

Report of the Commission on Itinerancy

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COMMISSION
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ITINERANCY

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ST. ITA'S HOSPITAL,
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND PROCEDURE

A Thaoisigh,

1. The Commission on Itinerancy was established by the Government in June, 1960, with the following terms of reference:—

- (1) to enquire into the problem arising from the presence in the country of itinerants in considerable numbers;
- (2) to examine the economic, educational, health and social problems inherent in their way of life;
- (3) to consider what steps might be taken—
 - (a) to provide opportunities for a better way of life for itinerants,
 - (b) to promote their absorption into the general community,
 - (c) pending such absorption, to reduce to a minimum the disadvantages to themselves and to the community resulting from their itinerant habits and
 - (d) to improve the position generally; and
- (4) to make recommendations.

Members

2. The following were appointed members of the Commission:—

The Hon. Mr. Justice Brian Walsh, a Judge of the High Court (now a Judge of the Supreme Court) who was also nominated to be Chairman of the Commission;

George Claxton, Vice-President for Leinster of the National Farmers' Association;

Rev. G. Thomas Fehily, Director of the Dublin Institute of Catholic Sociology;

Chief Superintendent Thomas S. McDonagh, Garda Síochána (now retired from the Garda Síochána);

Matthew Macken, County Manager for Counties Carlow and Kildare;

Dr. Maurice S. McParland, County Medical Officer of Health for County Donegal;

Dr. John B. O'Regan, Chief Medical Officer, Dublin Health Authority;

Cornelius Meaney, Chairman (and now President) of the General Council of the Committees of Agriculture and now Teachta Dála; Proinsias S. Ó Tighearnaigh, M.A., a former Chief Inspector in the Department of Education; and

Dr. Angela Russell;

Aidan D. McDonald, Assistant Principal Officer, Department of Local Government, was appointed Secretary to the Commission.

Meetings

3. The inaugural meeting of the Commission was held on Friday, 1st July, 1960, in Government Buildings, Merrion Street, Dublin, when the members were addressed by Mr. Charles J. Haughey, T.D., now Minister for Justice, then Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister for Justice, who detailed the problems likely to be encountered by the Commission in dealing with their terms of reference. He stated the concern of the Government at the lack of practical suggestions for dealing with these problems and drew attention to the acknowledgement in the terms of reference that there could be no final solution until itinerant families were absorbed into the general community. The full text of his address is set out in Appendix I.

The Commission have had fifty-one formal meetings, eighteen of which were of two-day duration. Five of the meetings were held outside Dublin, namely, in Cork, Kilkenny, Galway, Limerick and Sligo from which visits were made to itinerant encampments in the counties of Carlow, Clare, Cork, Donegal, Galway, Kerry, Kildare, Kilkenny, Laois, Leitrim, Limerick, Mayo, Roscommon, Sligo, Tipperary, Waterford and Wexford. The following table sets out the number of attendances of each of the members at these meetings:—

<i>Name</i>	<i>Number of Attendances</i>
Mr. Justice Walsh	44
Mr. Claxton	34
Rev. Father Fehily	49
Chief Superintendent McDonagh	50
Mr. Macken	49
Dr. McParland	30
Mr. Meaney, T.D.	40
Dr. O'Regan	41
P. S. Ó Tighearnaigh, Uas.	48
Dr. Russell	49

Due to the serious illness of Dr. McParland the Commission was deprived of his valuable assistance at meetings for over twelve months.

Definition of "Itinerant" for the Commission's Purposes

4. The Commission decided that for the purpose of their considerations the best definition of "itinerant" was a person who had no

fixed place of abode and habitually wandered from place to place, but excluding travelling show-people and travelling entertainers, who might otherwise be regarded as coming within the terms of the definition. These excluded classes did not come within the terms of reference. Throughout this report the word "itinerant" is to be interpreted in accordance with this definition.

Procedure

5. The Commission's first consideration was given to ways and means of ascertaining so far as possible the relevant facts regarding itinerants, their way of life and their impact on and relation to the settled community. An initial and serious difficulty was the fact that the amount of information and records already available was limited and of little assistance. As the problems were essentially human and dynamic, up to date information and statistics, and experiences furnished by itinerants themselves and by those in frequent contact with them, were essential to the Commission's purposes.

It was decided as a first step to endeavour to contact directly all those bodies and persons whose functions or activities in any way impinged upon the itinerants and their way of life and at the same time to request, by notices in the Press and announcements on the Radio, the submission of memoranda of evidence by any interested persons or bodies not directly contacted.

6. Government departments were asked for their observations in the light of the terms of reference. The Departments of Justice and Education in particular were asked for any related statistics and other relevant information at their disposal. The observations of the Superintendents of the Garda Síochána on any itinerant problems in their respective areas and the difficulties encountered in dealing with these problems were also requested from the Department of Justice.

7. At the same time, all local authorities were circularised for their observations, and were asked specifically to indicate:—

- (1) their experience of applications for housing from itinerants;
- (2) whether they found it necessary to take action against itinerants under the Sanitary Services Acts;
- (3) whether itinerants in their respective areas were provided with health and welfare assistance.

8. Copies of the Commission's terms of reference were furnished to the following bodies and they were invited to submit memoranda for the Commission's information:

(a) Church Authorities

The Irish Hierarchy.

General Synod of the Church of Ireland.

General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Ireland.
 Methodist Church in Ireland.
 Society of Friends.
 Jewish Representative Council of Ireland.

(b) *Voluntary Organisations and Associations*

General Council of Committees of Agriculture.
 General Council of County Councils.
 Health Inspectors' Association.
 Irish Countrywomen's Association.
 Irish Creamery Milk Suppliers' Association.
 Irish Medical Association.
 Irish National Teachers' Organisation.
 Irish Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children.
 Irish Vocational Education Committees' Association.
 Legion of Mary.
 Macra na Feirme.
 Muintir na Tíre.
 Municipal Authorities Association.
 National Farmers' Association.
 Society of St. Vincent de Paul.

Similar invitations were extended to a number of individuals whom the Commission considered might be in a position to assist in the enquiry.

9. Advertisements were inserted in the national daily and local newspapers and announcements were made over the Radio on two occasions, quoting the Commission's terms of reference and inviting the submission of memoranda thereon. Persons or bodies wishing to furnish such memoranda were asked to communicate with the Secretary of the Commission at the Custom House, Dublin, within two months.

10. The names of the government departments, local bodies, associations, societies and other groups and of the individuals who furnished the Commission with memoranda of evidence, suggestions or observations are set out in Appendix XLIII.

Although the work of the Commission aroused considerable public interest and received much publicity it is a matter of regret that the opinions and experiences of some organisations and persons whose aims or whose public utterances and writings suggested a knowledge of or a concern with the objects of our enquiry were not made available to the Commission.

CHAPTER II

SITUATION ELSEWHERE

1. The Commission considered it desirable to ascertain the extent to which similar problems existed elsewhere and the steps which had been taken to deal with them. At the request of the Commission, the Northern Ireland Ministry of Home Affairs kindly made available copies of the report of the Committee appointed in 1954 to consider the problem in its area. The County Planning Officer of the Kent County Council also kindly made available to the Commission copies of the report prepared in 1952 upon a survey of the itinerant problem in Kent, which was in the nature of a pilot enquiry for the United Kingdom. He also provided reports on subsequent progress. The reports of the Departmental Committees on "Vagrancy in Scotland, 1936", and "Tinkers in Scotland, 1918", were also obtained.

The Department of External Affairs was asked to enquire through its representatives abroad whether other countries had similar problems and the steps, if any, which had been taken to deal with them. The Commission wish to record their appreciation of the assistance given by the Department of External Affairs in this matter, whose representatives expeditiously furnished many excellent reports on the situation in the countries to which they were accredited.

Summary of Information received regarding Itinerancy in Other Countries

2. Briefly, it appears that most countries have itinerant populations more or less similar to those in this country and giving rise to many similar problems. Apart from the Netherlands, it does not appear that any country has taken any substantial measures, other than punitive ones, to deal with the problems. The measures most commonly applied are the control of movement, the provision of identity cards, compulsory reporting to the police on arrival in a district, annual registration and other similar measures. It is estimated that there are 60,000 itinerants in France, 20,000 in the Netherlands, 2,000 in Finland and a figure of 100,000 was estimated for England in the Northern Ireland Report, 1954. A figure of 200,000 is stated to be the official figure for Hungary in a recent article on the subject. Figures for other countries were not specifically stated with the exception of that for the U.S.A., where it is estimated that there are 2,000,000 migratory labourers following the crop seasons from state to state. It has been ascertained that there are also itinerants in Spain, Western Germany, Portugal, Italy, Belgium and Turkey.

In the cases of France, Spain, Turkey, Western Germany and Portugal the Commission have noted the following points of interest in the treatment of the problem from the information furnished by the appropriate authorities in these countries through the Department of External Affairs.

France

3. The French Government set up an inter-ministerial Commission in 1949 to "study measures necessary for the amelioration of the conditions of life of peoples of nomadic origin". The Commission met only twice and did not report. A further Commission for the same purpose was set up in December, 1959, and is still sitting.

The Catholic Church in France has a specialised mission to itinerants, with a National Chaplain appointed directly by the Committee of Cardinals and Archbishops of France. The National Chaplain's principal function is to concentrate on administrative matters and on liaison with Catholic Action bodies through France in connection with the problem of itinerants. At the same time he keeps in touch with all encampments in the Paris area. His deputy regularly visits all major itinerant encampments throughout the rest of the country.

Spain

4. The measures taken to cope with the problem of itinerants in Spain consist solely of police measures under a general law for vagrants and suspicious persons. So far as economic, health and educational problems are concerned itinerants are not treated on any different footing to other members of the community.

Spanish itinerants consist, it is said, largely of the true gipsy type and some families are noted for their traditional artistry particularly as singers, dancers and guitarists in the style popularly known as "flamenco". Some of these families have successfully exploited the great attraction they have for tourists and have largely forsaken their itinerant way of life. These, however, constitute only a minority of the gipsy families.

Turkey

5. Few details are available other than that itinerants exist in numbers in Turkey. Immigration of itinerants is prohibited. Government assistance is available to them to enable them to establish permanent places of dwelling in different parts of the country.

Western Germany

6. The state of Bavaria enacted legislation in 1953, limiting the freedom of persons of no fixed abode by requiring them to have permits to wander with their caravans, and to report to the police on arrival in the area. The result has been that itinerants avoid Bavaria. Other places, including West Berlin, have had under consideration the introduction of similar legislation. So far, only the cities of Bremen and Hamburg have done so.

The relevant punitive laws of the country, e.g., against begging, are strictly enforced and those transgressing may be imprisoned or sent to a "workhouse" for a period of up to two years if convicted. The

children of itinerants are subject to the general laws of the country regarding compulsory school attendance and the protection of young people, and children are not permitted to live the travelling life unless their instruction is adequately provided for. Consideration has been given to new social legislation to provide aid for such persons to enable them to live a normal life and to become accustomed to regular work. There have been experiments in this connection in Bremen and Munich. The city of Cologne has been experimenting with the provision for itinerants of a site, surfaced in concrete, and provided with a water supply, electricity, wash rooms and lavatories. Old railway coaches have been placed on the site and have been allocated as dwellings at a monthly rental to a number of itinerant families who frequent the area.

Portugal

7. Consideration had been given to making special laws to deal with itinerants in Portugal but the idea was rejected because discrimination against a special class and the subjection of it to special obligations would conflict with the constitution of the country.

Itinerants may by their way of life, e.g., having no visible means of support and not being usefully employed, or begging, render themselves liable to enforcement of "security measures". These include being made subject to a "warranty of good conduct", "a watched liberty" or detention in a labour institution or agricultural community.

So far as England, Scotland and Northern Ireland are concerned the Commission has noted as follows the steps taken to deal with the problem in those areas:—

England

8. Itinerants are present in considerable numbers in England and have created problems similar to those in this country. In 1951 the Kent County Council, on the suggestion of the Ministry of Local Government and Planning, carried out a survey of the problem in their area as a pilot survey for the whole country. From this survey the County Council concluded that where winter camping sites were unsuitable the County's District Councils should provide alternative sites.

The West Ashford Rural District Council in Kent has successfully established a caravan site at Great Chart. The site, suitable for 12 caravans, is situated approximately three quarters of a mile from the village. It has been fenced and provided with main water supply, sanitary arrangements, hard standing, and a lorry park. There was violent opposition to the provision of the site from the local Parish Council and all the neighbouring residents. The Rural District Council provided the site despite this opposition. Caravans permitted to use it pay a rent of 10/- per week per caravan plus 5/- per week for each lorry. The capital cost was £3,000. One of the caravaners was appointed as resident warden.

The Parish Council have since agreed that they have no complaints about the conduct of the campers and that their earlier fears had not so far been justified. One of the big-objections to the site was that it would act as a magnet for itinerants from all over Kent, but this has not proved so, according to the Clerk of the Rural District Council. Because of the provision of the site, the Council can with a clear conscience, they feel, take action against those itinerant families who camp elsewhere in their district. They consider that the capital cost of a site to hold a larger number of caravans would not have been much greater and it is now felt that the decision to limit the size of the site to one suitable for only 12 caravans was rather over-cautious.

The British Ministry of Housing and Local Government have since circularised all local authorities on the subject, drawing attention, *inter alia*, to the fact that moving people off one unauthorised site and leaving them to find another one is no solution, and no answer to the human and social problems involved. It has been suggested to local authorities who have this problem in their areas that they should review the position generally, carry out surveys of the number of caravan families in their areas, and proceed to consider how best these families can be provided for.

Scotland

9. A Departmental Committee on Tinkers in Scotland set up in 1917 and a Departmental Committee on Vagrancy in Scotland set up in 1936 reported in favour of measures to provide houses and land for tinker families and recommended that local authorities should be empowered to make arrangements for temporary winter camps until houses were provided. They also recommended that children should be required to have regular school attendance, that a register of tinkers should be compiled annually, that they should be prohibited from purchasing intoxicants and that County Inspectors of Tinkers be appointed to supervise the entire scheme. None of these recommendations was put into effect.

Northern Ireland

10. The report of the 1954 Committee indicated that the number of itinerants in that area had declined from 1,012 in 1948 to 583 on the 30th September, 1954, and bi-monthly censuses taken showed steady declines down to 379 in November, 1955. Of these 379, the majority claimed that they had remained in Northern Ireland throughout the year but the Committee considered that it was probable that there was cross border movement to a greater extent than the itinerants admitted. The Committee reached the conclusion that the problems of itinerancy did not at that time warrant major legislative action or a large expenditure of public money. It was suggested that efforts should be made to bring speedier justice to roving wrong-doers and that static groups be encouraged to seek permanent homes. It was also stated that "police activity of any kind seems to have

a salutary effect on the nomads and among the static families there is an expressed desire to leave their caravans for permanent dwellings."

The following recommendations were made by the Committee:—

"(1) Power should be restored to Justices of the Peace to deal summarily with persons charged with certain specific offences against the Vagrancy Acts, and the Summary Jurisdiction (Ireland) Act, 1851.

(2) Section 20 of the Summary Jurisdiction (Ireland) Act of 1851 should be extended to enable the owner of damaged property to seize and detain animals found causing damage on his property until such damage is assessed and paid for by the owner of the animals.

(3) The attention of sanitary authorities should be drawn to the advisability of exercising their powers of making bye-laws under Section 9 of the Housing of the Working Classes Act, 1885, as has been done by Belfast Corporation.

(4) It is suggested that, where there is positive evidence of a desire on the part of an itinerant family to settle down and enter into the life of the community, the local authority concerned should consider the desirability of providing suitable housing accommodation for that family.

(5) Police censuses should be carried out as in 1955, but at less frequent intervals. The censuses should be kept under review by a standing committee of the Ministry of Home Affairs."

The Commission has been informed by the Ministry of Home Affairs that the position regarding these recommendations is as follows:—

"Recommendation No. 1

Effect has been given to this recommendation by the provisions contained in the Summary Jurisdiction and Criminal Justice Act (N.I.) 1958.

Recommendation No. 2

After very careful consideration it was decided that to give effect to this recommendation would lead to a great many complications and, therefore, no action was taken.

Recommendation No. 3

This recommendation was referred to the Ministry of Health and Local Government, who were requested and took action to draw the attention of local authorities to the Committee's recommendation.

Recommendation No. 4

As in the case of No. 3, the Ministry of Health and Local Government drew the attention of local authorities to the Com-

mittee's recommendation on providing suitable housing accommodation for an itinerant family who desired to settle down in a community.

Recommendation No. 5

Police censuses have been and are being continued to be carried out twice a year in accordance with the Committee's recommendation."

The Commission are indebted to the Northern Ireland Ministry of Home Affairs for a statement furnished in reply to an enquiry from the Commission and included as Appendix XLVI which gives detailed results of the censuses taken since 1954 including total numbers, numbers under 14 years and 14 years and over, numbers known to cross the border, numbers of camps on the roadside and on private grounds and numbers according to place of birth.

The statement shows that the numbers continued to decline from 379 in November, 1955, to 235 in May, 1957, but have remained in the 200 to 300 range since. The numbers known to cross and recross the border have also declined in recent years. The Ministry state that it is very difficult to express any definite views as to the extent of the cross border movement but feel that there are few itinerants who do not cross and recross the border each year.

The statement also indicates that quite a considerable proportion of the itinerants in Northern Ireland were born in the 26 counties.

CHAPTER III

POSITION IN THE NETHERLANDS

1. The Netherlands is the only country that has taken major steps to deal with the problem of itinerancy. Special legislation for this purpose was enacted as far back as 1918. In 1958 the Minister for Social Work of the Netherlands set up a Commission to investigate the position as it was at that time. A copy of the report of this Commission was obtained and translated for the information of members of our Commission. During a visit to this country the Very Revd. Fr. T. Zwartkruis, Dean of Haarlem, who was familiar with the itinerant system in the Netherlands, very kindly attended a meeting in Dublin of our Commission and answered members' queries on the subject. He strongly recommended that the Commission should visit the Netherlands to meet the central and local government officials in touch with the problem there and to see for themselves the steps that had been taken to deal with it, and the progress made. This confirmed the view already expressed by Fr. Mouillin, the National Chaplain of the Special Mission for Travellers and Gipsies appointed by the Catholic Church in France, who stated that he considered that the Netherlands approach had merit and also suggested that the Commission should examine its operation on the spot.

Visit to the Netherlands

2. The Commission, having examined the information made available to them regarding the itinerant situation in other countries and the available information regarding the position in the Netherlands, were satisfied that a visit to that country to examine the system in operation there would be of great value in considering the problem in this country. The matter was taken up with the Department of External Affairs and a visit was subsequently arranged and organised with the whole-hearted co-operation and assistance of the Netherlands Government through its Ministry of Social Work, who did their utmost to ensure that the visit would be a success. The following members of the Commission went to the Netherlands:— The Chairman, Mr. Justice Walsh, Rev. Fr. Fehily, Dr. McParland, Mr. Macken, Mr. Ó Tighearnaigh and the Secretary.

During the visit, which lasted from September 17th to September 24th, 1961, the delegation conferred with the officials of the Ministry of Social Work at The Hague, with local authority members and officials at various centres throughout the country, and went on to inspect itinerant encampments in different areas of the country. All types of encampments, including the most modern, were included in the programme and members of the itinerant groups were interviewed by the members of the delegation with the aid of interpreters. The

Netherlands authorities were at pains to ensure that the members of the delegation benefited fully from the visit and had the opportunity to obtain a balanced view of the problem as it existed in that country. For the purpose of these inspections the delegation travelled about 900 miles through the Netherlands in cars provided by the Government of that country and were accompanied throughout by three officials of the Ministry of Social Work. The Commission wish to express their deep gratitude to the Government of the Netherlands, to Dr. M. A. M. Klampe, the Minister for Social Work; to Dr. Ph. H. M. Werner, Secretary General of that Ministry and to the officials of that and other Ministries, to the various municipal and local authorities, to their members and officials and to the members and officials of various charitable and voluntary organisations for the great assistance given to the delegation and for the many kindnesses which made the visit not only a very instructive one but also a very happy one. A full list of names appears in Appendix XLIV.

3. The Netherlands' legislation, the Caravans and Houseboats Act, 1918, provides as follows:—

- (1) itinerants' caravans must conform to certain stringent requirements as to make, size and amenity, e.g., a minimum of 4 cubic metres per person;
- (2) the caravans must be licensed and the appropriate certificate is to be shown in a prominent place in each caravan. The licensing authority is the Provincial Commission of the Queen. All the caravans are registered in the Ministry of Social Work. The licences are valid for a period of 3 years and are renewable. Provision is made for refusal if the caravans do not conform to the requirements or if the applicant is not considered a fit person for any reason, e.g., conviction for a criminal offence or failure to send children to school. There is provision for an appeal to the Ministry against an adverse decision;
- (3) caravans may not be parked on unapproved sites when approved sites are available except with special permission;
- (4) while local authorities are compelled to allow caravans within their territory, each authority is enabled to designate a site for such caravans and to levy a fee for parking thereon. Where there is a designated site parking elsewhere is forbidden.

4. The delegation were informed in the Netherlands that the right of the local authorities to designate a site within their area led to abuses. Many local authorities designated sites which were located as far as possible from the dwellings of the ordinary population. Such locations were often heaths and other out of the way places. This geographical gap between the itinerant population and the ordinary population led to increased social separation of the two groups which did not improve understanding between them and in

fact built up a defensive attitude among the itinerants which tended to increase their backwardness in every sphere. The conditions of the sites themselves became very bad and instances were known of local authorities or communities which offered money to the itinerants to move on elsewhere. Furthermore, because of the distances involved, children were unable to attend school.

5. The Netherlands authorities have been satisfied for some time that the real purpose of the 1918 Act, viz., to make the life of the itinerants so difficult that they would give up the nomadic life and settle down, has not been achieved. Notwithstanding the disadvantages the actual number of itinerants appears to have increased considerably. In 1911 it was estimated that there were 584 caravans with approximately 2,800 occupants. A census taken in March, 1918, showed 1,600 caravans, inhabited by 7,300 persons. In 1938 there were 2,700, inhabited by 12,000 persons. Immediately after the war there appeared to be a slight reduction in the numbers but in 1955 the Ministry for Justice estimated the figure 4,412 caravans, inhabited by approximately 18,000 persons. The report issued in 1959 estimated that there were 4,000 caravans with approximately 20,000 persons, although the Commission has since been informed that the latest figures are 3,500 caravans and approximately 18,000 persons. Many of these are not itinerants in the ordinary sense of the word but are people who took to caravan dwellings either because of the severe housing shortage after the 1939-45 war or because some unsocial or anti-social characteristic made it difficult for them to live among the settled community. Nevertheless, it is clear that between 1918 and the present day there has been a very considerable increase in the number of itinerants of the original stock.

6. Following the second world war both the state and municipal authorities and private organisations displayed a greater interest in the problem of itinerancy and one which has been a great deal more sympathetic to the itinerants than was the approach between 1918 and 1940. In 1948 the Roman Catholic Association for Social Work among Caravan Dwellers strongly recommended to the Minister for Justice that a complete solution to the problem should be sought along the lines of the establishment of regional camps and the provision of a special system of education for the children of caravan dwellers. Following this the Government of the Netherlands decided to encourage a policy of accommodating caravans in well equipped regional camps. Since 1957 an amendment to the 1918 Act has enabled the different local authorities to enter into an arrangement whereby they can set up one particular site in a region which comprises their several respective administrative areas. Such an arrangement was not possible before 1957. This, of course, does not envisage the permanent settlement of any particular caravan or family in any particular camp and freedom of movement remains unrestricted. It is, however, proposed to set a limit to the number of caravans for which each local authority should provide and beyond

which they will be authorised to direct caravans to another camp. The object of this is to prevent any particular local authority being saddled with a greater number of itinerants than they can cope with. The itinerants in the Netherlands are much more mobile than in Ireland because they are now almost all using motor transport.

7. It is stressed that these regional camps are not to be regarded as an end in themselves, but as a means to give the itinerant population an opportunity to narrow the gap between themselves and the settled community and to enable them to take part in the ordinary social life of the country. While no pressure is brought to bear on them to settle down, it is thought that the influence of the younger generation whose desire for the amenities of the life of the settled population is greater than that of their parents, will in the course of time bring this about. Eventually it is hoped to have thirty to forty fully equipped regional camps. The estimated cost of a regional camp is £70,000 to £75,000. As each of these regional camps is intended to embrace the administrative areas of several local authorities the matter of finance requires a joint effort on the part of these authorities as the central government contribution to the cost of building and equipping was until 1962 somewhat less than ten per cent of the total. Already eight of these regional camps have been completed but the rate of progress for the completion of the total number envisaged will be determined by finances available.

8. The delegation visited a number of these regional camps as well as a number of the older type of camp. Probably the finest example of the regional camps visited is the one situated at Hertogenbosch. This camp was opened in August, 1959, and the accommodation comprises a school providing for three classes for children of school going age (further class room for infant children below school going age was in course of construction during our visit); a communal building which contains a small church, a club room, a small room for courses of study, a room for the social worker of the Roman Catholic Association for Social Work among Caravan Dwellers, a doctor's surgery (the doctor attending the camp has fixed consulting hours in the camp); showerbaths, a laundry room, thirty toilets (this number has been proved to be insufficient and is now being increased); an office for the camp manager (a policeman who manages the camp in the general sense, parking, order, etc., but does not engage in the social works) and a parking place for 75 caravans. There is a designated stand for each caravan and before each such stand there is an electric current point for connection to the caravan and there are five water taps for general use. The camp also contains a sports ground and it is surrounded by a screen of trees. The whole area comprises about four acres.

9. The local authorities which participate in this regional camp represent about 216,000 inhabitants. Cost of the erection of the

camp was between £60,000 and £70,000. The rent for the caravans is sixpence per day and the caravan dwellers are forbidden to store rags or scrap or other similar commodities anywhere save in the place assigned for the storage of these things. Regulations have also been made regarding the storage of paraffin and petrol and such like oils. The annual cost of running this camp is about £7,500 of which approximately £600 is provided by the caravan dwellers from rent and other charges. The participating municipal authorities meet the balance. Of the annual cost of running this camp about £3,000 is required to meet the loan charges on the capital cost. The salary of the camp supervisor comes to about £690 a year and cost of relief work to about £2,300. The average number of caravans occupying the site at the end of 1960 was estimated at fifty.

10. The Ministry of Social Work now subsidises local authority expenditure on the cost of building new regional camps to the extent of £250 per caravan stand provided and also contributes up to £6,000 towards the construction of the Social Welfare centre in the camp. Also provided is a subsidy which fully meets the salary of a municipal officer for a regional camp. To private organisations the Ministry provides a 75 per cent subsidy towards the salaries of social workers and a 75 per cent subsidy towards the cost of social welfare activities. Direct financial assistance to the itinerants by local authorities is subsidised to a maximum of 75 per cent provided that the assistance given to the itinerants exceeds £10 per family per calendar year.

11. The future plans of the Netherlands authorities include overhauling the existing legislation and the legislative provisions to ensure the establishment of camps adequately equipped both as to water and sanitary facilities as well as providing space for trading purposes and for children to play. The proper spacing of these camps receives special attention. What has been hitherto done voluntarily by progressive local authorities will be given a legal basis and local authorities which establish regional camps in the future will have to comply with the conditions prescribed by the new Act. Furthermore, under the new Act local authorities will be obliged to provide camps. Hitherto they were free to do so but not obliged to do so. They will, however, have a choice between either building a camp for their own area or co-operating with other local authorities in establishing regional camps. It is intended to continue to require the caravans themselves to be of a certain minimum standard but all purely police provisions will be abolished. Particular emphasis is laid on the importance of education in the welfare of the itinerant and as a means of assisting him to rise in the social scale and to narrow the gap between himself and the settled community. In view of the good progress which has already been made in elementary education the authorities of the Netherlands are looking forward to the provision of continuation education and training, with particular regard to vocational training.

12. It is important when comparing Ireland and the Netherlands to bear in mind that in the Netherlands one is dealing with a country which is less than half the size of Ireland and has a population of almost 12,000,000 persons. The itinerant in the Netherlands has much shorter journeys to travel than the Irish itinerant and in view of the density of the general population has really very little need to travel very far for the purpose of carrying on his business in scrap dealing which, like his counterpart in Ireland, appears to be his main occupation. Therefore the actual movement of itinerants in the Netherlands is very much less than in Ireland, even though their modes of transport are faster, and that in itself greatly facilitates the treatment of their problems and the amelioration of their conditions. This is particularly so in the sphere of education. An itinerant family in the Netherlands can afford to remain for a very long period in the vicinity of a school such as those which provide special education courses for itinerant children, while each day the breadwinner, with the aid of his motor vehicle, can carry on his trading with a large segment of the general population and yet return to base each evening.

13. In the Netherlands, as in Ireland, the vast majority of caravan dwellers are Catholics. The Catholic Church authorities have taken a special interest in their welfare and a national chaplain has been appointed. There is also the Roman Catholic Association for Social Work among Caravan Dwellers whose work is confined to that field. Much work is also done by the local branches of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul. One such branch is in charge of the new caravan camp at Hertogenbosch and the members of the delegation were deeply impressed by the efforts which the branch of the Society was making to aid the itinerants in many ways. These included social work of many descriptions, the organisation of entertainments, pastimes, vocational classes, youth welfare work, organisation of games and sports.

14. The results of the Netherlands policy would appear to be as follows:—

- (1) generally, itinerants have been stabilised in large groups in a relatively small number of centres;
- (2) their caravans are on the whole reasonable dwellings, well furnished and equipped, and their living standards are already far above the general standards of our itinerants. The usual caravan is a much heavier and larger vehicle than the type used by itinerants in Ireland. It is very like the type of caravan dwelling used by circus folk in Ireland and contains two compartments—one intended for sleeping and one for eating and living generally. Many are equipped with electrical washing machines and even T.V. sets—thus enabling full

value to be obtained from the electric current available in the modern camps;

- (3) tent dwellers have disappeared;
- (4) begging has been diminished to the extent that no evidence of it was to be seen;
- (5) by planning for large groups in the new camps it is economic to provide full sanitary services, electricity, a school, teachers, a community centre, the services of a social worker and health and welfare services on the site and the inhabitants are learning to use and appreciate the value of such amenities;
- (6) fixed parking sites make easier the work of voluntary organisations and religious bodies in establishing and retaining contact with itinerant families.

15. An interesting development in the Netherlands in this sphere of social activity has been the holding in 1963 of a conference at national level on the initiative of the Ministry of Social Work in close co-operation with the various private organisations working among the itinerants. Present at the conference were:—

- (1) representatives of local authorities already participating in the work of regional camps or planning to do so;
- (2) representatives of private organisations working among the itinerants;
- (3) representatives of the various churches and private social welfare organisations.

The conference was attended by several hundred persons and lectures were given on all aspects of the work and documentary and other information made available to all persons present at a special information bureau. The object of the conference was to emphasise that the problem of itinerancy can only be solved by the humane treatment of the itinerants, a point which had not been emphasised in the past. This national conference, which was in the nature of an experiment, proved to be such a great success that it was decided to hold further conferences in the future. In some of the provinces similar meetings have been held at regional level and these have also proved very successful.

16. The delegation was satisfied that the problem in the Netherlands is in many respects similar to that in Ireland and that the authorities there had made great progress in their efforts to aid their itinerant population. Particularly striking was the attitude of the authorities, who are imbued with a sense of social justice and charity in their general approach to the problem rather than a desire to eradicate a nuisance to the settled community. The enthusiasm

of the local voluntary welfare and charitable organisations in their efforts to assist and improve itinerant families was also very evident.

*17. Making due allowances for the differences between the situation in the Netherlands and the situation in Ireland the Commission are of the opinion that the experience of the Netherlands authorities and their future planning in this field can be of great benefit to the Irish authorities and we recommend that the Netherlands' endeavours in achieving a solution to the problems of itinerancy should be kept under constant study by the appropriate Irish authorities. The Commission have been greatly assisted in their own consideration of the problem by their study of the experience of the Netherlands.

CHAPTER IV

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Visits to Itinerant Encampments in Ireland

1. It was evident at an early stage that itinerants were unlikely to come forward to the Commission with information as to their way of life or their views and attitudes generally. The Commission were further satisfied that it would be unwise and undesirable to proceed with their consideration of the problems without making direct contact with a representative number of itinerant families and that the only feasible course was for the Commission to visit the itinerants in their encampments. It was also felt that the value of such visits would be greater without prior announcement to or arrangement with the itinerants. Accordingly a start was made in the Dublin City area with the aid of Mr. William Reynolds, an official of the Dublin Corporation whose regular duty it was to move itinerants from Corporation property and who was familiar with the regular camping sites used by itinerants in the neighbourhood of Dublin. A considerable number of the families in the Dublin area were interviewed in this way.

2. The Commission wish to record their thanks to the Dublin Corporation for providing the services of Mr. William Reynolds for this purpose and to Mr. Reynolds himself for his assistance so freely given. They were greatly impressed by the manner in which he performed his difficult duty efficiently but without the use of force and by the humane and charitable interest which he took in the families and in their problems. This was evident from his knowledge of the various families and their ways of life and their personal problems. He also, very deservedly, had won the confidence of these itinerants.

3. The visits elsewhere in the country already mentioned were made possible only by the freely given co-operation of the members of the Garda Síochána in each area visited, who beforehand, at the request of the Commission, ascertained the whereabouts of itinerant encampments, furnished lists to enable the Commission to plan journeys and, where necessary, guided members of the Commission to encampments otherwise difficult to locate, but did not attend the interviews with the itinerants. Outside Dublin most of the itinerant encampments within a radius of approximately 50 miles of each centre at which a meeting of the Commission was held were visited. In addition, a member of the Commission interviewed the itinerant families who had gathered for the 1961 annual fair at Killorglin.

County Kerry, and subsequently interviewed other families in the county. Individual members of the Commission availed of several opportunities in their everyday work to interview itinerant families in various areas. In all, it is estimated that approximately 300 families were visited by different members of the Commission at one time or another during the period of the work of the Commission.

Oral Evidence

4. The occasions of the visits to itinerant encampments in the various areas were also availed of by the members of the Commission to interview, and to learn something of the experience and opinions of the clergy, the local gardai, local officials and residents arising from their contacts with itinerants in these areas.

