first established (1809), it appears that there are:—Number of accounts open, 36,702; Total amount owing to depositors, £578,591; Annual number of receipts from depositors, 71,589; Annual number of payments to depositors, 49,306; Average amount of receipts from depositors, £2, 14s. 10d; Average amount of payments to depositors, £5, 1s. 10d.

2. *Penny (District) Savings' Banks*.—An institution more likely to be useful to the working-classes is THE PENNY SAVINGS' BANK, recommended by Mr Arkroyd, at the Liver-

* See the preamble of the “Building Societies' Act”;—“Whereas Societies exist principally among the industrious classes, for the purpose of raising, by small periodical subscriptions,” &c.

+ Progress of the Working-Classes from 1832 to 1867, by J. M. Ludlow and Lloyd Jones, page 95.

pool meeting of the Social Science Association in 1858. The idea was, however, first started by Dr Chalmers, who called them territorial banks. Their object is, of course, to induce operatives to husband their resources, and thus acquire provident habits. This object is fulfilled, as all objects for benefiting the poor must be fulfilled, by bringing the means of deposit to their very door. A central bank of this kind in Glasgow has about thirty agencies. For all the details of management, guarantee against loss, &c., we must refer to Mr Arkroyd's paper (*Transactions of Social Science Association* 1858, p. 648). In a subsequent paper, by the same gentleman, at the meeting at Glasgow (*Transactions* 1860, p. 864), he gives some interesting details of the success of the scheme. The Yorkshire Penny Savings' Bank commenced business on the 1st May 1859. At first the progress was slow. At the end of 1859 there were twenty-four branches; on the 30th September 1860, there were 805 in active operation. "The invested funds of the bank, which on the 31st of December 1859 amounted to £2,594, 12s. 6d., had on the 30th September 1860, reached £18,000, the actual amount received from 25,000 depositors, being above £24,000, and the withdrawals during the period £6,000." Mr Arkroyd's report concludes by informing us—"The managers are now satisfied that the bank is destined, under proper management, to become one of the largest and most useful of these institutions which raise the social condition of the working-classes, and which are calculated, under the blessing of Providence, to unite in firmer and stronger bonds all classes of this country."

3. *Benefit or Provident Societies.*—However useful the penny bank may be as a safe investment for the savings of the working-man, there is a time in the history of almost every operative when accident or sickness overtakes him, and when the savings of a laborious life are liable to be dissipated in carrying him through the evil day. But the workman is not without resource against such emergencies. By collecting the savings of the many into a

common fund, provision is made to meet such casualties; for out of a large number of contributors, only a few will require to become claimants in any one year, so that those who are blessed with good health, voluntarily tax themselves for the support of those who are visited by sickness, or struck down by accident, expecting the same benefit should a like calamity overtake themselves. The labour of the working-man is his only capital, and like other capitalists, he felt the necessity of insuring it, if he would maintain his independence. The *experience* of this led working-men to form

4. *Yearly Societies, Friendly Societies, or Benefit Clubs.* These are of two classes. ↑

A. *Yearly Societies.*—Where the inhabitants of a village, parish, or neighbourhood unite together and pay weekly sums, out of which they are entitled to receive a certain weekly allowance during sickness, and a payment towards funeral expenses in the case of death. With this payment to the sick or burial fund is often associated a small weekly payment to a savings' fund, generally reserved to meet the rent when that is paid half-yearly. The ordinary contribution to the sickness fund is 2d. per week; and in the best conducted of these societies it is seldom all spent, but an allowance of from 5s. to 7s. 6d. is often returned. Of course any interest accruing on the deposits is added to the fund. To those societies which are annually dissolved, there are several objections.

1st, They often meet in public-houses, and the managers are tempted to take something at their weekly meetings "for the good of the house."

2d, The younger and healthier members who compose the bulk of these societies naturally object to allow elderly or infirm people to enter; so that men are excluded from all participation in the benefit, just at the time when they are likely to need it most.

3d, All members pay alike, and yet the chances of all are not equal. One example may suffice. A man with a large

family is likely to require funeral money for a child; a risk which the bachelor escapes, although he contributes to the fund. In some societies this is obviated by making a separate funeral fund for wives and children.

4th, There is seldom sufficient protection against fraud or embezzlement by dishonest officials. Struck with these evils, and, at the same time, deeply sensible of the good such institutions were calculated to produce, the respected minister of St Stephen's, Edinburgh, the Rev. Dr Muir, founded a yearly society for his own parish nineteen years ago. Since its commencement, nearly £18,000 have been collected in small sums, and repaid to the members in various forms.

B. *Friendly Societies* are in some respects preferable. These societies are very extensively diffused over England. In Mr Tidd Pratt's Report for 1858, he says:—"The number of friendly societies enrolled and certified, now in existence in England and Wales, is about 20,000; the number of members exceeding 2,000,000; with funds exceeding £9,000,000." No doubt the financial constitution of many of these clubs is most imperfect, and a member may suddenly find it wound up, after paying for a long series of years, just when broken health required temporary aid, or the infirmities of age some permanent provision. These errors, however, only point out the necessity of circumspection on the part of those joining, and of vigilance on the part of the certifying officers. We do not condemn the system of insurance against death or fire among the middle-classes, because mushroom companies are being perpetually started which cannot fulfil their obligations. Their effect on the working-classes is of the most beneficial character. They teach him independence of character, and lead him to spurn parochial aid; they teach him foresight, in making provision for those calamities by which, sooner or later, all are overtaken; they teach him business habits, and give him the self-respect that flows from their conscious possession, by the skill which he displays in organising them, and conducting their affairs.

They are also of use to the whole community, from the

effectual check which they offer to pauperism. "Every member of the club is placed above the reach and need of parochial relief. If medical aid, and payment during sickness, and a pension in old age, and a certain sum to the family at death, be secured by a society to all within its ranks, it must inevitably follow that the poor-rates in the district of such a society must be certainly and considerably diminished.*

5. *Societies founded on the Principle of Co-operation*.—A great political economist and social reformer was fond of talking of the "mighty power of littles," and truly the results which have arisen from associated action for the creation of capital, by accumulating the savings of working-men, collecting them in small weekly subscriptions, may well surprise us. They display a higher form of prudential arrangement, and exhibit results which are truly astonishing.

A. *Clothing Societies* are the most humble of these, and can easily be set on foot in any district. They raise, by small periodical subscriptions, a fund with which the materials for dress are purchased in large quantities at wholesale prices, and being made up, thus giving employment to industrious women, are sold to the members at cost price. The members receive back their contributions, not in money, but in clothes.

B. *Freehold and Building Societies*.—But this principle of co-operation receives its largest development in the freehold land and building societies, institutions originating with, and still chiefly supported by, the working-classes.† In his evidence before a Committee of the House of Commons, Mr J. A. Stephens speaks of them in the strongest terms, as "encouraging

* On Benefit Societies, by the Rev. Mark Stevenson, incumbent of Shirley, near Birmingham.

† See Tract on Building Societies, by Messrs Chambers.

Hole's Homes of the Working-Classes.

Binn's, in the Social Science Transactions, 1860, p. 680.

Akroyd on Improved Dwellings for the Working-Classes.—Ibid., 1862, p. 805.

Holmes, *ibid.*, 1864.

provident habits, diminishing drunkenness, and inducing the working-classes to invest their earnings, and behave better, so much so, that twelve years ago, when the population of Birmingham was 50,000 less than now, 420 police were necessary; but with this increase of population there has been a decrease of police, and 327 are now sufficient to preserve the peace."

Mr Hole informs us, that in Birmingham about 9000 working-men in and around the town have supplied themselves with superior dwellings of their own.

In six societies, comprising 14,973 members, the amount of money actually received up to June 1865 (the earliest society only commenced in 1847) was £865,000, and the amount advanced on mortgage was £561,000, of which the sum of £302,500 has been absolutely redeemed, leaving £259,900 now due on mortgage. Messrs Ludlow and Jones inform us,* "that 90 out of every 100 of the persons enrolled were working-men, whose wages varied from 12s. to 40s. a-week." In Leeds, Mr Hole states, that by 1864 the receipts in subscriptions had risen to a total of £1,200,598, 6s.; in loans, to £251,461, 4s. 6d.; the advances to £749,864, 6s. 11d.; the subscriptions received in 1864 alone amounting to £150,567, 3s. 7d.

A working man's co-operative building society, upon the principle of limited liability, was established in Edinburgh in April 1861, and has since been erecting and selling houses with great success. In the year 1865 this society had erected 199 houses, affording good accommodation for at least 1,000 people, at a cost of upwards of L.42,000. Each house contains two rooms and a kitchen, and has a small garden attached. Since then the society has been proceeding with increasing success, and probably the number of houses now erected has been doubled.†

* Progress of the Working-Class, p. 127.

† See an account of the origin and progress of this society up to 1865, in "Happy Homes for Working Men, and How to get Them," by James Begg, D.D. London: Cassel, Petter, & Galpin, 1866.

It must not, however, be overlooked that, as Dr Littlejohn points out, "The class thus benefited is far above that of the ordinary labourer." The same remarks apply to the operations of Philanthropic Building Societies, "for up to the present time, no houses have been built in Edinburgh for his (the ordinary labourer's) requirements."—*Report*, p. 31.

The principle on which these societies work is very simple. "Suppose," says Mr Akroyd, "the member elect to be living in a house for which he pays £10 per annum rental, or 4s. per week. By joining the association, and paying 5s. per week, besides his deposit, that is, 1s. per week more than he actually pays for rental—in twelve years and one month he will become the owner of the dwelling-house, and constitute himself his own landlord; and in the event of being obliged to discontinue his subscriptions, from lack of work or other cause, he may transfer or sell his share; or in the event of the death of a subscribing member, his widow and family will have the same facility of disposing of the share."

C. *A Workman's Village*.—Your Committee have entered the more into detail of what has been done in other places by means of these admirable societies, because they look forward with hope to what may be accomplished by their aid in the way of improving the dwellings of the working-classes. Were the well-to-do classes in Edinburgh to unite in erecting a workman's village like that at Mulhouse (Appendix B), for which the fact of the estate of Craiglockhart being in possession of the poor-law authorities, and not being all required for poorhouse purposes, offers peculiar facilities, they might vacate their present houses, the rents of which would in that case diminish when they could be occupied by those we are seeking to reclaim, and the more wretched of the present habitations being at once demolished, abodes so unhealthy and every way disgraceful would cease to exist—a branch railway from Slateford would place the inhabitants of such a village in easy communication with their work in Edinburgh.* If the plan of building with concrete,

* Railways to such villages run cheap (penny and halfpenny trains) morning

recommended by a gentleman referred to in the introduction, and to whom your Committee are already indebted for much valuable information regarding benevolent measures employed in other places, turns out to be as cheap and advantageous as is anticipated, the expense of providing houses for the labouring-classes will be much reduced, and the difficulty, which, during recent years, has so generally prevented the erection of such dwellings, will be considerably lessened. Your Committee are glad to learn, that the gentleman referred to is preparing for publication a full account of this method of building, which has been proved, by experience elsewhere, to be very economical and satisfactory.

