The Morning Chronicle's

LABOUR AND THE POOR

VOLUME X

LIVERPOOL

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Cover Image:
View of Liverpool, from the Mersey
From "The Traveller's Album and Hotel Guide"
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Image courtesy of The British Library

"Last week I had three days' work. It was the best week I have had for six months, and I was able to get my boots out of pawn. I have got them on now, but I expect I shall have to send them back to the pawn-shop next week, if I don't get a job or two."

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Preface

This work attempts to be a faithful reproduction of the "Labour and the Poor" letters as printed in *The Morning Chronicle*. Only obvious typographical errors and omissions have been corrected. Variations in the spelling and hyphenation of words have largely been retained. We hope any such inconsistencies prove to be of some historical interest to the reader.

As much as possible we have tried to recreate the original layout and styling of the text and all factual tables have been reproduced as closely to the originals as possible with only minimal alterations made where necessary to improve readability.

Not all letters were titled. Where missing we have added titles to the Table of Contents to assist navigation and explanation of content. The letters themselves are as per the originals.

A handful of illustrations have been added to each volume. These did not appear in the original text but hopefully provide added interest.

R. W.
K. B.

Introduction

In 1849 a leading London-based newspaper, *The Morning Chronicle*, undertook an investigation into the working and living conditions of the poor throughout England and Wales in the hope that their findings might lead to much needed change.

The reputed catalyst for their "Labour and the Poor" series was an article written by Henry Mayhew recording a journey into Bermondsey, one of the most deprived districts of London, which was printed in September 1849. Following this it was proposed that an in-depth investigation be carried out and "Special Correspondents", the investigators, were selected and distributed around the country. The first article or "Letter" appeared on the 18th of October 1849 and the series would run for almost 2 years and 222 letters.

The well-known and respected writers and journalists recruited for the task included Henry Mayhew who was assigned to the Metropolitan districts, Angus Bethune Reach to the Manufacturing districts, Alexander Mackay and Shirley Brooks to the Rural districts and Charles Mackay to investigate the cities of Birmingham and Liverpool. The author of the letters from Wales is as yet unknown.

The "Labour and the Poor" letters were extremely popular at the time, being widely read throughout the nation and even abroad. The revelations in them caused quite a stir amongst the middle and upper classes of Victorian society. *Letters to the Editor* poured in with donations for specific cases of distress that appeared in the letters and also for the general alleviation of the suffering of the poor. A special fund was set up by *The Morning Chronicle* to collect and distribute these donations.

These *Letters to the Editor* have been included in this series, predominantly in the Metropolitan district volumes whose letters elicited the majority of responses. They provide a unique window into the thoughts and sentiments of the Victorian readership as they react to the incredible accounts of misery and desperation being unveiled.

The Morning Chronicle's extraordinary and unsurpassed "Labour and the Poor" investigation provides an unparalleled insight into the people of the period, their living and working conditions, their feelings, their language, their sufferings and their struggles for survival amidst the poverty and destitution of 19th century Britain. An investigation of such magnitude had never before been attempted and the undertaking was truly of epic proportions. Its impact at the time was profound. Its historical importance today is without question.

The Morning Chronicle, Monday, May 20, 1850.

LABOUR AND THE POOR.

LIVERPOOL.

[FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.]

THE BURDENS UPON TOWNS.—IRISH PAUPERISM.

Letter I.

Next to the metropolis, Liverpool is perhaps the most important town in the kingdom, whether as regards its past and present state or its future prospects. Its rapid and almost unparalleled rise from obscurity and poverty to renown and splendour, makes its past history highly interesting. Its future prospects offer quite as much to rivet attention. The undeveloped wealth of the United States and Canada—to say nothing of Mexico, Brazil, and the southern and south-western Republics—which only awaits the hand of man to call it into being and distribute it over the world, must flow, in large proportion, into Liverpool, as the great, and almost the only port by which the New World carries on its intercourse with Great Britain. So that, whether we regard Liverpool in the past, or in the present, or endeavour to portray its future state to our imagination, it is equally interesting as an object of study and speculation. In the latter point of view, there are many who consider that, great and powerful as Liverpool now is, it is destined to be yet greater and more powerful at a future time, and to rival, if not to eclipse, the grandeur of the "modern Babylon."

Liverpool, which some of the inhabitants call the "modern Tyre," was an insignificant town in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and prayed at that time for the remission of a small tax, on the plea of its extreme poverty. It was "her Majestie's poor and decayed town of Lyverpoole," and could not pay it. Local history does not state whether the prayer was granted, and the general history of that day almost ignores the existence of such a place. In the year 1636, Liverpool had not greatly increased in wealth, if its condition may be estimated by comparison of the assessments of some other cities and towns of the kingdom in that year, towards the navy of forty ships raised for the service of King Charles I. London had to provide 7 ships, 1,560 men, and 5 months'

pay for them. Bristol, 1 ship, 40 men, and £1,000 pay. Preston had to make a money payment of £40, Lancaster of £30, and Liverpool of £25 only. In 1699, Liverpool was first made a parish, and separated from the parochial jurisdiction of its small neighbour Walton, with which it had formerly been conjoined. In the following year its population was estimated at 5,714. It then possessed one dock, in process of construction. The number of ships or small vessels that traded with the port was 60, with an aggregate burthen of about 4,000 tons. From that time to the present, the history of Liverpool is a record of increasing population and prosperity. Its population at the census of 1841, amounted to 286,483. In the year 1846, when a new water act was applied for, the population, according to a careful estimate then made, was 361,128. It is now estimated at nearly 400,000, of whom it is supposed that at least 100,000 are Irish. By some it is estimated that the number of Irish is much larger than this, and that if the persons born in Liverpool of Irish parents were added, one-half of the whole population would either be Irish, or of Irish extraction.