In addition oral evidence was received on the following occasions:—

- (1) A meeting was arranged with representatives of a number of itinerant families living in the Ballyfermot area, Dublin, at their own request, and took place in the De la Salle School, Ballyfermot, on Friday, 2nd December, 1960. The itinerants' deputation was led by Mr. Joseph O'Donoghue, one of their number, who acted as their spokesman. Their case was one of strong complaint against the policy of continually moving them from camping places without providing any alternative place for them to go. Members of the Commission questioned the members of the deputation at length on various aspects of their way of life and their ambitions for the future. The proceedings were recorded verbatim by a shorthand-writer. This method of taking evidence from itinerants was not repeated as it was felt that the formality of the occasion tended to make them ill at ease and to leave most of the discussion to be conducted by their spokesman. Thereafter all oral evidence obtained directly from the itinerants was during the visits already described.
- (2) The Most Rev. Dr. Browne, Bishop of Galway, who had been nominated by the Irish Hierarchy for the purpose, attended a meeting of the Commission on the 3rd March, 1961, to discuss and elaborate the memorandum on the problems of itinerancy submitted by the Irish Hierarchy.
- (3) A deputation appointed by the General Council of County Councils attended a meeting of the Commission on the 14th July, 1961. The deputation consisted of Councillors William Woods (County Louth), T. Kilbride (County Longford), T. O'Connor (County Kerry) and Senator Cole (County Cavan). In the course of a long and informative discussion, the deputation put forward the opinions of the General Council of County Councils which had been arrived at after consideration of the Commission's terms of reference.

Memoranda

5. A considerable volume of written evidence, both in response to the Commission's direct requests and as a result of the publicity which our work received, came from individuals and associations. Apart from the memorandum submitted by the Irish Hierarchy already referred to, memoranda were also submitted on behalf of the Standing Committee of the Church of Ireland, the Ardagh branch of the Christus Rex Society, the Legion of Mary, the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, the Irish Medical Association, the National Farmers' Association, the Health Inspectors' Association, Government Departments, local authorities and many others, all of which were examined and considered.

6. We should like to express our gratitude for the ready assistance given to us by all those who gave oral evidence and by those organisations and persons who submitted memoranda.

7. Appendix XLIII contains a full list of the organisations and persons who formally submitted evidence or who gave technical advice.

CHAPTER V

CENSUSES OF ITINERANTS

1. Censuses of itinerants had been taken by the Garda in 1944, 1952 and 1956 and the results thereof were furnished to the Commission by the Department of Justice. These gave the number of itinerants in each county in three age-groups, viz., under six years, between six and fourteen years and over fourteen years. The Commission decided that a further census was necessary and that the opportunity should be availed of to extend its scope to obtain additional information in regard to such matters as family circumstances, age-groups, religion, literacy and other relevant subjects. The Director of the Central Statistics Office and his staff were consulted and their advice and assistance obtained. The Department of Social Science of University College, Dublin, and the Dublin Institute of Catholic Sociology were also consulted for sociological advice. A census form containing more than forty queries was then drawn up. A copy of the census form is set out in Appendix XL.

2. The Commission wish to record their thanks to the Director and staff of the Central Statistics Office, to the Department of Social Science, University College, Dublin, and to the Dublin Institute of Catholic Sociology for their valuable assistance in this regard.

3. At the request of the Commission, the Department of Justice arranged with the Commissioner of the Garda Síochána to have the census taken on the 1st December, 1960. The results of this census showed a reduction in the total number of itinerants as compared with the 1956 figures. Lest the reduced figures might have been due to the period of the year in which the census was taken and that a number of itinerant families might have left the road temporarily for houses, rooms or other fixed abodes for the winter period, it was considered advisable to have a further census taken on the 1st June, 1961, to ascertain the summer figures. An almost identical form (see Appendix XLI) was used so that the information obtained could be used also as a check on that already obtained. Again the census was carried out by members of the Garda Síochána but the results showed fewer itinerants.

The Commission wish to express their sincere thanks for the invaluable assistance of the Commissioner and the officers and men of the Garda Síochána in taking both censuses. It will be clear from an examination of the forms used that considerable patience and tact must have been required on the part of the Garda enumerators, not to mention the work involved in the completion of the census forms for each member of an itinerant family, and the Commission are satisfied that the assignment was very efficiently carried out on both

occasions. They further wish to record their appreciation of the ready co-operation of the Commissioner and the members of the Garda Síochána in dealing with the many other demands and requests for information made to them by the Commission.

Type of Information Obtained

4. The results of the two censuses are set out in Appendices II to XXXIX and include comparisons with previous censuses, the number of individuals, the number of families, the number claiming to be able to read/write, the numbers according to religion, sex and age-groups, the number holding social insurance cards, number of persons per family, marriage-age groups, statistics as to whether the parents of itinerants were themselves itinerants, illness statistics, child statistics under various headings, statistics on travelling habits, statistics on the number of animals and vehicles in the possession of itinerants and the type of family abode on the days of the censuses, other housing experience, statistics relating to the particular skills of itinerants over the age of 14 years and of the trades, if any, which they desired to learn. All these statistics are set out on a county basis.

Reliability of Information Obtained by the Censuses

5. From the outset the Commission were conscious of the danger of unreliability in the information orally given to the enumerators by itinerants for the completion of the census forms. This might arise from deliberate untruth or from confused or faulty recollection. For this reason each enumerator was asked to write his own comment on the reliability of the information he had obtained. By reason of his experience of dealing with itinerants, supplemented in very many cases by his personal knowledge of the itinerants he was questioning, the Commission considered these comments valuable in assessing the weight to be given to the information obtained. In addition, the members have endeavoured, in so far as it was possible, to obtain, through interview both with itinerants themselves and with persons in contact with them in different spheres, corroboration of the information contained in the census forms. Cross checks for inconsistencies were also made by comparing the information obtained in one census in reference to families chosen at random with that concerning the same families in the other census. On the whole the Commission are satisfied that the information collected is substantially correct. Furthermore, in assessing the results of the censuses the Commission has made adequate allowance for the probable degree of unreliability.

CHAPTER VI

ORIGINS, NUMBERS, TRAVEL HABITS AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Origins

1. As it was not essential to the consideration of the Commission's terms of reference, no special study was made of the origins of the itinerant population of this country. There appears to be little in the way of satisfactory records or direct historical reference which would enable the Commission to deal with this subject without a long period of research which would more properly be a study for trained historians. Itinerants who were questioned on this subject could furnish little or no information and, indeed, displayed remarkably little interest in their origins. They did not appear to have any folklore on the subject.

The lists of surnames recorded in the censuses taken for the Commission disclose that almost all itinerants in the country bear Irish surnames. Out of the 1,198 families recorded in the 1960 census the most common surnames were McDonagh (92 families), Connors or O'Connor (87 families), Ward (68 families), O'Brien (54 families), Maugham or Maughan (37 families), (O') Dono(gh)ue or (O') Donohoe (30 families), Reilly or O'Reilly (30 families) and Mongan (29 families). There were also a considerable number of families named Delaney, Stokes, Cawley, O'Driscoll, Joyce, Collins, Cash, McCarthy and Coffey. Only those surnames borne by at least twenty families have been mentioned in this paragraph. (See also paragraph 12 *infra* and Appendix XXXVIII.) Few of the itinerants in Ireland are of Romany or Gipsy origin. None of these was met by members of the Commission although their presence was referred to by certain authorities and about six such families were recorded in the census. There appears to be a certain amount of travelling to and from Wales by these families, all of whom while in Ireland remain in the eastern counties.

2. The existence of itinerants in Ireland has been ascribed to many causes. It is said that they are descendants of the remnants of Irish tribes dispossessed in the various plantations. Some are said to be the descendants of the journeying craftsmen and metal workers who travelled the country centuries ago. Others are said to be the descendants of those who were driven to a wandering way of life because of the poverty and distress caused by the famines of the last century, the oppressions of the penal law era and earlier. It is likely that a combination of all these factors to a greater or lesser degree was responsible for the greater number of those now on the road. Of interest, however, is the result of replies by itinerants to a census query as to the parentage of the heads and mothers of the

families recorded, from which it would appear that approximately ten per cent of the parents of itinerant families at present on the road in this country are children of persons who had lived a settled way of life and had left it for the road. Somewhat more women than men had taken this step. Itinerants questioned on this aspect of the subject could not suggest any cause for this changed mode of life and it was not a matter which appeared to be of any significant interest to them. Questioning also disclosed that many of the "settled" male parents were, in fact, itinerants themselves who owned houses in which they lived for a substantial part of the year when not travelling.

Numbers

3. Appendix II of the report sets out the numbers of itinerants recorded in each county in each of the censuses of 1944, 1952, 1956, 1960 and 1961, both in total and by age groups of children under 6 years, children 6-14 years and adults over 14 years. It will be noted that there were 1,198 families consisting of 6,591 persons recorded in the first census requested by the Commission, which took place in December, 1960. The second such census taken in June, 1961, i.e., during the summer period when it was expected that a higher number of itinerants would be on the road, recorded reduced figures of 1,036 families consisting of 5,880 persons. These figures compare with totals of 7,148 persons in September, 1956, 6,275 in April, 1952 and 5,157 in September, 1944. (The figures for 1944 do not include the County Boroughs). It may be taken from these figures that the number of itinerants in the country has not varied greatly in the past 20 years and that, contrary to statements otherwise, their numbers have decreased in recent years.

4. Having regard to the high birth rate, as evidenced by the large families which are much above national average in size (an average of 6-7 children per family as against the national average of 3.53), the fact that the numbers on the roads are not increasing is a matter for explanation. There is almost no integration with the settled population and the number who left the roads for that reason is of no significance. The reduction in numbers which any such integration may have brought about would be mostly, if not completely, offset by the numbers of the settled population who became itinerants in the same period. In this connection, the census results (Appendices XIV and XV) show that approximately ten per cent of those whose names were recorded claimed to be first generation itinerants, one or both parents having left the settled way of life for the road.

5. Although the high infant mortality rate and the apparent shorter life span, both of which are dealt with elsewhere in the report (Chapter VII), would restrict the natural increase in their numbers it is considered that the main cause of their numbers

decreasing is the fact that itinerants emigrate in appreciable numbers. This conclusion is supported by information obtained in interviews with itinerant families in all parts of the country. It was not unusual to be informed that several, sometimes as many as six, members of a family were working in England. There have been references to whole families emigrating. There is also evidence of Irish itinerants being present in substantial numbers in such cities as Birmingham and Coventry. (See Appendix XLV for correspondence on this subject with the Town Clerk, Birmingham). Some itinerants who had returned for holidays in this country were interviewed during visits to the encampments.

The majority of those who emigrate take up unskilled employment in building or other industries and live in houses, rooms or other permanent type dwellings. Some continue to follow the itinerant way of life. The high emigration is due to the harshness of the itinerant way of life at home, the difficulty of obtaining employment here because of their background and the opportunities for lucrative employment abroad. In some western counties the Commission found evidence of some temporary emigration for seasonal agricultural work in Britain.

6. In so far as the numbers in each county are concerned the census figures showed the greater numbers to be in the western and south-western counties. Outside Dublin, where there is a concentration in and on the outskirts of the city, there are relatively few families in the eastern counties. The county with the greatest number in both summer and winter censuses was Galway, over 800 being recorded on each occasion. Cork came next, with 574 in the winter and 447 in the summer, followed by Mayo, with 478 in the winter and 329 in the summer. The figures for Dublin were 418 in the winter and 258 in the summer. The county with the lowest number of itinerants at the time of the 1960 and 1961 censuses was Waterford, with 75 and 31 respectively.

7. Apart from those in or near Dublin City the encampments are seldom large and usually consist of groups not exceeding three or four caravans, except on special occasions such as the Puck Fair at Killorglin, the annual fair at Cahirmee, Galway and Killarney races and similar events when large numbers gather together. The numbers encamped in the vicinity of Cork and Limerick cities at the time of the Commission's visits were remarkably low but it is understood that in Limerick they increase substantially during the winter months.

Travel Habits

8. The 1960 and 1961 censuses were availed of to ascertain the extent to which each family travelled and the number who might desire to settle. For the purposes of the first query the itinerant head of family was asked to indicate whether he travelled all the year round, for part of the year or not at all, and he was also asked to

indicate whether he followed a regular local circuit, a provincial circuit, a countrywide circuit or no fixed route whatever. The replies to the queries are summarised in Appendices XXVIII and XXIX, which indicate that approximately 25 per cent of the families travel for only part of the year while only 35 families claimed not to travel at all. The great majority indicated that they travelled all the year round.

9. The members of the Commission concluded that a substantial number of those who travel would not do so if they were allowed to camp permanently in any one spot. Confirmation of this was obtained in the replies to a further census query asking whether the head and mother of the family would prefer to settle in any one place. The vast majority of replies were in the affirmative. (See Appendices XXX and XXXI). A degree of unreliability in replies to such a query is recognised but the affirmative replies were in so great a majority and were confirmed to the members of the Commission by so many itinerants in interviews that the Commission is satisfied that the conclusion is a reasonably accurate one.

10. A majority (up to 60 per cent) of the itinerant families travel only short distances and usually over a regular local circuit covering, at the maximum, the area of two or three counties. Most of the remaining families travel wider circuits, the longest of which would take in up to 10 to 12 counties. Many of these families might make occasional journeys to areas remote from the regular circuit for particular occasions, e.g. Killorglin Fair. But very few travel through the whole country.

Social Groupings and Structures

11. Itinerants (or travellers as they prefer themselves to be called) do not constitute a single homogeneous group, tribe or community within the nation although the settled population are inclined to regard them as such. Neither do they constitute a separate ethnic group. There is no system of unified control, authority or government and no individual or group of individuals has any powers or control over the itinerant members of the community.

12. Ties of kinship, even the most removed type, are strong and bearing in mind the extent of inter-marriage the numbers related in this way must be considerable. Some indication may be gathered from the large number of families with similar surnames, as set out in paragraph 1 *infra* and Appendix XXXVIII. The head of the family is always held in respect by the other members. The younger children are treated with great affection by their parents and are often spoiled and undisciplined. On the other hand parental authority over the older children is strict. Even though the married sons may leave camp and travel separately they still regard the male parent as the head of the family.

13. In this system the head of the family, if he survives to old age, can be the patriarch of quite a large group. Outside his immediate family he has no powers or duties but his views, opinions and advice are sought and respected. The occasional newspaper publicity given to "kings" among itinerants creates the erroneous impression that there is among the itinerants a form of leadership analogous to the chieftom in Irish or Scots clans. One of the "kings" who discussed this topic with members of the Commission claimed that this concept was fostered only by newspapers and that a "king" had no more authority by virtue of his title than he would, in fact, have because of his position as the senior male parent of his immediate family.

14. The strength of family ties is seen in the extent to which contact is retained between related groups. For this reason many follow fixed routes and have fixed places for obtaining and leaving information so that their whereabouts is notified to each other regularly. News of family importance is speedily conveyed over quite long distances usually by word of mouth although they have also an intelligible sign language by which they can convey information to those following them on a particular route. To transmit news of deaths the services of the Garda Síochána are frequently enlisted. Contact is retained with and by emigrant relations by using the services of outside letter writers and readers. Letters are addressed for collection at convenient times at previously nominated post offices and shops.

15. The closeness of family ties is also apparent when a member of the family requires hospital or institutional care by reason of illness, old-age or otherwise. Those in charge of such hospitals and institutions have remarked on the large numbers of relations who visit itinerant patients in their charge regularly. This manifestation of family solidarity is not always beneficial to the patient. From another aspect, housing authorities have indicated that one of the problems of housing itinerants arises from the fact that so many relatives visit the itinerant family which has been housed. These visitations prove most unwelcome to the neighbouring tenants who are not itinerants.

16. Itinerants attach great importance to assembly for events such as funerals, marriages and other family occasions. They are prepared to go to great trouble and expense and to travel great distances to be present on such occasions. Much prominence was recently given to a case of a number of emigrant itinerants who returned by air from Britain to be present at the funeral of the head of a family. They stayed a number of days before flying back again to their employment in Britain.

17. The closeness and strength of these family ties themselves create problems in that individual differences of opinion, disputes or

even slights, real or apparent, can and have been taken up by whole families. In this way many inter-family brawls and quarrels arise and the resulting feuds may continue to smoulder for generations. Unfortunately these outbreaks of violence often occur in some town or village where the rival families have met and are thereby the cause of much unfavourable publicity for itinerants, as well as a cause of considerable annoyance and even apprehension to the settled population of the area.

18. Apart from the ties of kinship, relations between different families of itinerants are not, as far as can be discerned, markedly different from those between unrelated families in the settled population. There are class or group distinctions and different social strata among the itinerants. The group comprising those who are traders with motor transport and motor caravans regard themselves as being of a higher social status than others. Tinsmiths and horse dealers were formerly regarded as being superior to other itinerants. Nowadays, however, social standing among itinerants depends on wealth more than on other factors. Classifications according to possessions are dealt with in detail elsewhere. (See Chapter XII.) Members of the Commission also observed how some itinerants were very conscious of the quarrelsome nature or the dirty or slovenly habits of others and desired to avoid them as much as possible.

19. It is of interest to note that the Netherlands itinerants are also bound by very strong family and clan ties and they also are prone to family feuding and fighting, both internally and with other families and clans. As in the case of the Irish itinerants there was also a strong economic factor in the origins of the Netherlands itinerants. They are descendants of itinerant dealers and craftsmen, dispossessed farm labourers and other inhabitants of rural areas whose conditions were so bad that the wandering life represented an improvement for them. Their ancestors also included some foreign mercenary soldiers who took to the wandering life after the Spanish occupation of the Netherlands had ended.

CHAPTER VII

HEALTH ASPECTS OF THE ITINERANT WAY OF LIFE

Living Accommodation

1. The following table sets out the number and type of dwellings in which itinerant families were living on the dates of the two censuses:—

Abode	Number of families	
	December, 1960	June, 1961
(a) Motor trailers	60	40
(b) Horse-drawn caravans	738	583
Horse-drawn caravans plus tents }	335	395
(c) Tents only	65 (56 in houses)	18 (14 in houses)
(d) Others		

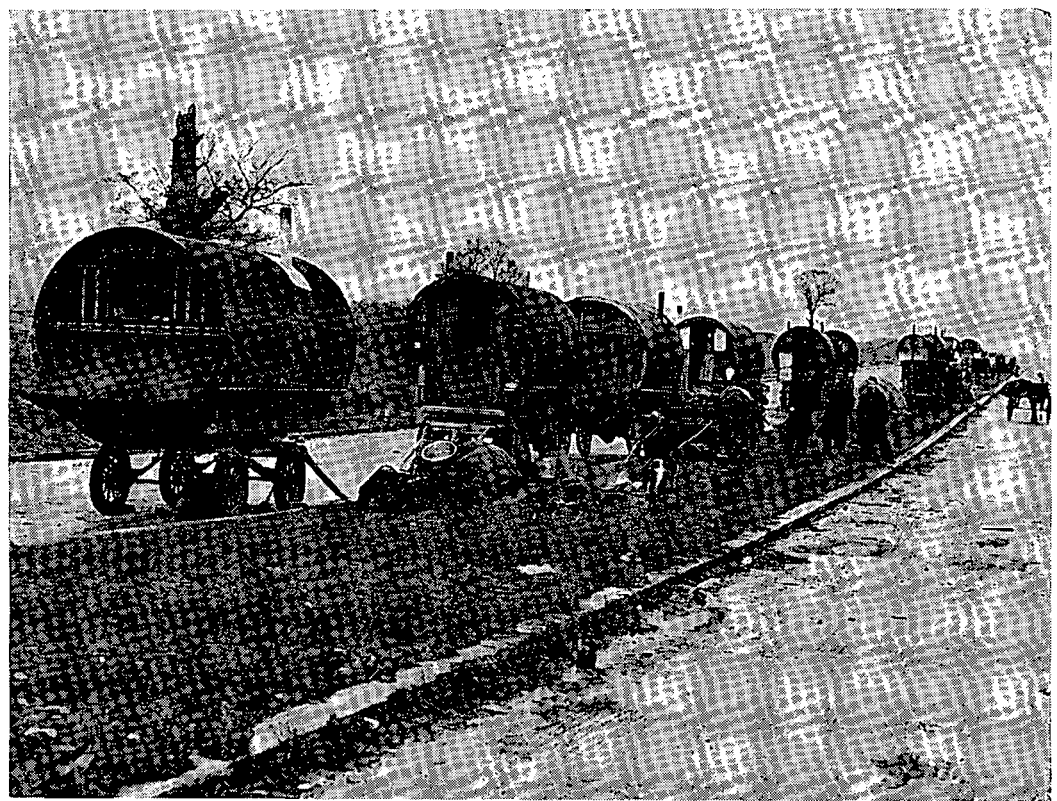
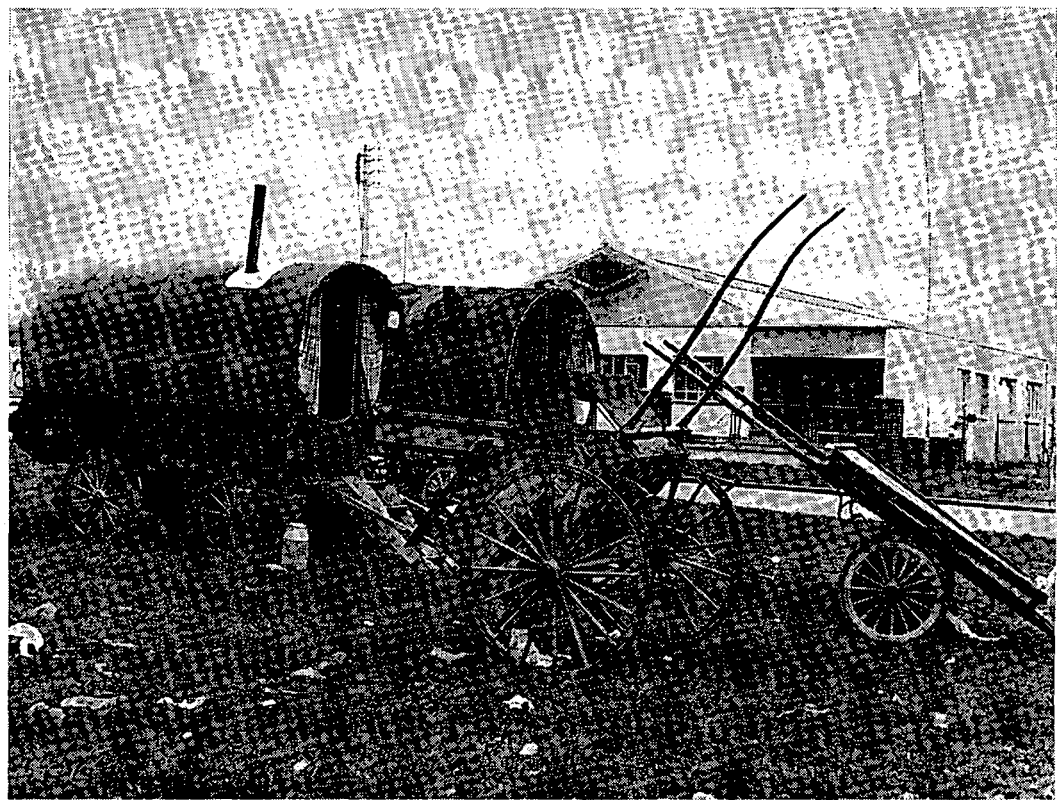
Appendices XXXII and XXXIII give figures on a county basis and in greater detail otherwise. The discrepancy in (b) as between the December and June figures is, in the opinion of the Commission, accounted for by the fact that a considerable number of caravans were laid up for the summer months and consequently were not taken into consideration by the enumerators. The fact that a number of parents emigrate for seasonal work and leave their families with grandparents may have resulted in these families not being separately distinguished in the June census.

Motor Trailers

2. The motor trailers used are of the usual holiday or touring type and the majority are of good quality and in good condition. They have the usual amenities normally provided in such caravans including cooking, heating, lighting and washing facilities.

Horse-drawn Caravans

3. The horse-drawn caravan used by itinerants is of the traditional type so well known on Irish roads. It is of light timber construction on four wheels. The older types had wooden wheels with iron rims. Many now have the smaller diameter pneumatic-tyred wheels. The superstructure usually consists of waterproof canvas drawn tightly over a hooped timber sheeted frame and secured to a flat timber base. These caravans vary little in size and their average dimensions are approximately 9' long, 5' wide and 5½' high internally at their highest point. They have a gross cubic capacity in the region of 250 cubic



HORSE-DRAWN CARAVANS

[Photographs by kind permission of Irish Times Ltd.]

feet. Deducting fixtures, the net cubic capacity is in the region of 170 cubic feet. Illustrations of these types are shown opposite and at pages 52 and 53.

4. A bunk-type bed is usually built across the back of the caravan. The bed is usually set fairly high, and the space under it forms a press which is often used as sleeping accommodation for the younger children. Other beds, as required, are laid lengthwise sometimes in tiers but the additional sleeping accommodation may often consist of no more than a mattress on the floor. The only other usual fixture is a solid fuel stove placed on the floor with a chimney brought out through the roof.

5. These caravans are sometimes made by the itinerant families themselves but are more usually purchased either new or secondhand. The cost new varies from £130 to £180 while prices of up to £100 are paid for secondhand vehicles. As a design they have probably evolved from a flat spring cart still used by itinerants and others.

6. The larger horse-drawn caravan of the type seen with circuses or on fair-grounds and measuring approximately 12' long by 7' wide by 7' high and with smaller pneumatic-tyred wheels is seldom if ever used by Irish itinerants. The reasons may be its cost and its weight and the fact that it might possibly require at least two horses to draw it in hilly country. This is the type almost universally used by the Netherlands itinerants but they use motor transport for towing.

It will be noted that the majority of itinerant families (over 61 per cent) were using the horse-drawn caravans at the time of the first census in December, 1960. A somewhat lesser percentage was using them at the time of the second census, in June, 1961, while a higher percentage was living in tents. This is probably explained by the preference which many itinerant families have for tents during the summer months. The reason given to members of the Commission in interviews for this preference was the fact that the caravan was "too hot" in warm weather.

Suitability of Caravans as Dwellings

7. Although not designed as permanent dwellings, no serious objection could be raised to the use by itinerants of motor-trailer caravans for this purpose provided they are not overcrowded. In so far as horse-drawn caravans are concerned, however, their limited size, accommodation and free air space make their suitability as permanent dwellings for all but the smallest families questionable. As used by the majority of itinerant families they are very substandard dwellings, being almost invariably overcrowded with all the floor space taken up as sleeping accommodation and more so when tiered bunks are used to provide additional accommodation. Parents and children, irrespective of sex, must sleep in one compartment. This does not apply, of course, to the older boys who, if there is not a second caravan available, are required to sleep out in a tent. To con-

sider the matter in its proper perspective it must be remembered that the net cubic capacity of these caravans, as already indicated, is in the region of 170 cubic feet, while the standard for housing laid down for the settled population requires a minimum of 400 cubic feet of bedroom air space per person. [Section 28(4), Housing (Amendment) Act, 1952.]

8. Apart from the lack of adequate sleeping accommodation, the caravan provides a much too limited amount of living accommodation. In harsh weather members of larger families must find shelter where they can elsewhere. Other disadvantages include the difficulty which must arise in ensuring undisturbed sleep for the younger children and the impossibility of school-going children doing home exercises under these conditions.

9. The location of the solid-fuel stove near the entrance in such a restricted space is dangerous, particularly as there is no rear exit. This has been the cause of a recent major tragedy involving the deaths of two children of a family in Tuam.

Recommendation regarding Caravans

*10. *Registration*—The Commission do not recommend the prohibition of horse-drawn caravans as dwellings. They consider, however, that it is necessary that their use should be controlled for both social and health reasons. As a first step, they recommend that no caravans should be permitted to be used as dwellings unless licensed annually in accordance with the recommendations hereunder. A registration book for renewals and transfers of ownership similar to that for motor vehicles should be issued in the name of the owner-occupier indicating the licence number and the licensing authority. In the event of the owner not being the occupier then the principal occupier should be deemed to be the owner. A nominal charge should be made for the licence and each annual renewal thereof. The licence should be displayed in a prominent place on the caravan. First application for the licence and application for renewals could be made to the Garda Superintendent of the district in which the caravan is on the appointed day or on the day fixed for annual renewal as the case may be. The Garda Superintendent who issues the licence or renews it should be the licensing authority for the currency of the licence. Prior to the issue of the annual licence the caravans should be inspected by the health authority of the area and the licence should not be issued unless there has been a certificate furnished to the Garda Superintendent by such authority to the effect that the caravan is, in their opinion, fit for human habitation. Provision should be made for an appeal to the District Court against refusal to issue a licence or the refusal of the health authority to issue a certificate. Provision should also be made for adequate penalties, including confiscation of vehicles for continuous or repeated failures to register or other breach of the requirements.



TENT DWELLINGS

[Photograph by kind permission of Irish Times Ltd.]

*11. While it is not envisaged that it should be made difficult to register in the earlier years, efforts should be made by this control progressively to improve the condition of caravans being used and to establish minimum standards of repair, cleanliness, appearance and air space per member of the family using the caravan. Later, consideration might be given to raising the standards so as not only to improve the living conditions of those who continue to live in caravans but at the same time to deter those not prepared to provide satisfactory caravans from taking to the roads.

*12. Registration would also be an effective means of overcoming the difficulties of identification often referred to by the Garda authorities and as a check of numbers at any time.

Existing Requirements of some Local Authorities

*13. Some local authorities require an itinerant to destroy his caravan or surrender it for destruction before he is appointed a tenant of a local authority house. It is appreciated that the object of the requirement is to prevent the itinerant returning to the road subsequently. Doubts as to its success in achieving this objective have been expressed. In any event the requirement is usually evaded by offering an old and decrepit caravan, having first sold the good caravan, and the Commission are aware that it has not prevented some families from returning to the road when they so desired. Lest it should act as a deterrent to those itinerants willing to settle down and who qualify for tenancies of local authority houses and because it is considered that it is unwise and unfair to expect an itinerant to destroy something which is of realisable value or which can be converted for other purposes, it is considered that any such requirement should be dropped.

Tents

14. The tents used by itinerants are seldom, if ever, the type used for camping holiday makers, boy scouts and others. A photograph of a typical tent dwelling is shown on opposite page. They usually consist of tarpaulin or canvas sheets draped over hooped iron wire or willow branches and held down at the edges by large stones. The dimensions of several were obtained for the Commission's information. A small one measured 6' long, 4' wide and 3½' high with a cubic capacity of approximately 90 cubic feet. It was inhabited by a husband, wife and two children! A large one measured 12' long, 4' wide and 4½' high, with an interior capacity of 220 cubic feet. Average dimensions were 6' long, 4½' wide and 4' high, with an interior capacity of approximately 100 cubic feet. As will be observed these tents have little headroom and they have no floors. In nearly all cases the floor area of the tent is taken up by mattresses which are often of straw, hay or bracken. Heating is usually provided by a fire outside the opening which has on occasion been the cause of death when the wind changed while the occupants were asleep. It is not

unusual for the itinerants to build the fire inside such a tent using a gap in the tarpaulin roof as a chimney. Although the tent users endeavour to select suitable spots for pitching their tents, many factors limit their selection and the ground under the tents is often damp, if not actually very wet or waterlogged.

Unsuitability of Tents as Dwellings

15. The Commission is satisfied beyond doubt that the tents used by itinerants as habitual dwellings are completely unfit, unhygienic and unhealthy for the occupiers. They have little or no usable living space and have all the disadvantages of the caravan to a far greater degree while at the same time being located directly on the ground. There are the added hazards of fire and suffocation, particularly in bad weather when the occupants are tempted to build their fires nearer and nearer to the tent opening if not actually inside the tent. The Commission are satisfied that such tents are a particular danger to the health and welfare of infants and children and noted with regret the large number who are exposed to these hazards. In this connection, attention is drawn to the fact that 395 families were living in tents in June, 1961, and 335 families were in tents in the mid-winter period of the first census. Of the latter, there were 45 families with 1 child, 35 families with 2 children and 130 families with more than two children. In other words more than 500 infants and children were living in mid-winter under these appalling conditions. It is reasonable to assume that a high proportion of the remaining families without children were newly married and this suggests that a possible reason for the high infant mortality rate is the fact that many of these young couples start life with no better dwelling than a tent. (See Appendices XXXII and XXXIII).

Recommendation regarding Tent Dwellings

*16. It is the Commission's recommendation that the use of tents as dwellings for itinerants should be prohibited. In making the prohibition, care should be taken to ensure that the definition of such a tent dwelling is sufficiently wide to include other similar structures, e.g., those made of sheets of corrugated iron with tarpaulin covers and those made by the use of the upended flat cart as one side and a tarpaulin draped over it as the remainder. So far as a breach of this prohibition may concern children, it is recommended that the appropriate sections of the Children Acts be strictly enforced.

*17. The prohibition of tent dwellings should be a matter for the Garda authorities to enforce and fines and/or prison sentences should be prescribed for breaches of it with increased penalties including confiscation of the tent for continuing breaches.

Food Supply

18. While some signs of the results of an unbalanced diet were noticed in the children on visits to encampments, the quantity of

food available always appeared to be adequate. Bread, butter, meat and potatoes are the main constituents of their diet and much of their food is served in the form of stews and soups. The meat is usually purchased but much of the other constituents of the diet is obtained by begging. It has been said that the quality of the food so obtained is often poor. The mode of cooking is primitive and the fuel is usually twigs and sticks collected on the spot. The cooked food seen on many occasions by members on their visits was not unappetising in appearance.

Clothing

19. Itinerants usually have little regard for their appearance and their clothes are often ill-fitting, ragged and untidy. It is, of course, easily understandable that the way of life would make it difficult even with the best of intentions to maintain clothes in good condition.

The women dress in a manner that easily distinguishes them from the women in the settled population and usually wear a coloured rug across the shoulders, which apart from its warmth also acts as a hold-all and infant-carrier.

The men are badly dressed and have often the appearance of having slept in their day clothes which in fact many of them do. The smaller children are often the worst clad. They wear make-shift garments which are too big for them and often in tatters. They are usually bare footed, even in the harshest weather.

There are, of course, exceptions and the members of the Commission have met, from time to time, itinerant families and individual members of itinerant families who were very comfortably, if not smartly, dressed even under difficult conditions. Some of those in the younger age-groups particularly were quite attractively and cleanly dressed.

20. Much of the clothing is obtained by begging. The women do little in the way of knitting or making of garments, whether through lack of ability or desire. An itinerant woman in Cork claimed to be able to knit and sew and to be able to alter any clothes given to her to make them suitable for her children. In the Commission's experience she was an exception.

