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AN
E S S A Y
ON THE
P O P U L A T I O N
O F
I R E L A N D.

By the Rev. J. HOWLETT,
Vicar of GREAT DUNMOW, ESSEX.

L O N D O N :

Printed for W. RICHARDSON, Royal Exchange.

M D C C L X X X V I .

A N

E S S A Y, &c.

IT is surely a singular circumstance, that Dr. Price, who is so confident that the returns for the *English* Hearth-tax, (though now discontinued about ninety years) when compared with the present returns for the window-tax, though of a kind totally dissimilar, are a satisfactory ground from which to compute the population of England and Wales, should, at the same time,

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be equally confident, that the returns for the *Irish* Hearth-tax, though continued nearly upon the same footing from the Revolution to the present day, and therefore properly comparable together for different periods within the compass of this interval, do not, however, enable us to judge either of the progress or actual state of the population of Ireland. This, on the very face of it, appears strangely inconsistent; and, when we come to examine the fact, we find the truth of the case to be just the reverse in both instances. The *English* returns, as far as the Doctor has stated and considered them, scarcely afford any information upon these subjects at all; the *Irish* ones, on
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the contrary, are as full and complete to the purpose, as any thing of the kind can well be. The former I have pretty amply discussed in a separate essay; the Doctor's account of the latter is in substance as follows: " The
" Irish returns to the Hearth-tax afford
" no documents from which a judgment
" tolerably correct can be formed of the
" progress or present state of the popula-
" tion of Ireland. All that is known
" from them with certainty is the yearly
" produce of the tax; the average of
" which being for the last five years to
" 1781, £ 60,648, makes the number
" of hearths, (at 2 s. per hearth,) to be
" 606,480. It is supposed that a house
" may be allowed for every two hearths,
B 2 " and

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“ and that one third of the houses are
 “ excused on account of poverty ; and
 “ on these suppositions the number of
 “ houses will exceed 400,000, and con-
 “ sequently the inhabitants will be about
 “ 2,000,000.” Admitting the principal
 fact here asserted to be true, *that no-*
thing can be known with certainty from
these returns but the annual produce of the
tax, the hypothetical reasoning ground-
 ed upon it is the most inapplicable
 that can be conceived. Instead of
 there being two hearths upon an ave-
 rage to a house, as is here supposed,
 there are actually very little more than
 one and three tenths ; and instead of
 one third of the houses being excused
 upon account of poverty, there is
 scarcely

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scarcely one in twenty-six *. Were
 it necessary, both these assertions might
 easily

* In England, half the total number of
 houses are excused upon account of pover-
 ty. This striking difference Mr. Beres-
 ford justly imputes to our system of Poor
 Laws, which has not yet taken place in
 Ireland ; but the poor continue to be sup-
 ported by voluntary contributions, which,
 as far as appears, very well answer the
 purpose. If so, it is clear, that our legal
 provisions for their maintenance, which
 were at first probably dictated by huma-
 nity, have brought an annual burden
 upon the kingdom of at least two millions,
 besides depriving the revenue of more than
 £ 100,000 a year, without answering any
 other

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easily be proved ; but the leading fact itself being false, the hypothesis applied to it is of no consequence. And that the leading fact itself is false, the following intelligence sent me by the Right Honourable Mr. Beresford, first commissioner of the Irish revenues, sufficiently proves. " I observe," says he, " from your letter, that Dr. Price asserts that nothing is here known with certainty but the produce of the tax. " This assertion is certainly ill-ground-
 " ed ; for I take it for granted that a

other end than encouraging idleness and insolence. For after all, our voluntary contributions are still, perhaps, nearly as considerable as when they were the only mode of relief.

" man

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" man of Dr. Price's liberality of senti-
 " ment does not mean to quibble by ad-
 " hering to the literal sense of these
 " words ; but must intend to be under-
 " stood, that in Ireland we have not any
 " return made of houses, but that we
 " compute the number of them from
 " the number of the hearths returned,
 " or from the amount of the tax ; but
 " the fact is, that the hearth-money col-
 " lector is ordered by his instructions to
 " go at a certain time of the year, and
 " make an actual survey of his walk, in-
 " serting in a ledger for that purpose
 " the number of houses in each parish,
 " &c. and then, after the walk is thus
 " surveyed, he is to go it over again, and
 " collect the tax ; and, if in such second
 " round

“ round he shall discover any new house
 “ not before discovered, he is to enter it
 “ in his ledger. Besides these precau-
 “ tions we have a superior officer called
 “ a supervisor, who has generally about
 “ four collectors under him, except in
 “ cities. It is this officer’s duty to sur-
 “ vey at least one walk in a year, and to
 “ make a return of his survey, which is
 “ intended as a check. It is clear then
 “ that there is a return of houses made
 “ in each walk, and that each walk cer-
 “ tainly contains as many houses as are
 “ returned; and it is also to be observed,
 “ that all computations made from the
 “ number of the hearths, or the amount
 “ of the tax, unconnected with other in-
 “ formation, must be extremely erro-
 “ neous;

“ neous; because it is by concealing the
 “ former and diminishing the latter that
 “ the hearth-money collector is en-
 “ abled to commit frauds. He may
 “ make a true return of the number
 “ of *houses*, and yet retain a confi-
 “ derable proportion of the *tax* by a
 “ false return of the number of *hearths*;
 “ whereas if he returned the *true* num-
 “ ber of *hearths* he could not de-
 “ fraud. He is interested, therefore,
 “ in making a false return of *hearths*,
 “ but has no motive to make a false
 “ return of *houses* *.”