D. *Co-operative Stores.*—The co-operative principle has, however, been carried still further. Arrangements have been made in many large towns to promote economy of expenditure among the working-classes, whereby the important advantage is gained of making their earnings go as far as possible. “Co-operative stores originated with the working-man, and were matured and carried out by them without advice or aid from any outsider.”* “Co-operative stores were meant chiefly as a defence against the inroads of the distributing classes on the working-man’s pocket; and also as a means of promoting ready-money dealings, and the prudence in expenditure which usually accompanies such dealings. It would be difficult now to conceive the state of things that then existed. The back streets of the manufacturing towns swarmed with small shops, in which the worst of everything was sold with unchecked measures and unproved weights.”† The articles sold were in-

and evening, and at the dinner hour. Diminished rent, and increased comfort, more than covers this extra expense.

A Building Society in London has just made arrangements with the South Eastern Railway of the kind indicated above.

Mr Peabody has also authorised cottages to be erected, from his last donation, ten miles out of London.

* *Progress of the Working-Class, 1832–1867*, by J. M. Ludlow and Lloyd Jones, p. 131, and *seq.*

† *Ibid.*, p. 132.

ferior in quality, unwholesome in character, and often adulterated, while the price charged was enormous. The poor were limited to these shops where intoxicating liquors were too often retailed, and where, for the sake of binding them to the shop, they were tempted by free credit to undue extravagance.

The first successful Co-operative Society was the "Rochdale Equitable Pioneers' Store." The origin of this store was thus described by Professor Fawcett, in a lecture which he delivered at Barnwell:—

"In 1844, twenty-eight poor weavers in the town of Rochdale thought that they could improve their condition by clubbing together their small savings, and then purchasing commodities at wholesale prices, and selling them out by retail. They were so poor that they could not embark in a large way, so they put into a common fund *twopence* per week, which was increased to *threepence*; at length they gathered *twenty pounds*. They soon found that there was a considerable profit on the transaction, and in 1864 the number of members was 4,747, while the profits amounted to L.20,000 a-year.—(*Builder* for June 11th, 1866, page 33.)"

Another author thus describes this society:—The promoters said to the public—"Invest in the trading capital here, and you shall have five per cent. on your money, inasmuch as we bind ourselves not to put it to risk by speculative trading, no credit being given. In the next place, whatever remains as profit, after paying interest on capital, will be divided as bonus on the amount of money spent in the store by each member." The interesting work from which we have quoted so largely, gives a table of the progress of the society in each year from 1844 to 1866. Your Committee cannot quote it at large, but will give the first, the last, and an intermediate year, for the sake of comparison.

TABLE XXI.
Progress of Rochdale Co-operative Store.

Year.	Members.	Funds.	Business.	Profits.
1844	28	£28	<i>Nil.</i>	<i>Nil.</i>
1855	1,400	£11,032	44,902	3,106
1866	6,246	£99,989	249,122	31,931

Such stores now exist, and are carried on with great success in all the large manufacturing towns in England. Quoting again from the same work, "Mr Tidd Pratt's (the Registrar of Friendly Societies in England) return for 1865 shows, that the number of societies certified to December 1864 was 651, of which, however, only 417 had sent returns, whilst 52 had been dissolved. The 417 returning societies held together £761,313 of share capital, and owed £112,733 on loans; they had done business for the year to the amount of £3,063,088 for goods purchased, £3,373,837 for goods sold; had a balance of £136,923, possessed assets to the amount of £1,105,685, and were accountable for £273,480 of trade liabilities. Thus their balance in hand exceeded their loan capital, and their trade liabilities were less than a quarter of their assets. Sounder conditions of trade can hardly be imagined. The 148,586 members who composed them were scattered nearly all over the country (though Rutland and a few Welsh counties do not figure at all), but far more thickly in the manufacturing and mining districts." The number of these societies is rapidly increasing in England, and, at the end of last year, upwards of 750 had been established, and the total value of their assets and property was above one million sterling.

We shall not follow the co-operative movement into its higher branches—wholesale trade or production. Its success

there is still doubtful, while in the other it is certain and assured. Its commercial value is indeed great, but its moral value has been proved to be greater, and those who have studied its workings are all agreed that it has proved one of the most powerful agents in elevating the working-man, and in giving him independence of character, checking his tendency to wasteful or vicious expenditure, and enabling him to realise, in his own experience, the benefits of provident habits.

The principal Co-operative Societies have also set aside part of their profits for educational purposes, and thousands of pounds have thus been raised by the working-men for self improvement by a voluntary rate on their co-operative success.

Your Committee have thought it right to bring together these facts, as to what has been done by working-men, to counteract the peculiar temptations of their position, to overcome the vices which more easily beset them, and to carry out the great work of moral and social elevation; and to show those who are seeking to elevate them, the direction in which their efforts are likely to be successful.

They are far from thinking that all or even any of these larger schemes can be at once, or even soon, set on foot in the destitute districts, to which their enquiries are necessarily confined, and yet, the Rev. Mr Robinson gave an instance, at the Social Science Congress, to show "that the plan was one which might be carried out in the poorest district. In Norwich, four poor men began with four shillings in the year ending 1858. In the half-year ending December 1861, the income of the society was £1,441, 19s. 1½d., and, after paying 5 per cent on members' shares, left a dividend of 1s. 2d. in the pound on members' purchases. They had built a substantial store and warehouse, costing over £200, and a comfortable Committee-room, used for the purposes of mutual improvement and social enjoyment."*

* Social Science Transactions, 1862, page 803.

D. *Amusements for the Poor.*—Your Committee feel that a most important part of their suggestions remains untouched. Among the class to whom their investigations refer, as among every other, there exists the desire for occasional relaxation and pleasurable excitement.

How this is to be provided, is an important question, to be solved by those who are seeking to restore them. Are a workman's evenings to be spent in the dwellings we have described, where a room, 11 feet by 8 is his dining-room, drawing-room, bed-room, kitchen, nursery, and laundry? It can scarcely be expected that he should choose to remain in such a den, when, just across the way, is a bright, smart, cheerful tavern, with its brilliant gas, its crackling fire, its newspapers, or its society, and where he can enjoy his beer and his pipe!

A. *Workmen's Clubs.*—Adhering to the conviction already expressed, that in the restoration of the family will be found the foundation of all social improvement, your Committee are free to confess that these institutions have done much to provide places of resort less objectionable than the public-house, and that if well conducted, their success is matter of congratulation, when frequented by men who reside in lodgings, and have no domestic responsibilities. But they can never be multiplied in number sufficiently to cope with the public-houses. The publican plants his tempting trap at the mouth of every close. Let those who would counteract his influence do the same. A room should be opened in each small district, where more solid comforts may successfully oppose the flashy seductions of the gin palace. There let the workmen have every freedom that is not vicious. Collect for him those newspapers and journals which, having served their purpose, are thrown aside in the houses of our better classes. Let him have excellent refreshments, tea and coffee, &c., at reasonable prices. Many are driven to the public-houses by having no other shelter. At all events, let them no longer have this excuse.

B. *Working-men's Refreshment Rooms* must also be multi-

plied. They have hitherto usually proved a pecuniary success. For the man who works far from home, for single men and lodgers, such places are most desirable. Without them they must either have a cold and indigestible dinner, keep a child from school to bring them one from the house, or dine in the tavern, where they are tempted to remain drinking, or to return in the evening to finish their carouse.

C. *Penny readings and music* might occasionally diversify his recreations.

D. *Gardens and Flowers*.—A village for working men would have its gardens and its flower shows, and we are glad to see flower shows even for the neglected population of our city have been commenced, and have proved very successful in Edinburgh. The rooms we have spoken of could be utilised in the day-time, by making them play-rooms or infant schools for the younger children, who would else be running uncared for in the closes. There, under the charge of some discreet and kindly female, they could have all their amusement, and learn besides a little of the virtue of self control.

Let an effective agency pervade these neglected masses, let it make itself acquainted with their wants, their tastes, and their habits, and innumerable opportunities will arise of bettering their condition, and of assisting them to assist themselves. Neglect this duty a few years longer, and the rapidly increasing extent of the evil will render hopeless all efforts to overtake it.

Already the frightful increase of the assessment for the poor, without any apparent mitigation of the evils of poverty, is alarming all thoughtful men, and earnestly demands the fullest enquiry. If the plans recommended by your Committee are likely to be found here, as they have been found elsewhere, to be economical and successful, surely it were folly not to give them a trial.

Sorrow and suffering, and vice and crime are not necessarily the lot of any, and should, as far as possible, be removed from all. Wide as is the gulf that is placed between your palatial

abodes and the dreary dens we have described, the dwellers in the latter can see across it. They cannot but contrast the comforts and blessings with which you are surrounded with their poisonous and sad environments. They cannot but feel how small is the sympathy felt for their sorrows; how seldom the hand is stretched out to raise or help them; how often those above them in the social scale trade on their sufferings, and make capital out of their helplessness.

Are there no evil passions engendered by such reflections? No bitter envyings? No sullen despair? No curses, not loud but deep? Have the lessons of Providence and the teachings of history made so little impression upon us that we have yet to learn that we cannot leave our brethren to sink unheeded in the ocean of profligacy, suffering, or crime, without running the risk either of being dragged down by them into the vortex, or of being swept away by the waves of lawlessness, which their abject condition ever and anon causes to arise?

To give money is not to do all the work demanded of you. You must make yourselves acquainted with the objects of your charity; find out how their necessity has arisen; give them that sympathy to which they are little accustomed, but yet for which what is left in them of good may sadly yearn. Even in the most degraded heart, the breath of divine life, though burning faintly, is not absolutely extinct; too feeble to struggle with the guilty thoughts, lawless desires, and vicious actions which have been its perpetual surroundings, yet the soft breath of sympathy may fan it into flame, surely it is something to take part in such a work, surely it is well to help to pour the balm of consolation into any wounded spirit, or to lighten the burden of any wearied or heavy-laden soul.

ALEXANDER WOOD, M.D. & J.P.

Chairman.

APPENDIX.