Hygiene

21. Except for those families in the motor caravan group and a few other exceptional cases, itinerant families have very low standards of personal cleanliness and hygiene and their persons, dwellings and sites are malodorous. This is not difficult to understand when regard is had to the conditions under which they live in overcrowded caravans and tents, on unsatisfactory camping places, dusty in dry weather and muddy in wet and usually without a convenient or adequate water supply. Many of the women endeavour to cope with the difficulties in some way by washing clothes. Amounts of clothing can be

seen from time to time hanging out to dry on hedges and ditches close to itinerant encampments although some of this is scrap cloth gathered for re-sale, which must first be sorted and washed.

Food is also stored, prepared and eaten under the most unhygienic conditions.

While the standards of the settled population in regard to hygiene have improved considerably there has been no corresponding improvement in that of itinerants. If, however, their living standards were otherwise improved and better facilities were available to them it is likely that, in a short time, there would be a corresponding improvement in their standards of hygiene.

Adult Health

22. It is the Commission's opinion, based upon consideration of the available evidence and upon the interviews with itinerants in their encampments, that itinerants generally are healthier than one would expect of people suffering the hardship and rigours of their way of life. However, both sexes age rapidly in appearance and appear very much older than the same age groups of the settled population. The women appear relatively stronger and more robust possibly because they, with the children, are collectors of food and are, accordingly, the better and more regularly fed. The men, although in many cases of good physique and appearance, are generally not strong and the available evidence from employers and others indicates that they often lack stamina. Many of them suffer from digestive ailments, probably arising from their irregular eating habits and over-indulgence in alcohol.

23. Advantage was taken of the censuses to ascertain the number of itinerants who had suffered from tuberculosis, bronchitis, pneumonia, rheumatism or skin diseases. Appendices XVI and XVII give the results. These results, though inconclusive, would appear to confirm the opinion expressed in the memorandum submitted by the Irish Medical Association that the incidence of tuberculosis was not any higher amongst them than in the settled population. It is understood, however, that while this may be so, when it does occur it is frequently of the acute type. The apparent high death rate in the age-groups over 30 years and the fact that a significant number have been affected by respiratory diseases would indicate that the health of itinerants is seriously affected by the rigours of the way of life.

24. So far as infectious diseases generally are concerned, itinerants are probably not as liable to infection as the settled community through their being, to a large extent, isolated and with but a limited contact to sources of infection. It follows, of course, that for the same reason they may not have obtained the natural immunisations which the settled community develop, a factor which should be borne in mind in any plan for their integration.

25. In regard to mental health, replies by those in charge of local authority mental hospitals to requests for statistics of the numbers of itinerants who have received treatment and for general observations on the mental health of itinerants have indicated that the number of persons who could be classed as itinerants who are or have been patients in mental hospitals is relatively small. It would appear that the incidence of mental ill-health amongst the itinerant population is not as high as in the settled population.

Infant Health

26. It appears from a careful consideration of the information obtained (a) through the censuses (see Appendices XVIII to XXIII), (b) from memoranda furnished to the Commission and (c) as a result of interviews with families visited by the Commission throughout the country that the mortality of infants in the first year of life is much higher than the national average. The opportunities provided by the censuses were availed of to ascertain in respect of each family the number of live births, the number of deaths and the age at death of children who died subsequently.

27. It will be noted that, in so far as the first census returns are concerned, 782 of the 6,904 children born alive died in the first year of life, a rate of 113 per thousand, while the figures for the second census give a rate of over 105 per thousand. These figures, of course, relate to all births recorded in the censuses. When calculated in respect of births since the 1st January, 1950, (Appendices XXII and XXIII) a considerable improvement is recorded and the figures dropped to 76 and 59 deaths per thousand respectively. These lower figures are, however, still very high when compared with the national average of 30.5 per thousand for 1961 and a rate of 60 per thousand calculated for the lower income group in Dublin City.

28. From the information obtained in interviews, it would appear that the majority of deaths of these infants was due to respiratory diseases rather than to other causes and in the opinion of the Commission the harshness and rigour of the living conditions were primary causes. The number of deaths in the 1-2 years age-group would appear also to be relatively high for the same reasons.

Child Health

29. In so far as the older children are concerned, there was little apparent difference between the state of health and nourishment of children of itinerant families and that of children in the corresponding income groups of the settled population.

Medical Requirements

30. Itinerants are eligible for all the wide range of health services available under the Health Acts to the settled community, although

their way of life probably makes it inconvenient for them to avail of some of them. This is particularly so in respect of children. For example, itinerant children who are not in regular attendance at school, and very few are, do not derive any benefits from the School Health Examination Service and accordingly do not obtain treatment for any defects that would normally be discovered in this way. Neither are they brought to clinics for the usual immunisations against tuberculosis, whooping cough, diphtheria and poliomyelitis.

Some of the services for adults—in particular the ante-natal maternity care arrangements—are also seldom availed of by itinerants, because of the inconvenience to them which would be necessitated by attending a particular medical practitioner.

31. In the organisation of the general medical service given by dispensary doctors there is special provision under which an itinerant can get an authorisation to avail of the services of the doctor in whose dispensary district he happens to be. There is, therefore, no obstacle in the way of itinerants availing of the services nor are they at any disadvantage in getting general hospital care, institutional assistance as provided in county homes or medical treatment if that should be necessary. It is not clear to what extent itinerants are aware or avail of the special provisions for the dispensary doctor's services. It is known that they avail of the services of doctors in private practice.

32. The Irish Medical Association's memorandum states that, from their enquiries, it appeared that itinerants as a class made no excessive demands on the facilities of general hospitals and perhaps less than did the settled population. The length of their stay was usually short, sometimes much too short, even after major operations. They referred, as did many hospital authorities, to the multitude of visitors which itinerant hospital patients had whenever visiting was allowed.

Family Sizes

33. Appendices VI and VII set out the number of families according to size of family as recorded in the censuses. These figures confirm the fact obvious to persons accustomed to seeing itinerant families that the average number of children in itinerant families is high. The average established by the censuses was 6.7 children per family, compared with the national average of 3.53 established by the 1946 census (the latest figures available).

Conditions at Birth

34. According to the censuses (see Appendices XVIII and XIX) and confirmed in interviews with itinerants, it has been established that the majority of itinerant children (up to 90 per cent) recorded in the censuses were born either in hospital or had the attendance of a doctor or midwife at the birth. Over 65 per cent of births

were in hospital. The figures on which these percentages are based relate to all births and it is reasonable to assume that the percentage is even higher in respect of recent births. This assumption has been confirmed in interviews with itinerants from which it is clear that the number of births in hospital is now considerably higher than 65 per cent and that almost all births nowadays take place with medical attendance.

It is of interest to note for purposes of comparison that 77 per cent of the births of children of the settled population in 1960 took place in hospitals or nursing homes.

35. While the conditions at the birth of the majority of itinerant children are not unsatisfactory, the information available to the Commission suggests that itinerant mothers having regard to their domestic conditions leave hospital far too soon after the births of their children, not merely for their own health but more particularly for the health of the newly born infants. This period rarely exceeds 4/5 days and frequently is even shorter.

Age Structure and Life Expectation of Itinerants

36. The following table compares the age structures of itinerants recorded in both censuses with the age structure of the general population in the 1956 census:

Age-group	1956	1960	1961
	Census of General Population % in group.	Census of Itinerants % in group	Census of Itinerants % in group
0—14 years ...	30.0	52.0	53.0
15—29 " ...	20.0	25.2	24.0
30—39 " ...	12.3	9.8	10.0
40—49 " ...	12.3	6.7	6.3
50—59 " ...	10.3	3.4	3.8
60 and over ...	15.0	2.9	2.9
	<u>99.9</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>

37. The similarity in the groupings obtained from each of the 1960 and 1961 censuses is a reasonable indication of the reliability of the trends they portray. The progressive reduction in the numbers of itinerants in the higher age-groups is remarkable. While the 1956 census figures for the State indicated that 50 per cent of the settled population was over 30 years of age and that the spread in each age-group over 30 was relatively even, only 23 per cent of itinerants were over the age of 30 and the numbers in the higher age-groups fell rapidly.

*38. A full explanation of the reason for the difference in the age distributions has not been obtained, although enquiries have been

made in many quarters and from various authorities. The matter was specifically put to the Irish Medical Association for their views and specific enquiries were addressed to certain Superintendent Assistance Officers and to matrons of certain county homes in an endeavour to ascertain whether there was a high death rate in middle age among itinerants. It was found that there was but little information and no statistics from these sources. It has been suggested that emigration is possibly the cause but while emigration amongst itinerants has been high it is considered, from the information available, likely to have been highest in the younger age-groups. It may also be that some of the older people leave the road for the settled life but there is little evidence that they do so in numbers sufficient to account for the disparity in this respect between the settled population and itinerants. Discussion with persons in touch with itinerants throughout the country and information from itinerants in reply to queries regarding the age at death of their parents and relatives would indicate that it is reasonable to assume that a high death rate in the middle age-groups is a factor of importance. Direct evidence in support of the assumption is impossible to get. Some of those who come in contact with itinerants do not agree with the assumption. If the assumption that the life span of itinerants is, on average, so much shorter than that of the settled population is correct, the fact should be publicised amongst them to encourage them to abandon the itinerant life.

39. The report of the Commission appointed by the Netherlands Government pointed to a similar preponderance of numbers in the earlier age-groups of itinerants in their country and a similar disparity with the age structure of the settled population. Although they attributed some of the disparity to the possibility of some of the older people leaving the itinerant life they could not explain the whole of the disparity.

Public Health Considerations

40. Notwithstanding the itinerants' disregard for cleanliness, hygiene and sanitation and the dirt, squalor and untidiness of the sites which they use for camping, there is very little evidence that these sites cause an actual danger to public health or constitute a nuisance within the meaning of the public health and sanitary legislation. Exceptions are some sites in city areas which itinerants had been allowed to occupy for long periods and which were found to require de-ratting. There have been allegations of contamination of wells by reason of their use by itinerants and allegations that itinerants are in general a menace to public health. Apparently there has not been sufficient evidence in support of such allegations to cause local authorities to take action. Many of the complaints appear to be due to fear and speculation and there is little in the way of evidence of actual danger.

41. It is the view of the Department of Health that, while there are special dangers of the spread of infectious disease through the

habits of itinerants, there would not be any justification for a special general control of them or their movements on health grounds when regard is had to the general reduction in the incidence of these diseases and the effective organisations with adequate legal powers which are maintained by local health authorities to track down and eliminate sources of infection.

Health Recommendations

*42. It is desirable that itinerants should be visited in their encampments regularly by personnel from the Public Health Department of the local authority. Preferably these visits should be carried out frequently. The main purpose of the visits should be to inform the itinerants of the various health services that are available to them and, in particular, to encourage the parents to have their children receive the various vaccinations and inoculations which are now considered so important. The health authorities should be required to keep health statistics of itinerants residing in their areas. Itinerant mothers should be encouraged to stay in hospital for longer periods than they do after childbirth. The accepted period is normally ten days and medical practitioners in charge of maternity units should do everything possible to ensure that the itinerant mother is maintained for at least that period.

The medical personnel visiting encampments should encourage the itinerant expectant mothers in every way possible to attend early for pre-natal care and also to emphasise the necessity for adequate post-natal examination of both the mother and infant. An improvement in the general standard of living of itinerants, but particularly the benefit of housing which would provide shelter from the elements, should bring about a fall in their present infant mortality rate.

CHAPTER VIII

CAMPING PLACES AND PROVISION OF AUTHORISED SITES AND HALTS

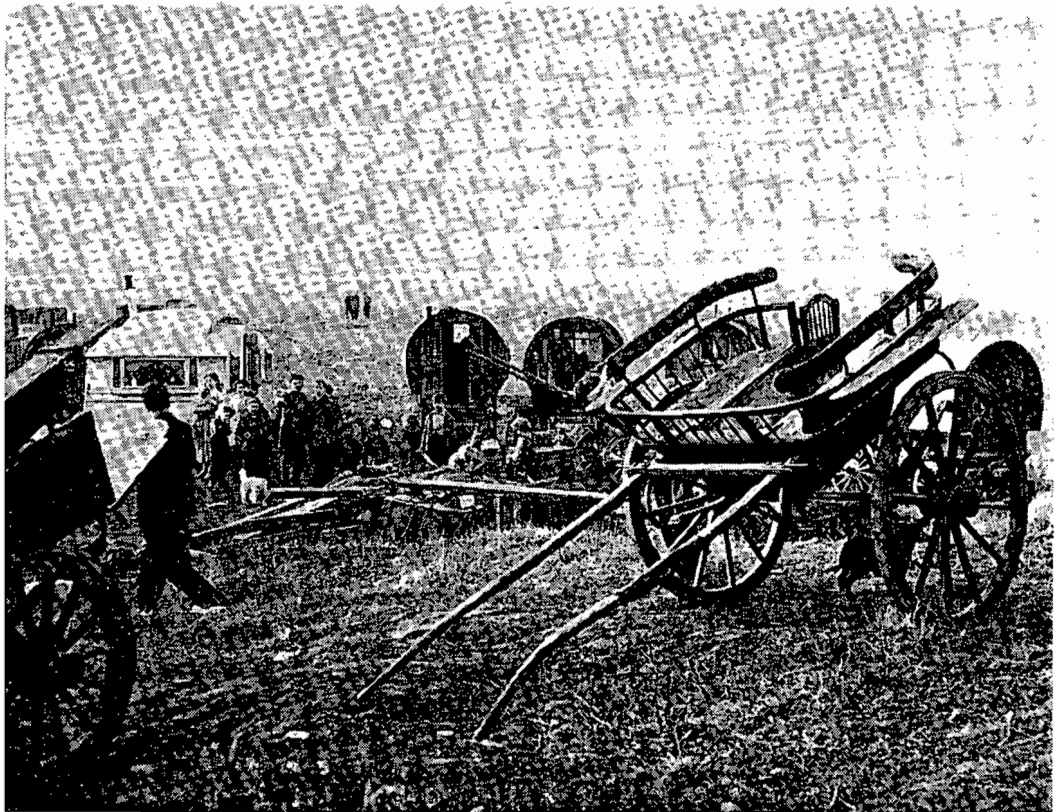
Camping Places at present used by Itinerants

1. The usual camping places are located on roadsides. Sometimes they are the grass verges adjoining main roads, but more often those of secondary roads, byroads, or bog roads. Use is also made of sections of former highways bypassed in road widening or straightening. These sites have few advantages to recommend them other than the shelter offered by the contour of the ground or by trees and bushes. In urban or suburban areas itinerants often take advantage of undeveloped building sites, the residue of ground left over after building operations—unfenced, open or derelict areas whether public or private. Some illustrations of the types of places used are on opposite pages.

2. Itinerants frequent the same camping places each time they return to a district. These are well known to local residents and to the Garda. Constant use in all weathers usually means that they are ungrassed, very muddy in wet weather, littered with papers, rags, unwanted scrap and other debris. They usually look untidy and filthy. While sufficiently convenient to centres of population for purposes such as begging and dealing, they are usually remote from water, sanitation, light and power services and inconvenient to schools.

3. Some itinerants who were interviewed said that they were prepared to pay rents for sites if they could get them but very few owners of land suitable for sites, or their neighbours, would tolerate an itinerant encampment in their midst, if they could avoid it, and such sites are unlikely to be voluntarily available. The Commission are aware of a case where sites were offered by a local landholder at £1 per caravan and accepted gladly by a number of itinerant families who had congregated for a particular three-day festival. The sites were located in a field and had no facilities or amenities. In this case the local authority had made an order prohibiting camping on the roads in the vicinity. This arrangement was particularly attractive to the women itinerants because of the additional safety provided for their children.

4. Part IV of the Local Government (Sanitary Services) Act, 1948, provides powers for sanitary authorities to regulate and control temporary dwellings and the use of land for camping. The Act enables a sanitary authority to make bye-laws regulating the use of temporary dwellings in their sanitary district and the bye-laws may



CARAVAN CAMPING PLACES

[Photographs by kind permission of Independent
Newspapers Ltd.]



CARAVAN CAMPING PLACES

[Photographs by kind permission of Irish Times Ltd.]

in particular provide, *inter alia*, for the prevention of injury to the amenities of any locality by reason of filth, refuse, litter, or noise from the temporary dwellings and for the securing of orderly and decent behaviour by the inhabitants of temporary dwellings and the prevention of nuisances. The sanitary authority may also prohibit the erection or retention of such dwellings where it has formed the opinion that they would be prejudicial to public health or the amenities of the locality or would interfere to an unreasonable extent with traffic on any road. It is made an offence to erect or retain such a dwelling in contravention of a prohibition order. The penalty is a fine and may also include confiscation of the temporary dwellings. The Act also enables sanitary authorities to grant licences to the occupiers of land to permit camping on it subject to conditions as to numbers, lay-out, distance from a public road, sanitation, water supply, etc. The definition of a temporary dwelling includes a tent or a caravan. Many sanitary authorities already exercise these powers. A question as to the scope of the powers of prohibition was raised in a case brought by an itinerant family against the Limerick Corporation. From the decision of the High Court in the matter it would appear that a prohibition to be valid must be made by reference to a particular area or piece of land but cannot be made just by reference to the whole sanitary district. The same effect could probably be achieved by designating a sufficient number of areas or pieces of land within the sanitary district. Consideration may have to be given to the necessity for an amending Act.

5. So far as the itinerants are concerned the usual approach by sanitary authorities relying upon the Act is the purely negative one of prohibiting camping without providing for authorised camping places. The emphasis is on moving the itinerants out of the district rather than on the eradication of the problems associated with their camping in unsatisfactory and unsuitable places, which in effect only transfers them to another district for the time being. In the case of sanitary authorities who have not availed of the provisions of the Act the legality of the methods employed to move itinerants from place to place is open to question.

6. At least one sanitary authority employs an official whose function is to keep itinerants in the area on the move. The only purpose this policy serves is to make life as difficult as possible for the itinerants without really benefiting the local residents. The majority of families so moved do little more than travel to another one of the regular camping places within the same sanitary district to wait until they are moved again when the complaints of the local residents prompt further action. Much of the publicity which is given to the itinerant problem from time to time arises from the presence of itinerant encampments on sites from which the various sanitary or local authorities can claim they cannot move them, e.g., privately-owned land, or commonage whose ownership is obscure, where the itinerant families continue to camp indefinitely to the chagrin of the

local residents. This disability could be largely overcome by availing of the powers given by the Act provided the sanitary authority has first formed the requisite opinion or opinions.

Recommendations as to Sites

*7. The first major step towards a solution of many of the problems arising from the itinerant way of life will be taken when the itinerant family can be settled or permitted to settle in a house or on a camping site where they can stay indefinitely if they so desire.

As indicated elsewhere (see Chapter IX, paragraph 2) the Commission are satisfied that given the opportunity many itinerant families would settle in houses.

*8. They are also satisfied that the provision of approved camping sites should be undertaken where numbers of itinerant families habitually frequent an area and where the immediate provision of dwellings presents difficulties, or where it is clear that a majority of the itinerant families in the areas would not at present accept houses. While the possibility of undesirable repercussions in the long term is foreseen in the establishment on a permanent basis of approved camping sites, it is recognised that the immediate provision of houses for itinerants will present very great difficulties in Dublin City and other urban centres including Limerick, Galway, Sligo, Dundalk and probably in other similar urban areas.

*9. To meet the problem of such urban areas, the Commission recommend the immediate provision of approved camping sites by each such local authority. (Dublin City will require more than one site). As the number of itinerant families in the neighbourhood of Cork City is remarkably small it may prove possible to provide housing accommodation for them without having to provide fully-equipped camping sites in the interim period.

*10. Local authorities in this category should be required as soon as possible to ascertain the number of families regularly in their areas and decide whether they are in a position to consider them for housing within a short period. If not, they should make immediate arrangements to provide suitable camping sites.

*11. The sites envisaged should have hard-topped surfaces properly drained, and be provided with a piped water supply, sanitary arrangements and an electricity supply. The sites should be marked out in parking lots, each lot having adequate space for a caravan. Part of each site should be set aside for the stallage of the itinerants' animals and this section should be adequately fenced. All such animals should be subject to a strict control and not permitted to wander outside the fenced section. Adequate provision should also be made on the site for the stock-in-trade of itinerants and consideration should be given to the provision of separate storage accommodation for each lot.

*12. The site should be adequate in size for the numbers of

itinerants usually in the area and should be under the control and management of a caretaker or supervisor who would be responsible for its cleanliness and tidiness, the allotment of sites, the collection of fees, the keeping of order and other necessary duties.

*13. It is important that the site should be kept clean and tidy and preferably that it should be so kept with the co-operation and assistance of the itinerant families using it, not only to prevent complaints from inhabitants of the neighbourhood but also to inculcate an elementary sense of social responsibility among the itinerant families themselves.

*14. While the fees for camping on the sites should be fixed with some regard to the outgoings on the provision and upkeep of the sites and the extent of the accommodation required, they should, nevertheless, be sufficiently low to encourage itinerants to stay in the camps for long periods.

*15. In the selection of sites regard should be had to the possibility of their use in due course for housing purposes and the layout and development might bear this in mind. The sites should be convenient to the urban area, to churches, schools and shopping centres to overcome any danger of isolation and the creation of a separate community. A small hall or similar building should be provided on the bigger sites for use as an office for social welfare workers and members of voluntary, social, and charitable organisations, and also as a meeting place for the itinerant families. The provision of a school building on the larger camping sites is also recommended (see Chapter X, paragraph 16).

*16. It is recognised that there are difficult problems to be faced by local authorities in connection with the provision of sites and their operation and maintenance. However, it must be faced that if houses cannot be provided in a reasonable time for those willing to take them then there is a special problem in the neighbourhoods of urban areas because of the number of itinerant families who frequent them. If authorised camping places are not provided then these families must continue to park their caravans as and where they can for as long as they are allowed with all the dissatisfaction, annoyance and trouble that this causes them, the local residents and the local authorities.

*17. In as much as the local authorities' powers in the matter are at present inadequate, it is recommended that provision be made to enable local authorities to acquire, compulsorily if necessary, land for the provision of fully-equipped camping sites for itinerants and to operate and maintain them.

*18. The Commission consider that the provision of these sites should be only the first step of stabilisation in a policy aimed at

eventual housing of the families using the sites. The sites might also serve as clearing stations for the housing of itinerants where the over-all demand for houses necessitates a waiting list.

*19. It is recommended that adequate financial provision should be made from central funds to subsidise the provision of fully-equipped sites by local authorities so that they will not be deterred on financial grounds from providing them. In this connection it is recommended that the subsidy should be not less than that payable to housing authorities for the provision of housing for the existing priority classes. A further subsidy for the annual maintenance costs is also recommended.

Prohibition of Camping other than on Approved Sites

*20. It should be made an offence with adequate penalties (including imprisonment) for itinerants to camp within a stipulated radius of an approved camping site provided by a local authority save on private property with the consent of the owner and subject to compliance with any regulations made under the Local Government (Sanitary Services) Acts. In this connection a reasonable radius should be a minimum of one day's journey in a horse-drawn caravan, e.g., fifteen miles radius in the Dublin City area. It will be essential that this prohibition be strictly enforced. The minimum penalties for disregarding it should be considerably more than the camping fees for a week on the approved camping site.

*21. It should be made an offence for an itinerant to park a caravan—

- (a) at any place within a prohibited area, save as permitted by the recommendation of paragraph 20;
- (b) on any trunk road or main road;
- (c) on any other public road, save where the itinerant can show that he is not within say 10 miles of an approved camping site or a halt and that he has endeavoured and failed to obtain a camping place on private property within a reasonable distance at a reasonable charge.

Penalties adequate enough to be a deterrent should be prescribed.

22. The Commission recognise that such a prohibition will create serious problems for those families who remain itinerant either of their own volition or while they are awaiting housing by the local authorities who, even though willing, may not be able to provide for them for some time. Several hundred families will be concerned although they will be scattered in single units or small groups throughout the country as at present.

23. Many of these families will be unable to get permission to use satisfactory camping places and will probably continue to use, with-

out permission, unauthorised camping places from which they will continue to be moved at intervals, unless some alternative provision is made for them. In the opinion of the Commission such circumstances would not only be very undesirable but would be detrimental to any policy of absorption and integration.

*24. Accordingly, the Commission recommend as follows:—

Authorised Halting Places

- (a) In order to alleviate to some extent the hardship for these families, local authorities should provide halting places in or near the outskirts of towns and villages which itinerant families at present habitually visit and in which they stay for short periods.
- (b) In the majority of areas it will suffice to provide space for four caravans but it will be necessary to provide the halts with a satisfactory water supply, sanitary facilities and a tethering place for animals. The halts should be sufficiently well fenced to prevent these animals wandering and at the same time provide a certain amount of shelter from stormy weather.
- (c) The camping places now commonly used by itinerants, where these are conveniently placed and can be provided with the minimum facilities above mentioned, might be made available for this purpose.
- (d) The main purpose of the halts is to provide itinerant families depending upon horse-drawn vehicles with a camping place on which they will be allowed to park without fear of ejection.
- (e) It is recognised that these sites will require some upkeep and adequate provision will have to be made by the local authority for their supervision and cleansing. Accordingly, it is considered that those using the halts should be required to pay a small fee, not only with a view to meeting some of the cost of upkeep of the halts but also to impress upon the itinerants the value of this service and to give them the assurance of their right to use the halts.
- (f) It is fully recognised that local residents will probably object to the provision of these halts and for this reason local authorities may be reluctant to provide them. It must, however, be realised that there is no charitable or humanitarian alternative to providing at least a place where the itinerant can halt his caravan. The Commission is satisfied that when local authorities and local people fully consider the plight of itinerant families and the inhumanity of a policy of just moving them on, they will appreciate the necessity for these halts. It is also hoped that the provision of these simple halts will play an important part in persuading the itinerants to settle permanently.

CHAPTER IX

HOUSING OF ITINERANTS

1. Advantage was taken of the censuses to enquire from the husband and wife in each itinerant family whether they would prefer to settle in one place, if a means of livelihood was available. The results are set out in Appendices XXX and XXXI and indicate that an overwhelming majority were in favour of settling in these circumstances. Out of a total of 1,198 families recorded in the 1960 census, 931 husbands and 935 wives (being approximately 78 per cent in each case) indicated a desire to settle. Only 173 husbands (14 per cent) and 143 wives (12 per cent) answered in the negative.

In the 1961 census, out of a total of 1,036 families, 826 husbands (80 per cent approximately) and 757 wives (73 per cent approximately) answered in the affirmative. Only 196 husbands (19 per cent approximately) and 151 wives (15 per cent) answered in the negative.

2. Aware of the dangers of placing too much reliance on the answers obtained, the members of the Commission were careful to follow up these queries in their interviews with many itinerant families throughout the country and have satisfied themselves that a very substantial number of families, particularly those with young children, would settle down in houses if given the opportunity. They are supported in their conclusion by the evidence furnished of the number of itinerant families who have over the years managed to obtain local authority houses and who have stayed on as tenants. There is also evidence that some others have purchased houses in various parts of the country and have settled down. They have also been informed of a number of cases of itinerant families who have purchased condemned houses for use as dwellings either in ignorance of the condemnation or in the hope that the local authority would rehouse them from such dwellings.

3. The census figures also provided the information that up to 20 per cent of itinerant families had at some stage in their lives lived in houses, flats or rooms, and that 60 to 80 of the families enumerated live in a house or room for part of the year. Two families interviewed on the road by members of the Commission were found to be tenants of local authority houses who had paid up their rent in advance to enable them to retain the lettings and return to the dwellings. Another two families travelling together were found to own houses in a town to which they intended to return in due course. Of the families who retained an interest in a permanent dwelling some left it for holiday purposes, others for the purpose of dealing,

collecting scrap or, as in one case, to follow the trade of making or mending of tin-ware during the summer months.

4. The reasons given for permanently leaving dwellings by those who had done so included lack of accommodation for animals, lack of work, unpleasant neighbours, bad health, the fact that the houses were condemned, inability to pay rent and preference for travelling.

5. It was made clear to the members of the Commission in interviews that itinerants generally are satisfied that the way of life is becoming more and more difficult and have accepted the inevitability of having to leave the road sooner or later. The Commission are also satisfied that quite a substantial group of families are prepared to settle now, particularly those who, if they travel, confine their journeying to a short local circuit, many staying as long as they are allowed in each camping place. This group probably consists of 600-700 families. If regard is had to Appendix XXXIX, in which is indicated on a county basis the expressed preferences of itinerant families as to the place they would like to settle, it will be seen that the numbers are spread throughout the 26 counties and should not present insuperable difficulties in any one county.

Eligibility for Local Authority Houses

6. The Housing (Management and Letting) Regulations, which govern the letting of houses provided by local authorities and the rate of state housing subsidy to housing authorities, do not preclude these authorities from considering applications by itinerants for housing in conjunction with any other applications received. The regulations provide, however, that in making a letting housing authorities shall have regard to the character, industry, occupation, family circumstances, and existing housing conditions of the applicants and subject thereto that preference shall be given to certain categories. First preference is required to be given to families in reserved houses. (Reserved houses are dwellings of limited accommodation specially provided by local authorities for newly-weds). Second preference is required to be given to families living in one-roomed dwellings where one or more than one member of the family is suffering from tuberculosis or where one or more than one member of the family, exclusive of the parents, has attained the age of 12 years or where the dwelling has been condemned as being unfit for human habitation.

7. The majority of itinerant families must be regarded as living in unfit and over-crowded conditions. Their applications should come within the second category of these priority classes but could under the present regulations be passed over on grounds of character, industry or occupation. In addition, some local authorities operate a condition for eligibility requiring residence for a stipulated period in their functional area, which makes it difficult if not impossible

under present conditions for an itinerant applicant to qualify for any of their vacancies.

8. Even with goodwill on the part of the local authority, the present procedure of depending on applications invited by public advertisement or otherwise to fill vacancies as they arise usually means that the itinerant family are unaware of vacancies through their isolation and inability to read and, even if they should become aware of an invitation to apply for a tenancy, their inability to write makes application difficult.

Experience of Local Authorities in Housing Itinerants

9. Local authorities were specifically asked for information on their experience of letting dwellings to itinerants. Of the 92 local authority replies received, 30 indicated that applications from itinerants had never been received. The remaining local authorities had received applications from time to time but the total number of such applications was not ascertainable. However, in not less than 124 cases, dwellings had been let to families who were itinerants. Of these lettings, at least 90 were still in occupation by the itinerant families at the date of the reply to the Commission and satisfactory results were being obtained in many cases. These are minimum figures. Other local authorities indicated in their replies that they had let dwellings to itinerants with satisfactory results in a reasonable proportion of the lettings without giving figures.

10. On the other hand, an officer with experience in the matter in a county borough has stated that itinerants do not, generally speaking, make good tenants, take little care of their dwellings and often damage them. When they obtain a letting they are often not accepted by their neighbours and their children are ostracised, making both the itinerant family and the neighbours unhappy. His opinion was that transition from caravan to dwelling is too sudden and too great a step for most itinerant families.

11. At least one other local authority had decided against letting dwellings to itinerants because of previous bad experiences—including a secondary result of having dwellings vacant in a scheme where some itinerants had been appointed tenants because none of the remaining non-itinerant applicants on the waiting list would accept a tenancy for that reason.

12. Local authority experience indicates that many itinerants who have obtained dwellings have subsequently returned to the road, not solely because they could not settle down but often because local prejudice against them and their children made the new way of life unattractive if not intolerable. Many others have been bad tenants for reasons of bad behaviour, animals being quartered in the house and gardens, cottages badly kept, damaged and stripped of fittings,

attraction of numbers of other itinerants into the locality, if not into the dwellings, non-payment of rent and other reasons. On the whole, however, it is clear that there have been many successful lettings. Failure to retain tenancies, and tenants who may have to be evicted, are to be expected to a greater extent in the case of itinerant tenants because of their background than in the case of tenants from the settled population. In the early days of the national rehousing drive many local authorities had similar experiences with tenants drawn from the settled population, particularly in slum clearance schemes.

13. A deputation from the General Council of County Councils informed the Commission that local authorities would be prepared to house itinerant families provided that no local authority or group of local authorities would be required to deal with a disproportionate number.

14. It is recognised that initially at least many problems and difficulties will arise in the provision of dwellings for itinerants. The Commission considered these problems and difficulties before deciding upon their recommendation and are satisfied that there is no alternative which would not perpetuate the present unsatisfactory position or create new problems.

Recommendations on Housing

*15. The immediate objective should be to provide dwellings as soon as possible for all itinerant families who desire to settle. Eventually the example given by those who successfully settle should encourage the remainder to leave the road.

*16. In so far as the number of dwellings which each local authority might fairly be called upon to provide for itinerant families is concerned, the Commission are not in a position to recommend hard and fast rules but in the absence of any other measure of assessment it is suggested that reference might be had to the figures obtained from the expressed preferences of the families themselves on the date of the first census as set out in Appendix XXXIX.

*17. Local authorities should be asked as a first step to list at regular intervals the itinerant families in their areas and have them contacted whenever vacancies arise in their housing estates so that applications from them can be considered on the merits for the vacancies so arising.

*18. As itinerant families are living in totally unfit and overcrowded conditions, applications from itinerant families for housing should be given priority and, if required, new legislation for this purpose should be considered.

*19. The requirements of itinerant families regularly in their area should be taken into consideration by housing authorities in assessing housing needs and devising housing programmes.

*20. It would be undesirable that dwellings for itinerant families should be isolated from those of the rest of the community. They should for educational, economic and social reasons be convenient to community centres.

*21. Itinerants should be sought out regularly for the purpose of ascertaining their housing desires, as their illiteracy and way of life make it very difficult for them to be aware of housing vacancies or to make application for them. While it is appreciated that difficulties and objections will be met in the early years from many members of the settled population, it is not considered that there is any alternative to a positive drive for housing itinerants if a permanent solution of the problem of itinerancy, based on absorption and integration, is to be achieved.

*22. Housing authorities should recognise that itinerant families to whom they let dwellings will have difficulty in adapting themselves to the new way of life. Regular contact should be maintained with each family housed so as to take whatever steps are necessary to assist in the integration process. It is not improbable that some itinerants will not occupy for the whole year the dwellings which have been allotted to them and the tolerance of the housing authority in the early years in overlooking absences for short spells would assist in their eventual absorption.