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* The statutes themselves, indeed, which
 enacted the Irish hearth-tax, seem to require
 a re-

From this account it is exceedingly clear that there is an actual return of *houses*

a return of *houses* distinct from the return of *hearths*. These statutes I have not by me, nor have I ever seen them. But Mr. Beresford favoured me with extracts from the only ones immediately on the subject, That passed in the 14th and 15th Car. II. chap. 17. and That of the 17th and 18th Car. II. chap. 10. The extracts being long, I content myself with these references and with Mr. Beresford's conclusions from them; which are, " that they clearly pre-
" scribe, first a return of every *house* in every
" parish, and next a return of every *hearth*
" in each *house*." On the contrary, I cannot find that the *English* statutes, respecting the hearth-tax, enjoined either any such
distinct

houses constantly and regularly made; and although this return be not perfectly
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distinct returns, or even any returns of *houses* at all; but merely the returns of *persons* possessing hearths, stoves, &c. and the number of *hearths, stoves, &c.* in their respective possessions. Nor have I been able to discover that any such judicious measures as above described were ever adopted by our hearth-tax commissioners for ascertaining the actual number of houses in England near the time of the Revolution. While, therefore, the *Irish* hearth-tax returns afford satisfactory ground by which to compute the present and past population of *Ireland*, our hearth-tax returns give very precarious assistance for
that

fectly and compleatly correct, yet, in all probability, it cannot be greatly deficient. The surveyor, we see, has no inducement to make it so; and, if he did, the supervisor would much more easily detect him, than he could in any false return of *hearth*s. So that what Dr. Price asserts to be the only *certainty* in the case, *the annual produce of the tax*, turns out to be the greatest *uncertainty* of all*; though even this, by the very judicious methods repeatedly adopted by Mr.

that purpose with regard to *England* and *Wales*.

* I mean is the most likely to be deficient of what it ought to be.

Beresford,

Beresford, bids fair for no inconsiderable degree of correctness,

The number of houses returned for the whole kingdom in the year, ending at Lady Day, 1781, were

With one hearth, - - -	400,783
With from two to five hearths } inclusive, - - -	43,980
With more than five, - - -	15,098
Houses with widows certificates, } (i. e.) houses excused on account of poverty,	17,741
<hr/>	
Total of every Denomination,	477,602

These are the number of houses, says Mr. Beresford, returned for the whole kingdom, as extracted from the books of
of

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of the feveral hearth-money collectors, according to furveys by them actually made agreeably to the above representations; and these houses each of them contain one, two, or more families, nay, in the towns, especially Dublin, and that district of it which is called the Liberties, even four, five, or six.

Mr. Beresford remarks, that the returns of houses in some walks of the kingdom are still, he has reason to believe, nearly one-twentieth deficient, and that besides these, the hospitals, barracks for twelve thousand soldiers, and buildings for the residence of six or seven hundred revenue officers, are likewise intirely unnoticed. Upon the whole,

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whole, therefore, putting all these circumstances together, the total number of houses in the kingdom cannot be less than five hundred thousand; and it is equally clear from what is stated above, respecting the contents of each house, and from what Mr. Beresford has elsewhere observed concerning the extreme populousness of their smallest and poorest huts, that the average number of persons to a house cannot be less than five: consequently, the present population of Ireland must amount to at least two millions and a half*.

As

* Dr. Price informs us, P. S. to Rev. Paym'. page 320, that a survey of Belfast was

As to the progress it has made in the course of the last hundred years, a pret-

was made in January, 1782, from which it appeared that that town consisted of 2026 houses, containing 13105 inhabitants. This makes nearly $6\frac{1}{2}$ persons to a house. In the town of Manchester, one of the most flourishing we have, there are but about $6\frac{1}{4}$. I have elsewhere proved that the average of persons to a house in England, exclusive of London, is about $5\frac{1}{3}$. From this comparison of the number of persons to a house in Belfast and Manchester, may we not conclude, with some probability at least, that the average of persons to a house in Ireland, including Dublin, cannot be less than $5\frac{1}{2}$. This admitted,

a pretty satisfactory estimate may be formed from various data. According to an account in the Philosophical Transf. Vol. III. p. 666, and given us likewise by Dr. Price, P. S. Rev. Paym^r. Vol. II. p. 309. the number of people in Ireland in 1695 did not much exceed a million; they are of course since that time more than doubled. But from the very wording of this account it seems to have been rather a random computation; and, therefore, when considered in itself alone, not to be

mitted, the present population of that kingdom cannot be less than two millions and three quarters.

D implicitly

implicitly relied upon. It is, however, in some measure confirmed by the comparative product of the tax near the two periods in question. Mr. Chalmers, in his excellent estimate, &c. p. 193 of the Appendix, from an accurate document (a), informs us that upon a medium of five years, ending with 1687,

The annual tax amounted to	£ 32,416
On a medium of three years,	} 42,457
ending with 1732, -	
On a medium of seven years,	} 59,868
ending with 1777, -	
In the year 1778 it produced	- 61,646

(a) Bibl. Harl. Brit. Mu. No. 4.

In

In the year 1779 (b),	-	60,617
On a medium of five years,	} 60,648	
ending with 1781, as stated		
above by Dr. Price, -		
In 1781, as sent me from the	} 63,820	
hearth-tax office by the first		
commissioner of the reve-		
nues, - - - -		

From all these accounts, the authenticity of which admits of no doubt, it appears that the produce of the tax, and, with the allowances above suggested, the population of the kingdom, have been constantly increasing during the last hundred years, and that they

(b) Appendix to Young's Tour.

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are

are now each of them nearly double what they were about the time of the Revolution.