Are there no evil passions engendered by such reflections? No bitter envyings? No sudden despair? No curses, not loud but deep? Have the lessons of Providence and the

A. THE CONDITION OF THE DWELLINGS OF THE OPERATIVE CLASSES IN EDINBURGH,

A PAPER READ BEFORE THE ARCHITECTURAL INSTITUTE OF SCOTLAND,
JANUARY 13, 1862,

BY
ALEXANDER WOOD, M.D, F.R.C.P., EDINBURGH.

From Report in "Scotsman" Newspaper of January 14, 1862.

N.B.—The allusions at the commencement of this paper are to the fall of the house in the High Street, on the 24th of November 1861. In this terrible accident, 35 persons were killed, and many others seriously injured.

THE CONDITION OF THE DWELLINGS OF THE OPERATIVE CLASSES IN EDINBURGH, AND THE MEANS OF IMPROVING THEM.

FIVE and thirty human beings, living, moving, working among us, lie down at night under the shelter of their own roof, and in the security of their own beds. Their eyes close in sleep—a sleep which, to many of them, will know no awakening till that trumpet sounds, when the graves shall give up their dead. The fact is awful and appalling.

The tall skeleton-looking walls, still standing in grim desolation, displaying, as if in mockery, trifling articles of household gear saved from the universal destruction; the torchlight searching for the dead and dying; the covered biers conveying the dead to their temporary resting-place; and the hundred and one concomitant attendants of such an event; all lend a dramatic interest to it, and throw gloom and horror over the neighbourhood.

Such startling incidents are surely designed by Providence to arouse and warn us. And at this moment they seem, to a certain extent, to have done so; for many are now concerning themselves regarding the temporal well-being of their poorer brethren, who lately bestowed not a thought upon them.

I would not detract from the solemnity of that event, or say aught to lessen the impression which it has made, but I cannot help observing what a small proportion the number of those who thus miserably perished bears to those who, unnoticed and unknown, are daily and hourly sacrificed to a violation of the laws of life, as palpable and as monstrous as was the violation of those laws of mechanics which caused that building to give way.

It is not, in my opinion, enough that architecture should concern itself alone with the outward beauty or the inward stability of the erections which it designs; intended, as they are, to shelter man from the inclemency of the weather, they should not be constructed so as to expose him to the attacks of more dangerous foes. And, as you have been so ably addressed by Mr Cousin on the first branch of the question, I purpose to restrict myself very much to the second, and to show you how unfit the dwellings, inhabited by many of our artisans, are for their purpose; the fearful consequences which their faulty structure involves; and, lastly, to consider whether any fitting remedy can be applied to the existing very objectionable state of matters.

Of my own fitness for such a task I shall not speak. All that I shall say is, that I early took the field as a sanitary reformer; that in 1848 I published a series of letters in one of the newspapers, pointing out the defective sanitary condition of Edinburgh, and the means of remedying it; that I had a considerable share in framing the sanitary clauses in the present Edinburgh Police Bill, which would have been more ample and stringent had not our original proposals been rejected in London; that I became a police commissioner chiefly

with the view of carrying out sanitary improvements; and that I had the satisfaction of setting in motion the machinery for effecting the drainage of the city, though that important operation was commenced in a very different way from that which I recommended and desired to be adopted.

Such is my apology for taking advantage of the present awakened attention to the subject, to endeavour to enforce oft-repeated lessons, and to prevent the popular sympathy from taking a direction which will effect no lasting good, and can only end in disappointment.

The first sentence of one of our most recent treatises on physiology is to the following effect:—"For the maintenance of the life of man, three chemical conditions must be complied with,—he must be furnished with air, water, and food." The philosophical explanation of this necessity is not difficult. No part of a living mechanism can act without wearing away; and, for the continuation of its functions, there is, therefore, an absolute necessity for repair. In proportion then as these wants are supplied, will be the strength and health of the individual; and, therefore, of that aggregate of individuals we term the community. As civilisation advances, the demand for these requisites increases. In olden times, for the sake of the protection afforded by their walls against the rapacity and cruelty of foes, and in modern times, on account of the value of the land on which they stand, the inhabitants of our towns are more or less closely crowded together, and an artificial state, not very conducive to health, is induced. The nomadic savage roams at large over the boundless and airy plain, and pitches his tent by the side of some fresh and pure fountain. But though cities have their advantages, their erection certainly compels us to abandon some which were possessed in the savage state.

Take the conditions of life I have mentioned, and first of air. When we examine the scientific history of the air we breathe, we are struck with the wondrous provisions made for establishing its due proportions, and preserving its purity—proportions which cannot fail to be interfered with, and purity which must be sullied, by the vapours and gases which human beings, crowded together, unavoidably generate.

It has been calculated, with apparent truth, that the materials taken into the human body as food and drink are rendered back

again by the adult, to the amount of a ton and a-half annually, in other, and what we might call, viler forms, after having subserved their purposes in the economy. The average amount, as determined by the experiments of Seguin, escaping by pulmonary and cutaneous exhalation alone, is upwards of two pounds a-day. Thus, from the decay of animal and vegetable matters; from the very presence of living animals; from the combinations necessary for the warming of our dwellings, the preparation of our food, and for the carrying on of the numerous manufactories which the necessities or the luxuries of man have created; various chemical compounds are produced, many, or should I not say most, of which—being volatile or gaseous—ascend or mingle with the atmosphere, rendering it unfit for respiration. We have no chemical test delicate enough to detect the presence of many of these, but, nevertheless, like the latent miasma from the marsh, they may do their work, and poison the system that inhales them.

And along with air may be classed the cheering light, deprived of which plants and animals alike languish, for it is scarcely possible to imagine a supply of pure air, without, at the same time, a supply of good light. To secure these, then, we must have ample means for removing those impurities which are so largely the source of contamination of the air; the supply of free and pure air by ventilation; the lessening and abating of all that is noxious in our manufactories; and lastly, a sufficient supply of good water.

Water I have already classed under the necessities of our being, and you will not be surprised at this when you remember that it forms three-fourths of the weight of animals and vegetables, and that besides being largely met with on the land, it covers at least three-fourths of the entire surface of the earth. It is itself composed of two gases—oxygen and hydrogen—which enter in large proportions into the solids of the animal body. Its power of dissolving many substances enables such compounds as are wanted for the nutrition of the system to be introduced in a state of solution, and many wasted products to be carried away in like manner, while the same properties render it invaluable as a detergent alike for the human body and the human habitation.

Returning, then, to our first proposition, we find that three chemical conditions are essential to life—air, water, food—and that the whole science of sanitary economy is occupied in deciding how

these are to be supplied most speedily, most abundantly, and most cheaply.

Our physicians who have the most ample opportunities for such observations, are now demonstrating to us, that precisely to the extent to which we violate these necessities of our existence, to the same extent will the natural consequences of sickness and death follow. Thus, Dr Murchison, in his elaborate essay on the causes of continued fever, states, as a legitimate induction from very extended observations, the two following propositions among many others :—

“Over-crowding with deficient ventilation and destitution appear to be the essential causes of typhus and relapsing fever, and to be capable of generating them *de novo* ; while there is no evidence that they have any such influence over typhoid fever.” “There are many circumstances which tend to the belief that the emanations from decaying organic matter, or organic impurities in drinking water, or both of these causes combined, are capable of generating typhoid fever.”

Again, in the Report of the Royal Commission appointed to enquire into the Sanitary Condition of the British army—presented in 1858—the relation between over-crowding and tubercular disease is clearly shown. And when we bear in mind how many diseases the tubercular diathesis comprehends, and the low state of vitality, and therefore incapacity of resisting or recovering from the attack of any disease which it involves, we can form some idea of the widespread misery which it engenders.

It is an old maxim that, when the cause is taken away, the effect ceases. If then so many diseases arise from, and are clearly dependent on, bad sanitary arrangements, and if so many others are thus aggravated, causing death from them in some cases, and a protracted recovery in others, it follows necessarily that if these defective arrangements were remedied, disease, suffering, or death would be mitigated and controlled.

In Edinburgh alone about 4200 die annually ; while of those 20·3 die of zymotic (epidemic and contagious) diseases, which, with proper care might be altogether banished, as the plague and jail fever have been from our cities, and the scurvy from our navies.

From very extended observations it has been ascertained, that the number of persons dying annually, in a tolerably healthy

locality, is 170 in 10,000. The population of Edinburgh according to the last census, was 168,098, or in round numbers, 168,000; which would allow, at the death-rate of a tolerably healthy community, 2,856 deaths annually. But the actual mortality, according to the Registrar's return, is 4,200, leaving an excess of 1,344 deaths which might be prevented every year by raising the physical condition of our city.

Let us for a moment lay aside humanity and forget—as we can easily do among those Old Town dwellings—that we live in a Christian land, and regarding the question in a purely commercial point of view, let us ask whether the speculation proves successful. Is human life really of so little value that men, women, and children are to be lodged and fed as no prudent farmer would lodge and feed his horses?

Take the case of a single disease thus engendered; say fever. Consider first, the duration of the disease, and the expensive treatment required. Second, the duration of the convalescence, involving loss of time, and therefore of labour; and demanding full supplies of nutritious food. Third, that, as often happens, the breadwinner of the family is the one affected; all whom he usually works for must be supported during the long period; and whether the means are supplied by the direct taxation of a poor-rate, or the voluntary liberality of an hospital, the public in reality pay for it in one shape or another.

The annual deaths in Edinburgh are 1,344 above the ordinary rate of mortality, involving an untold amount of widowhood and orphanage. If this be the excess over the whole town, what must it be in the more unhealthy districts? If the preventible deaths be so largely in excess, the preventible illness must be still more so; and every sick man—whether rich or poor—as an unproductive consumer, is a burden more or less direct on the community.

Thus we arrive at some idea of what the annual waste of our resources, is on account of our low sanitary condition. This will be apparent at once from the subjoined table, showing the relative mortality in the different registration districts in Edinburgh.

It may be premised that St Andrew's district, stretching from the Leith and Queensferry Road, east of Golden Acre to London Road and Princes Street, and thence by Charlotte Square, India Street and Rutland Street, comprises few houses inhabited by the lower

orders. St George's, marching with this on its western boundary, includes the King's Stables, West Port, and south side of the Grassmarket, and so to Lauriston, which evidently raise its death-rate. St Giles', clustering round the church of that name, is in some parts densely peopled ; so is also the Canongate. Now, what is the result, as taken from the Returns* of Births, Deaths, and Marriages from 1st October 1860 to 31st September 1861?

District.	Estimated Population.	Deaths. No. of	Percentages.
1. St. George's, . . .	35,948	1048	2.915, or nearly 3.
2. St. Andrew's, . . .	38,680	612	1.582, about 1½.
3. Canongate, . . .	28,808	1136	3.944, almost 4.
4. St. Giles', . . .	29,670	710	2.393, or 2½.