*23. Housing authorities dealing with problems which arise in connection with itinerant tenants should not permit themselves to be easily discouraged by the difficulties they will certainly experience in the early years. The problems that local authorities will have to face in this task should not be insuperably greater than those so successfully faced by many local authorities in slum clearance.

*24. Letting agreements between local authorities and itinerant tenants should include a provision giving the local authority a right of entry to abate all nuisances created or permitted by the tenants on the property let and to prevent any other misuse of the premises internally or externally.

*25. So far as may be feasible in built up areas or group housing schemes, tenants who were itinerants should not be housed together in groups of more than two or three families. Itinerant families, while not completely isolated from other itinerant families, should be free from any feeling that they are being placed in a reservation. At the same time the other tenants should not feel that they cannot cope with the number of itinerants settled among them or feel oppressed by their numbers.

In other cases care should be taken not to place itinerants in houses in remote or out of the way places. These houses should be situated close to villages or other groupings of dwellings provided under the Housing (or Labourers) Acts.

*26. The Commission have considered but rejected a suggestion that substandard dwellings should either be built, reconstructed or otherwise provided for itinerants for a probationary period. Collections of such substandard dwellings would quickly degenerate into shanty towns and create new and greater problems. Singly or collectively, the deliberate provision of substandard dwellings for itinerants would stigmatise those persons as inferior beings and could only widen the gap already existing between them and the settled population.

CHAPTER X

EDUCATION OF ITINERANTS

Illiteracy

1. Almost all itinerants are completely illiterate. Appendices III and IV set out the numbers recorded in the censuses who claimed to be able to read and write. It will be noted that only 783 persons out of a total of 4,809 over the age of 6 years in the first census and 695 out of a total of 4,230 over the age of 6 years in the second census answered in the affirmative to the query as to whether they were able to read and write. Even these low figures give an over optimistic picture and the numbers able to read and write are at best negligible.

2. From inquiries made by the Department of Education, there were in November, 1960, only 160 itinerant children on the school rolls throughout the country, of whom 114 were said to be regular attenders. These figures must be contrasted with the census figures which showed that there were 1,642 children between the ages of 6 and 14 years in itinerant families in December, 1960, and 1,472 children in this age-group in June, 1961. It is clear that almost no itinerant children attend school.

3. The almost complete illiteracy of itinerants accentuates their isolation from the settled population and in itself makes all the more difficult any attempt to change over to the settled way of life. For example, they are automatically shut out from all forms of occupation for which even the most elementary literacy is required. Written instructions are meaningless to most of them, even the route numbers and destination notices on buses are not understood. They have little knowledge of simple arithmetic or of any save the commonest forms of measurement.

4. Apart from restricting their employment opportunities, the lack of ability to read and write seriously limits their means of communication not only among themselves but with the settled community. It also restricts their range of interests, pastimes, forms of recreation, and even conversational subjects. Their knowledge of everyday events and happenings is limited to what is communicated by word of mouth. They are unable to read newspapers, advertisements and notices. The disadvantages to themselves of this deficiency were noted in conversation with them. It was clear that they were often ignorant of well advertised everyday happenings, of advertised vacancies in local authority housing and that they did not know how to go about making an application for housing accommodation.

5. The itinerants' lack of elementary education makes it virtually impossible for them to avail of the present system of vocational education.

6. This lack of education extends beyond the school subjects. They also lack the respect for social conventions, law and order and for the rights of property that are inculcated in the children of the normal family in the settled community by word and example in the home, in the school and in the community generally.

Attitude to Education

7. Many itinerant parents expressed a desire to have their children educated but few appear to have made any effort towards that end. Teachers whose classes itinerant children had attended have stated to members of the Commission that in their experience many of those who had obtained some formal education made little use of it subsequently, and, indeed, set little store by it. This attitude is evidence of the extremity of their isolation from the general community and its values.

8. Of the total of 3,167 itinerants over the age of 14 years recorded in the census of December, 1960, 2,252 answered in the negative to the query as to whether they would like to learn a trade or craft of their own selection. Of the 866 who answered in the affirmative, fewer than 500 specified a particular trade or craft and these included 136 who selected carpentry, 84 domestic work, including that of waitress and cook, 88 dressmaking and knitting, 37 building generally, 49 mechanical work and 53 the craft of tinsmith. The 1961 census did not give any more encouraging results. See Appendices XXVI and XXVII.

Ability to avail of Education

9. All the available information indicates that itinerant children are no less intelligent than the average child in the settled community and the opinion of teachers with experience of such pupils is that they are no less apt than the ordinary children. If these children attended school with reasonable regularity and had reasonably normal home conditions, there is no reason why they should not make satisfactory progress through the various school grades. But these conditions cannot obtain for children of families who live a nomadic existence and whose home is an overcrowded caravan or a tent.

School Attendance

10. It appears to have been decided by the Department of Education that it is impossible to deal effectively with the non-attendance of the children of itinerants at school under the existing law laid down in the Children Acts and the School Attendance Acts because,

inter alia, of their quick passage from place to place and the requirement that it is necessary that a parent be convicted on a second and subsequent offence before a child can be committed to an industrial school for non-attendance at school. The School Attendance Bill of 1942, which included provisions considered necessary by the Department of Education to enable the problem to be dealt with, was declared repugnant to the Constitution by the Supreme Court and no amendment to the law has since been made.

11. Section 118 of the Children Act, 1908, provides for the imposition of penalties on persons who habitually wander from place to place and thereby prevent children from receiving education. The Commission were unable to obtain information regarding the number of children of itinerant parents who had been committed to industrial schools for non-attendance at school.

12. It is clear from the comparison already given of the number of itinerant children of school-going age as recorded in the censuses, with the returns by the Department of Education of the number of itinerant children attending schools, that these provisions, as enforced, are not effective in promoting the education of itinerant children. The matter was taken up with the Commissioner of the Garda Síochána through the Department of Justice and the following is an extract from his reply:—

“The majority of itinerants with school-going children do not remain in any particular area for a protracted period. When questioned by the gardaí parents usually put forward a plea that attempts to secure houses have been invariably unsuccessful. To a great extent this is true as local authorities for various reasons are not desirous of tenants of this type.

“Many of the itinerants have caravans and engage in some form of business. It is now the exception to find such parents without visible reasonable means of subsistence and District Justices are reluctant to commit their children to industrial schools solely on the grounds that the parents do not exercise proper guardianship by reason of failing to send their children to school.

“Local authorities have stoutly opposed applications for the committal of these children, under Section 58 (b) of the Children’s Act, 1908, on the grounds that the parents should not be relieved of their responsibilities by allowing the maintenance of children to become a burden on the ratepayers.

“The provisions of Section 118 of the same Act are also difficult to enforce owing to the nomadic way of life of these people and the necessity to prove that the children are not receiving suitable elementary education.

“Under the School Attendance Act, prosecutions and commitments present greater difficulties. Proceedings are initiated by service of a warning notice and usually before the 7 days have elapsed the

itinerants have decamped. Under present conditions it is impossible to obtain two convictions for the purpose of committal. Proceedings are usually ignored by the defendants and Courts cannot make committal orders in the absence of the children concerned."

Recommendations for the Education of the Children

*13. It is urgently necessary, both as a means of providing opportunities for a better way of life and of promoting their absorption into the settled community, to make such arrangements which, in the light of the following paragraphs (14-21), may be practicable to ensure that as many itinerant children as possible may from now on receive an adequate elementary education.

Children of Itinerants who settle in Houses

*14. There should be no great problem in the education of children of the age of seven years or under who commence school in the ordinary way; they should be able to take and retain their place in the classes for their age-groups. Older children who, because of their lack of previous tuition, would be noticeably out of place either in the infant classes or in the classes for their age-groups, will need particular, almost individual, attention. A system geared to the special requirements of such children should be devised.

*15. Where the number of itinerant children justifies the employment of a qualified teacher solely for the purpose of teaching them, such teacher should be specially remunerated. Where the numbers are small a system of tuition after school hours might be provided by the teachers who are prepared to undertake the work for special remuneration until such time as the child or children were advanced enough to take their places in the classes appropriate to their age-groups. Where circumstances render unavoidable the admission of such children without the necessary prior tuition to the ordinary classes in a school the teachers in charge of such classes should receive special remuneration for the extra burden which will be thrown on them by the inclusion of these children who will require almost individual attention.

A similar system should be considered for the vocational schools in respect of children in their early teens who could thus benefit from vocational education opportunities.

The progress of the teaching or tuition of these children should be treated as a matter for special concern by the Department of Education.

Children of Itinerants who use Approved Sites and Halts

*16. If the approved sites are small then the children could use the local school and arrangements as in paragraphs 14 and 15 should

be made. The larger sites will require to have special schools located within the sites.

*17. Because of the necessity to promote hygiene as a practice as well as a subject it is recommended that, if not otherwise provided on the approved sites, the specially provided school buildings should include wash-hand basins and shower-baths with adequate arrangements for hot water supplies and be available outside school hours to the adult camp users.

Netherlands System

18. The Netherlands authorities, in the light of their experience going back to 1922 when their first caravan camp school was provided, have drawn up a programme of education based on a task and test progress basis for each pupil individually and on uniform text books for all camp schools which is an endeavour to preserve continuity of education for children whose parents move from camp to camp. Each child has a book in which his progress is recorded so that when he reaches another camp school it can be readily ascertained how far the child has progressed in each task.

In addition to the basic subjects of reading, writing, arithmetic, history and geography, the curriculum was extended in recent years to include house-keeping, cooking, washing, ironing, handicraft, child hygiene and nature study.

Under the Netherlands system, as soon as the number of pupils reaches 21, a school for caravan children must not only have a principal but also an assistant; as soon as the number is 41 a principal and two assistants; and for every 25 pupils above 41 one more assistant is considered necessary. Specially selected teachers are provided in these schools and are paid on a somewhat higher scale than teachers in the ordinary schools.

Provision is made for classes for caravan camp children in the ordinary schools and when the number of such children needing education is at least 12, a separate class can be set up in the school.

*19. The Commission recommend the adaptation of the Netherlands system to all camp schools and classes established in this country. The same system would be suitable for all children of itinerants who have not settled in houses.

Curriculum for the Itinerant Children referred to in Paragraph 16

*20. The Commission recommend that a curriculum to meet the special needs of these children be devised. In addition to reading, writing and arithmetic it should provide regular manual training, e.g., woodwork and elementary metalwork for boys, and knitting, needlework, simple cookery and domestic training for girls. Hygiene should be an important feature of the course for both boys and girls. The course in several of the ordinary subjects might be curtailed if neces-

sary. For the present the time given to Irish might be restricted to half an hour daily, and confined to oral work. Only a very elementary course should be attempted in arithmetic. A fairly wide course in English reading should be taught, so that the pupils who complete the course will be able to read newspapers and magazines and be encouraged to do so. Pupils in the higher classes should be taught how to write letters.

Compulsory School Attendance

*21. For the children of itinerants who camp for at least one week at a time in an approved site or a halt, the recommendations in paragraphs 16, 19 and 20 should apply and the children should be compelled to attend the classes.

Children of Itinerants who Continuously Wander

*22. The Commission fear that little if anything can be done in the immediate future for the education of those itinerants who continuously wander. A solution on the lines contemplated by Section 21 of the School Attendance Bill, 1942, might be attempted but in the view of the Commission such measures would be far too drastic.

In present circumstances, it is economically impossible for most itinerant families to remain in one district for the period of the school year. The application of such provisions could only result in most itinerant children being taken from their families and placed in institutions. Itinerants are very attached to their children and the evil social consequences and the suffering which must follow such a policy would far outweigh the "advantages" of an education imposed in such conditions with its lasting legacy of bitterness. Indeed such a "solution" of the itinerant problem generally has been suggested to the Commission—not with a view to education as such but based on the belief that a separation of parents and children would result in the children growing up outside the itinerant life and that thus in one generation the itinerants as a class would disappear.

For those who continuously wander compulsory school attendance should only be enforced when their economic condition has been ameliorated to the extent that there remains no sufficient excuse for their not remaining in one area in which suitable education is available for them.

In the view of the Commission an educational policy for itinerants can only be successful if it is one which aims at catering for those who have been induced to leave the wandering life and for those who are likely to do so.

School Attendance Legislation

*23. Subject to the recommendation in paragraph 22, the Commission are satisfied that the existing legislation, including Section

118 of the Children Act, 1908, if enforced, is adequate. It is recommended that the statutory provisions should be enforced.

Role of Local Voluntary Organisations

*24. The importance of the local voluntary organisations (see Chapter XVI, paragraph 6) interesting themselves in the educational requirements of the itinerant families in their areas cannot be over-emphasised. Apart from convincing parents of the necessity and value of educating their children and of making clear to them the obstacles that a lack of education places in their way, there will be the task of making arrangements in the local school or otherwise for special classes or for after hours tuition. There will also be the need to keep in touch with the situation, to make sure that there is regular attendance, and to see that neither the pupil nor the parents lose heart. These are needs which can only be adequately met by an efficient local voluntary organisation whose members recognise the depth of the problem and the necessity for charity and understanding in its treatment.

Adult Education

*25. Little can be done about the problem of illiteracy among adult itinerants. Arrangements might, however, be made in areas where itinerants settle in houses or on approved camping sites to make available to those who wish to acquire it an elementary knowledge of skills such as carpentry, welding, plumbing, elementary repair and servicing of machinery and engines and other similar knowledge which might be of assistance to them in earning their living. At the same time tuition in housekeeping, cooking, washing, child hygiene and other domestic knowledge might be made available for the women folk, if necessary, in their dwellings.

The local voluntary organisations could do much to encourage itinerants to look for and to attend vocational classes in these subjects and could be of great assistance in having them organised and established.

State Aid for the Provision of Educational Facilities

*26. It is recognised that the educational authorities, both national and local, will have to incur additional expenditure if the facilities recommended for itinerant children are to be provided. It is recommended that expenditure incurred in this way for approved facilities should be recouped by State subsidy where it is not directly met by the State.

CHAPTER XI

ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF THE ITINERANT PROBLEM

Possessions

1. It has been ascertained from the census taken in December, 1960 that itinerants had at that time between them a total of 1,775 horses, 481 asses, 721 horse-drawn caravans, 95 motor vans, trucks, lorries and motor cars, 48 motor-drawn trailers and 701 horse carts and traps. The numbers recorded in the June census were 1,500 horses, 463 asses, 623 horse-drawn caravans, 85 motor vans, trucks, lorries and motor cars, 30 motor-drawn trailers and 635 horse carts and traps. (See Appendices XXXVI and XXXVII). See also Chapter VII, paragraph 1.

Means of Transport

2. The vast majority of itinerants still depend for transport on the horse and ass. Many of them are still dealers in horses and asses. This is in contrast to the position in the Netherlands where all itinerants are now motorised.

There is so far little trend towards motorised transport amongst Irish itinerants although the greater mobility of those families who have cars or vans (less than 10 per cent) gives many persons a contrary impression. The lack of advantage to the itinerant is probably the cause. A car or a van requires petrol and oil and servicing from time to time and must also be taxed and insured. On the other hand a horse costs an itinerant owner little or nothing to keep.

It is very clear that the trouble and injury that itinerants cause to the rural community by trespass and damage to crops, etc. would diminish substantially if they changed over to motor transport.

Occupations

3. In order to ascertain whether itinerants had any regular occupations, other than those of dealing and collecting scrap, the census enumerators were asked to record for each itinerant over the age of fourteen years whether he or she claimed to have a trade or craft. (See Appendices XXIV and XXV). Of the 3,167 itinerants over the age of fourteen years recorded in the 1960 census (2,758 in the 1961 census) only 769 (675) claimed to have a trade or craft. 600 (533) claimed to be tinsmiths and 103 (71) claimed to be chimney sweeps. 36 (15) claimed to be flower makers. 30 (12) tinsmiths also claimed to be sweeps. The remainder were insignificant in numbers—25 (40)—and claimed many different

occupations including those of saw makers (sic), carpenters, mechanics, shoemakers, umbrella repairers among others.

4. The Commission are satisfied from their investigations and from their interviews with itinerant families that the trade of tinsmith, which so many of them claim as a skill, cannot, except in a very few areas, of itself provide a sufficient income for an itinerant family. The containers which they traditionally make and repair, some of which members of the Commission examined and found to be of good quality and workmanship, have been superseded almost everywhere by the much cheaper plastic and other mass produced containers which fulfil the functions required of them equally well and which are discarded rather than repaired when they become defective.

5. Some itinerants are seasonal workers on agricultural work and on turf production. A report furnished to the Commission by the Irish Sugar Beet Growers' Association stated that a number of their members employ itinerant families in different areas on the thinning and the harvesting of the sugar beet crop and that some of these families have proved very satisfactory, particularly when operating under supervision. Some families return year after year to the same areas for the work.

Comhlucht Siúicre Eireann Teo. reported that they employ up to 25 itinerants, mainly on turf saving operations on the Gowla farm at Ballinasloe, and that they found some of the families very satisfactory employees.

Bord na Móna informed the Commission that they had employed itinerants up to the year 1956 on seasonal work, footing turf in the sod peat bogs in the counties of Kildare, Offaly, Meath, Longford, Galway and Kerry. The amount of this type of seasonal work had declined and with it the number of itinerants employed by the Bord.

Messrs. Pope Brothers Limited, Longfordpass, Co. Tipperary, informed the Commission that they employ 20-25 itinerant men during the footing season on their bog and that they find them good at this type of work.

In interviews with itinerant families and local farmers in various areas the Commission confirmed that many itinerant families had acquired recognised skills in dealing with seasonal operations on certain crops such as beet and potatoes. Some farmers were glad to avail of their services, usually on a contract basis for an agreed sum per acre, or for the job. In this way the itinerant was enabled to employ his whole family on the work and work his own hours. The itinerants apparently prefer this type of arrangement to working regular hours for wages.

6. Apart from the foregoing, and from the comparatively few itinerants who make a living as sweeps and odd job men, the majority, in so far as they have any business or calling, are dealers

and collectors of scrap. They have not at present much ambition to be otherwise to judge by the replies to the query made in both censuses as to whether they would like to learn a trade or a craft. (See Chapter X, paragraph 8 and Appendices XXVI and XXVII). It is hoped that the effect of education on the itinerant would generate a desire to acquire a trade or craft.

Almost all itinerants avail of any opportunity that presents itself to obtain scrap or waste material of any description that has a saleable value. Metal of all descriptions, clothes, rags, feathers, horse hair, bottles, jars and a number of other articles come within the category and provide many itinerants with a livelihood of sorts depending upon the quantity collected. Some itinerants collect only occasionally, others are full time collectors. When they have collected a sufficient quantity of scrap, they sort it and sell it to dealers. Some sell to other itinerants for cash, the latter dealing in the larger quantities. One itinerant when interviewed in County Sligo was engaged in loading a truck, which he had hired for the purpose, to transport a full load of scrap to a dealer and he claimed that the value of the load was in the region of £300.

7. A small number of girls have received training and most of these have been found satisfactory as waitresses, hospital wardsmaids and kitchen workers and domestic servants. Those itinerants who have emigrated seem to have had no difficulty in obtaining employment. One female itinerant, while on a holiday from London, was interviewed in her parents' horse-drawn caravan and stated she was employed as a telephonist.

Recommendations on Employment for Itinerants

*8. It will be of the utmost importance if absorption into the general community is to succeed that as many itinerants as possible should be encouraged, and where necessary assisted, to adapt themselves to the employment patterns of the ordinary population.

*9. The skill of tinsmith, which so many of them claim to have, is now of little economic value though it is possible that it could be adapted to metal working generally or to machinery repair and maintenance.

*10. Organisations in contact with itinerant families, particularly local voluntary organisations, should endeavour to ascertain the potentialities for employment of the itinerants and their families, make arrangements to be informed of suitable employment opportunities arising in their locality and when they occur to assist itinerants in every way possible to obtain the employment. The interested organisations should also take steps to contact the public authorities with a view to having itinerants employed on schemes for the relief of unemployment pending the obtaining of other more suitable employment.

*11. As the majority of itinerants are dealers and collectors of scrap of all descriptions to a greater or lesser degree and as the collection of scrap is of economic value to the community generally, as well as to the itinerants, the skill and experience which they have acquired in this business offers a most promising field for improving their economic condition so far as self-employment is concerned.

With a view to improving conditions for at least a certain number of itinerant families while at the same time giving them an incentive to remain if not to settle in one area consideration should be given to providing by legislation that the collection and purchase of scrap and waste material should be permitted only under licence and that each licence would only permit collection in a clearly defined area. In fixing the size of such areas regard should be had to the potential of the area for providing a regular supply for the licence holders. Preference in the issue of licences should be given to itinerants and provision should be made for the withdrawal or suspension of licences for abuses or for the breach of such conditions as might attach to the licence. Provision should be made for a right of appeal in the event of a withdrawal or suspension of a licence.

The control obtained by the establishment of such a licensing system could also assist the authorities in dealing with the numerous petty crimes associated with or arising from the collection of scrap material.

*12. It would also be necessary to provide for the issue of licences or exemptions to dealers who buy in wholesale quantities, save those who purchase in their own fixed premises only. These dealers would act as outlets for the itinerant and other collectors.

*13. Reference has already been made (see Chapter VIII, paragraph 11) to the provision on the fully-equipped camp sites of facilities to enable itinerant dealers to store their collections pending resale. The provision of baling machines and aids to sorting would assist itinerants in improving their efficiency in the scrap business and should be borne in mind by any organisation desirous of assisting them.

*14. It has been stated that in some areas there is scope for an increase in the number of itinerants as workers on seasonal work in agriculture. Methods should be devised, with the co-operation of the farming and other organisations, to obtain and convey information to itinerants to enable them to apply for such work.

*15. With regard to female itinerants, information regarding opportunities for their training in any suitable employment, for example, as waitresses, wardsmas, kitchen maids, domestic servants or as workers in industry, should be assembled at regular intervals and circulated to organisations in touch with itinerants. These particular categories of employment for female itinerants are mentioned because the Commission discovered instances where some were successfully employed in these occupations. It is considered that local voluntary

organisations could do much good work in this field, if supplied with the appropriate information.

*16. For those who settle down or who by long residence in one locality can be regarded as part of the ordinary population of the locality the ordinary employment available for unskilled persons in that locality should be likewise available and those organisations or persons charged with the task of encouraging absorption into the general community should also concern themselves with the task of integration "on the job" as well as in the residential sphere.

Itinerants' Eligibility for and Use of State and Local Authority Benefits and Assistance

17. The itinerant way of life does not render itinerants ineligible for any of the social welfare benefits available to the ordinary population and they avail to the full of children's allowances and widows' and orphans' and old age pensions. Difficulties arise for them in connection with the collection of these benefits but these are met by using fixed addresses, usually post offices convenient to their travel circuit, for collection purposes.

18. As they are seldom in insurable employment they are not insured for the purposes of the benefits so available. Only 188 of the 3,167 itinerants over the age of 14 on the date of the first census in December, 1960, claimed to have social insurance cards. At that time there were 112 in receipt of old age pensions. (See Appendices XII and XIII).

19. Although eligible for unemployment assistance the procedure which requires attendance at regular intervals at a particular centre probably creates a very difficult problem for the itinerant who is, either voluntarily or involuntarily, moving from place to place.

20. Home assistance which is provided at the discretion of the local authority to necessitous cases, whether or not they are drawing unemployment assistance, is also available to itinerants.

Recommendations for State and Local Authority Financial Assistance to Itinerants

*21. The Commission consider it essential that any special difficulties and obstacles in the way of itinerant families obtaining any of the state or local authority allowances for which they are eligible should be eliminated as far as possible as a means of inducing them to settle by providing them with means of livelihood pending their adaptation to the employment patterns of settled life and in particular by replacing as far as possible the substantial part of their income

which will be cut off from so many families by a successful effort to curtail or eliminate begging.

*22. The local voluntary organisations, as recommended elsewhere in the report (see Chapter XVI, paragraph 6), should make themselves familiar with the various types of assistance for which itinerant families may qualify, ensure that the necessary formalities are observed and that the assistance is obtained.

*23. The Commission consider that the unemployment assistance code would be particularly suited to meeting itinerants' needs in this respect and the appropriate authorities should be asked to give sympathetic consideration to itinerants. The procedure which requires unemployment assistance applicants to register at regular intervals is one that it is felt could be used to encourage qualified itinerants to settle in one locality provided, of course, that they were so allowed. The Commission can see no objection in these circumstances to a provision which would require a person of no fixed abode to register at more frequent intervals than the regulation requires for the settled population.

*24. In so far as itinerants may be found to be ineligible for unemployment assistance or in so far as the unemployment assistance for which they qualified may have to be supplemented, it is recommended that the local authorities be asked to treat such cases in as sympathetic manner as they would treat cases in the settled population.

*25. It is recommended that the State should indemnify local authorities for a substantial part of the cost of providing home assistance for itinerant families who settle in their areas, at least for a reasonable period after assistance is given for the first time, so as to give the itinerants concerned an opportunity to obtain employment and a fixed abode.

*26. While the Commission recognise that there may be procedural difficulties in the payment of some allowances in kind they recommend that where possible a substantial amount of the state and local authority assistance including children's allowances given to those itinerants who have not settled down in a fixed abode or who are not regularly spending lengthy periods on an approved camping site provided for them, particularly those with families of young children, should be paid in voucher form exchangeable for food and clothing so as to overcome abuse by dissipation on intoxicating liquor. There is considerable evidence that the children's allowances, particularly when they have been allowed to accumulate for several weeks, are spent in one long session of drinking. Where, as in the case of itinerants, families are large, these sums can represent quite a windfall to be dissipated on drink.

*27. In so far as the payment of unemployment assistance and home assistance is concerned, it is the Commission's opinion that a single payment through the home assistance authority partly in voucher form would be preferable. Those who settle down should, after a probationary period, the length of which might be determined by the assistance officer in the light of his knowledge of the particular family, be paid and treated in every way the same as the members of the settled population.

CHAPTER XII

CLASSIFICATION AND ANALYSIS OF THE ECONOMIC CIRCUMSTANCES OF ITINERANT FAMILIES

1. From the information obtained from the censuses, from discussions with itinerants and with people in contact with itinerants and from the various memoranda and reports received, the Commission decided that for the purposes of an assessment on a general basis of the economic and related circumstances of itinerant families it was reasonable to classify them into the following groups—

- (1) Motor trailer group.
- (2) Group consisting of horse and other dealers who travel extensively.
- (3) Two groups whose travelling is confined to a small area—
 - (a) who have horse-drawn caravans
 - or
 - (b) whose only abode is a tent.

It is not suggested that all itinerant families can be rigidly classified into one or other of these groups and many exceptions will be found but by and large it is considered that a grouping on this basis enables a useful and practical assessment of the overall economic circumstances of the itinerant population to be made.

2. The Commission's assessment of the circumstances of each group is set out in the analysis which follows:—

ECONOMIC CLASSIFICATION OF ITINERANT FAMILIES

Analysis head	Motor trailer group	Horse and other dealers who travel extensively and whose abode is a horse-drawn caravan	Group whose travelling is confined to a small area	
			Who have horse-drawn caravans	Who have only tents for shelter
	(1)	(2)	(3a)	(3b)
<i>Estimated Number in Category ...</i>	40/60 Families.	300/400 Families.	350/450 Families.	300/400 Families (including about 20% who are young married couples).
<i>Extent of Travelling ...</i>	Most families in this group travel the country extensively spending only a few days in each place sufficient to cover the area for the purposes of their business.	Families in this group also travel extensively for the purposes of their way of life.	Families in this group usually travel a regular route over a small area. Many stay as long as they are allowed in each place.	Remarks in column (3a) regarding the travelling habits are also appropriate to this group.
<i>Occupations ...</i>	Traders and dealers in new mattresses, linoleum, household goods. Purchasers and collectors of old mattresses, feathers, horse-hair, ticks, scrap, rags, etc., on a large scale. Some also deal in horses on a large scale.	Dealers in horses and other animals, scrap of all descriptions, feathers, horse-hair, etc. Some do seasonal work for farmers, usually on a contract basis on beet, potatoes, etc.	Dealers in a small way as the occasion arises in scrap, horse-hair, etc. Many claim to be tinsmiths, sweeps, makers of artificial flowers. They work for farmers in season more so than groups in column (2). Some migrate for seasonal work.	Largely unemployed and unemployable. May deal in a small way, collect scrap.
<i>Living Conditions ...</i>	Good. Motor caravans are usually of good quality, well furnished with adequate cooking and heating facilities.	Harsh. Caravans usually overcrowded; open air cooking and washing. When the families are large, which is	Similar to group in column (2).	The families in this group live all the year round in tents on the ground with all the additional hardships which this

ECONOMIC CLASSIFICATION OF ITINERANT FAMILIES

Analysis head	Motor trailer group	Horse and other dealers who travel extensively and whose abode is a horse-drawn caravan	Group whose travelling is confined to a small area	
			Who have horse-drawn caravans	Who have only tents for shelter
	(1)	(2)	(3a)	(3b)
	The camping places are usually untidy, particularly with the discards from their collections.	usual, some must sleep out in tents. With some exceptions their caravans are badly equipped and kept. Their camping sites are dirty and untidy.		adds to the ordinary itinerant life.
Level of Income ...	Good. The highest of all itinerant incomes as can be seen from the value of their possessions (modern cars, vans, caravans), their stock-in-trade (numbers of interior sprung mattresses, rolls of lino, etc.). They are never short of the necessities of life and have many of the comforts. Even though comparatively well off a number of this group do not refrain from begging food and milk.	The families in this group have an income from all sources more than adequate for their needs. A figure of £10-£16 per week in money values including social benefits has been estimated from the limited information available. The members of this group beg extensively. It is a matter of conjecture whether they would have a subsistence level of income were it not for begging. The whole family down to the smallest ambulant child is trained to beg. Only women and children do the begging because they are the more successful. Much of their food is obtained in this way.	The families in this group have, estimated on the same basis as for the previous group, an income of £6-£10 per week most of which would come from begging. Were it not for the income from begging it is considered that the majority of families in this group would starve. Again the whole family are trained to beg.	The income of the families in this group is estimated to be extremely low, below subsistence level and derived almost entirely from begging. The families in this group have little means of livelihood apart from begging.

<i>Appearance ...</i>	This group have regard for their appearance and are on the whole clean and comfortably dressed—the younger members are well dressed. The caravans are modern and well kept.	This group have little regard for their appearance which is not surprising, having regard to the difficulties of maintaining a reasonable appearance under their living conditions. With few exceptions they are usually unkempt and their general dress and appearance immediately identifies them as itinerants.	The remarks in column (2) regarding appearance also apply to this group.	The remarks in column (2) regarding appearance apply to an even greater degree.
<i>Owners of Property ...</i>	In addition to their motor cars, vans, caravans, equipment and stock-in-trade worth hundreds of pounds many of this class also own houses where the women and children stay during the winter months.	This group are owners of property to the extent that they own caravans which change hands at from £130—£180 new and £60—£100 secondhand. Their horses are worth in the region of £50 each and asses £15 each. Many of these families own several horses and asses. Most of these animals are fed on the grass of the roadside and frequently on the lands of the adjoining landowner.	Apart from the horse and caravan the families in this group have little property of value.	The only property the families in this class are likely to own is the tarpaulin tent, a flat cart and a pony or ass.
<i>Children ...</i>	Are well looked after apart from the neglect of the education of those who travel with their parents.	While they have great affection for their children and tend to spoil them, have very little regard for their appearance, cleanliness, health, and none for their education or future, except in very few cases.	Remarks in column (2) also apply to this group.	Remarks in previous columns apply to a greater degree and there are few if any exceptions.

ECONOMIC CLASSIFICATION OF ITINERANT FAMILIES

Analysis head	Motor trailer group	Horse and other dealers who travel extensively and whose abode is a horse-drawn caravan	Group whose travelling is confined to a small area	
			Who have horse-drawn caravans	Who have only tents for shelter
	(1)	(2)	(3a)	(3b)
<i>Skills</i>	They are skilled in dealing and trading and well able to provide for themselves and their families. They have not any other crafts or skills.	Apart from the skills of dealing and begging and as breeders of horses, the only skill which any member of this class possesses is that of tinsmith. In some few areas it is still possible to make a reasonable living as a tinsmith but the majority do nothing at this trade.	The members of this group have little in the way of skills. They claim to be tinsmiths, sweeps, makers of artificial flowers. See remarks in previous column with regard to the occupation of tinsmiths.	The families in this group have no skills worth considering. Some claim to be tinsmiths and dealers but its degree would be limited. A high percentage are probably unemployable, without ambition in their present physical and mental condition and many will require rehabilitation treatment before they can be absorbed into the general community.
<i>Relations with other Itinerants</i> ...	This group regard themselves as superior to other classes of itinerants and do not associate with them.	Usually regard all other itinerants fraternally as part of the community of travellers.	Remarks in column (2) are appropriate to the families in this group also.	Remarks in column (2) are also appropriate to the families in this group.
<i>Contribution to Economic Life of Community</i>	Generally speaking they perform a useful if not wholly necessary function. In so far as a financial	This group makes little useful contribution. The demand for horses and asses is, according to themselves, fall-	In so far as they carry out seasonal work for farmers in the beet and potato seasons, turf cutting, etc., and as col-	Families in this group make no contribution to the economic life of the community.

<i>Ability to pay Rent for Sites </i>	contribution is concerned they, no doubt, pay road tax on their vehicles and those of them who possess houses must pay rates. This group would be well able to pay the economic rent of camping sites. Those who have not houses would be well able to pay the rent of a local authority house.	ing and the demand for tinware is disappearing. Their contribution as collectors of scrap is limited and hardly compensates for the economic loss to the community which the travelling way of life makes inevitable through its low standards of living, lack of ambition, illiteracy and the injury by trespass, etc., caused to the settled population. This group would in present circumstances be able to pay rent for a camping site.	lectors of scrap, and as chimney sweeps, they perform useful functions. The families in this group are not the same nuisance to the farmers because they are too well known in their particular areas. Otherwise the remarks in the previous column apply. It is felt, however, that a high percentage of this group would take suitable employment if it was available and would be anxious to improve themselves, live in houses, educate their children and so on. This group's very low income, exclusive of that obtained by begging, would make it difficult for them to pay rent for a house. They could pay low fees for camping sites.	The members of this group could not pay the rent of a house and with difficulty could pay camping site fees.
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CHAPTER XIII

SOCIAL AND ETHICAL BEHAVIOUR OF ITINERANTS

Attitude of Itinerants to the Settled Population

1. In general, itinerants are not antagonistic to the settled population although they tend to be aloof and keep to themselves, possibly from experience and a knowledge of the low regard in which they are held. They do not, however, consider themselves inferior to the settled population and have no discernible inferiority complex. They have little sense of social responsibility and have few inhibitions about asking anything they need from the settled population. Personal contacts between the itinerant and the settled population are almost entirely confined to those arising of necessity, buying, selling and begging. Social contacts are few.