But the most full, direct, and satisfactory evidence of the degree of advanced population during the hundred years, ending with 1772, arises from the following statements with which I have been favoured by Mr. Beresford, whose very obliging and liberal communications I can never sufficiently acknowledge.

State

State of the dwellings in Ireland in 1772, compared with Sir William Petty's state of them in 1672.

Houses	1672.	1772.	Increase.
Under 2 Hearths,	184,000	375,444	191,444
With 2 & 3 Hearths,	6,800	31,785	24,985
With 4, 5, & 6 Hearths,	5,600	13,273	7,673
With 7, 8, & 9 Hearths	2,500	6,738	4,238
With 10, 11, & 12 Hearths	700	1,672	972
With 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, & 20 Hhs.	400	685	285
Above 20 Hearths	20	162	142
Totals	200,020	429,759	229,739

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From this Table a variety of important conclusions seem fairly deducible. The houses in 1772, we see, were twice as many as in 1672 and one-fourth over; and, allowing 5 persons to a house, the number of inhabitants in 1672 was about a million, in 1772 more than two millions. The poorer people appear to have been more than doubled; the rank next above them, or that inhabiting houses with two and three hearths, to have been multiplied almost five times; those dwelling in houses from four to six hearths almost tripled, as well as the orders next above them; and the highest rank of all, or that of persons inhabiting houses which contain above twenty hearths,

was

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was augmented more than eight times. The total population of the kingdom seems to have been more than doubled in the course of the hundred years, and as the superior kind of houses were increased four, five, six, and even eight times, its wealth and riches in all probability, were five, or six, or even eight times as great in the latter of the two mentioned periods, as in the former.

The above estimates of the present and past population of Ireland, though they pretend not to perfect correctness, are founded, however, upon such data, that they cannot be very wide of the truth. Had Doctor Price produced as

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good ones of the number of people in England and Wales, either from the returns of houses at the Tax-office, or from any other principles, I should most readily have acquiesced in them as sufficiently accurate. And, I cannot help remarking, by way of general conclusion from the whole, that if the population, the wealth and prosperity of *Ireland* have been so clearly, so certainly and greatly increased, we must violate every rule of analogy to suppose that *England*, which is so closely connected with her, and possessed, perhaps of still superior advantages, should not also, in every one of these particulars, have made, in some degree, a similar advance.

F I N I S.

0437

E N Q U I R Y
I N T O T H E
I N F L U E N C E
W H I C H
E N C L O S U R E S
H A V E H A D U P O N T H E
P O P U L A T I O N
O F T H I S
K I N G D O M.

By the Reverend J. HOWLETT,
Vicar of GREAT DUNMOW, ESSEX.

S E C O N D E D I T I O N.

To which is added an

A P P E N D I X,
C O N T A I N I N G

A LETTER from the Rev. J. CHAPPEL,
WOODHOUSE, Rector of DONINGTON,
in SHROPSHIRE; which strongly illustrates the
necessary Increase of People from an improved
Agriculture in general, and from Enclosures in
particular.

L O N D O N:
Printed for W. RICHARDSON, Royal Exchange,
M D C C L X X X V I.

A N
E N Q U I R Y, &c.

SCARCELY any thing at all connected with the improvements of modern agriculture, has been more eagerly contested, or more amply discussed, than the advantages or disadvantages of Enclosures with respect to their influence on Population. Dr. Price has uniformly maintained their immediate and powerful tendency to depopulate, and has printed and
B reprinted

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reprinted accounts to confirm and establish this idea, without seeming to have at all attended to the accounts, of equal authenticity, repeatedly given on the other side of the question. Such partial representations are only calculated to mislead. In his late edition of Reversionary Payments, after a dismal detail of the pernicious consequences of Enclosures, (Vol. II. p. 269.) he observes, that he can scarcely think of any thing that should be more alarming, and exclaims, "How astonishing is it, that our Parliament, instead of applying any remedy to these evils, should chuse to promote them, by passing, every year, bills almost without number for new Enclosures!"

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"fures!" If the accounts he had given were not only true, but stated in all their attendant circumstances and effects, and the same were strictly applicable to all, or only the greater part of, the Enclosures which have taken place during the last thirty years, there would, indeed, be some foundation for such complaints and exclamations; and we could not form any very favourable conception of the judgment or patriotism of our successive representatives. But before we admit conclusions so very dishonourable to any part of our legislature, let us fairly examine the several articles of the Doctor's information, as well as that

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given

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given by others of a different and opposite tenour.

And first, as to the Doctor's communications; he tells us, Vol. II. p. 267. that "he had lately received
 " an account of a large common-field
 " in Leicestershire, which used to produce 800 quarters of corn, besides
 " maintaining 200 cattle, which now,
 " in consequence of being inclosed, and
 " getting into fewer hands, produces
 " little or no corn, and maintains no
 " more cattle than before, though the
 " rents are considerably advanced."
 This account seems to carry its own refutation along with it. It had also been printed before, and, in my apprehension,

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prehesion, satisfactorily answered by Mr. Arthur Young, in his Political Arithmetick, p. 146. "If the Doctor," says he, "had formed his tables on no better authority than this, they would not have been very famous. *Rents raised,—corn disappeared,—cattle not increased!*
 " What are we to think of such facts?
 " I travelled through Leicestershire and Northamptonshire, and not, I think, without attention. I saw great tracts of country enclosed and laid from arable to grass; but I saw in the graziers fields such herds of fat sheep and oxen, as delighted the eye.—The generality of these
 " lands

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“ lands are stocked at the rate of a
 “ large ox, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ sheep to every two
 “ acres; and the soil does so well in
 “ grafs, that they fat large sheep the
 “ winter through. Before the Enclo-
 “ sure, those lands were managed in
 “ the course of fallow, wheat, and
 “ spring-corn. How, in the name of
 “ wonder, were fat sheep and oxen
 “ then kept?—Upon the fallows?—
 “ or upon straw? That corn disap-
 “ pears is most certain, but that it
 “ is amply made up by beef and
 “ mutton is equally certain.” This
 is surely, to say the least of it, as good
 and satisfactory information as the
 Doctor’s.