Having laid down these preliminary conditions, essential to a due understanding of the subject, let us apply the rules derived from them to the city of Edinburgh.

At first sight, it would appear that no city could possibly be better circumstanced than Edinburgh, for the due carrying out of sanitary arrangements. Other large towns—as Glasgow, Liverpool, and Newcastle, commencing on the sea-shore—have gradually extended inland ; but the remarkable character of the site of Edinburgh has influenced, to a considerable extent, its mode of growth. It is built on a series of ridges or hills, with intervening valleys, affording remarkable facilities for drainage operations, while they admit a free sweep of wind along our streets, too free in the opinion of many visitors. In the middle of the fifteenth century, only the High Street and Canongate, with the adjacent wynds, would appear to have been built, and very little more included in the first city wall, which was erected about 1450. After this the Cowgate, then an important suburb, was erected, and the alarm created by the battle of Flodden, caused the wall to be extended so as to encircle

* The more accurate tables, since published by Dr Littlejohn in his Report, disclose a state of matters still more unfavourable. A synopsis of them being given in the body of the Report, it is unnecessary to repeat them here.

it. For 250 years after this, the extension still went on, but only in an upward direction; the closely-packed houses on the slopes on either side of the central ridge of the High Street were being perpetually augmented in height by the super-addition of storeys, and being separated only by closes or wynds, were almost impervious to light or air, while the absence of all drainage or means of removing soil from the houses increased the discomfort of the inhabitants, and gave "puir Auld Reekie" a somewhat unsavoury reputation. You must all remember the fearful sufferings of Mrs Winifred Jenkins, who reports that—"At ten o'clock at night the whole cargo is thrown out of a back window that looks into some street or lane, and the maid calls '*gardy loo*' to the passengers, which signifies '*Lord have mercy upon you.*' And this is done every night in every house in Edinburgh, so you may guess, Mary Jones, what a sweet savour comes from such a number of perfuming pans! But they say it is wholesome, and truly I believe it is, for being in the vapours, and thinking of Isabella and Mrs Clinker, I was going into a fit of astericles, when this wiff (saving your presence) took me by the nose so powerfully, that I sneezed three times, and found myself wonderfully refreshed."

Capt. Burt, of the Engineers, who was employed in the construction of the military roads, about the year 1715, thus describes the same scene, and oppressed with the filth of Edina, pathetically asks, "For which of his sins was he sent into such a country?" "There happened nothing extraordinary between this place and Edinburgh, where I made no long stay. When I first came into the High Street of that city, I thought I had not seen anything of the kind more magnificent. The extreme height of the houses, which are, for the most part, built of stone, and well sashed, the breadth and length of the street, and (it being dry weather) a clearness made by the high winds, I was extremely pleased to find everything look so unlike the description of that town which has been given me by some of my countrymen. Being a stranger, I was invited to sup at a tavern. The cook was too filthy an object to be described; only, another English gentleman whispered to me, and said he believed if the fellow was to be thrown against the wall he would stick to it. Twisting round and round his hand a greasy towel, he stood waiting to know what we would have for supper, and mentioned several things himself; among the rest, a *duke*, a

fool, or a *merefool*. This was nearly according to his pronunciation, but he meant a duck, a fowl, a moorfowl or grouse. We supped very plentifully, and drank good French claret, and we were very merry till the clock struck ten, the hour when every body is at liberty, by beat of the city drum, to throw their filth out at the windows. Then the company began to light pieces of paper, and to throw them on the table to smoke the room, and, as I thought, to mix one bad smell with another. Being in my retreat to pass through a long narrow wynd or alley to go to my new lodgings, a guide was assigned me, who went before, to prevent my disgrace, crying out all the way, 'Haud your haund!' The throwing up of a sash, or otherwise opening a window, made me tremble, while behind and before me, at some little distance, fell the terrible shower. Well, I escaped all the danger, and arrived, not only safe and sound, but sweet and clean, at my new quarters, but when I was in bed I was forced to hide my head between the sheets for the smell of the filth thrown out by the neighbours on the back side of the house, came pouring into the room to such a degree, I was almost poisoned with the stench."

Then, as now, those in power were occasionally roused from their supineness by the advent of pestilence or the fall of a house; a few insufficient steps were taken, and then all lapsed into the former state of easy security. Thus, in 1721, there being an apprehension of the plague visiting Edinburgh, the Town Council consulted the College of Physicians, who returned an answer which I have had copied from their minutes, clearly showing that the principles of sanitary reform, supposed to be a modern discovery, were then well understood, and that our want of attention to the arrangements conducive to health has arisen rather from indifference than from ignorance of the consequences of neglect. The recommendations of the College may be condensed as follows:—1. The draining of the north loch, then a pestilential swamp. 2. The doing this with all convenient speed, that the mud and filth contained in its bottom may have time to harden and dry gradually before the sun returns to his heat and light. 3. The formation of a canal in the centre, with a constant supply of running water to carry off impurities. 4. The removing of slaughter-houses and dunghills to some considerable distance from the town. 5. The effective cleaning of the streets, closes, and courts. 6. The erection of "Houses of office" at con-

venient distances, and in convenient places. 7. Dust-carts to go round, and, on the blowing of a horn, servants to bring their fulzie to them, and a penalty to be imposed on any one throwing filth over a window. 8. That all persons, hospitals, and public buildings be kept neat and clean. 9. That all gardeners be enjoined to bury decaying vegetable matter. 10. That all vagrants be removed. The College transmitted these suggestions, with the apparently necessary recommendation that they be carried into effect with all convenient speed.

Earlier than this, however, the Privy Council, moved by the fact that the town "is now become so filthy and unclean, and the streets, venallis, wynds, and closes thereof so overlaid and covered with middings, &c., that the councillors are resolved to leave their lodgings," as "they cannot have a clean and free passage and entry to them," "nor to abide the sight of this shameful uncleanness and filthiness." The remedy suggested was to hold every householder responsible for the purity of the part in front of his own house, as is now done in regard to the snow.

Again, in 1751, on the fall of an old house, a general survey of the old houses throughout the city was made, and many of them were condemned and destroyed. The erection of George Square to the south, and of the streets and squares of the New Town on the north, led to the removal of the wealthier inhabitants, and the abandonment of the Old Town, with its upright streets (*Scottice stairs*), to the class who now occupy it, and in whose occupancy it has assumed its present barbarous and disgraceful condition.

What do we find when we examine? Closes, varying from four and a-half feet to one foot in width, as they taper, in some instances, to meet at the top, seven and eight storeys high; their causewayed surfaces, reeking with every kind of filth, are the only entrances by which light and air can find their way to the dwellers in these awful dens. Add to this the fact that some of these houses, once the residence of our nobility, have large rooms of goodly pretensions. These, however, would not pay; so they are divided by wooden partitions into family apartments a few feet square. These inner cages have no direct communication even with that modicum of light and air which finds its way through the narrow close. The old window of the ancient room is still left, the glass probably all gone; but all the light admitted to the inner dens comes through

that window, across a passage, and then through a square hole cut in the partition; so that I assert, without fear of contradiction, that when it was broad day-light outside, I could not see my hand held at arm's length before me in many of these houses, which were solely dependent on such borrowed light.

Again, many of these houses are of very old date; indeed, one in Dickson's Close, which I examined, is described by Wilson (*Memorials of Edinburgh*) as "a neat and very substantial stone edifice, evidently the work of Robert Mylne, and built about the period of the reformation." Here was the residence of David Allan, "our Scottish Hogarth," as he was called; and who, in 1788, gave lessons on drawing in this very house, at the rate of one guinea per month, for three lessons a week,—terms which show the wealthy character of his pupils. One small room in this house, not twelve feet wide, has a gradient of nine and a-half inches from front to back, a great crack extends through the wall, the lintels of the doorways are all cracked, and the doors have been repeatedly stripped to make them fit. I produce a bit of one of the beams, which crumbles between you fingers like snuff, and this drawing will give you some idea of the appearance presented by the back of the house.

It seems to be imagined that the materials of which our houses are constructed, are exempt from the universal law of decay; and that once built, they should stand for ever. Often, when thoroughly unsafe, they give no sign of their utter rottenness. I visited one in another part of the town, which had been purchased, and was to be adapted for a particular purpose. A substantial looking tenement it was, with walls four feet in thickness. The architect who planned the alterations fortunately caused the main beam supporting the roof to be examined. It was utterly rotten. I show you a piece of it. At its junction with the walls it had given way (the place, I believe, where such accidents usually occur), and the whole roof had to be shored up with temporary supports. A good illustration of the length of time these beams may remain in a very unsafe condition, without external indications of decay, was afforded in the Picture Gallery of Holyrood Palace. The flooring of this long room had been repeatedly repaired; and on the occasion of the annual levees given by His Grace the Commissioner, was temporarily supported from below. It was resolved, however, to new-floor the whole; and on the planking being removed, the beams, which

had clung to, instead of supporting the floor, gave way, and three of the workmen were precipitated into the chambers below. It is more than probable, then, that many houses, built about the time of the one that lately fell, or the one in Dickson's Close likely so soon to fall, are in a similar unsafe condition.

I have placed before you roughly-executed sketches of some of these houses. From being originally built to serve a different purpose, many of them are singularly ill adapted for sub-division, and peculiarly unsuited for the residence of poor families. Of this, Cant's Close forms a good example. It appears, according to Wilson, to have been occupied in early times by ecclesiastical buildings in connection with the church at Crichton. Entrance to the rooms is afforded by good circular staircases; but the thin partitioned subdivisions are as comfortless as can be imagined. Many of them have their light and air from borrowed lights; and in others, where the old windows have been rendered available, they are stuck in the queerest corners, as if placed designedly so as to be of as little service as possible. Thus the room (of which I show you a drawing) is eleven feet ten inches by nine feet two inches; its height being eight and a-half feet; and the window, twenty-seven inches wide, is found in the extreme corner, protected from all extravagance in the admission of light and air by the close proximity of the wall on the other side; for there is only a clear space of three and a-half feet between the two sides, narrowed in some places by projections to only two and a-half feet. In another house in Campbell's Close (of which I also show you a drawing), the room is fifteen feet three inches by seven feet seven inches wide, and the only window, one and a-half feet in width, is at the extreme corner of the room. Another peculiarity is shown in the first of these rooms. The large deep old-fashioned ingle corner, which, before the sub-division, belonged to the whole apartment, has fallen to the lot of this particular room, and a hole, one foot two inches wide, has been cut through the solid wall at the side angle, and glazed; so that the light struggles through from the back of the fire, and the eyes of the inhabitants are protected from any glare, by a thick curtain of intervening smoke. In the room in the drawing, this appears as an additional window; in some, I am informed, it is the only one the apartment possesses.