The manner of the individual itinerant varies with the occasion. For begging and door to door trading an obsequious approach is adopted accompanied by what may be termed an "occupational whine" or, if the occasion should call for it, a good humoured wheedling demeanour. In most cases this attitude completely belies the real personality of the itinerant. Their initial reaction to strangers is inclined to be somewhat defensive and even suspicious but when this is overcome quite a different picture is revealed. Then their manner becomes quite easy and frank. They are cheerful and good humoured, polite without being deferential, informative and intelligent in discussing the problems of their own way of life and the attitude of others towards them. Until the initial barrier is overcome they are slow to provide information about themselves or other itinerants.

Persons such as priests, doctors and others who come into contact with them for reasons not connected with the itinerants' occupational activities have all testified to this aspect of the itinerants' character and the members of the Commission have from their own interviews with them found the same and indeed have found many of them to have engaging personalities.

2. Allegations of intimidatory begging by itinerants in isolated areas have been made by some organisations and authorities and by rural dwellers interviewed by members of the Commission and also in some press reports. While many of the allegations may be well founded it is felt that most of them arise, not so much from direct intimidation by the itinerant as from a fear, whether well founded or not, of the consequences of a refusal, particularly in the cases of persons living alone in isolated houses who become suddenly conscious of their position.

3. Many itinerants feel strongly their isolation in their way of life

and have expressed a desire to settle and live like the settled population. The majority, however, will require advice and reassurance in the process of absorption into the general community.

Attitude to Law

4. Itinerants are not slow to avail themselves of the forces of law and order where and when it suits them. They often use them to enforce civil rights and some members of the farming community have had to pay compensation to itinerants for damage done to their property or themselves in retaliation for trespass or damage to the farmers' property or arising from the latter's efforts to move them on. They invoke the protection of the Garda where they or their property are attacked by others or where their animals may be illegally impounded by some irate farmer, but also depend on their own resources in this respect. Unfortunately they are aware of the difficulties which the authorities experience in dealing with their breaches of the law and of the frequent reluctance to pursue a complaint because of the trouble involved. This has the effect of diminishing their respect for the law.

Electoral Registration

5. Broadly speaking a person is registered as an elector in the area in which he is in occupation of property or ordinarily resident on the qualifying date. To ensure registration it is necessary to complete a form circulated for the purpose, usually some days before the appointed date.

While theoretically itinerants may be enfranchised by registering on the appointed date in the appropriate place there are obvious practical difficulties arising from their mobility and lack of knowledge.

In the main itinerants do not appear to have any interest in the matter nor do they appear to be concerned about their loss of franchise.

Registration of Births, Deaths and Marriages

6. While marriages are registered at the time of the ceremony there is very little evidence that itinerants pay much heed to the requirements for the registration of births and deaths. If the payment of children's allowances were dependent on the production of a birth certificate there is little doubt that there would be few births unregistered by them but it is understood that in the absence of a birth certificate a baptismal certificate is accepted.

Attitude to Property of Settled Population

7. One of the most serious problems and the cause of the greatest

dissatisfaction and exasperation to those in rural areas is the attitude of itinerants to the property of the general community but particularly to that of the agricultural section of the community.

It is a matter of regular, widespread, and continuous complaint that fences are broken down and used as fuel; potato pits and turf clamps are opened, rifled and spoiled; tools, equipment and other transportable property are stolen; horses, asses and other animals are allowed, in fact often driven, to graze on the lands in the vicinity of the encampment. Apart from the abundant evidence existing to support these statements, itinerants have themselves admitted to members of the Commission the breaking down of fences to put animals in to graze on farmers' lands.

It is of little consequence to the itinerant whether the land is in pasture, meadow or crop. Many of these families are dealers on a large scale in horses and other animals and have considerable numbers of animals with them. Even a short visitation can do enormous damage.

Cases were instanced such as those of an itinerant who had 30 horses with him while travelling and another who had 60 asses. Neither had made any arrangements for the grazing of the animals. The animals are usually allowed to graze on the roadside in daylight, but after dark may be put on whatever land is nearby. There is evidence of a complaint by a farmer to local gardaí that there were 65 animals on his land at the time of the complaint.

There have also been many well-founded complaints of damage to private gardens in urban areas by the wandering animals of itinerants.

The attitude to property is also evidenced by the matters referred to in paragraphs 2-3 of Chapter XIV.

Behaviour, Pastimes, Ambitions

8. Itinerants have a name, reasonably well-deserved, for intemperance and brawling although usually among themselves. Both men and women engage in the brawls. The excessive drinking and brawling are likely to happen whenever they obtain sufficient money and the more serious cases occur when they congregate in numbers for special occasions such as the traditional fairs, particular race meetings or for more personal reasons such as family marriages or funerals. On any of these occasions there is the likelihood that the family feuds of which there are many will be revived.

9. Many gardaí have expressed concern at their inability through lack of numbers to deal with the difficult situations which itinerants create in this way from time to time. On such occasions the settled population often fear to intervene even to defend their own property. The reputation of itinerants in this respect will be one of the major difficulties in making progress with any scheme of absorption.

10. The Commission considered that some of their intemperance

may be due to the lack of regular or proper meals, but that the disposition to lack of self-control and the tendency to fight and brawl stems largely from their lack of education and discipline during their formative years.

The itinerant way of life is barren of those forms of relaxation such as football, hurling and other such outdoor sports available to the settled population. No indoor pastime or relaxation save the cinema is available to them. There the inability to read is no disadvantage. Boisterous gatherings with excessive consumption of alcoholic drink constitute one of the few pastimes available to them and it is not surprising that so many of these gatherings end in conflict. In the last century, and prior to that, many of the poorer sections of the settled population found themselves in a similar situation. Indeed other parallels may be found in the bad living conditions, early marriages, large families and shorter expectation of life which were features of rural Ireland particularly in pre-Famine days.

11. One of the greatest problems is the fact that most itinerants are neither sufficiently conscious of nor sufficiently dissatisfied with their present way of life and its standards to do anything about it.

Emigration among itinerants appears to have been relatively high in recent years and this may be an indication that those who emigrated were dissatisfied with their way of life. A number of itinerants, particularly women and girls, have expressed to members of the Commission a desire for a better way of life and it is the view of the Commission that the greatest hope for a movement to settle lies in the desire of the young married women and the girls to improve their lot. As the women are more in contact with the homes of the settled population they see what is enjoyed by others.

Attitude to Religion

12. All but 30 of the itinerants recorded in the 1960 census stated that they were Catholics (see Appendices III and IV). Five families comprising 30 persons stated that they were Protestants. No other religious denomination was recorded.

Generally speaking, itinerants are not considered to be irreligious in sentiment but the available information indicates that most of them are remiss in attending to their religious duties on Sundays and Church holidays. The reasons often stated by themselves were their shabby clothes or their location being at a considerable distance from the church. While this is probably true for some it has been noticed that others have not been kept away by these circumstances. In many cases we believe that this irregular attendance is due to the fact that no habit of regular attendance was inculcated during the formative years.

13. The memorandum submitted on behalf of the General Synod

of the Church of Ireland did not express any anxiety on the question of the religious education of the itinerant members of their Church but did indicate that it was found that itinerants were able to satisfy clergymen as to their religious allegiance by the production of baptismal and other certificates which they kept carefully.

In so far as the Catholic families are concerned, itinerant parents see to it that their children receive the Sacraments of Baptism, Penance, Holy Communion and Confirmation, and go to some trouble to enable them to obtain the necessary instruction by remaining long enough in the vicinity of schools and convents where the children can be instructed. The Legion of Mary is very active in this field and the Garda refrain from moving on families who remain in one place for this purpose.

14. It is of interest to note that 80 per cent of the itinerant population of the Netherlands are members of the Catholic Church and that they also are said to be neglectful of their religious duties in so far as attendance at church is concerned. It is stated of them that while externally they give the impression of having little or no religious life this impression does not correspond with reality. They also have the same anxiety to have their children baptised and receive the other Sacraments.

Recommendations

*15. It is suggested that the Hierarchy should consider asking parochial clergy to seek out and take a particular interest in itinerant families who frequent their areas and to give special attention and encouragement to those who show a desire to settle permanently.

*16. They may also wish to consider the overall problem which the attitude and way of life of itinerants has created in so far as their spiritual life is concerned and give consideration to the necessity for the appointment of a national chaplain for their spiritual care as was done in France and the Netherlands.

Marriage Conventions and Sexual Morality

17. Age at marriage of the majority of itinerants is very low, as will be seen from the following tables which compare marriage age groupings for both male and female marriages as recorded in both censuses with the figures in the national censuses. The differences are remarkable. Between 74% and 76% of male itinerants were married before the age of 25 while less than 22% of the men in the settled population had been married at that age. Even more remarkable is the fact that between 37% and 40% of female itinerant marriages took place under the age of 18 years as compared with only 1.4% for women in the settled population. It must be borne in mind, however, that a more valid comparison might be with that section of

the settled population which would come within a roughly comparable income group, but no figures are available for such comparison.

AGE GROUPINGS AT MARRIAGE

MALES

Age-groups	December, 1960, Census of Itinerants	June, 1961, Census of Itinerants	National figures for marriages recorded in 1958
	%	%	%
Under 18 years ...	7.5	5.9	.2
18 years and up to 25 years ...	66.6	70.1	21.4
25 years and up to 40 years ...	24.3	23.0	61.0
40 years and over ...	1.4	.9	17.4
	99.8	99.9	100.0

FEMALES

Under 18 years ...	37.8	40.4	1.4
18 years and up to 25 years ...	52.7	53.2	41.8
25 years and up to 40 years ...	9.5	6.4	49.6
40 years and over ...	—	—	7.2
	100.0	100.0	100.0

18. Early marriage is often insisted upon by parents and while there was a traditional form of marriage ceremony peculiar to itinerants and often referred to as "jumping the budget" the vast majority of present day marriages have been solemnised in Church in the first instance and the others are usually solemnised in Church eventually. The marriage tie between itinerants is not any weaker than it is in other Catholic marriages and while husband and wife quarrels and beatings are not uncommon there are few desertions. With few exceptions itinerants marry itinerants. Only about 10 per cent of the itinerants claim to be children of parents one of whom was not an itinerant. There is no evidence that this tendency to inbreed has produced any discernible problems so far.

19. Newly married couples usually start with nothing more than a tent and a spring cart, often only a push cart. Some parents are well enough off to present their children with a horse caravan as a wedding present but these are the exceptions. It is usually the ambition of the newly married couple to own a horse caravan in due course. Parents of young persons usually insist upon the marriage of the young persons when courtship first commences and many itinerants express themselves as being unwilling to allow their children to emigrate unless they are first married.

20. All authorities are satisfied that itinerants have a high standard of sexual morality and there is no evidence of promiscuity or a tendency towards indecency or immodesty. It is of interest to note that the Netherlands Commission referred in similar terms to the standards of their itinerant population. It possibly stems from the instinctive knowledge that sexual laxity in the crowded conditions under which itinerants live would have disastrous consequences. The Commission have had many examples of the commendable care that is taken by parents to overcome the many difficulties of big families of all ages and different sexes, living together in the close relationship of caravans and tents. A strict watch is kept on their daughters and women and girls are always very modest in dress and demeanour. The consequences of marital infidelity are feared and adultery and allegations of adultery have been the cause of some of the most savage family feuds.

*21. It is recognised that these high standards may be imperilled in the changed social circumstances which absorption will bring about, and voluntary organisations and others, who will be assisting in whatever scheme is adopted to improve the lot of the itinerants and assist their absorption into the general community, must always keep this danger in mind and ensure as far as possible that the itinerants will be able to discern and cope with the less desirable incidents of life in the settled community.

Begging

22. Begging by itinerants is a major problem associated with their way of life and next to trespass is probably the greatest single cause of hostility on the part of the settled population. Apart from the demeaning effect on themselves it is a source of considerable irritation and annoyance and when carried on in places of tourist or visitor resort, where it is usually prevalent, it must be injurious to the tourist traffic. Visitors are usually recognised as such and more persistently importuned. Most itinerant women and children beg but few of the men do so. The former are skilled and persistent in approach having a special manner and tone of voice and a rehearsed statement in most cases. They may pretend to buy or sell goods as a cover for their begging activities. Much of their food and clothing is obtained by begging. The proceeds of begging form a vitally necessary part of the real income of the majority of itinerant families, accounting on average for several pounds per week either in cash or in kind, without which most itinerant families would be reduced to starvation level in their present mode of life. The failure of the men to engage in begging is not due to any disapproval of it. All male itinerants questioned by members of the Commission about the begging by the women and children denied that they encouraged or even permitted it. They adopted the attitude that the begging activities of their womenfolk and children, if they took place at all, were without their knowledge or authority. This explanation was patently untrue. In the view of the

Commission the fact that the men do not ordinarily beg is partly due to masculine pride but mostly due to the fact that the women are more successful at it owing to their greater persistence and their control over the younger children whom they use with great skill in the begging operations. In addition itinerant women are usually more articulate and more agreeable and less frightening than their men-folk.

Difficulties in dealing with Begging Offences

23. Section 3 of the Vagrancy (Ireland) Act, 1847, provides that it is an offence to beg or to cause or encourage a child to beg. On conviction a period of imprisonment not exceeding one month may be imposed. Causing or permitting children or young persons to beg is also punishable under the Prevention of Cruelty to Children Act, 1904, and the Children Act, 1908. These enactments provide for longer periods of imprisonment and for fines.

24. The Commissioner of the Garda Síochána has enumerated the following difficulties encountered in the enforcement of, and the taking of prosecutions under, these Acts in so far as begging is concerned:—

- (a) "The reluctance of District Justices to sentence adult itinerant beggars to imprisonment under the Vagrancy Acts because it may mean that young children will have nobody to care for them in the meantime.
- (b) "The reluctance, particularly in rural areas, of members of the public to come forward to give evidence or to assist the Garda if they desire to bring prosecutions against itinerants begging from door to door.
- (c) "Much begging is done under the pretence of sale of articles of little value and even though observed by gardaí, Justices are slow to hold that there is a breach of the law in such cases.
- (d) "Itinerants and their children usually give incorrect names and other false information to detecting gardaí and in cases where children are found begging alone the parent must be located and joined as defendant in any prosecution.
- (e) "There are the difficulties, already referred to, in the serving of summonses because of the culprits' mobility. The alternative of arrest and remand frequently involves heavy expense. Weeks may elapse between the date of detection and the sitting of a District Court and by this time the vagrant and child may have left the area for some unknown destination.
- (f) "There are difficulties in connection with the execution of warrants and difficulties of detection and identification of the defendant particularly when the garda originating the summons is not present.

- (g) "Itinerants are aware of the dates of the sittings of the District Court and are rarely to be found committing an offence in any locality close to the time that the court is due to sit."

Recommendations on the Problem of Begging

*25. The Commission are satisfied that both for the sake of itinerants and the settled community steps must be taken to prohibit begging now practised habitually by almost every itinerant woman and child.

*26. As begging forms so much of the real income of itinerant families the first step will be to ensure that assistance will be available for those itinerant families who may need it until they are in a position to make up in some other way the income that will be cut off from them by an effective prohibition of begging.

*27. Much progress would be made if the settled community were less indiscriminate in their almsgiving.

*28. The laws against begging, particularly begging in the streets and in places of public resort, should be strictly enforced.

*29. The provisions of the Vagrancy (Ireland) Act, 1847, should be amended so that the penalty on conviction for begging may be a fine or imprisonment or both. This should enable a District Justice to impose a fine in an appropriate case and get over the difficulty mentioned in paragraph 24 (a) above. The period of imprisonment which may be imposed should be increased. For repeated offences there should be power to impose progressively higher penalties. Consideration should also be given to special provisions for habitual offenders.

*30. The Children Act, 1908, should be amended so that in the case of a child found begging it would be necessary for the parent to prove that he did not send the child to beg. For this purpose it is suggested that the words "and that the person charged allowed the young person or child to be in the street, premises or place" should be deleted from Section 14 (2) of this Act. The recommendations as to increased penalties and provision for habitual offences set out in paragraph 29 above are also made in respect of offences under Section 14 of the Children Act, 1908.

*31. A new offence should be created to provide that any person previously convicted of a begging offence shall if charged with loitering and importuning persons on the street or highway for the purpose of begging or with entering any private property for that purpose be presumed to have loitered or importuned or entered the private property for that purpose unless the contrary is proved.

*32. Where the complainant is a member or officer of the Garda and where he has observed the act or acts alleged to constitute the offences referred to in paragraphs 29, 30 and 31 above he should be empowered in so far as the power does not already exist to arrest the person accused without a warrant and upon the person having been taken to the Garda station and there formally charged the accused person might be released upon suitable bail by the Sergeant in charge of such station or the member of the Garda for the time being in charge. As it would probably be impossible in many cases to obtain a surety it is suggested that provision be made for the deposit with the Garda of a suitable sum of money as bail to be later lodged with the District Court Clerk. The sum so deposited should be available for the payment pro tanto of any fine and/or costs ordered by the District Court. Any balance, or in the event of a sentence of imprisonment or acquittal the whole sum, should be returned to the person paying the same.

*33. The general recommendations on the problem of law enforcement made elsewhere in this Report (Chapter XIV, paragraphs 15-25) are also applicable to the problem of begging.

CHAPTER XIV

CRIMINAL OFFENCES AND PENALTIES FOR TRESPASS

1. From information obtained from the prison authorities it has been ascertained that 154 itinerants were committed under sentence of imprisonment in 1961 and 348 in 1962. These are relatively high figures and include 34 committals for drunkenness in 1961 (63 in 1962), 46 committals for various types of larceny in 1961 (100 in 1962) and 15 for begging (46). It is not possible to identify itinerants as such among persons whose punishment for offences was by fine.

2. However, itinerants as a body do not constitute a criminal element in the population and they have not a predisposition to crime. Many of the crimes which they commit are incidental to their daily life and facilitated by its circumstances. These include the rifling of turf clamps and potato pits, the stealing of eggs, fowl and milk, largely for their own requirements, and at which they are seldom detected and therefore seldom prosecuted. The damage caused by some of these crimes is, by reason of their disregard for the property of others, far in excess of the cost of the goods stolen. For instance, leaving a pit open after stealing a few potatoes from it may cause the whole pit to deteriorate or the careless opening of a turf clamp may expose it to destruction by the weather. Much damage is also done to property, particularly by fence breaking in the putting of animals in to trespass on the lands of others.

3. Crimes of petty larceny and pilfering are common. Anything which is portable and loose and not very distinctive that is noticed lying around unguarded, particularly if it has any value even as scrap, is liable to be put on the cart or van. If so it is very quickly out of the district and may not be missed for a considerable time afterwards at which stage it is impossible to say what happened to it. In fairness, however, it must be acknowledged that itinerants are often blamed for many more crimes of this nature than they commit and for many other crimes of a nature which they seldom commit.

4. Crimes of violence such as assault, grievous bodily harm and wounding committed against other itinerants are not unusual. This situation cannot be regarded as unexpected among persons with such a lack of education, self-control, discipline and such addiction to intoxicating liquor. Similar crimes of violence against members of the settled community are on the whole infrequent and when they do arise are often a consequence of a fracas which initially involved itinerants only. Convictions for sexual offences are very rare.

5. In so far as serious crime is concerned, there is evidence of some

organised crimes of larceny by itinerants. The Commission are of the opinion, however, that the number of these is not remarkable having regard to the number of itinerants in the country and in comparison with the number of similar crimes committed by members of the settled population.

Difficulties experienced in Law Enforcement against Itinerants

6. Where serious crime is concerned there should be no greater difficulty in enforcing the law against itinerants than against members of the settled population. However, where less serious crimes are concerned the difficulties raised by their mobility, their identification, the inadequacy of the legislation against begging and trespass, and their strength in numbers, are apparently often not considered worth overcoming. There are special difficulties in serving summonses and when served they are usually ignored by the person charged. There are the difficulties in executing warrants for itinerants convicted in their absence largely due to difficulty in locating and identifying those convicted. Some members of the Garda stated that aggrieved parties are often unwilling, sometimes from fear of reprisals, to give evidence against itinerants. The fact that itinerants are often very leniently dealt with by the courts and are not therefore deterred from further offences by court action is also a factor. It was also found that the existence of unexecuted warrants (warrants lapse after a specified period and have to be renewed if they are to remain effective) are considered by some gardaí to be a reflection on themselves and that fact, together with previous unsatisfactory experience in bringing prosecutions, acts as a deterrent to the institution of proceedings.

Difficulties in dealing with Acts of Trespass

7. In so far as trespass is concerned it is very difficult for a landholder to take any positive action. There is difficulty in proving that a criminal offence has been committed and, accordingly, it usually becomes a matter for settlement between the landholder and the itinerant. The landholder is not entitled to turn animals found trespassing on to the public road but must either drive them to the owner and claim trespass damages, or drive them to the pound, or leave them where they are until they are claimed. The farmer is unlikely to obtain much satisfaction by driving the animals to the encampment and claiming damages even if he does succeed in rounding up the animals. It is more than likely that ownership would be denied by all present in the encampment. The impounding of animals has not hitherto proved a satisfactory or attractive remedy due to the fact that pounds are often inconveniently situated. The alternative of doing nothing while the animals continue to graze or otherwise damage the property is also wholly unsatisfactory.

8. The lack of protection and the deep frustration which the agricultural community feel on this question is an ever present

potential cause of a breach of the peace and has proved to be such on a number of occasions. Garda Superintendents were queried for their experiences in this matter over the last 10 years. In all, 92 replies were received. 40 indicated that there was an increasing number of complaints of instances of truculence on the part of itinerants to persons complaining of trespass by their animals. 239 instances of retaliation by the settled population were recorded in the 39 districts from which positive replies were received. In many districts where no instances of retaliation by local people for trespass damage by itinerants were reported, the Superintendents stated that there were many known cases which had not been recorded because they were not reported and that they were satisfied that there were many other cases which had not come to the notice of the Garda.

9. While the majority of the instances of retaliation recorded were demands by local people for payment of compensation from itinerants for damage, most of which were unsuccessful, more serious instances of retaliation included assaults on itinerants and attacks on their encampments, seizure of their property, shots fired in the vicinity of camps or at trespassing animals, animals wounded and disfigured by various means including slashing, the cutting of horses' tails and manes, and horses being driven long distances.

10. It cannot be too strongly emphasised that due to the increasing value of both crops and animals and to the cost of repairs and the scarcity of labour a continuing disregard by itinerants for the rights of owners of land, and of farm lands in particular, can lead only to an evergrowing and justifiable resentment by the owners against the itinerants and the danger of acts of violence taking place. It does not require great imagination to understand the feelings of the farmer who overnight sees a field of promising crops reduced to ruin, finds his valuable animals have strayed out through his damaged fences, and the woodwork of his fences and out-buildings stolen or wrecked. Apart altogether from the question of the proper protection which the farmer is entitled to receive it is to the ultimate benefit of the itinerant population itself that every practicable step should be taken to prevent the commission of acts of damage of the type described and punish it with the full severity of the law.

11. Even as the situation now is, it will take years of good behaviour on the part of itinerants to reconcile much of the farming community to their presence in the countryside. Any effort to settle them into the rural communities in the future will be largely if not completely frustrated unless those communities can be assured that the law will provide them with more adequate protection than exists at the moment and that there is some sign of amendment on the part of the itinerants.

12. In the present situation the Garda claim to have inadequate powers. The remedy of the injured party in a civil action affords him

little satisfaction and involves so much trouble even when it is enforceable that in the main it tends to create a condition of frustration which can lead to violence.

13. Another well grounded cause of complaint on the part of the general public is the fact that itinerants frequently turn their animals loose to wander on the public road, where they are not merely a danger to passing traffic, especially at night, but are also a danger to the adjoining landowners. Animals at large on the highway, particularly those in search of food, are likely to enter the adjoining lands either through open gates or gaps in the fences or even to break through fences and boundaries and eventually prove to be as destructive as those deliberately put on the lands.

Recommendations on the Problem of Trespass

*14. Some aspects of the recommendations which follow are already provided for in existing law. In so far as they are not, it is recommended that the law be amended accordingly. It is considered that the law should:—

- (a) provide that any person of no fixed abode who permits or causes any horse, ass or other animal or any vehicle to be on the land of another person or lights any fire thereon or interferes with fences or gates to facilitate such acts or who commits any nuisance on the lands of another shall be guilty of an offence punishable by a fine and/or imprisonment or both unless he had the permission of the owner of the land to do so, the burden of proving which shall be on the accused. Where a trespass is committed by such person but not so as to bring him within this provision the provisions of Section 8 of the Summary Jurisdiction (Ireland) Act, 1851, shall continue to apply but provide that the maximum penalties prescribed in that section be substantially increased;
- (b) provide that the owner of any such animal or vehicle found trespassing shall be deemed to have permitted or caused the trespass unless the contrary be proved;
- (c) provide that it shall be an offence for a person of no fixed abode, whether the owner or not, to turn loose and, if the owner or the person entitled to the custody of the same, to permit to wander on any public road any horses, asses, mules, jennets, or goats. Any such animal found at large or wandering on the public road shall be deemed to have been turned loose or permitted to wander until the contrary be proved. Any member of the Garda Síochána who finds any such animal at large or wandering on the public highway which is or which he has reasonable grounds for believing to be in the ownership of a person of no fixed abode or of which such a person is entitled to the custody

*Trespass as
a criminal
offence
paragraphs
(a)—(e)
inclusive*

shall seize such animal and have the same conveyed to the nearest pound. Provision should also be made for the recovery of the cost of transport and maintenance of the seized animal and for release upon the payment of a deposit similar to those recommended in relation to trespass on land at (g) and (h) following save that the deposit taken should be sufficient to cover the possible fine to be imposed by the Court and the costs ordered upon summary prosecution. In cases where the identity of the owner or custodian is not ascertained provisions similar to those at (i) should provide for the disposal of the animal;

- (d) provide that any act of ownership or control over the animal(s) or vehicle(s) shall be evidence of ownership or of the right to custody for these purposes;
- (e) provide that it shall be an offence for a person of no fixed abode to interfere with fences or gates for the purpose of allowing animals to trespass;
- (f) provide that land owners or occupiers be enabled to seize horses, asses, mules, jennets and goats which they have reasonable grounds to believe are the property of persons of no fixed abode and which are found trespassing on their lands whether doing damage or not and either to have the animals sent to the nearest pound or, provided that the Garda are notified as soon as is reasonably possible and a complaint made, to hold the animals, in either case the animals to be released on payment of compensation for any damage done or expenses incurred. Justifiable expenses in this case should include the hire of transport for the conveyance of the animals to the pound. In the absence of agreement between the injured party and the owner of the animal as to the amount of the compensation provision should be made to have the amount assessed by the District Court, who may take into account the extent of the damage and any expenses incurred including the cost of the transport already referred to and the cost of the maintenance of the animal by the injured party in the interim period, these civil proceedings to be independent of and without prejudice to the prosecution of the complaint;
- (g) provide that any deposit by the owner of the amount of compensation claimed by the injured party in order to obtain the release of his animals will not prejudice his right to pursue the matter in Court if he is not satisfied. No such payment is to be accepted by the injured party without the issue of a satisfactory receipt;
- (h) provide that, where the Court is satisfied that the amount (if any) which had been offered by the owner of the animal in satisfaction of damage caused is equal to or in excess of the sum assessed, the costs of the action shall not lie against

the owner and the owner shall be entitled to recover the amount in excess of the assessment by which the deposit exceeded it together with costs of the proceedings and shall not be liable for the expense, if any, incurred in the maintenance of the animal pending the making of the deposit. Where, however, no deposit was made the owner of the animal shall be chargeable for the reasonable maintenance of it and where no deposit has been made and an award has been made to the injured party by the Court the order shall provide that in default of payment within seven days the animal or animals shall be sold and out of the proceeds thereof, after the costs of sale, the award and the costs shall be paid and the balance paid to the owner of the animal. In the case of a deficiency the deficiency shall remain a debt due under order of the Court;

(i) provide that

- (I) where the ownership of an animal so trespassing and reasonably believed to be the property of a person of no fixed abode has not been established the animal may be impounded and the cost of conveyance of the animal to the pound shall be recoverable under (j);
- (II) the District Court may assess the compensation and expenses which the injured party shall be entitled to recover;
- (III) the animal or animals may be disposed of within such reasonable time as may be fixed by the Court and out of the amount realised shall be paid (after the cost of sale) to the injured party the amount of the damages assessed by the Court and such costs as the Court may fix;
- (IV) any balance over the amount of the sum assessed shall be deposited with the District Court Clerk to await a claim which, if made is to be determined by the District Court. Any deficiency shall be a civil debt due under order of the Court by the owner when ascertained;

(j) provide that the sale of any animals under (h) or (i) shall be carried out by the County Registrar.

General Provisions

It is not desirable that there should be any avoidable delay in the transport of animals to the pounds whether seized by the Garda or by landowners and it is recommended that the necessary amendment be made to the Road Transport Act to enable any suitable vehicle to be used on hire for this purpose.

It will be necessary to have available a sufficient number of pounds suitable not only as to accommodation but also as to location. The pattern of itinerants' movements and the experience of the incidence

of the damage caused by their animals will indicate that fewer pounds will be required in some regions than in others.

The rescue or attempted rescue of animals seized by the Garda or by landowners should be made an offence punishable by fine and/or imprisonment.

General Recommendations on Problems of Law Enforcement

15. It must be accepted that itinerants are not unintelligent and a certain number of them may be expected to take advantage of lack of action or leniency by those whose duty it is to enforce the law.

*16. If the law is not to fall into disrespect, a sustained effort must be made to overcome any special difficulties which arise in dealing with itinerant wrong-doers and to bring home to them the necessity for being law abiding.

*17. The fact that a crime is of a petty nature and that the wrong-doer has moved to another district should not be allowed to affect the pursuit of an offender or the prosecution of a case.

*18. Considerations of cost should not determine whether to proceed with the investigation of, or to follow up, criminal offences by itinerants.

*19. A sustained effort should be made to have warrants executed and warrants should not be allowed to lapse but should be renewed as necessary. Consideration should be given to whether the establishment of a central clearing-house system for warrants or other means might assist in having them executed.

*20. Excessive tolerance and leniency by the Courts should be discouraged.

*21. Citizens should be encouraged to report offences to the Garda particularly those who claim to be injured parties. Allegations of intimidation by itinerants should be thoroughly investigated and, where proved, the culprit should be dealt with severely.

*22. Particular consideration should be given to the difficulty of serving summonses on persons of no fixed abode and to the possibility of devising a procedure to enable the issue of a summons on the spot in certain circumstances.

*23. In cases of conviction of persons of no fixed abode, any fines imposed should be payable forthwith.

*24. The Commission rejected suggestions made to them that itinerants should be registered and issued with personal identity cards to overcome the difficulties of identification encountered by the

Garda in following up crimes committed by them. The main ground for the Commission's rejection was the undesirability of singling out any group in the community for this type of special treatment for police purposes. It was also considered that any such system would have damaging effects on any process of absorption and, in any event, would present great administrative difficulties, would be open to abuse and would be of doubtful utility in practice.

*25. It was suggested to the Commission that one method of overcoming the problem of remands in custody, which are often expensive to the State and unfair to the defendant, or remands on bail, which may be defeated by the non-appearance by the defendant at the next District Court sitting, would be that Peace Commissioners be authorised to deal with certain offences, e.g., vagrancy and drunkenness. The suggestions were considered to be in conflict with the constitutional provisions relating to tribunals charged with the trial of criminal offences. A system of optional fines "on the spot" analogous to that available for certain offences under the Road Traffic Act, 1961, might be considered.

CHAPTER XV

ATTITUDE OF SETTLED POPULATION TO ITINERANTS

1. The attitude of most of the settled population is largely conditioned by the behaviour pattern which by experience or hearsay has come to be regarded as the norm for itinerants, viz., constant begging, petty pilfering, trespass and damage in rural areas, drunkenness, noisiness and brawling when they get together. This attitude is one of hostility, the intensity of which corresponds with the degree to which any neighbourhood has had these experiences. In some places, particularly in rural areas, the attitude is one of bitter hostility often accompanied by fear. In addition, in nearly all areas, itinerants are despised as inferior beings and are regarded as the dregs of society. Many feel that they would demean themselves by associating with them. Their presence is considered to lower the tone of a neighbourhood and those who live in that neighbourhood are seldom satisfied until the itinerants have been moved on. There have been actual and threatened rent strikes by local authority tenants to enforce action to have itinerants moved from the neighbourhood of their houses.

2. Itinerants find it difficult to obtain many forms of employment because of their background and the unwillingness of some employees to associate with them. The Commission are aware of at least one case where an itinerant girl whose origin was unknown to the employer and for whom she worked very satisfactorily as a waitress in a hotel was dismissed because of the objection of a customer who recognised her.

3. They are not permitted to enter many public houses and public houses where they are served are avoided by many of the settled population. Places where they are permitted to drink become known as "tinkers' houses." Usually a public house which will sell liquor to them requires them to consume it off the premises.

The majority of the settled population wish to avoid any contact with itinerants in any form and break off any contact that is established as soon as possible. Even those members of the settled population who regard them kindly as "God's poor" would not care to have them living permanently in their own district. The Commission have also noticed that those itinerants who move around a comparatively small circuit become better known in the area and incur less dislike than their more travelled brethren. These "local itinerants" are often regarded as decent inoffensive people. But as has been noted elsewhere (see Chapter XII) such "local itinerants" usually cause no damage and are of the less prosperous section of the itinerant

population, having few, if any, animals. This, coupled with the experience found in all spheres of social contact that as people become better acquainted they become more tolerant of each other, raises the hope that itinerants, by an improvement in their behaviour pattern and therefore in their public image and by settling in a district, would come to be accepted more quickly by the settled community because many of the existing barriers between them would disappear.