But

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But the Doctor further informs us,
from the Reverend Mr. Addington’s
Enquiry into the Reasons for and against
enclosing open Fields, published in 1772,
for Mr. Buckland, Pater-noster Row,
 “ that the new inclosed lordships are
 “ turned into pasturage; in conse-
 “ quence of which many lordships
 “ have now not 50 acres ploughed
 “ yearly, in which 1500, or at least
 “ 1000 were ploughed formerly; and
 “ scarce an ear of corn is now to be
 “ seen in some that bore hundreds of
 “ quarters.” Granting all this to be
 true, it naturally occurs, how many
 more sheep and oxen were now fed
 and fattened than before? How much
 more beef and mutton produced?

What

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What greater quantities of wool, hides, tallow, &c. how many hands employed in manufacturing these? How many persons, in different places, clothed, fed, and supported? This we are not informed, and yet without this, all the rest, as far as population is concerned, and indeed even tillage, in other quarters, conveys very little instruction. "But," continues Mr. Addington, "the effects of these Enclosures are so severely felt, that worse wheat has lately been sold in these counties of Leicester and Northampton, on an average at 7s. or 7s. 6d. the Winchester bushel, for many months together, than used to be sold for 3s. 6d. or 4s."

How

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How extremely little is all this to the purpose! Who does not know that in the best corn counties in the kingdom, where there has been neither recent inclosures, nor conversion of tillage into pasture, wheat has been sold, for months together, not only at 7s. a bushel, but even 8 or 9s. of an inferior quality likewise to what was purchased the year *before*, or perhaps the year *after*, not merely for 3 or 4s. but half a crown? But supposing the above extravagant price of grain to be the *permanent* effect of the Enclosures, and of the consequent exchange of tillage for pasture, the evil would very soon cure itself. The farmer, confident of the vast advantage of growing

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corn,

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corn, would sell off his sheep and oxen, break up his meadows, sow them with wheat, and in *the room of 50 acres, you would soon again have 1500 and 1000 bushels of corn for a single ear.*

But what immediately follows in the same writer is more directly to the present purpose. "The decrease of *inhabitants*, in almost all the enclosed villages," says he, "in which they have no considerable manufacture, is obvious to be remarked by every one who knew their state 20 or 30 years ago, and sees them now. The ruin of former dwelling-houses, barns, stables, &c. shews every

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"every one who passes through them that they were once better inhabited. A hundred houses and families have dwindled into eight or ten. The land-holders are very few in most parishes that have been enclosed only 15 or 20 years, in comparison of the numbers which occupied them in their open field state. It is no uncommon thing to see four or five wealthy graziers engrossing a large enclosed lordship, which was before in the hands of 20 or 30 farmers, and as many smaller tenants and proprietors; all these are hereby thrown out of their livings, with their families, that were employed or supported by them." All this may

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be

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be very true; and the following account, which I myself received from a correspondent in Leicestershire, of similar purport, is still more pointed and determinate. “As to Enclosures,” says he, “I can mention two villages in this county within two miles of each other, *Wistow* and *Foston*, which formerly contained 34 or 35 dwellings; but by Enclosure, *Foston* is reduced to three habitations; the parsonage-house accommodates one family, and the two other buildings are occupied by shepherds, who manage the stock for their distant renters, as the whole lordship belongs to one person. And as to *Wistow*, the 34 mansions
“ have

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“ have vanished in a very few years,
“ and no dwelling remains but the
“ late Sir Charles Halford’s hall-house,
“ who owned the lordship; and these
“ are called improvements; for double
“ and treble rents ensue, and double
“ or treble the old value of land and
“ house rents, and so of *provisions*.”
What became, it is natural to ask, of these *vanished inhabitants*, and who took off these *increased provisions*? My correspondent has clearly suggested the answer in another part of his letter, and which is, indeed, equally applicable to the preceding account, given by Dr. Price from Mr. Addington. “Manufacture,” says he, “has
“ *overpeopled* Leicestershire. Almost
“ every

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“every village uninclosed is chiefly
 “inhabited by Woolcombers, and
 “Frame-work Knitters; and though
 “we possess a rich soil, Rutland and
 “Northamptonshire corn arrives in vast
 “quantities; and is usually very reason-
 “able, as well as butter. But cheese,
 “notwithstanding a vast produce of
 “our own, is swept away at our
 “fairs by factors, and is rather dear.”
 This needs no comment; the conclu-
 sions are obvious; diminution of tillage
 and inhabitants in one place; the conse-
 quent increase of them in another; the
 multiplication of sheep and oxen in
 the County of Leicester, brings corn in
 abundance from those of Northampton
 and Rutland, and no article remains
 dear,

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dear, but that produced on the spot,
 which is sent off to fill the multiplied
 mouths in other quarters.

Similar intelligence to the above I
 could produce from letters now lying
 before me with regard to inclosures in
 the Counties of *Bucks, Bedford, Derby,*
Wilts, Hants, &c. but the detail would
 be tedious, and I must beg leave to
 observe, that for one account of this
 disadvantageous kind, I have, I believe,
 two or three of a directly opposite ten-
 our, in which the increase of inhabi-
 tants from inclosures is asserted and
 proved. Instead, however, of both
 the one and the other, I shall only give
 a few Passages from Mr. Arthur
 Young,

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Young, which may serve as a contrast to all the above unfavourable statements, and which may justly lay claim to particular credit and attention, as coming from a person of more extensive observation in these matters than, perhaps, any other man in England, and to whose many valuable publications, respecting agricultural improvements, this kingdom is under the highest obligation.

