

London labour and the London poor : a cyclopaedia of the condition and earnings of those that will work, those that cannot work, and those that will not work. / by Henry Mayhew.

Contributors

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LONDON LABOUR

AND THE

LONDON POOR.

THOSE THAT WILL NOT WORK.

INTRODUCTION.

I ENTER upon this part of my subject with a deep sense of the misery, the vice, the ignorance, and the want that encompass us on every side—I enter upon it after much grave attention to the subject, observing closely, reflecting patiently, and generalizing cautiously upon the phenomena and causes of the vice and crime of this city—I enter upon it after a thoughtful study of the habits and character of the “outcast” class generally—I enter upon it, moreover, not only as forming an integral and most important part of the task I have imposed upon myself, but from a wish to divest the public mind of certain “idols” of the platform and conventicle—“idols” peculiar to our own time, and unknown to the great Father of the inductive philosophy—and “idols,” too, that appear to me greatly to obstruct a proper understanding of the subject. Further, I am led to believe that I can contribute some new facts concerning the physics and economy of vice and crime generally, that will not only make the solution of the social problem more easy to us, but, setting more plainly before us some of its latent causes, make us look with more pity and less anger on those who want the fortitude to resist their influence; and induce us, or at least the more earnest among us, to apply ourselves steadfastly to the removal or alleviation of those social evils that appear to create so large a proportion of the vice and crime that we seek by punishment to prevent.

Such are the *ultimate* objects of my present labours: the result of them is given to the world with an earnest desire to better the condition of the wretched social outcasts of whom I have now to

treat, and to contribute, if possible, my mite of good towards the common weal.

But though such be my ultimate object, let me here confess that my immediate aim is the elimination of the truth; without this, of course, all other principles must be sheer sentimentality—sentiments being, to my mind, opinions engendered by the feelings rather than the judgment. The attainment of the truth, then, will be my primary aim; but by the truth, I wish it to be understood, I mean something *more* than the bare facts. Facts, according to my ideas, are merely the elements of truths, and not the truths themselves; of all matters there are none so utterly useless by themselves as your mere matters of fact. A fact, so long as it remains an isolated fact, is a dull, dead, uninformed thing; no object nor event by itself can possibly give us any knowledge, we must compare it with some other, even to distinguish it; and it is the distinctive quality thus developed that constitutes the essence of a thing—that is to say, the point by which we cognize and recognise it when again presented to us. A fact must be assimilated with, or discriminated from, some other fact or facts, in order to be raised to the dignity of a truth, and made to convey the least knowledge to the mind. To say, for instance, that in the year 1850 there were 26,813 criminal offenders in England and Wales, is merely to oppress the brain with the record of a fact that, *per se*, is so much mental lumber. This is the very mummery of statistics; of what rational good can such information by itself be to any person? who can tell whether the number of offenders in that year be large or

small, unless they compare it with the number of some other year, or in some other country? but to do this will require another fact, and even then this second fact can give us but little real knowledge. It may teach us, perhaps, that the past year was more or less criminal than some other year, or that the people of this country, in that year, were more or less disposed to the infraction of the laws than some other people abroad; still, what will all this avail us? If the year which we select to contrast criminally with that of 1850 be not itself compared with other years, how are we to know whether the number of criminals appertaining to it be above or below the average? or, in other words, how can the one be made a measure of the other?

To give the least mental value to facts, therefore, we must generalize them, that is to say, we must contemplate them in connection with other facts, and so discover their agreements and differences, their antecedents, concomitants, and consequences. It is true we may frame erroneous and defective theories in so doing; we may believe things which are similar in appearance to be similar in their powers and properties also; we may distinguish between things having no real difference; we may mistake concomitant events for consequences; we may generalize with too few particulars, and hastily infer that to be common to all which is but the special attribute of a limited number; nevertheless, if theory may occasionally teach us wrongly, facts without theory or generalization cannot possibly teach us at all. What the process of digestion is to food, that of generalizing is to fact; for as it is by the assimilation of the substances we eat with the elements of our bodies that our limbs are enlarged and our whole frames strengthened, so is it by associating perception with perception in our brains that our intellect becomes at once expanded and invigorated. Contrary to the vulgar notion, theory, that is to say, theory in its true Baconian sense, is not opposed to fact, but consists rather of a *large* collection of facts; it is not true of this or that thing alone, but of *all* things belonging to the same class—in a word, it consists not of *one* fact but an *infinity*. The theory of gravitation, for instance, expresses not only what occurs when a stone falls to the earth, but when every other body does the same thing; it expresses, moreover, what takes place in the revolution of the moon round our planet, and in the revolution of our planet and of all the other planets

round our sun, and of all other suns round the centre of the universe; in fine, it is true not of one thing merely, but of every material object in the entire range of creation.