4. The plight of itinerants and their isolation by the settled community, which is becoming progressively worse, is a serious problem and one which has not troubled the public conscience to any degree. The concern which the Commission found among very many members of the public that the problem of itinerancy should be solved was one which stemmed from a desire to deal with a nuisance to the settled community rather than from any desire to ameliorate the lot of families living a primitive and harsh existence. Efforts have been made by organisations such as the Legion of Mary, the Society of St. Vincent de Paul and by some individuals to improve the lot of the itinerant but these unsupported efforts are insufficient in themselves to reach more than a few families. There is so far little apparent desire on the part of the general public to act collectively for the betterment of the itinerants as they do in many ways for other poor sections of the community. In general, little serious consideration has so far been given either to the futility or the grave social injustice of a policy of just moving them on. The argument that itinerants are free to leave the road of their own volition and that their plight is of their own making does not bear examination. Little heed is given to the virtually insuperable difficulties which face the unaided efforts of an itinerant family to settle.

5. The attitude of the settled population in so far as itinerants is concerned is not confined to those on the road. It has been brought to the notice of the Commission that some families of itinerant extraction who have managed to settle in different areas are still, often scornfully, known as "tinkers", even in succeeding generations. This must affect the ability of such families to live a normal life and must be taken into account in estimating the time necessary to achieve complete integration.

6. The majority opinion of all those individuals and associations who have furnished memoranda to the Commission or with whom members of the Commission have been in contact and who are concerned to ameliorate the conditions of the itinerants' life is that absorption is the only real solution. It is also quite clear that many of the settled population will be very slow to accept this, particularly if it is to take place in their areas.

*7. For the reasons which appear in paragraph 3 of this chapter the problem of the settlement of "local itinerants" will probably prove less difficult than the settlement of other itinerants not already known

to the local inhabitants. It will be essential to foster a spirit of Christian charity and goodwill if the necessary co-operation from the settled community is to be forthcoming.

*8. Steps should be taken to inform the minds of the settled population on the whole problem of itinerancy and to educate them to the fact that not only do the dictates of charity and common humanity require that steps should be taken to rescue the itinerant population from its present plight but that the material and social interests of the settled population itself will be advanced by a just solution of the itinerant problem. For both social and economic reasons it is clearly undesirable that a section of the population should be isolated and follow a way of life which is harsh, primitive and of low economic value both to those who follow it and to the nation and, most important, which tends to create a closed and separate community which will become increasingly inferior to the rest of the national population and from which it will become increasingly difficult to escape.

*9. Very little progress towards absorption can be hoped for unless the co-operation of the settled community can be obtained and an atmosphere of goodwill created which will supersede the present prevailing attitude of hostility to the itinerants. If immediate steps are taken to protect the settled population by preventing or restraining the more injurious activities of the itinerants and a positive policy of social reclamation is formulated for the itinerants the Commission feel confident that the legitimate grievances of the settled population would be met and an improved climate of public opinion created which is essential to obtaining the co-operation of the general public. Once that much progress has been made the elimination of the other causes of friction could be undertaken with every expectation of success and without perhaps the necessity for the continued invoking of the punitive and prohibitive legislative measures recommended in this report. It is felt that a strict enforcement of the law, at least in the early years, would have a salutary effect on the itinerants who, with their usually realistic outlook on life, would soon have a greater respect for the rights of the settled population once they realised that the authorities were serious about the enforcement of the law and that the consequences of disregarding it on either the criminal side or the civil side could not be avoided.

The same steps should restore the confidence of the settled population in the ability of the authorities to cope with the problem and encourage them to support the efforts to achieve a just solution. Hostility to a class or group as now exists in relation to the itinerants is uncharacteristic of our people and its existence is indicative of the extremity to which the settled community or a large portion of it feels it has been driven. The normal kindly feelings of the people, which are the more deepseated ones, will once again predominate when the immediate pressure of the itinerants' wrongdoings has been relieved or, at least, substantially reduced.

*10. The Commission feel that an elimination of the present hostility would not in itself be sufficient to assure the success of a policy of social integration and for that end positive steps must be taken to gain the active co-operation of the settled population. This is a matter which would be best approached on a local level. The number of itinerants which would settle in any one locality would be comparatively small and their acceptance there would depend upon the success of efforts to convince the local people to extend their goodwill towards them. At this level the influence of the local clergy and of the local religious, charitable and welfare organisations should be invoked to play a very active part not merely as a liaison between the itinerants and the settled population but also to condition the latter's feelings towards the newcomers. The whole success of a policy of integration in a locality could depend upon a firm, well-disposed and well-informed leadership being available from these sources. The Commission feel that for lasting results in this field there can be no better basis upon which to procure and maintain the co-operation of the public than that of Christian charity and brotherly love. Without these toleration would prove cold and brittle.

CHAPTER XVI

GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS

In addition to the recommendations already made under specific heads in the preceding chapters the following general recommendations are also made.

*1. Because of the ever-rising standard of living of the settled population and the static, if not deteriorating, standard of itinerants the gap between them and the settled community, in both the social and economic spheres, is constantly widening. It is, therefore, a matter of urgency that steps be taken as soon as practicable to bridge this gap and to narrow it. In particular an evergrowing disparity in relative social standards must render more difficult the mental adjustment which will be required of the settled population.

*2. In so far as the itinerants are concerned absorption into the general community can be achieved only by a policy of inducing them to leave the road and to settle down. It is not considered that any worth-while progress could be made by a policy of compulsory settlement, even if it were legally possible.

*3. It must be recognised by the public generally and by all concerned that a policy of absorption will necessarily be a long term one and that many initial difficulties and setbacks will be encountered. It must also be realised that there will probably always be some itinerants who value the wandering mode of life sufficiently highly to follow it notwithstanding the effects of laws aimed at controlling their activities. In the course of interviews with itinerants, members of the Commission found that the life holds strong attractions for some of those who are not very poor and whose families are already reared. It is thought that among itinerants the ones who should prove most responsive to a scheme for their absorption would be the married couples with young children because, as has already been mentioned, it is such couples who have expressed the strongest desire to settle. The beneficial influence of a settled existence on their children should soon be apparent to other itinerants and should act as an encouragement to those among them who may still be hesitant about settling down.

*4. All efforts directed at improving the lot of the itinerants and at dealing with the problems created by them and all schemes drawn up for these purposes should always have as their aim the eventual absorption of the itinerants into the general community.

Co-ordination of Effort

*5. In order to ensure sustained, determined and co-ordinated progress it is recommended that a Government Minister be given overall co-ordinating responsibility and that an unpaid central body be established, the members of which would be appointed by the Minister and be representative of the various government departments concerned and the principal voluntary social and charitable organisations in the country. It would be the function of such central body to promote the rehabilitation and absorption of itinerants. The body should avail of all the existing machinery of central and local government in so far as it is appropriate for its function and be empowered to establish whatever subsidiary organisations, whether specialised or local, as may prove to be desirable. At the same time it should foster, encourage and sustain all local voluntary effort directed towards the absorption of itinerants, endeavour to create a favourable public opinion in support of the policy of absorption and encourage the active co-operation of members of the public in that policy.

This body should also at regular intervals examine the progress which has been made with the policy of absorption and in the light of their experience and knowledge gained formulate or devise methods by which the implementation of the policy might be improved.

Particular instances of failures occurring in the cases of individual families should be carefully investigated for future guidance and all cases of difficulty arising in any area between itinerants and the settled population should be closely examined with a view to resolving them. It is also suggested that regular censuses, say at 5-yearly intervals, should be taken of persons who continue to follow the itinerant way of life.

Voluntary Effort at Local Level

*6. It will be vitally necessary for the success of any scheme for the absorption and rehabilitation of itinerants to have in each area in which it is proposed to settle a number of itinerant families local voluntary committees whether they be branches of existing charitable organisations such as the Legion of Mary or the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, voluntary parish committees which would include local representatives of farmers' organisations, trade unions, I.C.A. guilds and other such groups or ad hoc organisations composed of members of some or all of the voluntary organisations and including members of the general public who are prepared to interest themselves directly in the settlement of the families concerned. The main purpose of such committees would be to bridge the gap between the itinerant family and the settled community. It is felt that this can best be done by establishing friendly contact and by regular visitation to obtain their confidence and then to encourage them and their children to learn and adopt the ways of the settled life. It would be for each committee to decide, bearing in mind such general recommendations as may from time to time be made by the central body, how best to proceed but it is considered that the provision of a variety of services,

duties and requirements will be involved, as for instance; arranging ways and means of assisting the education of the children, organising recreations and pastimes, making arrangements for lessons in cookery, housekeeping, hygiene and so on for the adults; helping them to obtain employment and social welfare benefit. There is little doubt that many of the failures in housing itinerants in the past were due to their ignorance of the ways of the settled life and of how to earn a living by it, their inability to use a house and the lack of friendly assistance, guidance and advice, which would have taught them to appreciate its advantages and encouraged them to persevere.

Not the least of the duties of the voluntary committees will be that of establishing good relations between the settlers and the settled community and in assisting to overcome any antipathy and hostility between the two groups. The work will not be easy and will call for dedicated personnel and sustained effort and it is desirable that every local committee should aim at having so far as is possible the qualities of continuity and flexibility. It is recommended that the work of such local voluntary committees should be assisted by trained welfare officers whose services would be made available to them by the Minister or the local authority. If direct financial assistance should be found necessary by any such local committee it should be made available by the central body.

If areas in which it is proposed to site houses for itinerants already contain regular camping places for itinerants or are areas in which there have been erected approved camping sites or halts, the local committees could extend their activities to include those itinerants frequenting the district as they will very likely prove to be the ones to be settled there.

Financial Assistance for those who settle in Houses

*7. The provision of a house for an itinerant family and their entering into occupation as tenants will in most cases be only the first step towards absorption into the community. Almost all such families will be immediately in need of assistance in the way of bedding and furniture and household utensils. The public assistance authority should be called upon to provide at this stage whatever the itinerant cannot provide for himself.

Itinerant families who set up home will be cut off from a substantial part of the income they obtained when travelling, particularly that from begging. In order to ensure that they are not forced to return to the road for this reason or to use the house as a base for begging the public assistance authority should make sure that adequate home assistance is available to them.

As already indicated in the recommendations regarding State and local authority financial assistance for itinerant families (see Chapter XI, paragraphs 21-27) this assistance should be provided at least partly in the form of vouchers exchangeable for goods rather than in cash. The assistance should be provided for a reasonable period after taking up the tenancy, long enough to allow the itinerant family to adapt itself to alternative ways of earning a living.

As an inducement to local authorities to do their utmost in this regard, arrangements should be made to recoup the cost of any such special assistance from central funds.

Appreciation

In concluding this Report the members of the Commission wholeheartedly desire to pay a well deserved tribute to the Secretary, Mr. Aidan McDonald, for his valuable and often arduous service. His tireless devotion to the work of the Commission, his thoroughness in the preparation of documents and his never failing courtesy have left each member under a deep debt of gratitude to him.

The members also wish to record their appreciation of the valuable service rendered by Miss Mary Barrington of the Department of Local Government.

SIGNED

Brian Walsh (Chairman)

G. Claxton

G. Thomas Fehily

Thos. S. McDonagh

M. Macken

Maurice F. McParland

Con Meaney

John B. O'Regan

P. S. Ó Tighearnaigh

Angela Russell

Aidan D. McDonald

Secretary

8th August, 1963

APPENDIX I

Address of the Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister for Justice at the inaugural meeting of the Commission appointed by the Taoiseach to enquire into the problems arising from the presence in the country of itinerants in considerable numbers.

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Commission.

1. May I welcome you on behalf of the Taoiseach and may I also express my personal pleasure at having this opportunity of meeting you on the occasion of your inaugural meeting.

2. The itinerant problem is one which has been with us for a very long time and about which a great deal has been written and spoken. Isolated efforts have been made from time to time to deal with particular aspects of it without success. More recently it has been engaging the attention of the Taoiseach and those of his Ministers who are directly involved. They have noted with concern that the various Government Departments, the Local Authorities and the Police have, apparently, been unable to come forward with any practical suggestions as to what might be done to improve the position generally. When I was appointed Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister for Justice I was asked to carry out a preliminary survey with a view to preparing proposals for the Government's consideration. As a result of that preliminary survey I was fairly quickly satisfied that while each Department had the problem under examination from its own particular viewpoint and had accumulated a great deal of information in relation to it, there was a need for some one body to examine the problem as a whole in all its aspects if it was to be tackled in a fundamental way. It was apparent to me that the task of carrying out such an examination with a view to finding a solution or series of solutions must be placed in the hands of a Commission, the members of which would require to be selected with great care.

3. As you know the Government approved of the proposal to establish a Commission with the following terms of reference:

- (1) to enquire into the problems arising from the presence in the country of itinerants in considerable numbers;
- (2) to examine the economic, educational, health and social problems inherent in their way of life;
- (3) to consider what steps might be taken
 - (a) to provide opportunities for a better way of life for itinerants,

- (b) to promote their absorption into the general community,
 - (c) pending such absorption, to reduce to a minimum the disadvantages to themselves and to the community resulting from their itinerant habits and
 - (d) to improve the position generally; and
- (4) to make recommendations.

These terms of reference are comprehensive and they acknowledge the fact that there can be no final solution of the problems created by itinerants until they are absorbed into the general community.

4. The Taoiseach has asked me to say that he feels happy—and fortunate—in having such a well-balanced Commission. Should it be within the wit of man to find practical solutions of these problems I am confident that this Commission is likely to do so. It is the earnest hope of the Taoiseach and the Government and my own hope also that it will. Each one of you has been selected on the basis of your known interest in, and specialised knowledge of, some particular aspect of the itinerant problem. Furthermore, you have all the reputation of being willing to tackle difficult problems and to persist at them even though they prove to be particularly intractable. May I say that in this particular case that latter qualification will be of very great importance. You will, I believe, require all your tenacity of purpose and a very great deal of patience to accomplish your mission.

5. All the information which has been accumulated in the various Government Departments and other agencies concerned with this problem will be available to you. In some respects it may be sufficient for your purposes. In relation to other matters your examination of the problem will probably indicate that it will be necessary to procure further information or more detailed or more up-to-date statistics. In this connection, you will have to bear in mind that our itinerants have no respect for the Border and pass back and forward across it as they see fit. You will I am sure consider the advisability of investigating what has been done in other countries where this problem exists with a view to benefiting by their experience and ideas.

6. From time to time the Guards have taken a census of itinerants. In September, 1956, for instance, the number was over 7,100 which was about 1,000 more than in 1952 and 2,000 more than in 1944. In 1956, almost 2,000 were children under 6 years of age, 1,600 were between 6 and 14 years and the balance, about 3,500, being over 14 years of age, could be regarded as adults for the purpose of assessing the general problem. At the time of the 1956 census the itinerants were not concentrated in any particular county or place to the exclusion of others but, generally speaking, they seemed to favour the western half of the country. Perhaps, as the weather was still fine, they were still on the move and hadn't yet established themselves in their winter quarters. It seemed curious to me, for instance, that at

that time there was only 113 in Co. Wicklow, 122 in the whole of the Dublin Metropolitan Division and 279 in County Wexford while Galway had 966, Tipperary 460, Cork 430, Limerick 426, Mayo 407, Kerry 376 and so on. The latest figures available to us from the north-eastern corner go to show that the itinerant population there had fallen from about 1,000 in 1948 to less than 600 in 1954 and had fallen by another 200 a year later. It will be of interest to establish why the itinerant population here has been steadily going up while the itinerant population in the Six Counties has been steadily going down. Can it be that, on the whole, life is more pleasant in this part of the country?

7. The police census of 1956 also sets out the views of the officers in charge of the different police divisions and districts as to the percentage of vagrants who were believed to have criminal tendencies. A study of the reports of the various officers shows that their estimates of vagrants over 14 years of age with such tendencies vary from 64% in one division to 30%, 20% and 10%, and so on in others. Within the police divisions, too, there were similar variations from one district, under the control of a Superintendent, to another. Your examination will no doubt be directed as to why this should be so. It seems evident, however, that, as a class vagrants are not given to major crimes and that the offences they commit consist mainly of petty thieving, begging to the point of intimidation, disorderly conduct, trespass with their animals on pastures, crops and gardens, destruction of fences and gates, obstruction to traffic on the public roads and insanitary practices at their encampments.

8. As I mentioned, there were in 1956 approximately 1,600 itinerants between the ages of 6 and 14 years, the age limits between which attendance at school is compulsory. The question will immediately present itself to your minds as to how these children are being educated. The stark reality of the situation is that they are not. We cannot contemplate such a state of affairs continuing indefinitely without any action being taken to deal with it. The situation, however, is a complicated and difficult one. In 1941 the Minister for Education decided that under the existing law it was not possible to deal effectively with the children of itinerants and their parents and guardians because of their quick passage from one place to another and the fact that it was necessary that a parent be convicted of a second or subsequent offence before the child could be committed to an industrial school. To deal with that situation additional powers were sought. The School Attendance Bill, 1942, as passed by the Dáil and Senate, required vagrants to register particulars of their families and of the education received by their children at local Garda stations. It prescribed the periods of attendance at school, powers of arrest for the Gardaí, powers of commitment of children to industrial schools and so on. The Bill also had a section empowering the Minister for Education to decide whether a child was receiving a suitable education in a manner other than

by attending a National School, a suitable school or a recognised school. This section was considered by the Supreme Court which decided that it was repugnant to the Constitution. In the circumstances, the Bill was not signed by the President and none of its provisions became law.

9. Another aspect of the problem, the one which is most aggravating to farmers and persons living along the itinerants' routes, is the question of trespass—trespass by itinerants and their animals causes considerable damage and even more annoyance. Under the existing law, however, trespass is primarily a civil matter and if trespass were to be made a criminal offence the law would have to apply to every section of the community and not merely to a particular class. Such an extension of the criminal law could only be undertaken after the benefits and disadvantages to the community as a whole had been carefully considered. There is also the problem that owing to the mobility of itinerants it is difficult to identify offenders and to serve summonses on them; difficult to ensure their attendance at Court and very difficult to enforce the judgment of the Court. These difficulties are also present, of course, in combating the common offences of petty thieving, begging, breaches of the peace and insanitary practices.

10. The Department of Local Government have had under consideration for several years the question of promoting further legislation regarding temporary dwellings. As a general principle, of course, our legislation could not distinguish itinerants from other users of temporary dwellings so that any type of compulsory action under the sanitary services law would affect tourists using trailer caravans, seaside huts and so on. It may be that a contribution towards the eventual absorption of the itinerants into the rest of the community would be the establishment of camping sites by the local authorities and the feasibility of this will, no doubt, be one of the many matters to which you will give your attention.

11. How are the many itinerant families to make an honest living? Before the war they seemed to live principally in horse-drawn vans and to make their living by dealing in horses, selling pots and pans and sundry other items. Today, it is not unusual to find some of these families with motor cars and lorries. Generally, however, it seems obvious that their standards of living are low, that there are few skilled tradesmen or craftsmen amongst them and that there is no longer any great demand for the particular kinds of goods they have been accustomed to trade in in the past years. The provision of vocational training and steady employment would seem to be a prerequisite to their permanent absorption into any local community.

12. It has been frequently stated that itinerants constitute a danger to the general health of the community and there is some evidence to support this contention. The general standard of health among

the itinerants themselves leaves a lot to be desired and their infant mortality rates are appalling. These are matters to which you will I know give the most careful attention. One over-riding consideration which dominates the entire background of this problem and is of paramount importance in relation to it is the simple fact that the humblest itinerant is entitled to a place in the sun and to a share in the benefits of our society. His fundamental rights as an individual and his religious beliefs are sacred and inalienable. The acceptance of this fact must govern our whole approach to this very difficult and very complex problem.

13. My purpose today in addressing you is threefold. In the first instance, I wish to thank you on behalf of the Taoiseach for agreeing to take on this onerous task; secondly, to give you a brief outline of the problems you will encounter and, thirdly, I want to offer you on behalf of the Taoiseach the full co-operation of all Government Departments and to wish you every success in your work. It only remains for me to say that I myself as Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister for Justice will be more than pleased if I can be of any assistance to you during the course of your deliberations.

APPENDIX II
CENSUS OF ITINERANTS
COMPARISONS WITH PREVIOUS CENSUS FIGURES

County	Vagrants under age of 6 years					Vagrants between ages of 6 and 14 years					Vagrants over age of 14 years					Total				
	1961	1960	1956	1952	1944	1961	1960	1956	1952	1944	1961	1960	1956	1952	1944	1961	1960	1956	1952	1944
Carlow	44	32	32	23	45	25	28	30	23	45	70	63	60	69	98	139	123	122	115	188
Cavan	26	58	52	48	51	25	59	43	17	45	49	98	56	87	98	100	215	151	152	194
Clare	75	44	46	84	49	69	40	27	82	46	111	87	77	178	106	255	171	150	344	201
Cork	151	169	108	152	174	123	140	105	139	66	203	265	217	313	175	477	574	430	604	315
Donegal	55	45	58	61	14	49	43	59	48	15	102	87	104	119	49	206	175	221	228	78
Dublin	86	117	88	29	4	51	88	71	27	5	121	218	181	102	29	258	418	340	158	38
Galway	215	223	257	234	124	199	204	233	180	119	400	395	476	441	242	814	822	966	855	465
Kerry	81	67	105	64	88	76	67	93	45	76	126	113	178	129	199	283	247	376	238	363
Kildare	50	30	67	52	*	53	24	65	55	*	105	53	128	109	*	206	107	260	216	*
Kilkenny	39	58	38	18	43	24	56	20	25	34	65	119	74	66	116	128	233	132	100	193
Laois	40	27	45	47	28	48	35	41	52	33	79	51	97	115	66	167	113	183	214	127
Leitrim	44	44	45	42	48	51	40	34	47	32	50	59	67	67	68	145	143	146	156	148
Limerick	79	115	108	81	48	63	90	89	74	59	123	192	229	154	104	265	397	426	309	211
Longford	33	46	34	87	47	30	32	33	33	38	80	66	64	64	94	143	144	131	134	179
Louth	44	42	13	36	39	29	36	49	33	41	59	68	94	81	92	132	146	216	150	172
Mayo	85	114	128	99	63	94	127	93	66	64	150	237	186	168	124	329	478	407	323	251
Meath	40	48	42	28	33	39	37	49	27	39	57	76	87	67	93	136	161	178	122	165
Monaghan	39	31	69	48	21	36	35	56	22	24	59	54	97	68	37	134	120	222	138	82
Offaly	40	44	96	30	37	46	56	97	30	38	94	119	221	81	94	180	219	414	141	169
Roscommon	46	74	83	101	51	41	79	82	93	53	77	135	160	162	153	164	288	325	356	257
Sligo	75	52	55	20	24	63	50	43	28	31	100	60	57	56	48	238	162	155	104	103
Tipperary	120	103	131	109	102	108	96	103	100	98	222	201	226	238	185	450	400	460	447	385
Waterford	9	21	43	16	52	4	21	37	9	23	18	33	85	44	105	31	75	165	69	180
Westmeath	40	78	45	45	58	34	73	40	36	56	57	128	95	98	133	131	279	180	179	247
Wexford	63	72	90	64	60	65	65	56	65	68	127	140	133	152	176	255	277	279	281	304
Wicklow	81	28	24	24	21	27	26	29	28	39	54	50	60	81	60	112	104	113	133	120
TOTALS ..	1,650	1,782	1,962	1,592	1,224	1,472	1,642	1,677	1,374	1,187	2,758	3,167	3,509	3,300	2,740	5,880	6,591	7,148	6,275	5,151

NOTE :

(1) The figures for 1944 and 1952 do not include the County Boroughs.

(2) No separate figures for Carlow and Kildare (which comprise a single Garda Division) are available for 1944. The figures shown for Carlow for that year include those for Kildare.

(3) The exact dates of the taking of each census are as follows :—

1st June, 1961. 1st December, 1960. 10th September, 1956. 30th April, 1952 (except for Carlow and Kildare which was taken on 2nd May, 1952). 6th September, 1944.

APPENDIX III
CENSUS OF ITINERANTS, DECEMBER, 1960

County	Number of Families	Number of Itinerants	Number able to read/write	Number of	
				Catholics	Protestants
Carlow ...	25	123	17	123	—
Cavan ...	32	215	21	215	—
Clare ...	35	171	22	171	—
Cork ...	103	574	119	574	—
Donegal ...	32	175	26	175	—
Dublin ...	85	418	61	414	4
Galway ...	142	822	55	822	—
Kerry ...	44	247	36	247	—
Kildare ...	20	107	16	107	—
Kilkenny ...	47	233	35	229	4
Laoighis ...	21	113	11	105	8
Leitrim ...	23	143	1	143	—
Limerick ...	78	397	70	397	—
Longford ...	25	144	5	144	—
Louth ...	28	146	21	135	11
Mayo ...	84	478	65	478	—
Meath ...	28	161	28	161	—
Monaghan ...	20	120	13	117	3
Offaly ...	45	219	11	219	—
Roscommon ...	46	288	16	288	—
Sligo ...	20	162	3	162	—
Tipperary ...	79	400	56	400	—
Waterford ...	16	75	13	75	—
Westmeath ...	46	279	33	279	—
Wexford ...	55	277	11	277	—
Wicklow ...	19	104	18	104	—
TOTALS ...	1,198	6,591	783	6,561	30

APPENDIX IV
CENSUS OF ITINERANTS, JUNE, 1961

County	Number of Families	Number of Itinerants	Number able to read/write	Number of	
				Catholics	Protestants
Carlow ...	25	139	18	139	—
Cavan ...	16	100	13	100	—
Clare ...	44	255	38	255	—
Cork ...	87	477	103	473	4
Donegal ...	41	206	35	206	—
Dublin ...	46	258	30	252	6
Galway ...	135	814	89	814	—
Kerry ...	52	283	59	283	—
Kildare ...	34	208	21	208	—
Kilkenny ...	32	128	15	128	—
Laoighis ...	26	167	5	154	13
Leitrim ...	18	145	3	145	—
Limerick ...	51	265	30	265	—
Longford ...	24	143	17	143	—
Louth ...	26	132	18	132	—
Mayo ...	57	329	47	329	—
Meath ...	22	136	22	136	—
Monaghan ...	20	134	23	134	—
Offaly ...	33	180	8	180	—
Roscommon ...	26	164	12	164	—
Sligo ...	33	238	10	238	—
Tipperary ...	84	450	35	450	—
Waterford...	10	31	7	31	—
Westmeath ...	24	131	11	119	12
Wexford ...	51	255	15	255	—
Wicklow ...	19	112	11	112	—
TOTALS ...	1,036	5,880	695	5,845	35

APPENDIX V
CENSUS OF ITINERANTS
COUNT BY SEXES

County	DECEMBER, 1960		Total	JUNE, 1961		Total
	Number of Male Itinerants	Number of Female Itinerants		Number of Male Itinerants	Number of Female Itinerants	
Carlow ...	66	57	123	70	69	139
Cavan ...	113	102	215	58	42	100
Clare ...	85	86	171	129	126	255
Cork ...	285	289	574	236	241	477
Donegal ...	91	84	175	112	94	206
Dublin ...	231	187	418	141	117	258
Galway ...	430	392	822	420	394	814
Kerry ...	126	121	247	152	131	283
Kildare ...	50	57	107	105	103	208
Kilkenny ...	141	92	233	68	60	128
Laoighis ...	55	58	113	79	88	167
Leitrim ...	71	72	143	75	70	145
Limerick ...	195	202	397	134	131	265
Longford ...	75	69	144	72	71	143
Louth ...	78	68	146	69	63	132
Mayo ...	242	236	478	170	159	329
Meath ...	80	81	161	77	59	136
Monaghan ...	61	59	120	66	68	134
Offaly ...	113	106	219	87	93	180
Roscommon ...	146	142	288	79	85	164
Sligo ...	84	78	162	116	122	238
Tipperary ...	206	194	400	238	212	450
Waterford ...	38	37	75	16	15	31
Westmeath ...	136	143	279	67	64	131
Wexford ...	139	138	277	136	119	255
Wicklow ...	57	47	104	60	52	112
TOTALS ...	3,394	3,197	6,591	3,032	2,848	5,880

APPENDIX VI
CENSUS OF ITINERANTS, DECEMBER, 1960
FAMILY SIZES

County	Number of Persons per Family																Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	
	Number of Families																
Carlow ...	2	3	4	3	3	1	5	2	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	25
Cavan ...	1	4	3	2	—	6	2	2	4	4	3	—	—	1	—	—	32
Clare ...	5	4	7	4	4	1	1	3	3	1	1	—	—	—	—	1	35
Cork ...	9	10	13	9	15	10	9	6	11	6	2	1	—	—	2	—	103
Donegal ...	2	2	4	7	3	3	4	2	2	1	—	2	—	—	—	—	32
Dublin ...	7	9	14	12	15	11	5	3	1	3	1	1	1	2	—	—	85
Galway ...	7	17	13	19	17	16	14	15	9	5	5	2	3	—	—	—	142
Kerry ...	3	3	4	9	5	4	5	3	3	2	2	—	1	—	—	—	44
Kildare ...	3	—	3	2	2	2	4	2	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	20
Kilkenny ...	2	6	7	10	6	5	2	1	6	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	47
Laoighis ...	6	1	2	2	—	2	2	—	—	2	3	1	—	—	—	—	21
Leitrim ...	2	1	3	1	2	2	4	2	3	1	—	1	1	—	—	—	23
Limerick ...	8	9	7	8	15	8	8	4	6	4	—	—	1	—	—	—	78
Longford ...	3	3	2	2	2	4	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	—	—	—	25
Louth ...	5	3	3	—	2	6	2	3	2	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	28
Mayo ...	6	17	6	7	7	7	7	7	5	7	5	2	—	—	—	1	84
Meath ...	3	2	4	1	5	—	4	2	3	3	—	1	—	—	—	—	28
Monaghan ...	—	6	2	2	—	—	3	—	1	3	2	1	—	—	—	—	20
Offaly ...	3	13	4	6	3	—	5	5	1	1	3	1	—	—	—	—	45
Roscommon ...	1	4	4	11	2	3	1	6	7	2	3	2	—	—	—	—	46
Sligo ...	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	—	3	1	3	2	2	—	—	—	20
Tipperary ...	10	10	11	10	6	8	3	7	5	3	5	1	—	—	—	—	79
Waterford...	—	6	2	—	1	2	2	1	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	16
Westmeath ...	2	5	5	5	3	4	6	5	5	1	4	1	—	—	—	—	46
Wexford ...	2	7	5	13	4	6	11	2	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	55
Wicklow ...	—	4	2	3	3	—	2	2	1	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	19
TOTALS ...	93	150	135	149	127	112	114	87	91	55	45	21	11	4	2	2	1,198

APPENDIX VII
CENSUS OF ITINERANTS, JUNE, 1961
FAMILY SIZES

County	Number of Persons per Family																Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	
	Number of Families																
Carlow ...	—	2	3	3	4	5	4	1	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	25
Cavan ...	—	2	2	—	4	—	2	2	1	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	16
Clare ...	2	2	7	6	2	7	6	4	4	2	2	—	—	—	—	—	44
Cork ...	7	8	11	10	11	11	9	5	5	6	1	1	1	—	1	—	87
Donegal ...	4	9	1	6	5	2	5	3	2	1	—	3	—	—	—	—	41
Dublin ...	4	1	8	9	4	5	4	1	2	5	1	—	1	1	—	—	46
Galway ...	2	14	17	14	17	16	13	8	15	11	5	1	1	—	—	1	135
Kerry ...	3	1	13	8	5	5	5	3	4	3	1	—	—	—	—	1	52
Kildare ...	1	2	3	1	8	4	4	6	3	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	34
Kilkenny ...	3	4	5	9	6	2	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	32
Laoighis ...	—	3	2	4	1	3	2	2	4	4	—	1	—	—	—	—	26
Leitrim ...	—	—	2	1	2	—	1	3	4	1	1	2	1	—	—	—	18
Limerick ...	5	6	6	7	7	4	4	2	5	4	—	—	—	1	—	—	51
Llongford ...	—	1	3	4	3	5	3	—	2	1	2	—	—	—	—	—	24
Louth ...	2	6	—	4	2	5	3	2	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	26
Mayo ...	3	9	5	6	4	5	8	6	6	—	2	1	1	1	—	—	57
Meath ...	3	2	—	1	4	1	2	1	1	4	—	2	—	1	—	—	22
Monaghan ...	—	3	3	1	1	4	—	—	2	2	1	2	1	—	—	—	20
Offaly ...	1	8	5	2	2	1	4	2	4	1	1	2	—	—	—	—	33
Roscommon ...	1	2	3	3	2	4	1	2	3	3	—	2	—	—	—	—	26
Sligo ...	2	3	3	3	1	4	4	—	1	2	3	4	—	3	—	—	33
Tipperary ...	6	12	17	7	6	6	4	10	5	4	4	2	1	—	—	—	84
Waterford...	2	3	1	2	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	10
Westmeath ...	1	4	5	2	—	3	2	1	4	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	24
Wexford ...	4	5	8	7	4	3	12	5	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	51
Wicklow ...	—	1	2	3	5	1	2	1	3	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	19
TOTALS ...	56	113	135	123	111	106	106	71	85	58	27	27	8	7	1	2	1,036

APPENDIX VIII
CENSUS OF ITINERANTS, DECEMBER, 1960
AGE GROUPS

County	up to 6 yrs.	6 up to 14 yrs.	14 up to 30 yrs.	30 up to 40 yrs.	40 up to 50 yrs.	50 up to 60 yrs.	60 yrs. and over	Total
Carlow ...	32	28	30	14	10	4	5	123
Cavan ...	58	59	54	21	10	10	3	215
Clare ...	44	40	50	16	12	2	7	171
Cork ...	169	140	134	68	39	7	17	574
Donegal ...	45	43	49	10	20	5	3	175
Dublin ...	117	83	120	45	26	12	15	418
Galway ...	223	204	221	74	54	25	21	822
Kerry ...	67	67	60	25	18	4	6	247
Kildare ...	30	24	27	6	11	9	—	107
Kilkenny ...	58	56	57	21	24	11	6	233
Laoighis ...	27	35	23	10	10	4	4	113
Leitrim ...	44	40	35	10	5	6	3	143
Limerick ...	115	90	104	40	22	15	11	397
Longford ...	46	32	34	15	8	5	4	144
Louth ...	42	36	42	11	4	5	6	146
Mayo ...	114	127	128	56	23	11	19	478
Meath ...	48	37	35	16	11	7	7	161
Monaghan ...	31	35	26	16	8	—	4	120
Offaly ...	44	56	51	22	19	13	14	219
Roscommon ...	74	79	73	28	14	15	5	288
Sligo ...	52	50	34	16	7	1	2	162
Tipperary ...	103	96	99	37	32	20	13	400
Waterford ...	21	21	16	5	4	5	3	75
Westmeath ...	78	73	62	31	19	11	5	279
Wexford ...	72	65	70	24	26	15	5	277
Wicklow ...	28	26	27	12	5	4	2	104
TOTALS ...	1,782	1,642	1,661	649	441	226	190	6,591