“ It may be laid down as a maxim,” says he, “ Pol. Arith. P. 198, that
 “ without Inclosures there can be no
 “ good husbandry : while a country is
 “ laid out in open fields, every farmer
 “ tied down to the husbandry of his
 “ slovenly

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“ slovenly neighbour, it is simply im-
 “ possible that agriculture should flourish.” And in p. 149, he observes,
 “ Dr. Price and the other Writers who
 “ assure us we should throw down our
 “ hedges, and waste one third of our
 “ farms in a barren fallow, by way
 “ of making beef and mutton cheap,
 “ will confine themselves to the In-
 “ closures that have converted arable
 “ to grass : What say they to those
 “ which have changed grass to arable ? They choose to be silent. I
 “ do not comprehend the amusement
 “ that is found in constantly looking
 “ at those objects which are supposed
 “ to be gloomy, and in regularly lamenting the evils that surround us,
 “ though
 D

“ though they flow from causes which
 “ shower down much superior blessings.
 “ When I look around me in
 “ this country, I think I every where
 “ see so great and animating a prospect,
 “ that the small specks which
 “ may be discerned in the hemisphere
 “ are lost in the brilliancy that surrounds
 “ them. I cannot spread a curtain
 “ over the illumined scene, and
 “ leave nothing to view but the mere
 “ shades of so splendid a scene.

“ What will these Gentlemen say
 “ to the Enclosures in Norfolk, Suffolk,
 “ Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire,
 “ Lincolnshire, Yorkshire, and all the
 “ Northern Counties? What say they
 “ to

“ to the Sands of Norfolk, Suffolk,
 “ Nottinghamshire, which yield corn,
 “ and mutton, and beef, by the force
 “ of *Enclosure* alone? What say they
 “ to the wolds of York and Lincoln,
 “ which from barren heaths at 1s. an
 “ acre, are, by Enclosure alone, rendered
 “ profitable farms? Ask Sir Cecil
 “ Wray, if, without Enclosure, he
 “ could advance his heaths by sowing
 “ clover from 1s. to 20s. an acre?
 “ What say they to the vast tracts in
 “ the Peak of Derby, which by *Enclosure*
 “ alone, are changed from black
 “ regions of Ling, to fertile fields
 “ covered with cattle? What say they
 “ to the improvement of moors in the
 “ northern

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“ northern counties, where Enclosures
 “ alone have made those counties smile
 “ with culture, which before were
 “ dreary as night? What have these
 “ gentlemen to say to these instances?
 “ Cannot they manage to assure us
 “ the prospect is delusive? Hear how
 “ they are characterised. Enclosures
 “ of waste or commons *would* be use-
 “ ful, *if* divided into *small allotments*,
 “ and given up to be occupied at mo-
 “ derate rent by the poor. But *if*,
 “ besides lessening the produce of fine
 “ wool, they bear hard on the poor,
 “ by depriving them of part of
 “ their subsistence, and go towards
 “ the increasing of farms already too
 “ large,

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“ large, the advantages attending
 “ them may not much exceed the dis-
 “ advantages*.” “ Hence,” says Mr.
 Young, “ we find all these improve-
 “ ments very *equivocal*. Before it is
 “ allowed that the converting ling to
 “ corn is beneficial, it must be pre-
 “ viously asked, if the improvement
 “ is wrought by that ghostly object
 “ of dread and terror, *a great farmer* ;
 “ before it is acknowledged right to
 “ make that sand which would not
 “ feed *rabbits* produce *beef* and *mut-*
 “ *ton*, we must know whether the

* Note, p. 270. Rev. Payments, 4th Edit. printed before.

“ poor

“ poor were deprived of part of their
 “ subsistence; before you will submit
 “ to change the heaths of Lincoln to
 “ fertile fields of sanfoine, you must
 “ demand, were the *allotments small?*
 “ I must own it is with astonishment
 “ that I thus see superior minds stoop-
 “ ing to prejudices so unworthy of
 “ their abilities †.”

From

† What influence all this, and much
 more in the same strain, equally pointed
 and forcible, has had upon the sentiments
 of Dr. Price, is pretty clear from his re-
 printing what he had before published, and
 taking no notice of what had been ad-
 vanced

From a candid review of the above
 opposite representations and reasonings,
 it appeared to me undeniable that
 Enclosures, according to particular
 circumstances, are attended with great
 advantages and great disadvantages re-
 specting the grand object of enquiry,
 the encrease of our people; but that still
 it was not absolutely certain and free
 from all possibility of controversy,
 which of the two, in the vast num-
 ber of Enclosures which had taken
 place in this kingdom, during the last
 20 or 30 years, had been most nume-

vanced in answer by this experienced and
 practical writer.

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rous and prevalent. Probability, indeed, seemed strongly on the favourable side. I thought, however, that I should be much more clear in this point, if I could procure the annual registers of baptisms in the parishes recently inclosed during the last 20 years. If these parishes, when taken in the aggregate, were not materially *decreased*, it would be a strong presumption that Enclosures had advanced our total Population; (because it was an undoubted fact that in some few places, where open cultivated fields had been converted into pastures, the number of inhabitants on those particular spots had been greatly lessened): If they were actually not at *all diminished*,

[To face p. 26.]

The number of Baptisms during two periods of five years each, the first beginning with 1760, the second with 1775, in a great number of recently enclosed parishes, from different counties, together with the Baptisms in other parishes not recently enclosed, in the same counties respectively.