Liverpool now possesses 22 large and commodious docks, exclusive of half-tide and graving docks, covering altogether an area of nearly 173 acres, constructed at a cost of about thirteen millions sterling, and paying for town dues an annual sum of upwards of £100,000. The net amount of town dues for the year 1849 was £101,016 14s. 6d. The total revenues of the town from all sources, for the same year, was £152,258 14s. 3d. This sum is altogether exclusive of the revenues of the Dock Trust.

The docks of Liverpool are by far the most extensive and remarkable constructions in the town. From Sandon Dock and Basin on the north, to the Brunswick Dock on the south, they extend along the Mersey for a distance of nearly four miles. The following are their names and order, from the north or entrance direction of the Mersey, southwards:—Sandon Dock and Basin, Wellington Dock and half-tide Dock, Bramley Moore Dock, Nelson Dock, Stanley Dock, Collingwood Dock, Salisbury Dock, Clarence Dock and Basin, Trafalgar Dock, Victoria Dock, Waterloo Dock and Basin, Prince's Dock and Basin, George's Dock, Canning Dock and half-tide Dock, Salthouse Dock, Albert Dock, King's Dock, Queen's Dock, Union Dock, Coburg Dock, and Brunswick Dock. Another dock has been planned, and is now in process of construction. The total revenues of the dock estate, of which a statement is annually laid before the public, amounted from the 24th of June, 1848, to the 24th of June,

1849, to £748,594 3s. 2d. The vessels that cleared inwards in the same year were 20,733, and their tonnage was 3,639,146 tons.

The national revenue, in the shape of Customs Duties, levied at Liverpool, amounted in the year ending on the 31st of December, 1849, to £3,474,224, exclusive of £300,000 levied in Manchester on goods imported into Liverpool. These extensive docks, and this vast trade, in addition to the direct and indirect employment given to a multitude of persons in almost every department of manual and intellectual labour, give direct occupation to large bodies of men in the loading and discharging of ships, and in the porterage of their cargoes from the quays to the lofty bonded and free warehouses that line the shore, or to the private warehouses of the merchants and consignees in various parts of the town. The number of "dock labourers" and operative porters who gain their subsistence either by loading and discharging vessels or by working on the quays is—as nearly as can be ascertained, for no record is kept of them in any of the public offices of the town, and no license is required for their business—from 14,000 to 18,000. In the year 1846, when tickets were issued, the numbers were ascertained to exceed 14,000. It is calculated that the almost daily arrival of Irish labourers, fit for strong work, if for nothing else, has added since that time at least 3,000, and probably 4,000, men to their number. The present condition of these 18,000 men—representing, with their families (calculating on an average each household at four persons), no less than 72,000 individuals—the misery in which they live, the keen struggle for employment in which they are daily engaged, the competition of the unskilled against the skilled porters, and the grievances of which the older and better members of the body complain, between the "lumpers" and "master porters" on the one hand and the "Grecians" or unskilled Irish on the other, will form the subject of future letters.

The stranger in Liverpool cannot but be strongly impressed by its activity, bustle and opulence. A walk along the extensive line of its magnificent docks, impeded now and then, as it is sure to be, by the raising of the drawbridges for the entrance and departure of ships, many of them of 1,000 and 1,200 tons burden, will fill the mind of any ordinary spectator with genuine admiration of the industry, energy, and successful enterprise of which the tangible results surround him wherever he casts his eyes. The Mersey swarms with ships, and the immense line of docks is so closely packed with vessels as to appear at some little distance to form a compact mass, dense as a forest of

tall pines in an untrodden wilderness. The imagination is confused by their number and complexity, and endeavours in vain to place an intelligible and calculable money-value upon such aggregations of riches. The quays and streets are even busier than the docks, and are filled with innumerable carts and waggons, passing to and fro in all directions. Some of them, and by far the greater proportion, are laden with huge bales of cotton, destined to feed the hungry mills of Yorkshire and Lancashire; others with sacks of grain from the fertile valleys of the western world; others, again, with barrels of pork and provisions from New York; others, but in smaller numbers, with rum casks and sugar hogsheads from the West Indies; and large numbers of carts, with immense wheels of eight or nine feet in diameter, with enormous logs of timber from the forests of Canada and New Brunswick. The quays, in addition to these moving vehicles, are lined with carts and "lorries" waiting to be hired. They may be counted at times by hundreds in a string, each with its couple of strong horses and strong men. At every corner sturdy fellows are to be seen employed at porter's work; and also at every corner are men waiting for porterage, which they are not always fortunate enough to procure, though they may wait for a month in daily succession. The splendid bonded and free warehouses along the line of the river, behind and around the docks—many of them seven or eight stories in height—complete the effect of the busy scene. Some of these are silent enough, like boa-constrictors that have eaten their dinners. It is the silence of repletion, and their doors and windows are only closed because they are "choke-full" of merchandise, and can contain no more under the penalty of bursting. Others show signs of activity. They are in the process of being gorged, and keep the pulleys busily at work, whilst up to the second, third, fourth, or fifth stories, or to 80 or a 100 feet above the head of the passenger, the operative porters and other labourers haul up the plethoric cotton-bales, or barrels of provisions and stores, to their temporary destination. If the stranger turns from the docks and walks into the town, the signs of its flourishing condition are equally apparent. It is not so much the beauty and wealth of the shops, or the crowds in the streets, but the new and splendid public and private buildings in course of erection in almost every part of the town, which prove, without necessity of further evidence, that Liverpool is highly prosperous and well inclined to expend its superabundant wealth in luxury and adornment.