APPENDIX IX
CENSUS OF ITINERANTS, JUNE, 1961
AGE GROUPS

County	Up to 6 yrs.	6 up to 14 yrs.	14 up to 30 yrs.	30 up to 40 yrs.	40 up to 50 yrs.	50 up to 60 yrs.	60 yrs. and over	Total
Carlow ...	44	25	35	11	8	9	7	139
Cavan ...	26	25	30	8	7	3	1	100
Clare ...	75	69	52	32	10	9	8	255
Cork ...	151	123	96	52	30	10	15	477
Donegal ...	55	49	59	11	22	6	4	206
Dublin ...	86	51	66	23	15	10	7	258
Galway ...	215	199	216	81	55	26	22	814
Kerry ...	81	76	57	31	25	7	6	283
Kildare ...	50	53	63	15	13	11	3	208
Kilkenny ...	39	24	28	20	8	6	3	128
Laoighis ...	40	48	33	21	14	5	6	167
Leitrim ...	44	51	26	10	8	3	3	145
Limerick ...	79	63	69	26	8	10	10	265
Longford ...	33	30	47	9	8	11	5	143
Louth ...	44	29	29	14	6	5	5	132
Mayo ...	85	94	72	44	13	11	10	329
Meath ...	40	39	27	13	9	6	2	136
Monaghan	39	36	31	15	8	5	—	134
Offaly ...	40	46	47	15	12	11	9	180
Roscommon	46	41	42	19	8	6	2	164
Sligo ...	75	63	61	18	13	3	5	238
Tipperary ...	120	108	100	41	42	23	16	450
Waterford...	9	4	6	6	1	4	1	31
Westmeath	40	34	25	15	6	4	7	131
Wexford ...	63	65	61	26	18	15	7	255
Wicklow ...	31	27	28	11	5	4	6	112
TOTALS ...	1,650	1,472	1,406	587	372	223	170	5,880

APPENDIX X
CENSUS OF ITINERANTS, DECEMBER, 1960
AGE AT MARRIAGE

County	MALE				FEMALE			
	Under 18 years	18—25 years	25—40 years	Over 40 years	Under 18 years	18—25 years	25—40 years	Over 40 years
Carlow ...	1	14	7	—	6	11	6	—
Cavan ...	3	21	7	—	14	15	1	—
Clare ...	1	18	8	—	11	18	3	—
Cork ...	4	58	22	—	24	61	8	—
Donegal ...	4	18	5	1	8	20	1	—
Dublin ...	9	42	18	1	30	33	12	—
Galway ...	14	82	23	3	52	71	10	—
Kerry ...	1	28	8	—	11	23	4	—
Kildare ...	3	6	7	—	7	8	3	—
Kilkenny ...	1	29	12	—	12	28	2	—
Laoighis ...	1	9	3	—	3	9	3	—
Leitrim ...	1	18	2	—	13	6	1	—
Limerick ...	1	48	17	—	25	36	6	—
Longford ...	1	17	3	—	4	19	—	—
Louth ...	3	13	5	1	12	10	—	1
Mayo ...	6	56	14	—	34	41	4	—
Meath ...	1	18	7	—	10	11	3	—
Monaghan ...	1	11	4	2	8	6	5	—
Offaly ...	5	23	10	1	26	6	6	—
Roscommon ...	6	32	6	—	17	25	2	—
Sligo ...	1	17	1	—	10	8	1	—
Tipperary ...	2	28	30	2	16	39	11	—
Waterford...	1	8	5	1	5	8	1	—
Westmeath ...	5	28	8	1	21	17	4	—
Wexford ...	2	34	12	2	17	32	2	—
Wicklow ...	—	12	7	—	10	6	2	—
TOTALS ...	78	688	251	15	406	567	101	1

APPENDIX XI
CENSUS OF ITINERANTS, JUNE, 1961
AGE AT MARRIAGE

County	MALE				FEMALE			
	Under 18 years	18—25 years	25—40 years	Over 40 years	Under 18 years	18—25 years	25—40 years	Over 40 years
Carlow ...	2	13	7	—	12	13	3	—
Cavan ...	1	13	2	—	8	6	1	—
Clare ...	2	27	9	1	18	16	6	—
Cork ...	2	58	10	1	27	52	1	—
Donegal ...	4	23	8	—	14	16	2	—
Dublin ...	1	18	21	—	15	22	4	—
Galway ...	11	82	25	—	57	65	9	—
Kerry ...	1	27	17	—	12	27	8	—
Kildare ...	2	20	8	1	13	16	—	—
Kilkenny ...	2	17	7	—	8	14	3	—
Laoighis ...	1	14	6	1	4	16	5	—
Leitrim ...	—	15	3	—	9	9	—	—
Limerick ...	—	38	7	—	24	20	2	—
Longford ...	1	16	3	—	6	16	—	—
Louth ...	—	19	4	—	12	11	1	—
Mayo ...	3	41	8	—	20	30	3	—
Meath ...	—	18	4	—	5	11	2	—
Monaghan ...	—	14	5	—	10	8	2	—
Offaly ...	5	22	3	1	16	16	1	—
Roscommon ...	2	19	2	—	8	16	—	—
Sligo ...	2	24	3	—	13	18	—	—
Tipperary ...	4	43	19	3	26	40	5	—
Waterford ...	1	7	1	—	3	5	1	—
Westmeath ...	3	11	7	—	14	7	—	—
Wexford ...	3	31	14	—	19	27	2	—
Wicklow ...	1	9	7	—	10	8	—	—
TOTALS ...	54	639	210	8	383	505	61	—

APPENDIX XII

CENSUS OF ITINERANTS, DECEMBER, 1960

NUMBER HOLDING SOCIAL INSURANCE CARDS OR IN RECEIPT OF OLD AGE PENSIONS

County	Total number of Itinerants over 14 years of age	Number of Itinerants who have Social Insurance Cards	Number of Itinerants in receipt of Old Age Pensions
Carlow	63	12	7
Cavan	98	7	1
Clare	87	2	7
Cork	65	7	7
Donegal	87	2	2
Dublin	218	7	3
Galway	395	30	6
Kerry	113	7	3
Kildare	53	7	3
Kilkenny	119	3	2
Laoighis	51	1	3
Leitrim	59	—	3
Limerick	192	9	17
Longford	66	8	1
Louth	68	3	6
Mayo	237	6	4
Meath	76	10	5
Monaghan	54	2	3
Offaly	119	2	4
Roscommon	135	1	5
Sligo	60	—	1
Tipperary	201	19	2
Waterford	33	7	3
Westmeath	128	20	6
Wexford	140	12	8
Wicklow	50	4	—
TOTALS	3,167	188	112

APPENDIX XIII

CENSUS OF ITINERANTS, JUNE, 1961

NUMBER HOLDING SOCIAL INSURANCE CARDS

County	Total number of Itinerants over 14 years of age	Number of Itinerants who have Social Insurance Cards
Carlow	70	11
Cavan	49	6
Clare	111	1
Cork	203	9
Donegal	102	12
Dublin	121	11
Galway	400	26
Kerry	126	16
Kildare	105	23
Kilkenny	65	3
Laoighis	79	2
Leitrim	50	1
Limerick	123	18
Longford	80	1
Louth	59	2
Mayo	150	4
Meath	57	9
Monaghan	59	—
Offaly	94	8
Roscommon	77	2
Sligo	100	7
Tipperary	222	26
Waterford	18	1
Westmeath	57	9
Wexford	127	7
Wicklow	54	1
TOTALS	2,758	216

APPENDIX XIV

CENSUS OF ITINERANTS, DECEMBER, 1960

WHETHER PARENTS OF HEAD AND MOTHER OF FAMILY WERE/ARE ITINERANTS

County	HEAD OF FAMILY		MOTHER OF FAMILY	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Carlow	18	5	18	5
Cavan	29	2	29	1
Clare	25	5	27	3
Cork	72	17	76	15
Donegal	25	5	22	7
Dublin	64	10	69	9
Galway	124	3	123	10
Kerry	35	5	30	10
Kildare	12	4	14	4
Kilkenny	36	8	36	6
Laoighis	17	—	16	1
Leitrim	20	—	20	—
Limerick	70	3	59	8
Longford	21	1	23	—
Louth	20	4	16	9
Mayo	71	8	74	5
Meath	25	3	20	4
Monaghan	17	2	15	4
Offaly	37	4	35	3
Roscommon	43	1	44	—
Sligo	19	1	18	1
Tipperary	64	6	60	8
Waterford	10	5	8	6
Westmeath	31	13	30	11
Wexford	51	—	47	4
Wicklow	17	2	13	5
TOTALS	973	117	942	139

APPENDIX XV
CENSUS OF ITINERANTS, JUNE, 1961
WHETHER PARENTS OF HEAD AND MOTHER OF FAMILY WERE/ARE
ITINERANTS

County	HEAD OF FAMILY		MOTHER OF FAMILY	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Carlow	18	4	19	6
Cavan	13	3	12	4
Clare	41	3	37	7
Cork	65	7	66	13
Donegal	33	6	25	8
Dublin	36	6	37	4
Galway	107	14	122	14
Kerry	44	5	46	4
Kildare	31	3	29	5
Kilkenny	28	2	26	3
Laoighis	24	1	22	—
Leitrim	15	3	14	4
Limerick	45	3	42	2
Longford	18	4	15	6
Louth	21	1	18	7
Mayo	49	3	50	5
Meath	20	2	16	3
Monaghan	18	2	19	1
Offaly	29	3	25	4
Roscommon	23	1	22	2
Sligo	29	1	29	1
Tipperary	67	8	62	8
Waterford	6	4	6	4
Westmeath	16	5	21	2
Wexford	48	3	47	3
Wicklow	15	3	13	6
TOTALS	859	100	840	126

APPENDIX XVI
CENSUS OF ITINERANTS, DECEMBER, 1960

County	Total number of Itiner- ants	Number of Itinerants who have suffered from				
		(1) Tuber- culosis	(2) Bron- chitis	(3) Pneu- monia	(4) Rheuma- tism	(5) Skin Disease
Carlow ...	123	—	—	3	3	1
Cavan ...	215	—	1	2	2	—
Clare ...	171	—	3	1	3	—
Cork ...	574	7	30	14	16	1
Donegal ...	175	4	4	2	2	—
Dublin ...	418	4	6	12	8	—
Galway ...	822	—	13	21	19	1
Kerry ...	247	2	4	13	5	2
Kildare ...	107	3	6	3	3	4
Kilkenny ...	233	—	7	6	2	—
Laoighis ...	113	1	2	3	6	—
Leitrim ...	143	1	—	2	—	—
Limerick ...	397	3	6	9	9	4
Longford ...	144	1	2	3	3	—
Louth ...	146	2	5	4	5	1
Mayo ...	478	4	7	10	7	1
Meath ...	161	1	1	—	2	1
Monaghan ...	120	1	3	7	2	1
Offaly ...	219	1	6	11	4	4
Roscommon ...	288	—	5	6	4	—
Sligo ...	162	—	1	1	1	—
Tipperary ...	400	2	8	12	6	1
Waterford ...	75	1	4	4	2	—
Westmeath ...	279	2	1	5	8	—
Wexford ...	277	—	12	10	6	—
Wicklow ...	104	—	4	6	4	15
TOTALS ...	6,591	40	141	170	132	37

APPENDIX XVII
CENSUS OF ITINERANTS, JUNE, 1961

County	Total number of Itinerants	Number of Itinerants who have suffered from				
		(1) Tuber- culosis	(2) Bron- chitis	(3) Pneu- monia	(4) Rheuma- tism	(5) Skin Disease
Carlow ...	139	—	7	2	4	—
Cavan ...	100	1	4	1	1	—
Clare ...	255	1	4	3	—	1
Cork ...	477	7	17	9	9	—
Donegal ...	206	—	2	3	1	—
Dublin ...	258	—	11	7	8	2
Galway ...	814	3	6	15	15	1
Kerry ...	283	1	4	11	4	—
Kildare ...	208	3	7	7	4	1
Kilkenny ...	128	1	4	2	—	—
Laoighis ...	167	—	7	2	3	—
Leitrim ...	145	1	2	2	1	1
Limerick ...	265	1	3	17	5	2
Longford ...	143	2	2	3	1	—
Louth ...	132	—	3	5	1	—
Mayo ...	329	2	12	13	10	—
Meath ...	136	1	3	8	—	—
Monaghan ...	134	1	3	6	5	—
Offaly ...	180	—	2	4	3	—
Roscommon ...	164	—	1	—	—	—
Sligo ...	238	—	—	2	1	1
Tipperary ...	450	5	10	14	5	2
Waterford ...	31	—	—	—	1	—
Westmeath ...	131	1	1	2	3	—
Wexford ...	255	—	6	5	3	—
Wicklow ...	112	1	6	5	4	—
TOTALS ...	5,880	32	127	148	92	11

APPENDIX XVIII
CENSUS OF ITINERANTS, DECEMBER, 1960
CHILD STATISTICS

County	No. of families with children	No. of children born alive	No. born in hospital	No. of others attended by doctor or midwife at birth	No. still alive	Of those who died, age at death			
						Under 2 yrs.	2 to 6 yrs.	6 to 14 yrs.	Over 14 yrs.
Carlow	23	119	106	6	108	8	—	1	2
Cavan	29	192	111	77	180	10	2	—	—
Clare	28	170	106	37	148	19	1	—	2
Cork	94	581	495	76	497	73	4	2	5
Donegal	30	206	150	42	153	37	10	5	1
Dublin	74	407	324	71	354	40	2	1	10
Galway	126	886	859	475	722	145	11	5	3
Kerry	40	253	225	14	203	44	5	—	1
Kildare	20	142	90	11	106	30	1	1	4
Kilkenny	42	254	230	7	224	27	2	—	1
Laoighis	14	115	93	—	88	22	1	2	2
Leitrim	22	179	76	52	157	17	2	—	3
Limerick	70	416	305	100	364	41	5	3	3
Longford	23	157	115	41	137	15	3	1	1
Louth	22	170	123	21	140	27	2	—	1
Mayo	67	508	253	193	440	51	7	3	7
Meath	26	166	135	21	139	24	1	1	1
Monaghan	15	96	79	16	91	3	1	—	1
Offaly	35	269	81	52	218	43	5	1	2
Roscommon	43	322	62	69	277	36	2	7	—
Sligo	18	146	44	30	141	5	—	—	—
Tipperary	65	392	315	39	335	51	1	4	1
Waterford	14	77	64	12	59	11	3	3	1
Westmeath	44	284	227	37	247	31	1	—	5
Wexford	49	277	240	27	241	29	6	1	—
Wicklow	16	120	82	36	96	20	2	1	1
TOTALS	1,049	6,904	4,600	1,562	5,865	859	80	42	58

NOTE :

The number of children born in hospitals or at whose birth a doctor or midwife attended is 68 % and 23 % respectively of the total number of children born.

The number of children still alive was 85 % and 12.5 % died before reaching 2 years of age.

APPENDIX XIX
CENSUS OF ITINERANTS, JUNE, 1961
CHILD STATISTICS

County	No. of families with children	No. of children born alive	No. born in hospital	No. of others attended by doctor or midwife at birth	No. still alive	Of those who died, age at death			
						Under 2 yrs.	2 to 6 yrs.	6 to 14 yrs.	Over 14 yrs.
Carlow	23	173	157	11	123	39	2	3	6
Cavan	15	95	76	19	85	10	—	—	—
Clare	40	276	201	31	254	10	3	—	—
Cork	83	537	496	51	464	60	7	1	5
Donegal	32	220	116	71	185	26	8	4	2
Dublin	42	233	176	32	201	29	—	—	3
Galway	132	855	350	480	733	110	8	4	—
Kerry	46	305	259	25	251	53	—	1	—
Kildare	29	210	153	54	189	16	1	2	2
Kilkenny	29	118	113	2	95	21	—	—	2
Laoighis	24	182	109	10	122	8	—	1	1
Leitrim	18	134	57	77	123	11	—	—	—
Limerick	41	294	277	45	242	41	5	3	3
Longford	20	154	84	68	130	17	3	3	1
Louth	21	145	117	28	129	14	1	—	1
Mayo	52	377	208	137	310	50	7	5	5
Meath	16	111	99	12	108	1	2	—	—
Monaghan	15	116	92	21	108	8	—	—	—
Offaly	26	175	127	48	148	28	1	3	—
Roscommon	25	181	71	109	152	24	1	4	—
Sligo	31	240	119	96	219	21	—	—	—
Tipperary	70	492	410	51	434	44	6	8	5
Waterford	5	22	22	—	21	1	—	—	—
Westmeath	22	146	97	37	134	11	—	1	—
Wexford	41	244	224	19	219	19	3	1	2
Wicklow	18	144	107	27	113	22	5	2	2
TOTALS	916	6,129	4,267	1,561	5,287	703	58	41	40

NOTE :

The number of children born in hospitals or at whose birth a doctor or midwife attended is 69% and 25% respectively of the total number of children born.

The number of children still alive was 86% and 11.5% died before reaching 2 years of age.

APPENDIX XX

CENSUS OF ITINERANTS, DECEMBER, 1960

BREAKDOWN OF STATISTICS OF CHILDREN WHO DIED UNDER THE AGE OF TWO YEARS

County	Number of children who died under 2 years of age	Number of Children who died		
		(a) Under 1 month	(b) Between 1 month and 12 months	(c) Between 12 months and 2 years
Carlow ...	8	4	3	1
Cavan ...	10	5	5	—
Clare ...	19	15	3	1
Cork ...	73	26	43	4
Donegal ...	37	7	22	8
Dublin ...	40	8	24	8
Galway ...	145	73	58	14
Kerry ...	44	20	23	1
Kildare ...	30	15	11	4
Kilkenny ...	27	15	11	1
Laoighis ...	22	12	8	2
Leitrim ...	17	3	13	1
Limerick ...	41	16	23	2
Longford ...	15	3	11	1
Louth ...	27	3	24	—
Mayo ...	51	18	28	5
Meath ...	24	15	9	—
Monaghan ...	3	1	2	—
Offaly ...	43	30	8	5
Roscommon...	36	12	21	3
Sligo ...	5	2	2	1
Tipperary ...	51	21	23	7
Waterford ...	11	3	6	2
Westmeath ...	31	14	16	1
Wexford ...	29	16	11	2
Wicklow ...	20	6	11	3
TOTALS ...	859	363	419	77

APPENDIX XXI

CENSUS OF ITINERANTS, JUNE, 1961

BREAKDOWN OF STATISTICS OF CHILDREN WHO DIED UNDER THE AGE OF TWO YEARS

County	Number of children who died under 2 years of age	Number of Children who died		
		(a) Under 1 month	(b) Between 1 month and 12 months	(c) Between 12 months and 2 years
Carlow ...	39	24	13	2
Cavan ...	10	3	5	2
Clare ...	19	4	14	1
Cork ...	60	23	29	8
Donegal ...	26	14	8	4
Dublin ...	29	17	11	1
Galway ...	110	56	42	12
Kerry ...	53	32	18	3
Kildare ...	16	14	2	—
Kilkenny ...	21	15	5	1
Laoighis ...	8	4	1	3
Leitrim ...	11	6	5	—
Limerick ...	41	29	10	2
Longford ...	17	10	6	1
Louth ...	14	2	11	1
Mayo ...	50	37	10	3
Meath ...	1	—	—	1
Monaghan ...	8	5	3	—
Offaly ...	28	25	3	—
Roscommon...	24	14	8	2
Sligo ...	21	8	11	2
Tipperary ...	44	24	16	4
Waterford ...	1	—	1	—
Westmeath ...	11	6	2	3
Wexford ...	19	10	7	2
Wicklow ...	22	10	9	3
TOTALS ...	703	392	250	61

APPENDIX XXII

CENSUS OF ITINERANTS, DECEMBER, 1960

BREAKDOWN OF STATISTICS OF CHILDREN WHO DIED UNDER THE AGE OF 12 MONTHS, BORN OF MARRIAGES SINCE 1/1/50

County	Number of children born to parents married since 1/1/1950	Number of Children who died	
		(a) Under 1 month	(b) Between 1 month and 12 months
Carlow	25	—	1
Cavan	39	—	1
Clare	16	—	—
Cork	106	9	3
Donegal	30	3	1
Dublin	104	1	6
Galway	110	4	5
Kerry	53	2	3
Kildare	21	3	—
Kilkenny... ..	35	4	—
Laoighis	11	—	—
Leitrim	35	—	1
Limerick	72	—	1
Longford	18	—	1
Louth	46	1	3
Mayo	76	2	2
Meath	28	1	1
Monaghan	5	—	—
Offaly	11	2	—
Roscommon	35	—	2
Sligo	16	—	—
Tipperary	76	2	3
Waterford	19	—	1
Westmeath	39	3	2
Wexford	74	3	5
Wicklow	24	2	1
TOTALS	1,124	42	43

APPENDIX XXIII

CENSUS OF ITINERANTS, JUNE, 1961

BREAKDOWN OF STATISTICS OF CHILDREN WHO DIED UNDER THE AGE OF 12 MONTHS, BORN OF MARRIAGES SINCE 1/1/50

County	Number of children born to parents married since 1/1/50	Number of Children who died	
		(a) Under 1 month	(b) Between 1 month and 12 months
Carlow	36	2	1
Cavan	18	1	1
Clare	42	—	2
Cork	111	4	3
Donegal	37	1	3
Dublin	53	—	1
Galway	130	8	7
Kerry	46	—	—
Kildare	37	2	—
Kilkenny	39	—	—
Laoighis	24	—	—
Leitrim	25	2	1
Limerick	57	4	3
Longford	12	1	—
Louth	34	1	1
Mayo	70	3	2
Meath	28	—	—
Monaghan	22	—	—
Offaly	11	—	—
Roscommon	22	—	—
Sligo	39	1	—
Tipperary	48	1	1
Waterford	10	—	—
Westmeath	18	1	—
Wexford	46	1	—
Wicklow	21	1	1
TOTALS	1,036	34	27

APPENDIX XXIV

CENSUS OF ITINERANTS, DECEMBER, 1960

County	Positive Replies to query: Has he/she a Trade or craft. If so, what?					
	Total number of Itinerants over 14 years	Number of Itinerants who have trade or craft	Tinsmith	Chimney-sweep	Carpenter	Flower-maker
Carlow ...	63	16	13	1	—	1
Cavan ...	98	41	36	—	1	2
Clare ...	87	24	19	7	—	—
Cork ...	265	37	25	4	1	6
Donegal ...	87	19	17	—	—	2
Dublin ...	218	31	14	12	2	—
Galway ...	395	120	107	8	1	8
Kerry ...	113	33	15	15	1	—
Kildare ...	53	9	9	—	—	—
Kilkenny ...	119	27	22	4	—	1
Laoighis ...	51	10	8	2	—	—
Leitrim ...	59	25	25	—	—	—
Limerick ...	192	29	19	6	—	2
Longford ...	66	19	11	6	—	1
Louth ...	68	9	7	2	—	—
Mayo ...	237	75	66	6	—	3
Meath ...	76	16	8	7	—	—
Monaghan ...	54	14	13	—	—	1
Offaly ...	119	39	28	5	1	5
Roscommon ...	135	44	40	2	—	—
Sligo ...	60	19	18	1	—	—
Tipperary ...	201	50	39	6	1	2
Waterford ...	33	9	3	3	—	—
Westmeath ...	128	21	14	5	—	1
Wexford ...	140	21	18	1	—	1
Wicklow ...	50	7	6	—	1	—
TOTALS ...	3,167	769	600	103	9	36

NOTE: 1. Statistics relate to Itinerants over 14 years of age.

2. In addition to the trades set out above, there were a few itinerants who claimed to be shoemakers, basketmakers, waitresses, tailors, dressmakers, mechanics, umbrella repairers, brushmakers, blacksmiths, welders, etc. 30 tinsmiths also claimed to be sweeps.

APPENDIX XXV
CENSUS OF ITINERANTS, JUNE, 1961

County	Positive Replies to query: Has he/she a trade or craft. If so, what?					
	Total number of Itinerants over 14 years	Number of Itinerants who have trade or craft	Tinsmith	Chimney- sweep	Carpenter	Flower- maker
Carlow ...	70	11	7	3	1	—
Cavan ...	49	21	21	—	—	—
Clare ...	111	36	30	3	—	1
Cork ...	203	32	20	5	2	—
Donegal ...	102	32	25	1	—	4
Dublin ...	121	11	5	3	—	—
Galway ...	400	105	89	11	—	1
Kerry ...	126	21	5	12	2	—
Kildare ...	105	16	16	—	—	—
Kilkenny ...	65	16	13	1	—	—
Laoighis ...	79	16	15	1	—	—
Leitrim ...	50	15	15	—	—	—
Limerick ...	123	28	18	4	4	—
Longford ...	80	20	15	2	1	—
Louth ...	59	19	11	3	1	2
Mayo ...	150	46	41	3	—	—
Meath ...	57	13	12	—	—	—
Monaghan ...	59	20	19	—	—	1
Offaly ...	94	26	22	3	1	—
Roscommon ...	77	23	22	1	—	—
Sligo ...	100	41	38	1	—	2
Tipperary ...	222	61	39	8	3	4
Waterford ...	18	5	3	1	—	—
Westmeath ...	57	14	9	4	1	—
Wexford ...	127	17	15	1	—	—
Wicklow ...	54	10	8	—	—	—
TOTALS ...	2,758	675	533	71	16	15

NOTE: 1. Statistics relate to itinerants over 14 years of age.

2. In addition to the trades set out above, there were a few itinerants who claimed to be basketmakers, dressmakers, umbrella repairers, blacksmiths, toolgrinders, shoemakers, mechanics, builders, amusement caterers, etc. 12 tinsmiths also claimed to be sweeps.

APPENDIX XXVI
CENSUS OF ITINERANTS, DECEMBER, 1960

County	Total Number of Itinerants over 14 years	Replies to query:—Would he/she like to learn a trade or craft. If so, what?							
		No	Yes	Carpentry	Tinsmith	Mechanic including Driver, Fitter and Welder	Building including Painter, Plasterer, Plumber and Mason	Domestic work including Waitress and Cook	Dress- making and Knitting
Carlow	63	43	19	3	2	1	—	—	5
Cavan	98	50	14	4	—	3	—	—	3
Clare	87	71	16	2	1	—	—	—	1
Cork	265	191	74	11	3	7	1	8	3
Donegal	87	71	18	1	1	1	4	1	—
Dublin	218	153	59	16	7	2	2	2	8
Galway	395	300	82	18	4	3	5	7	11
Kerry	113	68	46	11	3	2	3	4	10
Kildare	53	24	27	1	1	2	—	—	1
Kilkenny	119	93	23	5	5	1	5	1	5
Laoighis	51	37	14	3	1	—	—	2	3
Leitrim	59	34	27	—	1	1	—	3	3
Limerick	192	131	55	5	4	—	2	3	4
Longford	66	45	22	2	1	—	1	2	5
Louth	68	46	19	7	—	1	—	1	1
Mayo	237	165	65	9	4	5	—	25	3
Meath	76	46	30	—	—	—	1	1	—
Monaghan	54	33	21	2	1	2	3	—	—
Offaly	119	92	36	4	1	5	1	4	3
Roscommon	135	114	23	4	3	4	—	—	4
Sligo	60	43	16	6	3	—	—	—	1
Tipperary	201	167	54	8	3	—	1	10	3
Waterford	33	24	8	—	—	1	1	—	1
Westmeath	128	81	42	5	—	2	3	5	7
Wexford	140	106	35	6	4	3	3	3	—
Wicklow	50	24	21	3	—	3	1	3	3
TOTALS	3,167	2,252	866	136	53	49	37	84	88

NOTE: In addition to the above, there were a few who wanted to learn to be nurses, saddlers, blacksmiths, basketmakers, lacemakers, gardeners, leather workers and shoemakers. 38 wanted to work in factories, 3 to join the Army and 1 the Garda Síochána.

APPENDIX XXVII
CENSUS OF ITINERANTS, JUNE, 1961

County	Total Number of Itinerants over 14 years	Replies to query:—Would he/she like to learn a trade or craft. If so, what?							
		No	Yes	Carpentry	Tinsmith	Mechanic including Driver, Fitter and Welder	Building including Painter, Plasterer, Plumber and Mason	Domestic work including Waitress and Cook	Dress- making and Knitting
Carlow	70	38	32	11	2	6	—	6	8
Cavan	49	41	8	4	1	2	—	—	—
Clare	111	89	22	5	2	—	—	2	—
Cork	203	155	48	10	1	7	—	7	6
Donegal	102	71	31	6	1	6	2	1	2
Dublin	121	83	38	16	1	—	—	1	—
Galway	400	336	64	7	6	6	5	8	3
Kerry	126	56	70	11	1	8	4	10	19
Kildare	105	85	20	5	1	3	1	3	2
Kilkenny	65	56	9	2	—	—	—	2	2
Laoighis	79	45	34	2	1	1	1	2	3
Leitrim	50	40	10	—	—	2	1	1	2
Limerick	123	78	45	6	6	2	2	7	4
Longford	80	52	28	2	—	2	—	1	1
Louth	59	42	17	7	—	—	—	—	3
Mayo	150	35	115	12	3	1	—	4	6
Meath	57	31	26	5	—	1	1	2	2
Monaghan	59	36	23	1	—	—	2	5	2
Offaly	94	52	42	7	1	3	—	8	2
Roscommon	77	65	12	3	—	—	—	—	—
Sligo	100	75	25	1	2	3	3	1	7
Tipperary	222	158	64	5	5	4	4	9	10
Waterford	18	8	10	2	—	2	1	1	3
Westmeath	57	42	15	4	—	2	—	1	1
Wexford	127	95	32	5	—	—	1	1	5
Wicklow	54	44	10	2	—	2	—	—	2
TOTALS	2,758	1,908	850	141	34	63	25	83	95

NOTE: In addition to the above, there were a few who wanted to learn to be nurses, saddlers, blacksmiths, lacemakers, gardeners, leatherworkers and shoemakers. 23 wanted to work in factories, 1 to join the Navy and 28 to be farmers.

APPENDIX XXVIII
CENSUS OF ITINERANTS, DECEMBER, 1960
TRAVELLING HABITS

County	Whether travelling all the year			Abode when not travelling		Route usually followed			
	(1) Yes	(2) No	(3) Stationary (included in (2))	(4) No Change	(5) Fixed	Regular local circuit	Regular provin- cial circuit	Regular country- wide circuit	No fixed route
Carlow ..	19	6	2	6	—	9	7	2	5
Cavan ..	27	5	1	3	2	16	5	3	7
Clare ..	20	6	—	5	1	5	14	1	15
Cork ..	70	33	3	22	11	58	15	—	27
Donegal ..	17	15	5	10	5	11	2	2	12
Dublin ..	51	34	6	34	—	42	14	9	14
Galway ..	117	25	5	19	6	85	27	6	19
Kerry ..	39	5	—	3	2	32	5	—	7
Kildare ..	11	9	2	9	—	9	5	2	1
Kilkenny ..	41	6	—	4	2	16	15	5	11
Laoighis ..	18	3	—	3	—	4	5	2	10
Leitrim ..	23	—	—	—	—	6	15	2	—
Limerick ..	51	27	—	19	8	38	24	8	8
Longford ..	20	5	—	—	5	11	11	—	3
Louth ..	21	7	—	7	—	16	2	2	8
Mayo ..	77	7	1	5	2	51	10	6	16
Meath ..	19	9	2	7	2	13	6	1	6
Monaghan ..	17	3	1	3	—	17	1	—	1
Offaly ..	41	4	—	4	—	20	7	5	13
Roscommon ..	41	5	—	3	2	18	17	2	9
Sligo ..	17	3	2	2	1	2	5	2	9
Tipperary ..	60	19	3	14	5	49	10	2	15
Waterford ..	10	6	—	6	—	3	8	1	4
Westmeath ..	33	18	—	3	10	5	23	14	4
Wexford ..	38	17	2	11	6	34	11	—	8
Wicklow ..	18	1	—	1	—	7	7	—	5
TOTALS ..	925	278	35	203	70	577	271	77	237

NOTE: Of those living in fixed abodes when not travelling, 60 live in houses, 7 in rooms, 1 in an urban council flat and two in out-offices attached to farms; 2 live in England.

APPENDIX XXIX
CENSUS OF ITINERANTS, JUNE, 1961
TRAVELLING HABITS

County	Whether travelling all the year			Abode when not travelling		Route usually followed			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	Regular local circuit	Regular provin- cial circuit	Regular country- wide circuit	No fixed route
	Yes	No	Stationary (included in (2))	No Change	Fixed				
Carlow ..	15	10	2	8	2	9	8	—	6
Cavan ..	13	3	—	2	1	4	10	—	2
Clare ..	35	9	—	8	1	12	17	6	9
Cork ..	43	44	5	35	9	37	36	5	4
Donegal ..	24	17	2	14	3	22	4	1	12
Dublin ..	30	16	7	16	—	14	6	8	11
Galway ..	110	25	4	16	9	77	23	7	24
Kerry ..	36	16	—	8	8	21	16	3	12
Kildare ..	26	8	—	3	5	7	16	1	10
Kilkenny ..	24	8	1	6	2	8	20	—	3
Laoighis ..	23	3	—	2	1	10	9	—	7
Leitrim ..	18	—	—	—	—	2	13	1	2
Limerick ..	42	9	2	5	4	29	20	—	—
Longford ..	18	6	—	6	—	7	9	5	3
Louth ..	18	8	2	6	2	11	8	2	3
Mayo ..	47	10	3	6	4	12	7	1	34
Meath ..	16	6	3	6	—	3	5	5	6
Monaghan ..	19	1	—	—	1	12	7	1	—
Offaly ..	30	3	—	1	2	7	19	3	4
Roscommon ..	24	2	—	—	2	13	13	—	—
Sligo ..	30	3	1	2	1	6	26	—	—
Tipperary ..	74	10	2	7	3	37	34	3	8
Waterford ..	8	2	—	1	1	2	4	—	4
Westmeath ..	19	5	1	3	2	3	11	—	9
Wexford ..	40	11	—	10	1	26	16	1	8
Wicklow ..	15	4	—	4	—	12	5	—	2
TOTALS ..	797	239	35	175	64	403	362	53	183

NOTE: Of those living in fixed abodes when not travelling, 55 live in houses, (including 2 in Co. Council cottages), 5 in rooms, 1 in the County Home, 2 go to Scotland and 1 to London.