C O U N T I E S.

COUNTIES.	Baptisms in Parishes lately enclosed.		Baptisms in Parishes not lately enclosed.			
	Numb. of Parishes.	1st Period.	2d Period.	Numb. of Parishes.	1st Period.	2d Period.
Northumberland	2	349	441	32	5977	6302
Durham	3	525	600	10	2735	3202
Cumberland	3	956	1147	20	2431	2823
Shropshire	3	390	517	17	1729	1782
Norfolk	8	447	558	69	4384	5224
Effex	2	165	248	19	1517	1920
Bedford	3	151	221	6	981	935
Bucks	4	343	335	8	1490	1748
Leicester	7	1255	1450	8	1021	1340
Stafford	2	320	356	10	2394	2860
Warwick	12	1269	1609	7	1154	1446
Derby and Berks	5	546	621	25	2135	2413
Middlesex	1	34	47	4	827	1073
Worcester	7	1490	1946	17	2011	2493
Gloucester	10	463	588	175	13163	14639
Wilts	13	1888	2187	48	5774	4210
Hants	4	213	267	15	3008	3374
Totals	89	10804	13138	490	52731	57984

Increased nearly as 100 to 121 || as 100 to 109

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nished, but even very much *increased*, the conclusion would be stronger still; if, finally, they were not only *increased*, but *increased* even more than those parishes which had *not* been recently enclosed, it would amount to very little less than absolute demonstration. In pursuit of these ideas I immediately procured a list of the Enclosure-bills, from the Journals of the House of Commons, and found, to my surprize, that they amounted to very near a thousand, between the year 1750 and 1781. I soon dispatched about 500 letters to the clergy of the enclosed parishes, omitting however the counties of Nottingham, York, and
E Lancaster,

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Lancaster, because Dr. Price himself acknowledged those to be greatly encreased. Of these 500 letters I have been favoured with answers to hardly a hundred. Small however as this proportion is, yet coming from all quarters indifferently, and without any previous motive for choice or selection, their evidence may fairly be considered as satisfactory and decisive. What this evidence is the reader may see in the following table.

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In this Table we see that the recently enclosed parishes have vastly the advantage of those which have not been recently enclosed. The baptisms in the 89 parishes of the former description, during the five years, beginning with the year 1760, to the baptisms during the five years beginning with 1775, or 1776, are nearly as 100 to 121; whereas in the 490 of the latter, for the same periods respectively, the advance is only as 100 to 109; that is, the recently enclosed parishes are increased more than $\frac{1}{4}$ th, the parishes which have not been recently enclosed scarcely $\frac{1}{10}$ th. This is surely little less than absolute demonstration of the point in question, the influence of Enclosures upon the Population of this kingdom, and that, so far from having diminished,

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they have much increased it. It is also to be observed, that the increase from hence arising is certainly greater than here appears; because those Enclosures which converted arable to pasture, must have lessened the employment of the inhabitants, and of course their number, in the several parishes in which they respectively took place, and proportionably augmented and employed those in parishes where Enclosures had *not* taken place. It may be said, perhaps, that the increase of the enclosed parishes may have been occasioned by causes totally distinct from the Enclosures. I make no doubt but that with regard to some of them this has really been the case; but then it should be remembered, that there is no reason to suppose that

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that the same causes have not operated likewise in the non-enclosed parishes, and consequently that the *difference* of the increase, and even *more* than that difference, for the reason just now assigned, must have arisen from the Enclosures alone. Had indeed an Enclosure of only 50 or 60 acres, belonging to such a town as Birmingham, been included in my list of enclosed parishes, that alone might have turned the balance on the favourable side, and nearly destroyed the argument; as the prodigious augmentation of people there has doubtless been occasioned by the enormous growth of its manufactures, which, however, the vast improvements of agriculture have helped to support and maintain.

maintain. But no such towns are included; I took in merely country parishes and market towns of the common size and description, as they happened to arise. The towns of Sheffield, Manchester, Liverpool, &c. I need not say are excluded, as I admitted not a single parish enclosed or unenclosed, from the counties of either York or Lancaſter.

That Encloſures have increaſed our Population is alſo fairly deducible from the militia returns for the county of Rutland. Mr. J. Bramſton, clerk of the Militia meetings there, has favoured me with the number of men liable to ſerve in every pariſh reſpectively through-

throughout the county, from the year 1759 to 1779, both incluſive.

This county conſiſts of 56 or 57 pariſhes. Of theſe 10 have been enclosed within the laſt 25 years, and which, in point of population, ſeem to comprehend about a fourth part of the whole. Now ſuppoſing the total number of inhabitants to remain the ſame, and the exemptions from this ſervice to continue invariable, the returns of men liable to ſerve muſt, for ſome time, perpetually decrease, as the perſons who have once ſerved are excuſed for the future. But beſides this cauſe of diminution, the exemptions from ſervice ſince the year 1759 have been
been

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been greatly multiplied. From both causes jointly, the returns for 1779 must be vastly less than that in 1759, unless a prodigious increase of people has taken place. But these causes of decrease have extended uniformly to every part of the county, the recently enclosed parishes as well as the others; consequently, if the Population has been unvaried, the proportion of decrease in the returns must be unvaried likewise. Now the returns of men liable to serve in 1759 in the 47 parishes, which have not been since inclosed, amounted to 1773; the returns for the same in 1779 were 1196, i. e. they were decreased nearly in the proportion of 148 to 100. The returns for the ten parishes inclosed within the
last

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last 25 years, at the same two periods respectively, were 557 and 397, which is a decrease in the ratio of only 140 to 100, or more than $\frac{1}{10}$ th less than the others.