This is but one side of the medal. This rich, enterprising, and increasing town is oppressed with pauperism, and contains moreover a large population of working men but little removed above pauperism, in daily danger of sinking into it—discontented with their lot—living precariously at most times—dependent upon the wind for the chance of procuring a subsistence; and forming a class which, though naturally laborious, honest, and well-inclined, needs but little provocation, of ill treatment on the one hand, or of severe distress on the other, to become dangerous. Liverpool is furthermore oppressed by a grievous, if not intolerable, burden, which bears with almost fatal weight upon the middle classes, who form the great majority of the ratepayers, and with much severity even upon the richer class of inhabitants. Though not the nearest, it is the most convenient, and by far the richest, port towards Ireland. The consequence is that the wretched people of that country, to whom a shilling a day is high wages, swarm into England by way of Liverpool, and inflict the injury of their presence upon that town in the first instance. They stay as long as they can in search of work or charity, thence spread themselves through England when work fails, and ultimately return to Liverpool to be maintained as paupers, or to be reconveyed, at the expense of that town, to their own country. A great deal has been said lately of the burdens upon Land. Without entering upon that question at all, I shall endeavour to show, in the sequel of this letter, a few of the burdens upon this town consequent upon its proximity to Ireland, to say nothing of any other burdens of which it may reasonably or unreasonably complain. Liverpool in this respect is peculiarly unfortunate, and shares with Glasgow the distinction of possessing a larger Irish population than any Irish town—Dublin, Cork, and Belfast excepted—and with Bristol as well as Glasgow, the unenviable distinction of being compelled to maintain an amount of Irish pauperism, or to pay charges on account of Irish paupers, almost equal in amount to the sums which it is called upon to expend on its own poor.

In my inquiries into the state of "Labour and the Poor" in Liverpool, the Irish question must be the first in importance. The town of Liverpool feels, through the sensitive medium of the pocket, that it has to pay a large price for the privilege of being the greatest port in the west, and that its advantages in being the outlet to America are nearly counterbalanced by its disadvantages in being the inlet from Ireland. The "Irish difficulty" may puzzle statesmen, and increase the National Debt; but the people of Liverpool, in addition to being as

much, if not more, puzzled than statesmen, and in addition to paying their share of the general taxation which provides for the interest on the National Debt, have their own peculiar burden in bearing a larger share of the support of Irish pauperism than any town in England. I shall pass no opinion upon the matter, but confine myself to the bare statement of the facts of the case—facts collected and verified with the utmost possible care, and with the most earnest desire to state the simple truth, and no more.

The subject has many ramifications. *First*, there is the cost in the workhouse of the Irish poor, who may be considered to have a real industrial settlement; *secondly*, there is the cost of out-door relief to the Irish poor; *thirdly*, there is the cost of sanitary arrangements—no inconsiderable item—which the pressure of vast numbers of Irish living in the extreme of dirt, disease, and misery, entails upon the town; *fourthly*, there is the expense of Irish vagrants, tramps, and casual poor; *fifthly*, there is the distress caused among the steady labourers of the town, many of them householders and ratepayers, by the overwhelming numbers of utterly superfluous Irishmen that compete with them for bread, and sometimes force them upon the parish; *sixthly*, there is the largely increased amount of expenditure for the police force and the criminal judicature consequent upon the crime that is the result of the extreme poverty and degradation of this mass of unemployed men and women; *seventhly*, there is the expense of annually passing over to the nearest port in Ireland vast numbers of Irish, who congregate in Liverpool from all parts of the kingdom for the express purpose of being sent home again at the public expense. I have no means of arriving at a strictly accurate estimate under all these various heads. As regards some of them, no estimate is possible; but as regards two or three of them, the statistics are precise enough, and will be precisely stated. Whenever a speculative approximation is made in default of sufficient data, I will state that it is an approximation only and leave the reader to decide upon its probable correctness.

Upon the first head, I am enabled to speak exactly, having been favoured with extracts from the parochial books and with other authentic information. I should premise that these figures relate to the parish of Liverpool only, and not to the entire borough, within the boundaries of which are included the large and populous parish of Toxteth-park. The population of the parish of Liverpool, in 1841, was 223,054, and at present is calculated at 270,000. The net cost of the in-door pauperism of this large parish for the six months ending the 24th

of March, 1849, was £6,451 5s. 6¾d.; and for the six months ending on the 22d of September, in the same year, £5,405 12s. 8¼d.; making a total for the year of £11,856 18s. 3d. From the quarterly summaries, drawn up by the governor, I learn the proportion of Irish paupers in the workhouse at four different periods of the year. Of 2,370 paupers in the house at the end of the first, or Lady-day, quarter, 1,066 are entered as Irish, Scotch, and foreigners. Of 2,308 in the house at the end of the Midsummer quarter, 1,052 were Irish, Scotch, and foreigners. Of 2,194 admitted between Midsummer and Michaelmas 1849, the number of Irish, Scotch, and foreigners was 878. In the last quarter of the year, out of 1,798 paupers, 742 were Irish, Scotch, and foreigners. These figures give a total for the year of 8,670 admissions, of which 3,738 were Irish, Scotch, and foreigners. The Irish, therefore, form a fraction more than 43 per cent. of the whole number. The number of Scotch and foreign paupers was very small, not amounting to 3 per cent.; but calculating it at 3 per cent., it will leave 40 per cent. composed entirely of Irish. It will follow, therefore, from these figures, that two-fifths of the expense of the indoor poor of Liverpool is incurred for the support of Irish people—born in Ireland. If the calculation were extended a little further, it would be found that, out of the remaining three-fifths, a large proportion consisted of children born in Liverpool of Irish parents, and that, on the most moderate calculation, it might be estimated that fully one-half of the cost of the Liverpool workhouse is rendered necessary by the constant influx of a distressed Irish population.

Some time ago it was found that there was not room in the workhouse for the large number of children thrown upon the parish, and it was determined to erect an industrial school for their maintenance and instruction at another part of the town. I paid a visit to this establishment—a very handsome pile of building at Kirkdale—and found that it contained 1,150 children, of whom 377 were girls, and 773 boys. This building cost £32,000, and the expense of maintaining it was last year £10,483 1s. 9d. The children in this establishment are instructed in reading, writing, and arithmetic, and in the trades of the tailor, shoemaker, carpenter, and sailor, as well as in some kinds of agricultural work. The girls are taught knitting and plain needlework, and instructed in household work of all kinds. The great majority of the boys have a predilection for the sea, and a ship has been erected on the grounds, in which, under the direction of an "ancient mariner," they go through a kind of *dry* apprenticeship to the busi-

ness of a sailor. Altogether the establishment is a highly interesting one, and seems admirably conducted; but I only allude to it here as an item in the burdens of Liverpool. No classification of these children, into English and Irish, has been made; but the parish officials seem to consider that about as large a proportion of them are Irish, as exists among the inmates of the workhouse; so that forty per cent. of the charge incurred for this establishment may be set down amongst the Irish burdens upon the town of Liverpool.