Take another room in Cant's Close. It is formed out of a large

room by wooden partitions, quite open, and its entrance closed by an ill-fitting door, there being a clear space of at least three inches between the door and the lintel. It has no direct communication whatever with the external air, but borrows all its light from the window of the larger room, of which it forms a part, through a window two feet five inches in width. The light must first struggle into that outer window through a high close, only three and a-half feet wide, and then across a passage of five feet, before reaching the window proper of the room at all. The height of this room is nine feet, and a family of five live in it, paying a rent of 1s. 4d. per week, or L.3, 11s. 6d. per annum. There is no room for a bed by day; but at night, when the embers are raked out of the hearth, one is folded down across it. We could not see one another in this room, till artificial light was obtained.

The last drawing, to which I point you, exhibits a transverse section of a garret in Campbell's Close. It is only six feet high at the highest part, and the eaves slope rapidly down. It is lighted and aired by a hole at the end, about a foot square. Observe the curve of the floor, which is accurately represented in the drawing. At the lowest point of depression, the wretched inmate had put her foot through its rotten planks, and projected that member into the room below, and, just as we arrived, the occupant of the lower apartment was running up stairs to complain that, through that hole in the centre of his ceiling, the noisome contents of a crockery vessel, that had been upset in the garret, were then pouring. One man, of some humour, complained that he had spent 4s. in papering one of these wretched, partitioned rooms; and, in spite of the remonstrances of his wife, pushed his fingers through the walls, to show their flimsy character, and pointed out to us a hole, above their bed, where paper and paste had utterly failed to check the career of a regiment of cats which persisted in gamboling in and out by it. They all told us of the stifling heat of summer, but complained far more of the cold gales of winter, for the outer windows—opening on the closes outside, and only on passages within—are destitute of glass; and the old, rotten, ill-fitted partitions are utterly insufficient to keep out the external air. The rents are collected—sometimes two weeks—in advance. They vary from 1s. to 4s. per week; and a universal complaint is made of the impossibility of getting the landlords to do anything for the comfort of the tenants.

The fact is, these houses are, in most instances, let as a whole to middlemen—many of them coarse, unfeeling men—who charge often an advance of 20 per cent. on the rents they pay, grind the faces of the poor, and get rich on the sufferings and miseries of their fellow-creatures.

In my visits to these localities, I was much aided by our admirable City Missionaries, whose familiarity with all the corners and crevices of these destitute localities surprised me, and whose well known presence secured me a welcome admission into almost every house. Some of them have furnished me with valuable notes of the condition of the houses in their districts. Thus, Mr Peddie—who visits a district bounded by the High Calton and North Back of Canongate on the north, New Street on east, Canongate on south, and Leith Wynd on west, informs me that this district contains about 560 houses, and nearly 590 families. There are about thirty cases of two families living in one house, and about fifteen with two families in the same room. Of these houses, about 200 are good and comfortable for working people, with rents from L.7 to L.10. About 180 are at present in such a state as to be hurtful to the moral and physical character of the inhabitants; but, if supplied with water, and altered so as to admit a sufficient supply of light and air, they might be allowed to be inhabited,—rents from L.3 to L.6. Another 180 are utterly deficient in size, air, light, and water, and every necessary of health, many of them dangerous, from their age and rickety condition,—the rents varying from 1s. to 2s. per week.

About twenty families live in damp ill-ventilated cellars, below the surface of the street. Mr Peddie describes two garrets of very similar character. One, now occupied by a widow, was inhabited by a tradesman, with a wife and four children. It is only ten feet by five. A very small man cannot stand upright in the highest side; the roof sloping down to within three feet of the floor at the lowest. Two houses in this district have been condemned since the recent catastrophe. In one (285 Canongate), the families still remain. Mr Peddie's experience coincides with that of all others, as to the effect on the health and character of the inmates of these wretched habitations.

Mr Hancock, another excellent missionary, and who visits the north side of the High Street, from North Bridge to Leith Wynd,

writes :—" My district contains about 600 families, of whom only 150 to 200 have decent habitations. In these are included Ashley Buildings, the new building in Chalmers' Close, and Milne's Court." He selects a few cases as representative of 400 houses, inhabited by as many families. Where only one room is specified, it is understood that it must be used for eating, sleeping, and all domestic purposes. " Carrubber's Close,—one room and one small closet, unfit to be used as a sleeping room. Room used as a workshop by the father, who is a coppersmith, and as a dwelling, by himself, his wife, and six children. The land is in a ruinous condition, and is at present shored up ; and the former entrance has been closed, in consequence of its unsafe state ; rent, L.7, 15s. One small room, rent, L.3, 15s.,—twelve feet by six and a-half, occupied just now by husband and wife ; lately occupied by a widow, her two sons, and one daughter, ages from twelve to sixteen. Several small rooms, where families of from two to four—sometimes taking a lodger besides—live ; rents, from L.5 to L.6, 10s. In Elphinstone Court,—one small room, so dark, that gas is burned night and day ; family of seven ; rent, 1s. 1d. per week. One small room here, inhabited by a widow, with a grown-up son and daughter, rent, 1s. 3½d. per week. In the same Court, a family of a widow, with three sons, ages from twenty-one to nine, and two daughters, ages eighteen and ten, sleep and live all in one room ; rent, 1s. 9½d. per week. In another room and closet, at the same rent, a father, mother, and five children—two grown up—live ; eldest and youngest sons sleep in a closet without light or air, all the others in the room. There are about thirty families in this land, nearly all occupying only one room. Many are shoemakers, using the room also as a workshop. In North Gray's Close, is a wretched garret, occupied by a father, mother, and five children, paying for it and a light closet, 2s. per week. In Paisley's Close, the land immediately behind the fallen tenement, are several wretched rooms, of the partitioned description, ten or twelve feet by seven, with no other light or means of ventilation but what is obtained from the common passage. In Chalmers' Close, a man, his wife, and five children, the eldest about sixteen, occupy a room and small closet ; and a married son and his wife reside in the same room, in consequence of being unable to get a house ; rent, 2s. per week. In this Close are several cellars utterly unfit for human habitations, the rents of which have been

raised from L.1, 10s. to L.2, 12s. annually. In a single apartment, in Baron Grant's Close, rent 1s. 2d. per week, there live together, an aged woman, her daughter, and two children, and a male and female lodger. In conclusion, let it be remembered that these houses are utterly destitute of water or soil pipes, and some idea of their loathsome character may be formed, and of the moral and physical degradation in which their inmates must be sunk. From such abodes you issue half suffocated; and cease to wonder, when you analyze your feelings, and when you consider what an amount of physical depression the habitual dwelling in such an atmosphere must engender, that the gin palace, or worse still, the hard-ale shop close by, is crowded to the door with eager votaries. Would I be myself better in similar circumstances?—is the question each may well ask himself; and, as we know the influence of the surrounding atmosphere on the character of all, can we wonder if, in such localities, the moral as well as the physical life languishes, and ignorance, indecency, and immorality prevail? If you treat human beings worse than beasts, what can you expect them to become? As a writer on this subject observes, 'So long as no kind of privacy can be obtained, even by the individual members of a single family—so long as brothers and sisters, as well children as adults, are obliged to live, sleep, and perform the offices of nature in the same room with their parents, and it may be with other relatives, or possibly with strangers—and so long as the amount of air which each person has to breathe is less than half, or even one-third, the quantity which nature requires—so long will the pious zeal and virtuous indignation of public declaimers against prostitution be a libellous satire upon themselves—and so long will all efforts at improving the health, and elevating the social condition of the poorer classes, be comparatively unavailing.' "

If the object of this paper were not limited to the consideration of the sanitary condition of the dwelling-houses alone, I might proceed to show that, besides neglecting the peculiar advantages for drainage furnished by the site of our city, and besides suffering our houses to lapse into the condition which has been indicated, we have suffered the river which flows through our New Town, partly by the division of its natural waters, and partly by opening into it our drains, to become, during a great part of the year, an open and offensive sewer. Farther, how, as if we had a prejudice against

fresh air, we suffered the sewerage water of the town to be diffused over about 2,000 acres of irrigated land ; so that the emanations from about 37,120,000 square feet of poisonous swamp, which, if Science have any truth, must be injurious to health, are carried to our dwellings by the east wind, which here blows on an average 135 days in the year, or by the west wind, which favours us with about 230 days. But on these I shall not dwell.

To use professional language, I have described the disease and its symptoms, but how shall I prescribe a remedy ? The case, I say, admits of neither palliatives nor restoratives. A surgical operation is essential ; the diseased member must be removed—*Delenda est Carthago*. The recent calamity has roused attention, and but one remedy has been suggested,—the erection of new houses for the working-classes ; but that this may be largely undertaken, it must be proved to be a safe and profitable commercial speculation. Those that have hitherto been built have paid well, because they are few in number, and new, requiring as yet little outlay for repairs, and all inhabited by a class of tenants much superior to those whose condition we desire to relieve.

The population has increased by 7,796 in the last ten years. The way in which the Census has been taken, makes the return, as to houses, worse than useless ; but no one, who remembers what Edinburgh was ten years ago, and what it is now, can fail to be struck with the great increase of the number of its houses, especially in suburban districts. But has this afforded the slightest relief to the over-crowded population of the Old Town ? On the contrary, they are more crowded than ever, and suitable houses are more difficult to obtain.

All experience shows us, that if you were to cover the acres of nursery-ground at Leith Walk with suitable dwellings, and transplant the wretched dwellers in our closes there, in an incalculably short space of time their old retreats would be filled by a population as miserable and degraded. Your societies cannot build houses as cheap as these old ruins have been obtained ; they cannot construct dwellings so destitute of every comfort, and, therefore, so cheap ; they cannot collect the rents weekly, and in advance ; they cannot force starving families destitute on the street when the rent is in arrear ; and, for all these reasons, *while such dens are suffered to*

exist, they can never enter the lists against them as mere commercial speculators.*

We ought to insist, plainly and strongly, that the present is a state of matters which cannot be permitted to continue; that no man, for the mere sake of gain, has a right selfishly to disregard the interests of his neighbours; and that, if the proprietors of such dwelling-houses are not sufficiently alive to the fact that, by their culpable negligence or cupidity, they are sacrificing the lives of hundreds, and casting the burden of the maintenance of hundreds more on their fellow-citizens, they must be prevented from continuing so foul a wrong, and made to understand that universally acknowledged maxim of public law, "*Sic utere tuo, ut non alienum lædes.*" The Great Lawgiver of the Israelites has given His Divine sanction to such regard to the lives of others, when He proclaimed, amidst the thunders of Sinai, as one of the laws of His peculiar people, "When thou buildest a new house, then thou shalt make a battlement for thy roof, that thou bring not blood upon thine house, if any man fall from thence."