The same general conclusions, or even more favourable ones, result from another view of these returns. The exemptions of men liable to serve in the year 1769 were the same as in the year 1779. The returns in the non-enclosures in 1769 were 1176, in the year 1779, 1146: for the ten Enclosures in 1769, 388, and in 1779, 397; (i. e.) the returns of the former were actually *decreased* almost one-fortieth
F part,

part, and the returns of the latter nearly as much *increased* *.

Upon

* This, applied to the whole county, indicates a considerable increase of people. The total returns of men liable to serve in 1769 was 1564, in 1779, 1543; a diminution of only 21. But in the interval of time now referred to, there had been three successive returns, at each of which additional exemptions took place, equal in number to the whole body of the county Militia (i. e.) 120; amounting in the whole to 360 men. It is likewise to be observed, that before the last return, it being the very height of the American war, supplies were doubtless furnished from this county both to the Army and Navy, of exactly the same description with the persons liable to serve in the Militia. These considerations duly attended

Upon the whole, then, the comparative advantage of Enclosures for the

attended to, it is extremely manifest that the number of men really fit for military service, must, at the last return, after every fair allowance and deduction made, have been increased between three and four hundred; which implies an increased Population of at least 12 or 16 hundred in the course of 10 years.

The number of houses returned to the Tax-office for the county of Rutland in the year 1777 was only 1474, and consequently, according to Dr. Price's mode of computation, it contained very few more than 7000 inhabitants; whereas, from the Militia returns, and other data, they cannot be so little as 12,000.

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increase of Population seems indubitably clear, from a most striking concurrence of a great variety of evidence. It appears from the reason and nature of the thing, from the testimony of very extensive observation, from the above Militia returns, and from the registers of Baptisms promiscuously taken in 18 or 20 counties. So far therefore from expressing my astonishment at the folly of our parliament in granting such numerous bills of Enclosure, I only wish it may go on granting still more, under due regulations and restrictions, till there is scarcely an uninclosed or waste and barren spot from one extremity of the kingdom to the other, but
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all are converted into fruitful fields, or luxuriant pastures, and the whole resembles one large, rich and variegated garden.

F I N I S.

A P P E N D I X.

THE following letter, which I was favoured with by the Reverend Mr. Woodhouse, of Donington, in Shropshire, is not, all of it, indeed, to the immediate purpose of the preceding enquiry; much of it, however, certainly is, and the whole of it is written with so much good sense and ingenuity, and affords so strong a presumption of an increased population in country parishes, where agriculture has been improved, that I cannot content myself with the suppression of any part of it.

G

Donington,

Donington, near Shifnal, Shropshire,
June 8, 1782.

Rev. Sir,

I have been as expeditious as possible
in numbering the inhabitants of this pa-
rish, and with pleasure transmit to you
the following particulars :

About the year 1689, the Reverend
George Plaston, then Rector of
the parish, took the number of his
parishioners, which appears to
have been - - - - 138

In 1777, upon my entrance into
the parish, I numbered the inha-
bitants, to the amount of - - 232

In 1782, I have done the same at
your request, and the number ap-
pears to be - - - - 263

The

The increase of the inhabitants since
the Revolution has therefore been very
great ; it has also been very regular, as
may be collected from the whole of our
Parochial Register, but will appear suffi-
ciently from the following extracts, which
you have particularly desired :

20 years, { Baptisms 55
from 1688. { Marriages 23
 { Burials 41

20 years, { Baptisms 104
from 1730. { Marriages 23
 { Burials 61

20 years, { Baptisms 133
from 1760. { Marriages 36
 { Burials 79

So considerable and regular an increase
in the number of inhabitants cannot be
ascribed to accident, but must be imputed
to some permanent cause, continually ope-
rating.

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Com-

' Commerce and manufactures are ac-
 ' knowledged causes of a regular popula-
 ' tion, but I cannot find that any com-
 ' merce, trade, or manufacture has ever
 ' been carried on in this parish. The inha-
 ' bitants have seldom made their own shoes.
 ' Husbandry has been their only occupa-
 ' tion, and has been transmitted from father
 ' to son, with such improvements as have
 ' justly established it an adequate cause of
 ' the great increase of our people. For,

' 1st. The tradition and testimony of
 ' the inhabitants informs us, that a confi-
 ' derable part of the parish, now in culti-
 ' vation, was formerly over-grown with
 ' underwood, broom, furze, &c. and con-
 ' sequently employed very few hands, and
 ' returned very little profit to its occupier;
 ' as land became more valuable, (and why
 ' more valuable, but because the surround-
 ' ing country became more populous) the
 ' owners were tempted to make it fit for
 ' the plough, and to put it into a course of
 ' tillage,

' tillage, which could not be effected with-
 ' out an increase of labour. Employment
 ' produced industry, industry good wages;
 ' these encouraged the labourers to marry
 ' early, and to produce children, who soon
 ' entered upon employment, maintained
 ' themselves, married; and thus our Register
 ' of baptisms has been swelled so consider-
 ' ably beyond that of burials, accounting
 ' for that regular increase of inhabitants,
 ' which appears upon every survey.

' 2. Not only the wider extent, but in an
 ' equal, or, perhaps, greater, degree, the
 ' improved method of cultivation, provid-
 ' ing an additional employment for the
 ' inhabitants, has consequently increased
 ' their number. The land which used to be
 ' sowed at one ploughing, and then be left
 ' wholly to the mercy of the season, is now
 ' diligently tilled, and kept clean from
 ' weeds by the hand and the hoe. A gar-
 ' den requires more labour than a field of
 ' equal size; and in proportion as we study
 ' more

' more and more to make every field neat
 ' and productive as a garden, we encour-
 ' age and increase the number of our in-
 ' habitants. The introduction of the turnip-
 ' husbandry into this parish, about twenty
 ' years ago, has certainly added not only to
 ' the richness and frequency of the crops,
 ' but also to the number of the people.