The proximity of this town to Ireland has led to a system which, in its operation, forms a very peculiar burden upon its patience as well as its resources. It has of late years become a regular practice amongst a portion of the poorer orders of Irish women, resident in Ireland, married as well as unmarried, to come to Liverpool in the last month of their pregnancy, for the purpose of being confined and attended to during and for some weeks after this delicate period, at the expense of the generous and charitable English of Liverpool. The deck fares from Dublin, by some of the steam-boats, are often as low as sixpence a head. Provided with that sum, and a crust of bread, the pregnant Irish pauper woman of the class who have learned this secret, leaves her native land to try her fortune in Liverpool. Immediately on her arrival, she applies at the gate of the workhouse for relief. It is in vain for the authorities to attempt to get rid of the infliction by the payment of another sixpence to send her back in the way she came. The medical officers of the parish must first certify whether she is in a fit state to be removed. I cast no imputation upon the character or motives of the medical men on whom this duty devolves, but I state the fact, as told by the parochial authorities—that it is a very rare case indeed for a medical man to certify that such a pauper is in a fit state to be sent back again before her *accouchement*. The medical officers of the parish derive no inconsiderable portion of their professional incomes from the fees payable for this service—ten shillings for an ordinary, and as much as two guineas for a difficult, case. Under such a system the result stated is not at all surprising. The Irish women who come to Liverpool upon this errand, ignorant as they may be in other respects, have sense enough to comprehend very clearly that, once in the streets of that town in an advanced stage of pregnancy, there is no difficulty before them. They are sure of subsistence, shelter, and medical attendance until two or three weeks or a month after their *accouchement*, and then the parish gets rid of them as fast as it can, and is only too happy to pay their passage to the place from whence they

came. Many of them spread themselves over England as tramps and beggars, and some return to Ireland at the parish expense, to favour Liverpool with another visit whenever they find themselves in the same situation. In the first quarter of the year 1849, the number of women confined in the workhouse was 61, of whom 26 said they were married; in the second quarter the number confined was 65, of whom 30 declared they were married; in the third quarter of the year the number was 42, of whom 12 declared they were married; and in the last quarter of the year the number was 58, of whom 22 claimed to be married. It is not asserted that all these women were Irish, nor have I been able to ascertain what proportion the immigrants of the class alluded to bore to the whole number. To state it at two-fifths, or even one-half, would not in all probability be an exaggeration.

The second ramification of the Irish burden is the cost of the out-door relief afforded to the poor. During the year ending on the 28th of February, 1850, it amounted, in money and food, to £34,429 6s. 6d., of which £26,132 9s. 2d. was given in money, and £8,296 17s. 4d. in kind. The cases of settled poor relieved during the year were 147,941, including 302,034 individuals; but as many of these are several times entered in the books, and appear again and again whenever necessity compels them, the numbers are not to be taken as the numbers of habitual and professional paupers. The number of strictly Irish cases relieved with money during the year, was 57,832, including 165,379 individuals of all ages. In addition to these, 35,648 cases, including 94,621 individuals having no settlement, received out-door relief, of whom at least one-half were estimated to be Irish. The sum of £8,296 17s. 4d., administered to the poor in food, was divided between the Irish and all other applicants. I leave out of the calculation the cost of the vagrant sheds, which will form the fourth head, under which the subject will be treated. The proportions of this total sum of £34,492 6s. 6d. for the out-door relief of the poor, classified under these various items, would be, for the Irish alone, as follows:—

For the Irish poor claiming to have a settlement . . .	£5,464
One-half of the total cost of relieving with money the poor having no settlement	1,697
One-half of the relief administered in kind	4,148
	£11,309

I believe that these figures are under the mark, and that much more than one-half of the casual cases, and of the poor without settlement, are Irish. I do not take into the account the voluntary charity

of the people of Liverpool to the Irish beggars that swarm about the streets, whose importunity it would be difficult to resist, even if their squalor and wretchedness, and the number of their miserable and half-starved children, did not plead for them more loudly than their own vociferations. Had I had access to the documents to prove the burdens upon the whole borough of Liverpool, including the Park parish, with the townships of West Derby, Everton, and Kirkdale, the Irish burden would appear even more oppressive. The Park parish and townships contained a population estimated at 112,839 in the year 1846, of whom a large proportion, as in the rest of the borough of Liverpool, were Irish of the most distressed class. This calculation, however, I have not gone into, having confined myself in these pauper statistics to the parish of Liverpool alone.

Under the *third* head of the expense devolving upon Liverpool by the presence of so many permanent poor Irish, and by the fluctuating visitations of the wandering poor of the same country, it will be impossible to state with precision what portion of the total expense of carrying out the provisions of the local sanitary act is caused by their wretchedness and dirt—both of habitation and of person. During the year when fever and cholera swept so many thousands of the poor people into their graves, more than one-half of the extraordinary expense of sanitary regulations and of fever hospitals was incurred for the Irish. The expense of the sanitary operations of the borough—not the parish—for the year ending the 31st March, 1849, to which time the last published accounts are made up, was £149,696 10s. 9½d. The total receipts for sanitary purposes derived from rates on the inhabitants, and from a few other sources of revenue, was £149,766 18s. 11½d. The filthy cellars and courts, inhabited by the Irish, that abound in the poorer districts of the town, with the lodging-houses of mendicants and thieves, and of all the distressed labourers who are burdensome to the parish but who are not yet driven into the workhouse, are a continual source of expense, on account of the periodical visitation to which it is necessary to subject them in order to preserve the town from the constant scourge of a desolating fever. Upon this head, I shall enter more fully in a subsequent letter, when I shall give a full detail of the sanitary state of the borough. At present, and considering it merely as an Irish burden, it may be estimated, without exaggeration, that fully one-third of the whole expense is rendered necessary by the enormous number of the lowest class of Irish. This would make the burden under this head no less than £49,898 16s. 11d. Many gen-

tlemen in the town to whom I have submitted the estimate, consider that two-thirds—rather than one-third—would be the proper calculation.