A correspondent of the *Scotsman*, signing himself J. F., has sought to deter us from this attempt, by calculating that the rental of the closes in the High Street and Canongate may be estimated at L.30,000; which, at fifteen years' purchase, is L.450,000. Instead of this fact, if it be one, deterring me, it encourages me to persevere in a determination to improve them. If the property be of such value, it can pay for its own improvement; and, instead of taxing the inhabitants for the advantage of a set of grasping and rapacious landlords or middle-men, the natural cure seems to me to be to compel them to improve their property themselves, "that blood may not be brought upon their house."

1. All houses so constructed as to be positively inconsistent with health, such as cellar-dwellings, or houses which cannot be duly lighted and ventilated, should be peremptorily closed, and care should be taken that none of a similar kind be henceforth erected. 2. Means should be taken to ensure to these humbler class of houses such conveniences as are absolutely necessary for health and decency, and such receptacles for ashes and refuse as are essential to cleanliness. 3. All unsafe houses, overhanging projections, and dangerous chim-

* Part of the paper omitted here, refers to plans proposed at that time, but since superseded by the Edinburgh Improvement Act.

neys should be taken down. 4. Due attention should be paid to the sewerage; and what is not sufficiently cared for, even in the best streets in Edinburgh, the sewer mouths should be trapped. 5. A due supply of water should be carried, if not to each dwelling, at least to each floor in every tenement, and the miserable slavery to which women are at present subjected, as water-carriers, put a stop to. 6. In the laying out of new streets, security should be taken that the height to which houses may be raised is in due proportion to the space between them, and that the same due proportion be observed in rebuilding houses in streets or closes. 7. The accumulation of filth in inhabited courts and closes should be prevented. 8. Wherever dwellings are found to be so closely crowded together as to render a due supply of light and air an impossibility, some of them must be swept away, and such admirable means of ventilation provided as is done by Cockburn Street in the district through which it passes. Due compensation, to a certain extent, must be given; and room will thus be afforded for private enterprise, or charity, or general taxation; and, if the powers previously enumerated be strictly exercised, many of the dwellings requiring to be swept away will have been already condemned, or found to require expensive alterations, by which their value will be considerably diminished. 9. Strict regulations should be laid down and enforced as to the number of inhabitants each house is to contain, in reference to the cubic feet of air which it possesses. Should the proprietors complain of undue interference were such improvements carried out at their expense, they would be like usurers complaining because compelled to content themselves with five per cent., or pawnbrokers who are put under restrictions for the protection of their wretched customers.

The interference I propose is in strict analogy with what is practised in other cases. Thus we trust, that ere long, the inhabitants of all the houses, the sewage of which flows into the Water of Leith, will be heavily taxed to improve that polluted stream. Thus, again, an Emigration Act was passed in 1842, 5 and 6 Vic., c. 107, by which the number of passengers in each ship is regulated, their proper accommodation on board provided for, a due supply of provisions and water for their use ensured, the seaworthiness of the vessels in which they are to be carried ascertained, and the helpless and inexperienced protected as far as possible from the numerous frauds to which they

are exposed ; and, to secure the due execution of the Act, Government Inspectors are appointed. Again, the employment of children, and other matters in factories and mines, are regulated by Act of Parliament, and the regulations enforced by Inspectors. And in our town, as in many others, compulsory drainage operations have been, and are, carried on at the expense of those whose houses are benefited by the improvement. In 1842, the Council of Liverpool obtained an Act to prevent the occupation of unfit cellars as dwelling-houses ; and, under this Act, up to the end of 1846, as we are informed by Dr Duncan, the indefatigable officer of health, 3000 cellars were cleared of their inmates. The first Act not having sufficiently extensive powers, a second was obtained, and under it the clearing proceeded at the rate of 100 per month, so as not to overcrowd other habitations ; and, up to December 1849, as many as 4700 cellars had been cleared, and about 20,000 inmates ejected. The good work still proceeds, and the sanitary condition of Liverpool is much improved.

I observe, from the admirable Reports of Dr Conway Evans, Medical Officer of Health to the Strand District of London, that during one year, 1856-7, 813 houses were inspected ; in 744 of these improvements were suggested ; in 601 cases these were executed voluntarily ; in fifty-six, upon summons ; in fifty-six upon justices' order ; and in nineteen cases the premises were shut up.

In Edinburgh we have placed the licensed lodging-houses under very stringent regulations ; which seems to me as great an assumption of power as would be required to effect sanitary improvements on these dwelling-houses. And, as regards the population itself which we seek to relieve, care must, of course, be taken that the work of shutting up and demolition does not proceed with such rapidity as to increase the evil of overcrowding. The inhabitants of all our large towns—and especially Edinburgh, where the increase of local taxation is becoming serious and alarming—have need to defend themselves against the settlement of squatters, with no certain means of livelihood, who can pay no taxes, and who are a drain on our poor, police, and prison funds. One effect of the introduction of a Poor Law into Scotland has been the wholesale demolition of small villages, and the consequent flocking into towns of a large number of that class which towns would be better without. There might be cases of hardship in the first instance, but if temporary

provision were made for the immediate sufferings, and future overcrowding prevented by stringent enactments, an immense boon would be conferred on Edinburgh, which at present runs great risk of being swallowed up by this great influx of the destitute.

Let it be remembered that while we are talking, and writing, and deliberating, the dark tide is flowing, noiselessly it may be, but uninterruptedly onward. The moral and mental paralysis produced by their situation will prevent the sufferers from raising a cry for mercy; but there is no better test of the enlightenment of Government than the care it takes of the more helpless of the community. We have now commissioners for factories, commissioners of mines, commissioners of lunatics. Each of these classes is specially cared for, and specially protected. Let us press on the attention of Government the case of our men of handicraft and hard labour. What are the lives lost in battle, or that perish in shipwreck, to the number of those thus offered up at the shrine of mammon? I plead for the temporal well-being and the everlasting happiness of thousands of our fellow-citizens; and experience has taught me that such a plea is seldom made in vain.

B.

THE WORKMAN'S HOME AT MULHOUSE.

(Abridged from the admirable book entitled "*Lending a Hand*,"

Seeley, Jackson, and Halliday, 1866.)

In the large industrial city of Mulhouse, not far from Basle, the principal manufacturers and employers of labour have for many years been associated in what they have called an Industrial Society. It has for its object the consideration of all industrial schemes, the rewarding and developing of all useful discoveries, and the promotion of every possible improvement in the condition of the workman. This association is based upon the conviction, that a good

workman is the principal factor in all questions of national wealth and prosperity ; and that an employer who promotes the well-being, both physical and moral, of his workman, has adopted a principle, not more humane and generous than it is sound in economic wisdom.

In 1851 one of its members, M. Jean Zuber, presented to this Society the plan of our own Prince Albert for the model dwellings for the labouring-classes which he erected in Hyde Park, and which, in the Great Exhibition of 1851, drew the attention of our distinguished foreign visitors. M. Zuber recommended that the question should be taken up by the Industrial Society, as one eminently important for Mulhouse, where the working population was continually on the increase, and the accommodation neither sufficient nor suitable for the wants of the people.

The idea commended itself at once to the enlightened members of the Association. Mulhouse has been blessed with a succession of capitalists and manufactures, amongst whom such names as Dollfus Kœchlin, Schlumberger and Schwartz, stand foremost, who have realized that their workmen are bound to them by other ties than the cold commercial engagement of labour and wages. They have realized that the men, in the sweat of whose brow their speculations have been wrought out and have prospered—by whose toil their large fortunes have been built up, should, in some measure, share the prosperity to which they have contributed. It was thus they argued about the home of the workman : —

“ The comfort and cleanliness of the dwelling has a greater influence than might be at first supposed on the morality and well-being of a family. The man who returns home in the evening to a dirty and disorderly hovel, where the very air that he breathes is unwholesome and polluted, cannot in such a place pass his evening contentedly ; he will be seen to take refuge in the public-house, and spend there most of his available time. As a first consequence, he becomes almost a stranger to his family, and soon contracts fatal habits of self-indulgence, which reduce their resources to a miserable pittance, and lead to swift and sure misery for him and his. Now, if we can offer to this same man a clean and inviting dwelling, with a little garden attached, which will furnish him with a pleasant and useful recreation, and which, by its produce, will develop in him that instinct of property, or the love of possessing, which God has placed in human hearts as a motive to industry and good order,—shall we not have resolved in a satisfactory manner one of the most important problems of social economy ? Shall we not have contributed to draw closer the sacred bonds of the family, and have rendered service not only to the workmen in whom we are interested, but to society in general ? ”

About nine months were occupied by the Society in collecting information from all who had occupied themselves with the same subject, as to the plans they had adopted in the construction of workmen's houses, and the results, encouraging or otherwise, which had followed. These inquiries were not confined to France. The work of our countryman, Mr Henry Roberts, on the dwellings of the labouring-classes, of which the Prince Louis Napoleon, then President of the Republic, thought so highly, that he caused it to be translated and published, furnished many useful hints. After thus collecting and accommodating to their own circumstances the advice of all who had experience on the subject to offer, they took a step in advance by the erection of four houses, to serve as models, in which they placed workmen who might test practically which of them answered best to the daily need of a labourer and his family. This additional experience gained, their plans were ripe, and the founders of the Cité Ouvrière of Mulhouse commenced operations.

Between Mulhouse and Dornach lies a vast plain, watered by the canal which surrounds the city. On either side of the canal, in the fresh country air of the plain, but in close proximity to the most important factories, the ground was purchased, and the limits assigned of the Workman's City.

The Company who undertook to carry out the project consisted at first of twelve shareholders, who took among them 60 shares of 5000 frs. (200*l.*) each. The Company was formed in June 1853. They agreed to restrict themselves to an interest of 4 per cent on their money invested, and to forego any other profits that might arise in the course of their operations. The leading idea of the Workman's City of Mulhouse has been, from the first, the advantage of the workman himself.

Very early in their operations, a new and important question presented itself:—Should the Company, as had been the general practice of those who had hitherto built workmen's dwellings, retain possession of the houses they constructed, allowing the workmen to occupy them at a moderate rental, or should they strike out into a new line of action, and invite him to purchase his house?

It was much to build comfortable and healthy houses, which they could offer to their tenants at lower rents than they had hitherto paid for miserable hovels; but the aim of the Company was still

higher, and showed their intimate acquaintance with the character of the workman, and the motives by which it is influenced.