' 3. If the increase of the inhabitants
 ' has of late been more rapid than ordinary,
 ' it is justly to be attributed to the *enclosure*
 ' which took place in this parish about
 ' twelve years ago. The field-land, which
 ' lay open, and could only be tilled after a
 ' certain old fashioned course, is now im-
 ' proved as the proprietor pleases; and,
 ' being generally cultivated after the alter-
 ' nating course used in Norfolk, where
 ' turnips well hoed are the certain fore-
 ' runners of other profitable crops, increases
 ' the labour, and consequently the popula-
 ' tion of the parish. But our numbers are
 ' affected in a still more visible manner by
 ' the

' the *enclosure of the common*, which then
 ' bore little, and bad grass, but now pro-
 ' duces turnips, clover, and grain, and
 ' cannot be managed without an increase
 ' of labour and hands. Accordingly, we
 ' find four houses erected since the enclo-
 ' sure of the common, containing an addi-
 ' tional tenth to the whole number of
 ' inhabitants; for before the enclosure the
 ' number of houses was forty-one, now it is
 ' forty-five.

' Thus, Sir, am I able to present you
 ' with the returns of a parish whose popu-
 ' lation, has been almost doubled since the
 ' time of the Revolution, yet, whose in-
 ' crease of inhabitants can only be ascribed
 ' to such causes, as must have operated in
 ' a similar manner in most other parishes of
 ' Great Britain. And lest any person should
 ' suppose that our increase of inhabitants
 ' has been effected by a decrease in other
 ' parishes, I bring my Register to witness,
 ' that in the whole period of time, from
 ' the

‘ the Revolution to the present hour, 54
‘ persons have been born over and above
‘ those that can be accounted for, either in
‘ the burials, or present increased number of
‘ inhabitants.

‘ Baptisms since 1688	- - - -	442
‘ Accounted for in the burials	-	263
‘ In the increased number of inhabi-		
‘ tants	- - - -	125
		<hr/>
		388

‘ Remain unaccounted for in our own		
‘ parish, and consequently must have		
‘ migrated to other parishes	- -	54
		<hr/>
		442

‘ Hence it appears that this parish has not
‘ received its increase from other parishes,
‘ but has contributed to their population.
‘ And it deserves likewise to be considered,
‘ that as the inhabitants of Donington are
‘ all husbandmen, and do not manufacture
‘ their own clothes, furniture, tools, uten-
‘ sils,

‘ sils, &c. so, as they increase in popu-
‘ lation and riches, they require and em-
‘ ploy more tradesmen in the neighbour-
‘ ing towns and villages to supply them
‘ with the necessaries, comforts, and, in-
‘ deed, luxuries of life: — consequently,
‘ here is an increase of population in other
‘ parishes occasioned by our increase; and
‘ not only in this respect, but in another,
‘ which is by no means insignificant. For
‘ as we continue to raise more and more
‘ grain for the mill, meat for the shambles,
‘ wool for the clothier, &c. &c. it is evi-
‘ dent that we find employment for, and
‘ increase the number of those who grind
‘ and retail the corn, make and sell the
‘ malt, retail the meat, manufacture the
‘ wool, &c. and that the number of con-
‘ sumers must be likewise proportionably
‘ increased.

‘ Thus population is the necessary con-
‘ sequence of an improved agriculture; of
‘ which I have been able, as I hope, to
‘ afford

' afford you a convincing specimen. If I
 ' have erred in any of my deductions, I
 ' beg you will correct me, and that you
 ' will apply what I now transmit to you,
 ' in whatever shape or manner you find
 ' most useful or convenient to your very
 ' laudable design. I have the pleasure to
 ' subscribe myself, with all the respect that
 ' is due to your beneficent undertakings,

' Reverend Sir,

' Your truly humble servant,

' J. CHAPPEL WOODHOUSE,

' Rector of Donington.'

I need make no apology to the reader
 for presenting him with this letter. Who-
 ever has the same conception of its excel-
 lence which I have, will rather be inclined
 to reproach me for having so long deprived
 him of the pleasure of perusing it. It is,
 in my apprehension, one of the best Essays,

if

if I may properly give it that appellation,
 I ever read upon the subject, either in
 print or manuscript. The reasoning is
 every where clear and perspicuous, the il-
 lustrations peculiarly happy, and the con-
 clusions just and decisive.

I intended here to have subjoined an
 Examination of a Pamphlet intituled, *A po-
 litical Enquiry into the Consequences of en-
 closing Waste Lands, and the Causes of the
 present high Price of Butcher's Meat, being
 the Sentiments of a Society of Farmers in
 —shire.* But I soon found that a full
 discussion of only its leading arguments,
 and a satisfactory detection of the numerous
 defects and fallacies with which they
 abound, would carry me to a very con-
 siderable length. And I could by no
 means satisfy myself with a few super-
 ficial remarks upon a work which, in my
 apprehension, contains many pernicious
 assertions, enforced by no inconsiderable
 degree of ingenuity and eloquence. I
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therefore reserved my Examination of it, as the business of a separate Pamphlet, which, it being already nearly finished, shall soon appear. I was the rather induced to this measure, as *the Political Enquiry, &c.* the immediate subject of the proposed investigation, seems to have received a very advantageous character from persons, the rectitude of whose general decisions is entitled to respectful deference, and who have no inconsiderable influence in forming the judgement of the publick.

F I N I S.