The *fourth* sub-division of expense is the evil of the "Vagrant Sheds," or Refuge for the Destitute. This is a considerable item in the annual charges of the town of Liverpool. For the week in which I visited the establishment, the total number of persons who had been accommodated with beds, and with a piece of bread at night and in the morning, was—men, 681; women, 541; children, 284; total, 1,506. The night when I visited the sheds was considered a "slack" one, there being a great fair at Halifax, in Yorkshire, to which large numbers of the regular tramps and vagrants had gone, begging and plundering on their way. This was on the 26th of February, and the intelligent master of the establishment gave me the following extract from his books, showing the number and character of the vagrants that had taken refuge within its walls on the previous evening and on the corresponding evening of the previous year. On the 25th of February, 1849, the numbers were 97. On the 25th of February, 1850, they amounted to 204, being an increase of 107. Of these 204, the English tramps and vagrants numbered 100; the Scotch, 7; the Irish 81; and aliens, including negroes and other foreign sailors, 16. Thirteen of the number were well-known thieves, and 40 of the females well-known prostitutes. Sixty persons of both sexes were professional tramps and vagrants, leaving 91 persons as real strangers and wayfarers, not known to be tramps, though possibly belonging to that fraternity. Taking the week as a fair average one, and multiplying the number by 52, there would result an annual visitation to the vagrant-sheds of Liverpool of 78,312 persons. By a return from the vestry-clerk's office, with which I have been furnished, the number of admissions appear to be 77,167. But many of these are constant visitors, so that the actual number of cases must be less, and, according to the vestry-clerk's return, is 33,314. One boy, who begged during the day about the streets, had made his appearance in the shed for 26 nights in succession, and had been duly relieved with two slices of bread, and his bed upon the boards. Others had made their appearances with as great regularity, and effected periodical descents upon the hospitality of Liverpool—hospitality of a very questionable prudence, when it is considered how much it must tend to the increase of crime and pauperism, and to the encouragement of habits of vagrancy amongst a class of the people already unsettled enough, who use

these pauper-sheds as rich men use hotels, namely, as halting-places on their travels. It is sometimes, both in Liverpool and elsewhere, impossible to preserve decency or order amongst the inmates. The girls take a frantic freak in their heads at times, and dance about the sheds in an indecent manner, singing obscene songs, and otherwise misconducting themselves; and the male vagrants, though generally more manageable, are at times as bad as those of the other sex. I took down the story of one of the best conducted of the inmates of the Liverpool shed, and present it in the words of the narrator—a good-looking and intelligent young man, with a tolerably good suit of clothes on his back, such as might be worn every day by a working man in regular employ.

"My name is John L——. I am 27 years of age, and unmarried. I was born in the county of Meath, and have been in England about ten years. I never learned any trade. I worked in Ireland as a ostler for Mr. Peter Purcell, the great coach contractor. I was discharged because I was not wanted any longer. I might have got employment in Dublin, if I had stayed there, but I wanted to try my fortune in England, and see what the country was like. I came to Liverpool for 2s. 6d., which I paid out of my savings. From Liverpool I went to Prescot, Wigan, and Manchester. I paid my way as I went. I did not know what tramping was then; I was too rich and too proud to be a beggar. I don't remember how much money I had, but I had some. When I got to Manchester I thought myself in luck. I fell in with a man (an Irishman), who gave me work at drawing sand out of the 'old river'—the Irwell. The sand is used for building purposes. He was a good master. I stayed with him for five years, and had regular wages of 18s. a week all that time. It was very hard work, and lasted for twelve and often for fifteen hours a day. I might have lived comfortably on 12s. a week, and saved 6s.; but somehow or other I spent it all. I can't tell how much 6s. a week would have run up to in five years, but I can count it if you will give a little time. (A piece of paper and a pencil were handed to him, and he readily calculated the amount, stating it to be £78.) I am certain £78 is the sum. I wish I had saved it. I can read and write pretty well, and cypher also. I could once extract the square and the cube roots. I don't think I could manage the cube root now, or the square root either. I know vulgar fractions, but I do not quite understand the decimals. It was not because I drank that I did not save my earnings. I did not get drunk. I used to drink beer. My work required it. I got very wet and cold, having to stand in the water, and

the beer was a comfort to me. I was discharged because my master had no further occasion for me. There were no floods in the 'Old river' to bring down the sand, and he could not afford to keep me on. I could get no other work in Manchester, though I tried very hard for it. I stayed for ten weeks without work. A woman who kept a huckster's shop gave me credit. I had dealt with her for five years, and she did not like to see me want while I was out of work. I ran up a score of £2 with her. I never could pay her. I fell very low at last, and had to go to the Night Asylum, where I got six ounces of bread and a pint of coffee at night, and six ounces of bread in the morning. I fell in with tramps there, and heard all their conversation about the different towns where they had been. I got the first thoughts of tramping from them. I went to Bolton, ten miles from Manchester, to try my luck at it. The police gave me an order for half a pound of bread. I did not beg on the road, and did not at all like the tramping business, from what I saw of it. I then went back to Manchester, to the Night Asylum, and tried for work during the day. I could not find any one to employ me, so I thought I'd give the tramping another trial. I then went to Stockport. I was all alone, and not up to begging. I didn't like it. At that time I felt savage, and would much sooner have robbed than begged. I didn't rob, I hadn't a chance. You must not ask me too particularly about everything. I never was in prison for stealing, and never stole that I remember. I came to Manchester the second time, and stopped there a few days. I met a man in the Night Asylum who had been a painter. He was on the tramp, and knew all about it. He brought me into the way of it. I went with him to Stockport and Macclesfield. I first began to beg in Macclesfield, and got bits of bread and broken victuals, but little money, scarcely any. I had a working dress on, and continued begging in the neighbourhood, but not in the town, for fear of the police. I then went regularly on the tramp for three months. This was in 1846. I was put into gaol at Shrewsbury for begging. I was in for fourteen days. Found it very indifferent. My friend the painter was 'nabbed' along with me. They made us pick oakum, and did not feed us well, at least not so well as I liked. When we got out we went to Bridgnorth and Kidderminster, tramping all the way. At Gloucester the painter left me, and I made up my mind to go to the old place, I mean Manchester, and try for work. It was all of no use. There seemed to be a spite against me. No, not a spite of men, they did not know me; but a spite of everything. Nothing went right with me. For two years after this I did not get above a fortnight's work at different times,