Considerations (such as those) put forth by M. Jules Simon, decided the Company to build, in the widest sense of the word, a "Workman's City;" theirs in possession, as well as theirs for use. We will first describe the city itself, and then explain the plans by which purchase was made easy to ordinary labourers, earning a moderate weekly wage.

The capital invested by the Company amounted at first, as we have said, to 300,000 francs (12,000*l.*); somewhat later, by the addition of eight more shareholders, and eleven more shares of 200*l.* each, it was raised to 14,200*l.* The Emperor considered this philanthropic effort worthy of encouragement, and an agreement was entered into between the State and the Company, in virtue of which the State contributed 12,000*l.*, on condition that the houses to be built should be sold to the workmen at *cost* price, and that none should be let at a higher rate of profit than 8 per cent. The Emperor's munificent donation has been employed exclusively to cover the expenses of what may be termed the public works of the city, such as the laying down of streets and footways, sewers, fountains, plantations of trees, gas-lighting, public buildings, baths, wash-houses, and a general bake-house and eating-houses. Thus expenses have been met, which must have been shared among the private houses, seriously adding to their cost price.

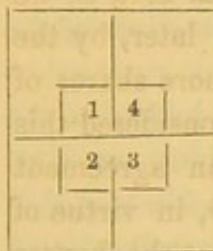
The selection of a site was guided by several considerations,—the locality must be healthy, ground tolerably cheap, and the distance from the city to the factories not so great as to add seriously to the fatigue of the workmen, who would have to pass over the same ground four times in a day: all these considerations are met in the level plain on which the city, or rather the cities (for they are divided into two by the canal which waters the plain), have been built.

The first impression of the traveller on arriving at the cities might be that he was entering some public gardens, so pleasantly is each little house bowered in trees. About 120* mètres carrés of garden ground are allotted to each house, and in each garden the

* A mètre carré is somewhat more than a square yard.

Company has planted two fruit-trees. The streets, which are straight, and intersect one another at right angles, are airy and broad; the principal one, Rue Napoléon, eleven, the others eight mètres in breadth: they are bordered with lime-trees.

The great aim of the Company was to construct houses on a scale which would enable each family to live apart; the sanctity and privacy of the domestic hearth were, in their eyes, of great price. If the house were too large for the family, the temptation would be strong to sub-let, and this they wished in every way to discountenance. The majority of the houses consists of groups of four, each in



in its garden, thus: others back to-back, with the gardens in front. For small families there are houses built together on the ground floor, consisting of a kitchen and two other excellent rooms: for larger families the houses have one storey, a kitchen, a living room, and a small bedroom on the ground-

floor; three more bedrooms overhead. Each house is built upon a vaulted cellar, which answers the purpose of storing wood for fuel; the loft is capacious, and a little bed-room, in case of a very large family to be accommodated, might well be contrived there.

Although the cities at Mulhouse have been built specially with reference to families, there is one building assigned to unmarried men, where a single room may be engaged for 7 francs (5s. 10d.) a-month, including attendance and use of house-linen. The rules are somewhat strict, for the interests of morality and good order were paramount with the Company. An officer superintends this establishment; the men are required to be in their rooms by ten o'clock at night, and no woman may set foot in the building.

The streets are some of them named after the founders of the city, as "la Rue Kœchlin," "la Rue Dollfus." The "Place Napoléon" occupies the centre of the town, and on either side of it a public building is conspicuous, the one for public baths and laundries, the other the city baking-establishment and eating-house. In the laundry, the house-wife pays a halfpenny for two hours at the wash-tub, with free command of hot water, and the use either of a drying ground or drying cupboard. Over the bakehouse and cookshop, the first floor is used for a public library and for a general store, where the most necessary articles of household and personal consumption are sold for little more than wholesale prices; but it is fair to say

that both of these have been somewhat of a failure. The books are not popular, and the workmen have been so long accustomed to the credit system that they continue to supply themselves from shops that give credit, notwithstanding that each article is much dearer.

In France, the State charges itself with public education, and schools of primary instruction are established in every commune, and open gratuitously to all: the Company has, therefore, wisely abstained from establishing any separate schools for the children of their workmen, but they have provided an *infant* school (*salle d'asile*), where 250 children, clean, healthy, and decently clothed, are under the careful and willing superintendence of the wives of the principal manufacturers.

Whichever way the visitor may turn his eyes, whether to the interior of the houses, where the housewife will point out with honest pride her well-scrubbed floors and spotless window curtains, or to the garden, well—nay, even gaily—kept, with its well-selected flowers, and so diligently used that 40 frs. profit is made in the year by its produce; the visitor, we say, must on all hands receive the impression that the secret has been found at last of raising the workman to a condition of social prosperity and domestic happiness, not by a lavish charity which would in the end only pauperise him and destroy his self-respect, but by awakening in him the instinct of order and economy; by putting a substantial benefit, not into his hands but within his reach, as the reward of patient toil and exertion; by throwing down the obstacles which would have been insuperable, and leaving only those which may stimulate him to exertion and nerve him to self-denial. With head erect and heart buoyant with hope, he advances, step by step, towards the coveted advantage; and, when it is attained, he is not oppressed with the obsequious feelings of one who has received an overwhelming gratuity, for the labour was his, and the prize he has fairly won: but his heart does warm with an impulse of generous gratitude to those who opened for him the way and cheered him on to victory.

We have now to see by what financial arrangements the Company's houses at Mulhouse were brought within the compass of the workman's power to purchase. We must remind the reader of some fundamental principles on which they had agreed. The shareholders would forego any other profit than 4 per cent. interest on the capital

invested ; they would offer their houses for sale to the workman at cost-price, and would allow him a long term of years in which to complete his payment : till houses found purchasers, they should be let on terms bringing in not more than 8 per cent. to the Company ; the proceeds of the rental pay the 4 per cent. interest to which the shareholder is entitled, but any bonus which may be declared over and above this, is set aside for public improvements, or the further extension of the city.

M. Jules Simon thus describes the terms offered by the Company to the workman. The Company makes no mystery of the matter ; it says to him : " Here are my houses, all open ; enter them ; examine them from cellar to garret. The purchase of the ground cost me a shilling the mètre ; building, purchase of materials, salary of architect, has brought the price of the smaller houses to 2400 frs. (96*l.*), of the larger to 3000 frs. (120*l.*). I will sell them to you for the same price ; I will gain nothing, neither will I lose anything by the transaction. You are not in a position to pay me 120*l.*, but I, as a company, can afford to wait. You shall lay down a first instalment of 12*l.* or 16*l.*, which will cover the expenses of contract and transfer ; you shall then pay me 18 frs. (15*s.*) a-month for a house worth 96*l.*, and 23 frs. (19*s.* 2*d.*) a-month for a house worth 120*l.*. This will be 4 or 5 frs. more than it would have cost you to rent it. In fourteen years you will have paid up the price of your house, and it will be yours. Not only you will live rent free, but you will leave it to your children, or sell it, or give it away, at your option. The 5 frs. that you have thus economised monthly, and which would, in the savings' bank, have accumulated to something less than 1500 frs. (60*l.*) in fourteen years, have put you in possession of a house worth now 120*l.*, but likely in a similar period from this time at least to double in value. And for those fourteen years you will have the comfort of a good roof over your head, you will be subject to no landlord's caprices, you will have enjoyed a garden which will bring you in from 30 to 40 frs. a-year, to say nothing of the various advantages of residence in the Workman's City, as compared with your present quarters in the old town of Mulhouse,—advantages for which you have been charged nothing in the price of your house,—such as wide and well-kept streets, open and airy spaces planted with trees, infant-school, public baths, and other similar institutions."

The Mulhouse workman, therefore, more or less influenced by the feelings common to his class, did not at once comprehend the large-hearted and philanthropic object of the Company. With the attractive little houses of the new city full in sight, he held back for a time; not for long, however—he soon satisfied himself that comfort was not offered to him at the price of independence; nay, that, as proprietor of his house, he would be, in a new and unaccustomed sense, a free man. The conditions imposed were so simple and reasonable, as to leave no excuse for suspicion. They were these:—The house and ground were to be kept up, the garden cultivated, the fencing kept in good order, the lime-trees bordering the streets preserved, and, without permission from the Company, the purchaser of a house for a period of 10 years must neither sell his house nor let off a part to another family. The Company has, however, always been ready to grant the requisite permission in circumstances where it was for the advantage of the owner: as, for instance, in case of a purchaser leaving Mulhouse and wishing to transfer his property to another workman; or in case of a family without children, where the whole house was larger than the necessities of the family required.

We have spoken of an instalment of 12*l.* or 16*l.*, which is credited to the purchaser, and serves to liquidate the legal expenses of contract. The sale of the house is considered merely provisional till this instalment is paid; but so careful is the Company to throw no difficulty in the way of purchase, that a workman who has no resources to meet the first instalment may still be put in possession of a house, provided he can pay a few francs more each month, till the instalment is paid up.

One condition has been added in the last three years which might not have been possible at first, though obviously the advantage of the workman and his family is the sole object of its imposition,—no father of a family can now either rent or purchase a house in the Workman's City at Mulhouse without entering into an engagement to send his children to school.

Now, let us see how the sale of houses has actually prospered—how many workmen's families at Mulhouse live in houses of their own. In June 1853, the Company was formed.

C.

FACTS REGARDING PAWNBROKING IN EDINBURGH.