APPENDIX XXX

CENSUS OF ITINERANTS, DECEMBER, 1960

WHETHER HEAD AND MOTHER OF FAMILY PREFER TO SETTLE IN ONE PLACE IF MEANS OF LIVELIHOOD AVAILABLE

County	Head of Family		Mother of Family	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Carlow	22	1	23	—
Cavan	21	10	21	9
Clare	25	6	24	6
Cork	77	11	82	10
Donegal	26	4	24	5
Dublin	60	13	63	15
Galway	111	18	111	17
Kerry	49	1	48	—
Kildare	14	2	17	1
Kilkenny	36	8	36	6
Laoighis	17	1	16	1
Leitrim	18	2	20	1
Limerick	64	8	61	4
Longford	20	2	19	4
Louth	22	3	22	2
Mayo	69	13	68	8
Meath	22	6	20	4
Monaghan	18	1	19	—
Offaly	36	5	34	4
Roscommon	38	6	39	5
Sligo	17	3	16	3
Tipperary	53	18	53	13
Waterford	14	1	13	1
Westmeath	34	8	36	5
Wexford	35	16	37	14
Wicklow	13	6	13	5
TOTALS	931	173	935	143

APPENDIX XXXI

CENSUS OF ITINERANTS, JUNE, 1961

WHETHER HEAD AND MOTHER OF FAMILY PREFER TO SETTLE IN
ONE PLACE IF MEANS OF LIVELIHOOD AVAILABLE

County	Head of Family		Mother of Family	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Carlow ...	24	1	23	5
Cavan ...	12	4	10	8
Clare ...	33	11	28	6
Cork ...	73	7	66	8
Donegal ...	32	9	22	6
Dublin ...	37	9	33	18
Galway ...	115	18	111	3
Kerry ...	47	5	43	3
Kildare ...	27	6	23	3
Kilkenny ...	27	5	20	2
Laoighis ...	22	4	20	3
Leitrim ...	13	5	14	4
Limerick ...	46	5	42	4
Longford ...	22	2	20	1
Louth ...	19	7	17	6
Mayo ...	43	12	48	8
Meath ...	16	6	13	6
Monaghan ...	18	2	17	2
Offaly ...	29	4	29	2
Roscommon ...	21	5	20	3
Sligo ...	22	11	22	9
Tipperary ...	57	27	50	17
Waterford ...	7	2	7	1
Westmeath ...	13	11	12	11
Wexford ...	33	17	30	14
Wicklow ...	18	1	17	1
TOTALS ...	826	196	757	151

APPENDIX XXXII

CENSUS OF ITINERANTS, DECEMBER, 1960

TYPE OF FAMILY ABODE ON DAY OF CENSUS

County	House	Room	Horse Caravan	Motor Caravan	Tent	Horse Caravan and Tent	Nil	Total
Carlow ...	—	—	23	—	2	—	—	25
Cavan ...	1	—	16	2	9	4	—	32
Clare ...	1	—	13	3	14	4	—	35
Cork ...	1	2	84	8	8	—	—	103
Donegal ...	4	—	12	1§	9	6	—	32
Dublin ...	—	—	47	11	24	3	—	85
Galway ...	4	—	66	1	66	5	—	142
Kerry ...	2	—	36	1§	3	1	1	44
Kildare ...	—	—	12	3	5	—	—	20
Kilkenny ...	1	—	36	4	5	1	—	47
Laoighis ...	—	1†	12	—	7	1	—	21
Leitrim ...	—	—	6	—	11	6	—	23
Limerick ...	8	1	50	11	8	—	—	78
Longford ...	3	2	11	—	6	3	—	25
Louth ...	—	—	14	2	11	1	—	28
Mayo ...	1	—	28	5	41	7	2	84
Meath ...	—	3	10	—	14	1	—	28
Monaghan ...	—	—	15	—	5	—	—	20
Offaly ...	—	—	16	—	24	5	—	45
Roscommon ...	2	—	13	1	26	4	—	46
Sligo ...	1	—	14	1	2	2	—	20
Tipperary ...	2	2	45	5	17	4	4	79
Waterford ...	—	—	14	—	2	—	—	16
Westmeath ...	8†	2*	19	—	9	6	2	46
Wexford ...	4	—	46	—	5	—	—	55
Wicklow ...	—	—	16	1	2	—	—	19
TOTALS ...	43	13	674	60	335	64	9	1,198

*One of these was a flat.

†Four occupiers of houses also had horse caravans.

‡This family lived in a flat and also had a horse caravan.

§Also had a horse caravan.

APPENDIX XXXIII
CENSUS OF ITINERANTS, JUNE, 1961
TYPE OF FAMILY ABODE ON DAY OF CENSUS

County	House	Room	Horse Caravan	Motor Caravan	Tent	Horse Caravan and Tent	Nil	Total
Carlow ...	—	—	17	—	7	1	—	25
Cavan ...	—	—	3	—	10	3	—	16
Clare ...	—	—	19	—	25	—	—	44
Cork ...	1	1	58	4	16	7*	—	87
Donegal ...	2	—	13	1	23	2*	—	41
Dublin ...	—	—	26	4	10	6	—	46
Galway ...	—	—	51	10	65	9	—	135
Kerry ...	—	—	31	5	14	2	—	52
Kildare ...	—	—	17	2	13	1	1	34
Kilkenny ...	1	—	16	1	14	—	—	32
Laoighis ...	—	—	21	—	5	—	—	26
Leitrim ...	—	—	9	1	8	—	—	18
Limerick ...	2	—	44	—	5	—	—	51
Longford ...	—	—	9	5	6	4	—	24
Louth ...	—	—	11	1	14	—	—	26
Mayo ...	3	—	28	1	25	—	—	57
Meath ...	—	—	8	4	8	2	—	22
Monaghan ...	—	—	11	—	5	4†	—	20
Offaly ...	—	1	12	—	19	1	—	33
Roscommon ...	2	—	3	—	14	7*	—	26
Sligo ...	—	—	13	—	17	3	—	33
Tipperary ...	1	—	40	1	33	8	1	84
Waterford ...	—	—	4	—	6†	—	—	10
Westmeath ...	—	—	6	—	12	5	1	24
Wexford ...	—	—	35	—	15	—	1	51
Wicklow ...	—	—	13	—	6	—	—	19
TOTALS ...	12	2	518	40	395	65	4	1,036

*Includes 1 itinerant with horse caravan and motor and no tent.

†Three of these have horse caravans and motor caravans.

‡Includes one with a motor car as well.

APPENDIX XXXIV

CENSUS OF ITINERANTS, DECEMBER, 1960

POSITIVE REPLIES TO THE FOLLOWING QUERIES RE HOUSING

County	Was Council house or flat ever applied for?	Did head of family ever own or rent a house?	Did head of family ever occupy a house or flat?	Has he/she ceased to occupy it?
Carlow ...	4	7	10	10
Cavan ...	4	6	11	10
Clare ...	2	—	3	2
Cork ...	19	20	29	28
Donegal ...	6	10	10	8
Dublin ...	17	10	16	16
Galway ...	34	13	17	13
Kerry ...	14	12	18	16
Kildare ...	5	3	5	5
Kilkenny ...	11	5	9	8
Laoighis ...	6	3	3	3
Leitrim ...	1	1	1	1
Limerick ...	8	11	20	12
Longford ...	7	5	8	13
Louth ...	8	2	5	6
Mayo ...	16	8	11	10
Meath ...	6	2	4	3
Monaghan ...	6	4	6	6
Offaly ...	9	8	8	8
Roscommon ...	10	5	9	7
Sligo ...	6	2	3	2
Tipperary ...	11	7	10	7
Waterford ...	6	2	3	3
Westmeath ...	15	18	21	13
Wexford ...	3	13	15	8
Wicklow ...	3	4	5	5
TOTALS ...	237	181	260	213

APPENDIX XXXV

CENSUS OF ITINERANTS, JUNE, 1961

POSITIVE REPLIES TO THE FOLLOWING QUERIES RE HOUSING

County	Was Council house or flat ever applied for?	Did head of family ever own or rent a house?	Did head of family ever occupy a house or flat?	Had he/she ceased to occupy it?
Carlow ...	8	9	8	8
Cavan ...	3	7	9	9
Clare ...	7	7	8	5
Cork ...	26	20	17	17
Donegal ...	8	14	15	14
Dublin ...	16	8	10	9
Galway ...	41	34	35	32
Kerry ...	12	15	19	16
Kildare ...	6	6	7	5
Kilkenny ...	10	3	2	3
Laoighis ...	6	4	4	3
Leitrim ...	5	5	4	4
Limerick ...	4	7	10	7
Longford ...	8	6	8	8
Louth ...	6	2	2	2
Mayo ...	15	12	15	11
Meath ...	2	2	2	2
Monaghan ...	3	4	4	4
Offaly ...	9	3	5	5
Roscommon ...	9	4	4	3
Sligo ...	8	3	4	4
Tipperary ...	10	11	15	10
Waterford ...	4	2	1	2
Westmeath ...	7	7	7	7
Wexford ...	8	14	19	17
Wicklow ...	5	4	4	4
TOTALS ...	246	213	238	211

Reasons given for leaving houses include lack of employment, houses condemned, inability to pay rent, preference for travelling, bad health.

APPENDIX XXXVI
CENSUS OF ITINERANTS, DECEMBER, 1960
STATISTICS OF ANIMALS AND VEHICLES

County	Horses	Donkeys	Carts	Traps	Horse Caravans	Vans, Trucks, Lorries and Motor Cars	Trailers
Carlow ...	55	6	14	6	19	5	1
Cavan ...	52	12	14	1	17	7	—
Clare ...	40	15	12	3	14	4	—
Cork ...	209	12	41	6	81	16	8
Donegal ...	28	11	16	1	13	3	—
Dublin ...	102	18	31	4	50	7	10
Galway ...	193	61	108	7	74	4	—
Kerry ...	54	21	15	—	37	3	1
Kildare ...	16	5	3	—	7	3	1
Kilkenny ...	117	20	28	2	34	1	3
Laoighis ...	34	13	9	—	14	2	—
Leitrim ...	22	7	15	2	12	—	—
Limerick ...	110	27	34	1	55	14	11
Longford ...	38	10	15	5	14	—	—
Louth ...	16	10	9	—	14	3	2
Mayo ...	113	40	41	8	41	7	6
Meath ...	26	19	13	4	16	—	—
Monaghan ...	20	4	4	3	16	—	—
Offaly ...	82	34	40	8	21	—	—
Roscommon ...	71	17	32	12	17	1	1
Sligo ...	37	5	18	2	16	3	—
Tipperary ...	98	48	30	6	42	8	4
Waterford ...	22	9	8	1	11	—	—
Westmeath ...	74	26	21	3	27	1	—
Wexford ...	107	28	37	—	44	2	—
Wicklow ...	39	3	7	1	15	1	—
TOTALS ...	1,775	481	615	86	721	95	48

APPENDIX XXXVII
CENSUS OF ITINERANTS, JUNE, 1961
STATISTICS OF ANIMALS AND VEHICLES

County	Horses	Donkeys	Carts	Traps	Horse Caravans	Vans, Trucks, Lorries and Motor Cars	Trailers
Carlow ...	48	8	13	4	18	3	—
Cavan ...	20	4	12	2	5	—	—
Clare ...	47	24	21	5	17	1	—
Cork ...	147	28	31	39	72	18	—
Donegal ...	23	14	10	3	9	7	—
Dublin ...	51	4	23	1	33	2	2
Galway ...	187	64	68	13	57	15	11
Kerry ...	84	20	31	3	34	7	1
Kildare ...	59	14	21	3	22	2	1
Kilkenny ...	30	7	17	2	12	2	1
Laoighis ...	60	12	16	—	28	1	—
Leitrim ...	22	5	7	2	10	7	2
Limerick ...	88	25	17	4	45	—	—
Longford ...	28	11	6	5	22	8	5
Louth ...	16	5	10	1	13	—	3
Mayo ...	71	67	24	9	32	3	—
Meath ...	30	12	9	2	12	—	3
Monaghan ...	37	1	7	4	14	3	—
Offaly ...	49	31	20	3	13	—	—
Roscommon ...	45	12	29	2	11	—	—
Sligo ...	43	9	24	—	18	—	—
Tipperary ...	140	56	58	2	53	1	—
Waterford ...	6	—	1	—	5	4	—
Westmeath ...	28	11	—	13	10	—	—
Wexford ...	99	14	24	—	39	1	1
Wicklow ...	42	5	14	—	19	—	—
TOTALS ...	1,500	463	513	122	623	85	30

APPENDIX XXXVIII

1960 CENSUS

MOST COMMON SURNAMES AMONGST ITINERANTS

(Names shown when the number of families with similar surnames was 9 or more.
Number of families covered—847, out of a total of 1,198)

Name	Number of Families	Name	Number of Families
McDonaghs	92	McCarthy	22
Connors ... 78	87	Coffey ...	21
O Conaire ... 1		Doherty ... 15	16
O'Connor ... 8		Docherty ... 1	
Ward ... 67	68	Doyle ...	15
Warde ... 1		Quilligan ...	15
O'Brien ... 48	54	O'Leary ...	14
Brien ... 6		Power ... 13	14
Maugham or Maughan	37	Powers ... 1	
(O') Dono(g)ue 20	30	Nevin ...	12
(O') Donohoe 10		Flynn ... 9	12
Reilly ... 24	30	O'Flynn ... 3	
Riley ... 2		McInerney ...	11
O'Reilly ... 4		O'Donnell ...	11
Mongan ... 28	29	Donovan ... 9	10
O Mongán ... 1		O'Donovan ... 1	
Delaney ...	28	Doran ...	10
Stokes ...	28	Berry ...	9
Cawley ...	26	Corcoran ...	9
O'Driscoll ... 13	23	Hand ...	9
Driscoll ... 10		Harty ...	9
Joyce ...	23	Laurence ...	9
Collins ...	23	Murphy ...	9
Cash ...	23	Sheridan ...	9
			847

APPENDIX XXXIX

SETTLEMENT PREFERENCES AS EXPRESSED BY ITINERANTS AT THE DATE OF THE DECEMBER 1960 CENSUS

County	Number of families recorded in each county in 1960 Census	Number of these who indicated they wished to settle in that county	Number who nominated that county although located elsewhere	Total number of families prepared to settle in each county
Carlow ...	25	16	4	20
Cavan ...	32	6	7	13
Clare ...	35	17	1	18
Cork ...	103	79	13	92
Donegal ...	32	23	8	31
Dublin ...	85	58	15	73
Galway ...	142	99	11	110
Kerry ...	44	38	5	43
Kildare ...	20	11	7	18
Kilkenny ...	47	20	6	26
Laoighis ...	21	14	2	16
Leitrim ...	23	7	7	14
Limerick ...	78	59	18	77
Longford ...	25	15	14	29
Louth ...	28	15	5	20
Mayo ...	84	54	12	66
Meath ...	28	15	3	18
Monaghan ...	20	13	5	18
Offaly ...	45	22	20	42
Roscommon ...	46	25	10	35
Sligo ...	20	13	7	20
Tipperary ...	79	41	24	65
Waterford ...	16	12	2	14
Westmeath ...	46	30	19	49
Wexford ...	55	37	16	53
Wicklow ...	19	4	5	9
TOTALS ...	1,198	743	246	989

FORM FOR CENSUS OF ITINERANTS

7

1. *Journal of Management Studies*, 1990, 27, 1, 1-14.

153

27. Total number of children born in hospital.
28. If not born in hospital, in how many cases was a doctor or midwife present at birth
29. Are/Were parents of head of family unit itinerants.
30. " " "mother " "
31. Would head of family unit prefer to settle in one place if means of livelihood available
If "Yes" state County.
32. Would mother of family unit prefer to settle in one place if means of livelihood
available. If "Yes" state County.
33. Was a Council house or flat ever applied for.
34. If so, where
35. Did head of family unit ever own or rent a house
36. " " " " " occupy a house or flat.
37. Has he ceased to occupy it. If so, why.
38. Number of horses owned.
39. " " donkeys
40. " " vehicles owned (Indicate Type).

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Signature..... Date.....

FORM FOR CENSUS OF ITINERANTS

Type of Abode	{	A. House	_____
		B. Horse Caravan	_____
		C. Motor Caravan	_____
		D. Tent	_____
		E. Flat	_____
		F. Room	_____

" " " " " on 1st December, 1960 _____ County _____

[illegible]

19. Whether travelling all the year.
20. If not, for what months.
21. Where they settled when not travelling: Place.
County.
22. Abode during this period.
23. Route usually followed on travels.
.....
24. Total number of children born alive to this marriage.
25. " " " " still alive whether with parents or not.
26. " " " " who died. State age at and cause of
death in each case.

[illegible]

Comments of Enumerator

Signature..... Date.....

APPENDIX XLII

PARTICULARS OF OFFENCES OF ITINERANTS COMMITTED UNDER SENTENCE OF IMPRISONMENT FOR 1961 AND 1962

Offences	Mountjoy Prison		Limerick Prison		St. Patrick's	
	1961	1962	1961	1962	1961	1962
Drunkenness	13	15	21	48	—	—
Begging	3	20	11	26	1	—
Malicious damage	4	5	7	22	—	—
Assault	6	6	17	33	—	1
Larceny	13	15	21	57	—	3
Indecent assault	1	—	1	—	—	—
Obstruction	—	3	3	10	—	—
Breach of Sanitary Act	—	—	1	3	—	—
Church breaking	—	—	1	—	—	—
Cruelty to animals	—	—	2	—	—	—
Breaking, entering,	2	—	8	25	2	3
larceny	—	—	—	—	—	—
Unlawful possession	—	3	3	10	—	2
Driving offences	—	1	6	—	—	—
Breach of the Peace	—	—	—	3	—	—
Arson	—	—	—	1	—	—
Traffic offences	—	—	—	3	—	—
Malicious wounding	—	—	—	1	—	1
Using bad language	—	—	—	—	—	—
Using threatening words	4	4	—	5	—	1
Manslaughter	1	—	—	—	—	—
Attempted larceny	1	2	—	2	—	—
Wounding with intent	1	—	—	14	—	—
Loitering with intent	—	2	—	3	—	—
Receiving	—	1	—	2	—	1
Allowing horses to wander in public places	—	—	—	—	—	—
TOTALS	49	77	102	268	3	12

APPENDIX XLIII

LIST OF ORGANISATIONS AND PERSONS WHO SUBMITTED MEMORANDA OR EVIDENCE, SUGGESTIONS OR OBSERVATIONS

A. GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS

Agriculture
Education
Health
Justice
Local Government.

B. LOCAL AUTHORITIES

(i) County Councils:

Carlow
Cavan
Clare
Cork North
Cork South
Cork West
Donegal
Dublin
Galway
Kerry
Kildare
Kilkenny
Laoighis
Leitrim

Limerick
Longford
Louth
Mayo
Meath
Monaghan
Offaly
Roscommon
Sligo
Tipperary N.R.
Tipperary S.R.
Waterford
Westmeath
Wexford
Wicklow

(ii) County Boroughs:

Cork
Dublin
Limerick
Waterford

(iii) Urban District Councils:

An Uaimh
Athlone
Athy
Ballina
Ballinasloe
Birr
Bray
Buncrana
Bundoran
Carlow
Carrickmacross
Carrick-on-Suir
Cashel
Castlebar
Castleblayney
Cavan
Ceanannus Mór
Clonakilty
Clones
Clonmel
Cobh
Drogheda
Dundalk
Dún Laoghaire
Ennis
Enniscorthy

Fermoy
Galway
Kilkenny
Killarney
Kilrush
Kinsale
Letterkenny
Longford
Macroom
Mallow
Midleton
Monaghan
Naas
Nenagh
New Ross
Skibbereen
Sligo
Templemore
Thurles
Tipperary
Tralee
Trim
Tullamore
Westport
Wicklow
Youghal

LOCAL AUTHORITIES—*continued.*

(iv) Town Commissioners:

Kilkee
Passage West
Granard

C. OTHERS

Ardagh Diocesan Branch of the Christus Rex Society.
J. Armshaw, Esq., P.C., Rearcross, Co. Tipperary.
Bedding and Upholstery Manufacturers' Association.
Bord Fáilte Éireann.
Bord na Móna.
Mrs. S. M. Campbell, Castletown, Co. Donegal.
Mrs. M. Carroll, Gurranebraher, Cork.
S. Cartaig, Esq., Coole, Co. Westmeath.
Mrs. Sophie Chambers, Mountrath, Laois.
V. Clear, Esq., Dublin.
Comhlucht Siúicre Éireann, Teo.
Dr. Seaghan Ua Conchubhair, Uaran Mór, Gaillimh.
Fintan Coogan, Esq., T.D., Galway.
County Councils General Council.
John Courtney, Esq., Killarney, Co. Kerry.
Sir Anthony de Hoghton, Bart., Lancashire, England.
A. Delap, Esq., Gweedore, Co. Donegal.
Richard E. Dodd, Esq., Marshallville, Georgia, U.S.A.
Patrick Doheny, Esq., Thurles, Co. Tipperary.
M. Donoghue, Esq., Menlo, Galway.
Mrs. Margaret Dralton, Drumsna, Co. Leitrim.
J. H. Dring, Esq., Glanmire, Co. Cork.
Rev. Father John Fahy, St. Fechin's Abbey, Loughrea, Co. Galway.
Rev. Father B. Fitzmaurice, C.C., Curraghboy, Athlone, Co. Westmeath.
M. Flannery, Esq., County Manager, Wicklow.
Mrs. A. B. Flood, Ballina, Co. Mayo.
E. F. Foley, Esq., Rathvilly, Co. Kildare.
General Council of Committees of Agriculture.
Golden Vale Co-operative Mart, Ltd.
Mrs. Bridget Griffin, Dublin.
Health Inspectors' Association of Ireland.
John Horan, Esq., Birr, Offaly.
Irish Hierarchy of the Catholic Church.
Irish Medical Association.
Irish Sugar Beet Growers' Association, Ltd.
T. Jennings, Esq., Ballinrobe, Co. Mayo.
Kanturk Parish Council.
Francis Kendall-Husband, Esq., Killarney, Co. Kerry.
J. Kerrigan, Esq., Ballina, Co. Mayo.
Frank W. Ketcham, Esq., Santa Barbara, California, U.S.A.
Legion of Mary.
A. Lovett, Oldtown, Cavan.
Seamus McDonnell, Esq., Dundalk, Co. Louth.
Maurice McEniry, Esq., Galbally, Tipperary.
Denis F. Madden, Esq., T.C., M.C.C., Tramore, Co. Waterford.
Patrick Moran, Esq., Bonnictonlon, Co. Mayo.
National Farmers' Association.
Liam Ó Baoill, Uas., Rathkeale, Co. Limerick.
Rev. Father John Bosco O'Byrne, O.F.M., The Abbey, Galway.
Lorcan O'Higgins, Esq., Dublin.
Rev. Father Andrew O'Keeffe, P.P., Grenagh, Co. Cork.
Pope Bros., Ltd., Longfordpass, Co. Tipperary.
John Ryan, Esq., Templemore, Co. Tipperary.
T. Sankey Barker, Esq., Waterville, Co. Kerry.
Scrap Metal Merchants Association of Ireland.
G. Sheehy, Esq., Bray, Co. Wicklow.
Society of St. Vincent de Paul.
Standing Committee of the General Synod of the Church of Ireland.
Rev. Father Turley, C.C., Roscommon.
Mrs. Jane Wheatley, Dublin.
J. D. Whitty, Esq., Dublin.

APPENDIX XLIV

LIST OF PERSONS CONNECTED WITH ITINERANT AFFAIRS IN THE NETHERLANDS FROM WHOM THE MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION RECEIVED ASSISTANCE.

- Dr. M. A. M. Klompe, Minister for Social Work;
Dr. P. H. M. Werner, Secretary General, Ministry for Social Work;
Mr. J. W. Pabon, Head of International Relations Department, Ministry for Social Work;
Dr. G. Hendriks, Head of the Department for Research and Community Organisation, Ministry for Social Work;
Mr. N. X. M. M. Vos de Wael, Deputy Head of the Department for Research and Community Organisation, Ministry for Social Work;
Mr. Johannes Wondergem, Head of Helderfontein Bureau of the Ministry for Social Work;
Mr. M. H. M. Hemmes, Head of Information Department of the Ministry for Social Work;
Mr. H. C. Buissant des Amorie, Department for Research and Community Organisation, Ministry for Social Work;
Miss M. R. H. Mastboom, Department for Research and Community Organisation, Ministry for Social Work;
Mr. J. W. Blankert, Member of the Commission on Itinerancy of the Dutch Reformed Church;
Mr. R. J. J. Lambooy, Burgomaster, Hertogenbosch;
Mr. N. Schuurmans, Alderman for Social Work, Hertogenbosch;
Mr. P. H. J. Janssen, Director of the Roman Catholic National Itinerancy Service;
Mr. L. J. M. Stieger, Head of Municipal Social Affairs Service, Hertogenbosch;
Mr. M. J. Hoytink, Chairman, Roman Catholic Association for Social Work among Caravan Dwellers;
Mr. P. J. N. K. Felix, Chairman of the Hertogenbosch Branch of the Roman Catholic Association;
Miss P. A. van Roy, Social Worker;
Mr. C. van de Bosch, Ministry for Education, Inspector;
Miss W. de Broekert, National Association of Dutch Municipalities;
Mr. van der Boom, Interpreter;
Mr. Den Boer, Head of the Municipal Social Affairs Service;
Mr. J. Scheffer, Head of Social Affairs Department of the Municipality of Emmen;
Rev. Fr. Adolfs, Labre Huis, Eindhoven;
Rev. Fr. Huysmans, Venlo;
Mr. A. Y. Diemers, Head of the Drenthe Provincial Bureau of the Ministry for Social Work;
Dr. F. J. Wanninkhof, Sociologist of the Foundation for Social Work and Community Organisation;
Mr. J. H. P. Wensveen, Foundation for Social-Cultural Care of Itinerants;
Mr. C. J. Wilmans, Member of the "deputed states" of Drenthe;
Mr. Carper, Head of the School for Caravan Children at Hoogeveen Camp;
Rev. Mr. Van Ark, Chaplain to the Hoogeveen Camp;
Very Rev. Th. H. J. Zwartkruis, Dean of Haarlem.

APPENDIX XLV

CORRESPONDENCE WITH TOWN CLERK, BIRMINGHAM, REGARDING PRESENCE OF IRISH ITINERANTS IN THAT CITY

AN COIMISIÚN UM SREOTHAIÓCHT (Commission on Itinerancy)

11th December, 1961.

Dear Sir,

The attention of the above Commission, which was set up by the Government to inquire into the problems arising from the number of itinerants in the country, has been drawn to a report of the London Times of November 13th (page 6) under the heading of "Home News" in which it is stated that the emigrant of the Irish tinker class tends to make whole neighbourhoods uninhabitable, and illustrates the argument by specifying the Sparkbrook Street of Birmingham where, it states, there are large numbers of Irish itinerant families.

The Commission would be obliged to know whether you are aware officially of the background to the report and whether in fact there are large numbers of these families; whether you are aware of the approximate numbers involved; whether the majority arrived recently—say in the last 12 months, and their means of livelihood since.

Yours faithfully,
(Signed) A. D. McDONALD,
Secretary.

THE COUNCIL HOUSE, BIRMINGHAM I

14th December, 1961.

Dear Sir,

I refer to your letter of the 11th December, 1961, and am sorry that I cannot give you very much help in connexion with your enquiry. I am not aware officially of the background to the report although statements have been made from time to time that immigrants to this country, not only from Ireland but from the West Indies, India and Pakistan, settle in certain areas of the city and because they are prepared to live in overcrowded conditions, tend to depreciate those areas.

I have never heard it suggested, prior to reading the report, that there are large numbers of Irish "tinker" families although I think it is common knowledge that a considerable number of Irish immigrants have come to this country. I regret to say that I have no idea of the approximate numbers involved nor whether the majority have arrived recently, i.e., within the last twelve months. I should imagine that there has been a fairly steady flow of Irishmen to this city during the last few years but it would be impossible to state the precise method whereby most of them earn their living though I believe that they undertake various types of work, including in particular labouring of various sorts, employment on transport undertakings and in the building trade.

I am sorry that I cannot be more specific but as perhaps you will understand no records are maintained and there is no method of defining precisely the numbers of persons concerned who come from Ireland.

Yours faithfully,
(Signed) T. H. PARKINSON,
Town Clerk.

AN COIMISIÚN UM SREOTHAIÓCHT (Commission on Itinerancy)

15th July, 1963.

Dear Sir,

You will recollect a letter from this Commission to you on 11th December, 1961, and your reply of 14th December, 1961. This Commission had written to you to

enquire into the matter contained in a report in the "Times" of 13th November, 1961, which referred to the presence of Irish tinkers in Birmingham, particularly in the Sparkbrook district.

The Commission's attention has been directed to a report in the "Times" of 10th July, 1963, and in the "Guardian" of the same date, in which Alderman Harry Watton, Chairman of your General Purposes Committee, is quoted as saying that special steps will have to be taken to deal with problems arising from the presence of persons alleged to be Irish tinkers in Birmingham and in particular in the Sparkbrook district. A resident of the Sparkbrook district is quoted in the "Times" report as saying "it seems to be a seasonable thing—these tinkers go back to Ireland in the winter." The same person is quoted as estimating the number involved to be about 200.

In the "Guardian" the Rev. Jack Reed, Chairman of the Sparkbrook Association, is quoted as saying that the tinkers "pulled the place to bits again."

We would be very glad to learn whether, in your opinion, the situation has changed appreciably since your letter of 14th December, 1961. We would also appreciate your observations on the suggestion that there is some form of seasonal immigration into Birmingham of persons thought to be Irish tinkers as distinct from ordinary workers and any other observations you may have to make on the situation generally.

We would be grateful for a reply at your earliest convenience.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) M. BARRINGTON,
p.p. Secretary.

THE COUNCIL HOUSE, BIRMINGHAM I

29th July, 1963.

Dear Sir,

Irish Tinkers in Birmingham.

I thank you for your letter of the 15th July, 1963, relative to the above matter upon which I have now had the opportunity of consulting with the Medical Officer of Health and am now able to make the following observations.

There is no doubt that since I wrote to you in December, 1961, the situation has changed by reason of the fact that in recent months there has been a considerable influx of Irish "tinkers" into the Sparkbrook area of Birmingham, which is already one of the worst areas in this City for overcrowding and deterioration of properties and the presence of these persons has caused considerable unrest in the district. It is not possible to give any accurate estimate of the numbers of itinerant tinkers involved, although it has been suggested that the figure is between 300-400. I understand from the Medical Officer that at least 26 houses which are let in multiple occupation are occupied wholly or in part by Irishmen of the gypsy type.

It has been observed that the men folk run old cars and lorries and range over the countryside collecting material, including that from demolition sites, which they bring back to the Sparkbrook area for sorting. This practice takes place particularly at weekends and it is mainly at this period that the worst overcrowding and nuisances occur. One of the great difficulties in the area has been very unsightly litter, as the unwanted waste material has been scattered in gardens and common passages at the rear of the houses. The parking of the motor vehicles has also caused annoyance to the inhabitants.

It also seems that relatives and friends of the Irish tinkers residing in the houses have been coming to the Sparkbrook district at week-ends to join them and thereby adding to the congestion and overcrowding which already exists in these properties.

Many of the landlords of the houses in which the Irish tinkers are residing are Pakistanis and some of them have complained that their lodgers are destructive and unsatisfactory in regard to the payment of rent.

Whilst the presence of Irish tinkers has been noticed in Birmingham for some years and there has been a marked increase in the numbers in recent months, the Medical Officer has no knowledge of any form of seasonal immigration into the City. The Medical Officer feels, however, that there are grounds to believe that some of the Irish tinkers formerly occupied caravans and moved from site to site in the Birmingham area and that because of the vigorous action taken by the Corporation to control the placing of caravans on open sites some of the persons have taken up residence in houses in multiple occupation.

Since this problem first arose, urgent action has been taken by the Corporation

to deal with overcrowding, the removal of litter and various other nuisances caused by the Irish tinkers in the Sparkbrook area and the local Sparkbrook Association is being encouraged to proceed with advisory and persuasive action where the statutory powers of the Corporation do not provide a remedy.

It has been reported recently that the number of itinerant tinkers coming into the area at week-ends has lessened considerably and that the behaviour of those remaining has greatly improved.

I trust that the foregoing observations will be of some assistance to the Commission.

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) T. H. PARKINSON,
Town Clerk.

APPENDIX XLVI
ITINERANTS IN NORTHERN IRELAND
CENSUS FIGURES

Date of Census	Total No.	Ages of Itinerants		Numbers known to cross and re-cross Border	Number of Camps on Roadside	Number of Camps on Private Ground	Place of Birth		
		14 and over	Under 14				Eire	G.B.	N.I.
30th September, 1954	583	257	326	—	—	—	344	26 (12 not known)	201
17th January, 1955 ...	483	232	251	235	51	21	244	33	206
14th March, 1955 ...	462	229	233	243	52	25	231	28	203
16th May, 1955 ...	352	171	181	74	34	23	151	31	170
18th July, 1955 ...	395	181	214	132	43	15	181	28	186
19th September, 1955	377	176	201	135	43	12	186	18	173
4th November, 1955	379	166	213	121	40	19	180	24	175
19th November, 1956	412	197	215	173	37	22	191	26	195
20th May, 1957 ...	235	104	131	76	18	18	128	11	95
18th November, 1957	224	103	121	73	21	18	100	22 (1 not known)	102
19th May, 1958 ...	206	90	116	40	14	18	81	18	107
17th November, 1958	248	116	132	55	12	30	103	18	127
18th May, 1959 ...	299	128	171	72	16	32	98	21	170
16th November, 1959	308	135	173	68	12	39	120	22 (10 unknown)	165
16th May, 1960 ...	299	130	169	145	12	33	151	12 (1 France)	136
21st November, 1960 ...	303	121	182	57	17	32	144	15	144
15th May, 1961 ...	178	79	99	39	10	16	80	16	82
20th November, 1961	247	101	146	78	21	12	89	19	139
21st May, 1962 ...	242	105	137	92	26	16	131	10	101
19th November, 1962	298	126	172	51	22	26	134	7	157
20th May, 1963 ...	270	115	155	36	21	10	108	20 (2 unknown)	140

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