though I was able and willing. I visited different parts of England in this time, and found my way to London. I was put into Tothill-fields prison for 21 days for begging. When I got out I could do nothing but tramp. Nobody would employ a gaol-bird with his head cropped. I went to Barnett, St. Albans, and a lot of places that I can't recollect the names of, until I got to South Wales. I was five months on this journey. I was in no hurry. I began to like tramping. Some of the tramps are clever fellows. We have a good deal of fun at night. We tell stories. The best liar is the best man among the tramps. We sing songs—some of them very good songs—sentimental ones; some of them are very bad, and some of them are worse than bad. We always tell each other the best unions to go to. I mean by the best unions those where we got the best bed and the most to eat. Tramps are not drunkards. They very seldom drink. When I arrived in South Wales the railway was being made. I got work upon it as a 'navvy,' for about six months, at 15s. a week. I then lived in Bridgend. Provisions were dear in the place, and it cost me 11s. a week to live. When discharged from the railway I got a job in a foundry at 12s. a week. My work was to feed a 'blast tenter' for 'moulders.' I was there six months, for I preferred work, however hard, to tramping. At last the manager found a man who offered to do my work for 10s. I would not stand that. I would not work for 10s., and tried several furnaces in Wales in hopes of work. A good many furnaces were stopped at this time. The end was that I went on the tramp again. The people of South Wales are good people. They are very kind and charitable. They gave me plenty of food when I begged; but they never gave me any money. I was seldom refused when I called at a farmhouse. I used to sleep in barns, and always got a good breakfast in the morning, and very often a supper of 'cowal.' Cowal is very good stuff. It is made of cabbage, beef, 'taturs, and all kinds of vegetables. I often got a breakfast as well as a supper of 'cowal.' I remained in South Wales until April, 1849, and then came on to London, on the regular tramp. I lodged in several unions on the way, and was in the casual ward at St. Pancras parish, where I got four ounces of bread night and morning. After being in London for a few days, I started for Liverpool, with 2½d. During all the time I begged, I never received more than 2s. 6d. from one person, and that was from a clergyman. Once I got 6d. from a woman; she was rather a poor looking woman, with a kind face. I have got no work since I came to Liverpool. Though I can read pretty well, I don't read much. I have read some of the Bible, and some of the

National School books in Ireland. I have never read a novel—I know what a novel means. I never read a history. I look at the newspapers sometimes. I never look at the politics. I read the 'police' first, and the murders, and the robberies. I read the fires and the accidents, or anything wonderful. I like to read the Irish news—about repeal. I was once a Repealer, but I don't care about it now. I hope this summer to get a chance somewhere or other. I would like to get out of England. I would go to America, or anywhere else, where I could live. I would have enlisted long ago, but I am not of the right height; and, besides, I have hurt my right leg. I never tried any of the vagrant 'lurks.' I passed as a labouring man, which I am. There are several classes of tramps and vagrants. The worst dressed are always the worst off. The well-dressed ones, like broken-down tradesmen, are the best. A 'broken-down parson' is a capital 'lurk,' as I have been told, but I never tried it. If a man can't tell lies, it's of no use going on the tramp. Tramps are generally very good to each other, and share their food with those who are in want. I shall leave Liverpool to-morrow and try my luck once more."

The annual expense of the vagrant sheds at Liverpool amounted, for the year ending on the 28th of February, 1850, to £4,274 2s. 3d. Two fifths of this sum, or £1,709 12s. 11d., is the proportion fairly chargeable by Liverpool to the accident of her position as the nearest large port to Ireland.

The *fifth* branch of the subject is one which it is utterly impossible to bring to the test of figures, but the evil comprised in it is keenly felt by vast numbers of the labouring population—many of them Irish themselves—who might do tolerably well, were it not for the daily influx of raw and unskilled labourers, called 'Grecians,' who think a shilling a day high wages, and who will often labour for 6d. or 9d. a day rather than not get a job. In fact, the labour market of Liverpool is cruelly overstocked; yet every week, and every day, the sixpenny deck passengers from Dublin and elsewhere pour in their multitudes, at the imminent risk of pauperizing of thousands of men who have hitherto managed to earn a decent subsistence. Upon this subject I shall enter into fuller particulars when I come to treat of the dock labourers and the operative porters—a very important branch of my inquiry.

The *sixth* diversity of the Irish burden is the increased police force and other expenditure for the prevention or punishment of crime, which is rendered necessary by a population into which has been in-

fused so large an element of Hibernian misery. Upon such a point it is impossible to speak with accuracy. There are no sufficient data upon which to form an estimate. I will, however, show as nearly as I can the total expenditure of the borough under the various items into which its criminal charges are resolveable; leaving the candid reader to estimate the amount chargeable to the Irish population, at such per centage as may seem fairly due, considering their numbers on the one hand, and their poverty and demoralization on the other.