*From Glimpses of the Social Condition of Edinburgh in 1865,
by Thomas Knox, Esq., J.P.—(Page 11.)*

"IN Edinburgh we have 33 licensed pawnshops, and 219 wee pawns or brokers—252 in all, gnawing into the very vitals of civilization, virtue, and religion. In the 33 licensed pawn-shops alone—for only with them do I purpose dealing to-night—there are effected annually, and admitted by pawnbrokers in the columns of the *Mercury*, 1,381,200 pledges, high and low. High pledges and low pledges are a statutory definition of amounts pledged—all below 10s. being a low, all above 10s. a high pledge. The business done monthly in Edinburgh in low pledges, under 10s., is 110,000; in high pledges, under £10, 5,000; and deposits above £10, 100. The nature of the pledging is seen by a peep into the interior of an everyday establishment. The list embraces the following articles:—*Body clothing*—men's coats, 539; vests, 355; pairs of trousers, 288; hats, 60—total, 1,242. Women's gowns, 1,980; petticoats, 540; wrappers, 132; duffles, 123; pelisses, 90—total, 2,865. Pairs of stockings, 84; silk handkerchiefs, 240; shirts and shifts, 294—total, 4,725. *Bed clothes*—bed ticks, 84; pillows, 108; pairs of blankets, 262; pairs of sheets, 300; bed covers, 162—total, 916. *Miscellaneous*—table cloths, 36; umbrellas, 48; bibles, 102; watches, 204; rings, 216; Waterloo medals, 48—total, 654;—sum total, 6,295. If we divide the 1,381,200 of such pledges in Edinburgh, by the number of Pawnbrokers, we will find that each place effects as near as possible 41,000 annually, or 3,500 monthly. But some of these establishments transact an almost incredible amount of business. I have it on the best authority that one office in a poor district, betwixt the Castle and Holyrood, effected in one month 11,000 pledges! All the 11,000 were low pledges, sums below 10s., with the exception of thirty, which were high pledges, above 10s. This surely reveals a social condition among the poor of Edinburgh that needs very special

attention and treatment. One of the statutory arrangements in regard to pledges is, that for all above 10s. statutory count and reckoning with the pledger can be enforced in cases of forfeiture; that is, pawnbrokers are bound to sell them publicly and account for the balance after paying their legal charges; but all pledges below 10s. are utterly forfeited, no count and reckoning being required by law, whatever justice may demand and does demand in any transaction betwixt man and man; in other words, the poor pledger, in the eye of the law, is nobody, the richer pledger is somebody. Count and reckoning, I take it, should apply to every transaction. Justice should stand with sublime impartiality, scales in hand, in every professed temple of trade. The property that thus goes by the forfeit of low pledges into the pockets of the pawnbrokers must be very large indeed, and explains, in fact, how the poor are being steadily dragged by this pawnbroking machinery down into the lowest depths of poverty, misery, vice, and crime. According to the pawnbrokers' admissions, 12 per cent. of these low pledges are forfeited, and amount to 165,744 annually—a number about equal to the whole population of Edinburgh. Now, assuming 5s. as an average value of low pledges, and that the advances will not exceed half their value, the pawnbrokers pocket from forfeiture alone something like £18,000 or £20,000. And mark, regarding all this forfeiture of property, the poor have no statutory right or power to make one inquiry to see if any surplus, though only one shilling, remains. Such unequal laws do not constitute legal tyranny simply, but, I had almost said, legal robbery, of the most direct and startling kind. I believe the demoralization that is wrought in the minds of the poor from the daily experience of such shameful and unjust legal transactions, such pushing aside all standards of justice betwixt man and man, must be very great indeed. All this is a shameful and wanton aggravation of their suffering and privation by the pawnbrokers' fatal laws of usury, of the crushing and inexorable movements of which machinery the poor have not one enlightened conception. The poor borrow to help themselves from some sudden emergency; but once within the subtle play of this machinery of usury, they, in thousands of instances, are gradually entangled in crushing ruin. All men of experience and observation as to the poorer circles of life are of this opinion very decidedly. Dr Guthrie has said, 'When I had more to do with the low and lowest classes of the people, I used to consider their ruin accomplished whenever

they turned their steps to the pawnbrokers. All that remained was a work of time; they were on the rail, and the ruin of all that was precious and promising was the terminus.' The Edinburgh City Mission, by means of their zealous and devoted superintendent, testify to the same views. The Glasgow City Mission also says that 'the pawnbrokers' shops are most prolific nurseries of crime, and especially of theft, among the youth. The pawns and low brokers' shops are one of the most powerful, and degrading, and enslaving enemies with which we have to contend in our work amongst the poor.' "

"*Pawnbrokers' Pictures.*—I have had the most harrowing interviews with working-men, almost driven to despair and madness about their families, in consequence of wives pawning, with ruinous facility, everything during their absence at work. One man told me that his house was stripped of everything, his daughters were unable to cross the door—their mother having stolen and pledged their things while they slept, and that unredeemed pledges were lying in the house in 'goupons!' I have seen strong men literally broken down with grief and starvation, large wages being consumed by pawnbrokers and publicans. Allow me, also, to give you a brief narrative of other authentic cases—a mere sample of hundreds more—from the private diary of a gentleman whose extensive intercourse with the poor gives weight to his words. A working-man, earning all the year round 18s. per week, has a wife and children. His wife is given to intemperance, and takes fearful rounds of drinking. He does everything in his power to keep her from getting drink—keeps the money and means out of her way—pays all the accounts himself, and does everything he can to prevent her drinking; but all utterly fails on account of the facility given to such characters by the pawnshops. I have known her three or four times strip the children and herself of clothes, leaving just rags enough to cover them, and empty the house of everything she could carry away—the bed clothes, the clock, and pictures from the wall—the very pots and pans; and when all such things are gone, in desperation she breaks open every lock in the house, and leaves nothing. I have known her poor husband, week after week, have to take the shirt from his back, wash and dry it on Sabbath, that he might have it clean to go to his work on Monday. When all in the house is gone, then she goes to the clubman, gets £1 or £2 worth of cloth in her

husband's name, with the promise to pay it at so much a week. Of course her husband never sees it, it goes straight to the pawnshop; and the first notice that he gets of it is months after, when his wages are arrested for the payment of it. The husband is kept from church, the children are kept from school—they have to sleep without bed-clothes, and live almost without body-clothes; and for all this the pawnshop is much to blame. I do not think drunken people could work such destruction had they not this facility for getting quit of their things. The above has occurred not once, but often in the same house; and there are hundreds of cases like it. Only the other day a man said to me, ‘£20 would not buy the things my wife has at present in the pawnshop; and £10 would not bring them back to my house; all has gone for drink. Six times have I taken my Sabbath-day clothes from the pledge. They are there now, and I do not think I will get them back again.’ Such were the words of a steady church-going man, who wishes to do well; but how can he, while public-houses and pawnshops are open? Another case, but of a husband going wrong, who can earn from £2 to £3 per week. He was living for years in the greatest misery, which hastened his wife's death, leaving him with five as fine children as could anywhere be seen. He has been known to take the last blanket and sheet from the bed, send one of his children to pawn it, and leave the poor things to sleep without a covering, as well as to live almost without food, except what the neighbours gave them. At the last term he broke up his house, sold his tools and all he had, and drank till all was gone. The children are now in the Ragged School, and he going about in misery—sometimes working and sometimes drinking.”

“Familiarity with Pawns.”—Thus the tide of social deterioration and moral destruction continues to rise and utterly submerge many of the best characteristics and virtues of our city population. The young and rising generation are so familiarized with the pawnshop that it bulks in their eye more than school or church. To go with shoes and shirts to the pawnbroker's is equally a matter of course, and proper in their eyes, as going for loaves to the baker's, or beefsteaks to the butcher's. The rising generation has an entirely new relationship to the pawnshop. The fathers and mothers began the habit with blushes of heartfelt shame; but the children will never know that weakness, never feel that last throb of Scottish pride.

They are fallen many degrees lower down in the moral and social scale of manhood and citizenship. They begin life on a lower platform altogether, pawning as an every-day thing, and so proportionately weakening all appliances for their elevation, whether these be moral or social."

"Necessity of Reform.—The whole system requires to be considered and corrected by magistrates and statesmen to the utmost. Society, in mere self-defence from such aggressive demoralization, will be constrained to press matters on the attention of all the authorities, Municipal and Parliamentary. Amongst the very first things that demand attention will be the absence of ultimate responsibility, on the part of pawnbrokers, to any one for the performance of their statutory obligations to the public. There is no existing inspectorship, no existing court of appeal, no existing remedy for grievances of any kind in a direct, inexpensive, and impartial manner. The Pawnbrokers' Act is full of checks and penalties, but there is no proper authority to work out the legal machinery. Every pawnbroker is his own interpreter, his own arbiter, his own law. Even the Justices of the Peace are doomed to be merely so many pawnbrokers' clerks. They daily see the horrors of the system while taking affidavits as to lost pledges, but are powerless to interfere. The law forbidding pledging to children and drunk people is a dead letter, with none to inspect, report, and have punished habitual law-breakers. That I am within the mark of criticism and complaint we may see clearly from the following opinions given in a recent pamphlet by one in the pawnbroking business—one who evidently, along with other respectable men in the trade, is ashamed of such laxity, and wishes immediate reform, alike for the character of the profession and the protection of the public. He says,—'Out of thirty-three licensed pawnbrokers in Edinburgh there are few who sell their forfeitures by auction according to the clause of the Pawnbrokers' Act. How can they? Some of them not having been brought up to the trade, and never having seen the Act—having only a vague idea that there is such a thing—while they are left at liberty to lay down their own laws, there being no one to interfere with them. As to a table of rates, to be hung in a conspicuous place in their office, why, they make their own rates, and no such table is ever seen, while the most of them completely ignore farthings, it being beneath their dignity to give

in such change. It is also one of the most common and every-day occurrences to take goods from children, from eight to nine years of age ; besides many other circumstances, such as charging more than the legal interest, and refusing to give up the goods, although in their possession unsold.' We surely need, immediately, a commission of inquiry into this lawless, most unjust, and most demoralizing state of things. And, amongst other things obviously required, will be, *First*, inspectorship—direct authority to keep all the legal and commercial machinery working in equity betwixt the pawnbrokers and the public. Justice must penetrate every possible corner and cranny of commerce betwixt man and man—rich or poor—high or low—for a small sum or for a large. *Second*, There will obviously be required a court of appeal, constituted of the Magistrates, Councillors, or Justices, or some others to be agreed upon, so that strong barriers against individual oppression of the poor and ignorant, and even depraved and desperate, may be provided ; for justice is a national gem that must not be allowed to be tarnished or lost. *Third*, There will obviously be required a law which will balance up with a poor man who pawns and forfeits an article below 10s., even as at present with a less poor man who pawns and forfeits an article above 10s. Poverty is always demoralizing enough in its tendencies, without being aggravated by systematic and gross statutory injustice and wrong. *Fourth*, There will obviously be required a law—as suggested by Mr Hector, Procurator-Fiscal of Pollokshaws, a gentleman who has devoted a large amount of mind and energy to this question—which shall render it impossible for man or wife to pledge all the needful things in a family during each other's absence without a joint authority to the pawnbroker. All pledges by children, without joint parental authority, to be forfeited by the pawnbroker. We need not, however, go farther in this direction at present ; our object is served and duty accomplished by simply turning public attention to what I believe to be a colossal social evil, and extending at a rate which threatens ere long to overwhelm politicians, philanthropists, and Christians in one common shame and ruin. The present Pawnbrokers' Act, which was passed in the reign of George the Third, in the beginning of this century, lies under strong suspicion of being in need of innumerable repairs—so innumerable as to suggest an Act of Parliament altogether new, and expressly adapted to modern times and modern tendencies."