The net expense to the borough of Liverpool for the constabulary force, after deduction of watch-rates, and other receipts for the year ending the 31st of August, 1849, was	£22,670	11	8
For maintaining bridewells and police-stations	2,205	7	10
Stipendiary magistrate	1,600	0	0
The Borough-gaol	13,208	13	1
Prosecutions at the assize and sessions	5,838	0	11
On account of the new Assize Courts	12,588	6	1
	£58,110	19	7

Under the *seventh* head—the expense of the Pass-office, for passing Irish paupers to their own country and maintaining them in the interval between the granting of the pass and the departure of the vessel which is to convey them—I am enabled to speak with more precision. A weekly record of the arrival of Irish paupers and emigrants in Liverpool was kept by the police from the 1st of January, 1847, to the 19th of July, 1848, when for some reason or other it was discontinued. On the 3d of November, 1848, finding a large and unusual number of Irish paupers in the town, the vestry requested that the head-constable would resume the account, through the police, of the daily arrivals of deck passengers from Ireland, and, as far as the officers could judge, of their business in Liverpool, under the two heads of emigrants and jobbers and of paupers. By jobbers are meant pig-drivers, and men and boys in charge of oxen, sheep, or horses. The results of both inquiries appear in the following table:—

Return of the passengers who arrived in Liverpool from Ireland "weekly," from January, 19, 1847, to January 12, 1850, inclusive. At least 99 per cent. of these were deck passengers, and were either emigrants and cattle jobbers, or paupers:—

Date.	No.	Date.	No.	Date.	No.
1847.		1848.		1849.	
Jan. 19...	5,827	Jan. 5...	1,195	Mar. 10...	5,516
26...	5,221	12...	2,079	17...	4,629
Feb. 3...	7,668	19...	1,816	24...	4,797
10...	7,526	26...	2,281	31...	5,272
17...	4,457	Feb. 2...	2,774	April 7...	6,135
24...	8,278	9...	2,646	14...	6,521
Mar. 3...	10,029	16...	3,158	21...	6,686
10...	10,630	23...	3,373	28...	6,148
18...	11,522	Mar. 1...	3,818	May 5...	5,589
25...	11,045	8...	5,341	12...	6,117
April 2...	15,291	15...	3,598	19...	6,989
9...	12,814	22...	3,138	26...	6,435
17...	17,517	29...	5,752	June 2...	6,364
26...	12,389	April 5...	4,718	9...	5,751
May 3...	8,194	12...	4,850	16...	7,431
11...	7,930	19...	4,878	23...	9,409
19...	8,535	26...	3,711	30...	7,994
26...	6,848	May 3...	5,763	July 7...	5,469
June 2...	7,561	10...	5,980	14...	4,038
9...	5,850	17...	4,248	21...	3,763
16...	6,827	24...	6,782	28...	4,696
23...	7,394	31...	4,291	Aug. 4...	8,287
30...	7,983	June 7...	7,308	11...	4,978
July 7...	7,096	14...	4,104	18...	4,896
14...	5,507	21...	8,698	25...	2,974
21...	4,477	28...	7,146	Sept. 1...	2,909
28...	4,612	July 5...	7,164	8...	2,076
Aug. 4...	9,025	12...	4,583	15...	2,828
11...	5,195	19...	3,506	22...	3,217
18...	3,664	Discontinued until		29...	3,591
25...	2,987	Nov. 11.		Oct. 6...	3,485
Sept. 1...	3,054	Nov. 11...	5,341	13...	3,711
8...	2,050	18...	3,675	20...	4,348
15...	2,847	25...	3,323	27...	3,706
22...	1,562	Dec. 2...	3,610	Nov. 3...	3,973
29...	3,379	9...	2,355	10...	3,722
Oct. 6...	3,148	16...	2,572	17...	3,507
13...	3,799	23...	1,797	24...	3,244
20...	2,955	30...	1,239	Dec. 1...	3,280
27...	3,425	1849.		8...	2,101
Nov. 3...	3,012	Jan. 6...	2,381	15...	3,361
10...	2,785	13...	2,026	22...	2,172
17...	2,430	20...	3,327	29...	1,920
24...	3,011	27...	3,427	1850.	
Dec. 1...	2,258	Feb. 3...	4,178	Jan. 5...	2,413
8...	1,742	10...	3,854	12...	2,718
15...	1,807	17...	6,234		
22...	2,091	24...	5,287	Total ...	694,293
29...	1,154	Mar. 3...	5,394		

A portion of these pig-jobbers and others might fairly be classed amongst the paupers. It is not an uncommon thing amongst this class

to hire a boy of twelve or fourteen years of age to come over to Liverpool and look after the animals on deck, under the superintendence and orders of the regular driver or jobber. The fee for this service is sixpence, to be paid as soon as the animals set foot on the quays of Liverpool. The sixpence, of course, is soon spent, the boys are utterly destitute, and either linger about the town to beg or steal, taking refuge at night in the vagrant sheds, or disperse themselves through the country in search of work, or go as regular tramps and vagrants. Many of them soon make their re-appearance in Liverpool, and are passed over to Ireland at the expense of the parish.

During the dreadful year 1847, the number of Irish paupers removed from Liverpool was:—

To Ireland	15,020
To Scotland	531
To the Isle of Man	20
Total	15,571

The cost of their removal, including food after application, their passage money, their food during the voyage, and 6d. each in money, was £4,633 16s. 6d.

In 1848 the numbers were not so large, being 7,600 only. The cost was £2,214 15s. 6d. In 1849 the numbers were:—

To Ireland	9,509
To Scotland	543
To the Isle of Man	19
Total	10,071

The cost to the parish was £2,600 8s. Previous to the 8th of August, 1845, or 8th and 9th of Victoria, cap. 117, this expense was borne by the county. The most frequent of these cases appear to be of women who have come to England in search of their husbands, and of men and boys attracted by the chance of porterage and harvest work. The passage money, as I have already mentioned, is very low at present, which is scarcely a gain to the parish, as the cheaper the fare, the greater the multitudes that swarm over and ultimately burden the town as beggars or thieves, or have to be sent back to Ireland at its expense. I saw, and took down the statements of, several of these people, and select a few from the number. The first specimen of a class was a woman of between 40 and 50 years of age. She said:

"I am without family; my husband brought me from Thurles, county Tipperary, to Dublin, last Thursday fortnight. We walked all the way. My husband deserted me in Dublin, and went off with a 'boy' (a word applied very generally by the lower Irish to express a man) to get work in England. He left me no money. I pawned my clothes for four shillings, and paid my passage to Liverpool. I thought I should find my husband there. I found out the lodging where my husband stopped, and the 'boy' who came over with him. He told me my husband had gone to Shrewsbury to try for work. I followed him. I walked to Wem, fifteen miles away. I had no money—not a '*fardin* at all.' I begged for a 'bit' along the road. I then went to Shrewsbury, and after that to Wellington—getting a bit as I could. I did not hear of my husband at all. I quite lost him. I then came back to Liverpool, as I was minded to go back to Thurles. On Sunday an Irishman gave me 2½d. I have nowhere to go to in Ireland, but the union."

The next was a young man of five-and-twenty, who looked at least double the age. He said:—"I am married, and have one child. I belong to the County Armagh. I have been married two years. I left my wife and child at Dundalk six weeks ago, and came to this country to get work—any kind of 'labouring work.' I sailed from Belfast to Ardrossan, and paid two shillings to come across. I stayed a few days. I could get nothing to do. I had an uncle at Dumfries, and I walked from Ardrossan to Dumfries to find him. I thought he would be a *frind* to me. I found him sure enough, but he was 'beat up' (*i.e.* ruined). I then went on to Carlisle. I had no money. I begged on the way, and slept at the unions. At Wigton I slept in a house where an Irishman took pity on me, and gave me lodgings. I cannot remember all the towns I came to. I remember Keswick, where I stayed near a week. The farmers were kind thereabouts, and gave me a 'bit.' The farm-mistresses were kinder than the farmers, and gave me bread and meat, but seldom a copper. I stayed about Lancaster for near upon a week, and slept in barns and outhouses—sometimes by leave of the masters and servants, and sometimes 'unbeknownt' to them. I was two days walking between Lancaster and Liverpool. I never got a turn of work all the time, either in England or Scotland. I slept at the vagrant sheds here, and got a bit of bread at night, and another bit in the morning. I want to go back to Ireland. If I can only get 3d. a day and my meat, it will be better than driving about in this way. I was

never in the union in Ireland, but if I can't get a turn at work, I must go there with the wife and child."

The next was an unfavourable opinion of the Irish labourer, but whether it were vice or misery that had set so harsh a seal upon his countenance I cannot say. His hair was closely cropped, showing that he had recently been in prison. "My name," said he, "is Patrick C——, I am 28 years of age. I left Galway two months ago to come here to earn something at farmer's work. I had four shillings when I left. Some 'boys' gathered the money for me to give me a lift. I paid a shilling for my passage. I had been out of health for some time in Galway, and had been three months out of work. I did not stay in Liverpool, but went to Warrington with a 'boy' I met in the packet. I don't know why we went to Warrington. Neither of us knew anybody there. The 'boy' had more money than me, and often gave me a 'bit' when I needed it, which sure, as God knows, was often enough. I stayed with him three weeks at Warrington, without work. The 'boy' got work among the farmers, but I could get none of it. I was laid *hould* of by the police at Warrington for begging, and sent to Kirkdale prison for fourteen days. I came out on Saturday evening, and got 6d. I went to a lodging in Liverpool, and paid 3d. for a bed in a cellar. I had a bed to myself, but there was a power of other 'boys' in the cellar. I paid 2d. for my bed the night after. I walked out among the people begging, but I only got a penny. I came here to the Pass-house to be passed to Ireland, and then I got a 'bit.' When I get back to Ireland I shall have to go to the union."

The last case I shall cite was that of a little dirty but bright-eyed and rather intelligent boy, of 14 years of age. He said: "My name is James B——. I am near about 14—somewhere thereabouts—it may be 15. I came over here a week ago. I belong to the county Down. I have no father and no mother, no brothers or sisters, only an aunt. My aunt lives with a 'boy' in Belfast. The 'boy' isn't my uncle, but I call him my uncle. He isn't married to my aunt. I *stowed* over from Belfast to Liverpool [*i.e.*, hid himself about the ship till it was out at sea]. I covered myself over with hay, among the horses, when the captain came. I never told my aunt. She does not know where I am. The sailors soon found me out, and one of them gave me a kick. I didn't care. He made it up with me, and never told the captain. All the sailors were alike. They let me cover myself with hay when the captain and the mate came. I had nothing to eat, and did not want anything. I was sore sick. I don't know the name of the ship. It was a

steamer. I couldn't spell the name. I have been to school, and know my letters, but I can't read. I stayed in Liverpool only half a day, and went out into the country towards Ormskirk. I had no money. I saw a 'boy' in a cellar, eating his breakfast. He was an Irish 'boy,' and gave me half of his loaf and a drop of coffee. At Ormskirk I slept in the relieving-office. I could get no work. I begged on the road, and a farmer one night gave me a good supper, a good bed, and my breakfast. I stayed about Ormskirk for a week, and then came back to Liverpool. I didn't like begging. I can't get a good bed by begging. I have to sleep upon boards. I should like to work for a good bed and plenty of meat. I shall go back to my aunt. The 'boy' that lives with her is a sailor, and goes fishing. I hope he will take me with him."

I have now detailed, with as much accuracy as possible, the nature and amount of the burdens borne by the parish and borough of Liverpool, on account of the Irish poor. These burdens are not so severe at present as they were in the year of the great potato famine, when, as will be seen by the tabular statement given above, Irish paupers arrived in the town at the rate of 10,000 or 15,000 per week for many weeks in succession. If such a state of things had continued until now, Liverpool, rich as it is, and supported by £100,000 of town dues levied upon the general commerce of the country, must have been made bankrupt by the infliction. But though happily the evil has much diminished, the number of Irish paupers that pass into or out of the town and become a charge upon it, or that stay within its bounds as a permanent residuum of misery, is a curious feature in the modern history of the poor, and one that merits the attention of all who are interested in the social welfare of the great masses of the people.

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