There are, of course, two methods of dealing philosophically with every subject—deductively and inductively. We may either proceed from principles to facts, or recede from facts to principles. The one explains, the other investigates; the former applies known general rules to the comprehension of particular phenomena, and the latter classifies the particular phenomena, so that we may ultimately come to comprehend their unknown general rules. The deductive method is the mode of *using* knowledge, and the inductive method the mode of *acquiring* it.

In a subject like the crime and vice of the metropolis, and the country in general, of which so little is known—of which there are so many facts, but so little comprehension—it is evident that we must seek by induction, that is to say, by a careful classification of the known phenomena, to render the matter more intelligible; in fine, we must, in order to arrive at a *comprehensive* knowledge of its antecedents, consequences, and concomitants, contemplate as large a number of facts as possible in as many different relations as the statistical records of the country will admit of our doing.

With this brief preamble I will proceed to treat generally of the class that will not work, and then particularly of that portion of them termed prostitutes. But, first, who are those that *will* work, and who those that *will not* work? This is the primary point to be evolved.

OF THE WORKERS AND NON-WORKERS.

THE essential quality of an animal is that it seeks its own living, whereas a vegetable has its living brought to it. An animal cannot stick its feet in the ground and suck up the inorganic elements of its body from the soil, nor drink in the organic elements from the atmosphere. The leaves of plants are not only their lungs but their stomachs. As *they* breathe they acquire food and strength, but as animals breathe *they* gradually waste away. The carbon which is *secreted* by the process of respiration in the vegetable is excreted by the very same process in the animal. Hence a fresh supply of *carbonaceous* matter must be sought after and obtained at frequent intervals, in order to repair the continual waste of animal life.

But in the act of seeking for substances fitted to replace that which is lost in respiration, nerves must be excited and muscles moved; and recent discoveries have shown that such excitation and motion are attended with decomposition of the organs in which they occur. Muscular action gives rise to the destruction of muscular tissue, nervous action to a change in the nervous matter; and this destruction and decomposition necessarily involve a fresh supply of *nitrogenous* matter, in order that the loss may be repaired.

Now a tree, being inactive, has little or no waste. All the food that it obtains goes to the invigoration of its frame; not one atom is destroyed in seeking more: but the essential condition of animal life is muscular action; the essential condition of muscular action is the destruction of muscular tissue; and the essential condition of the destruction of muscular tissue is a supply of food fitted for the reformation of it, or—*death*. It is impossible for an animal—like a vegetable—to stand still and not destroy. If the limbs are not moving, the heart is beating, the lungs playing, the bosom heaving. Hence an animal, in order to continue its existence, must obtain its subsistence either by its own exertions or by those of others—in a word, it must be *autobious* or *allobious*.

The procurement of sustenance, then, is the necessary condition of animal life, and constitutes the sole apparent reason for the addition of the locomotive apparatus to the vegetative functions of sentient nature; but the faculties of comparison and volition have been further added to the animal nature of Man, in order to enable him, among other things, the better to gratify his wants—to give him such a mastery over the elements of material nature, that he may force the external world the more readily to contribute to his support. Hence the derangement of either one of those functions must degrade the human being—as regards his means of sustenance—to the level of the brute. If his intellect be impaired, and the faculty of perceiving “the fitness of things” be consequently lost to him—or, this being sound, if the power of moving his muscles in compliance with his will be deficient—then the individual becomes no longer capable, like his fellows, of continuing his existence by his own exertions.

Hence, in every state, we have two extensive causes of *allobiism*, or living by the labour of others; the one intellectual, as in the case of lunatics and idiots, and the other physical, as in the case of the in-

firm, the crippled, and the maimed—the old and the young.

But a third, and a more extensive class, still remains to be particularized. The members of every community may be divided into the *energetic* and the *an-ergetic*; that is to say, into the hardworking and the non-working, the industrious and the indolent classes; the distinguishing characteristic of the *anergetic* being the extreme irksomeness of all labour to them, and their consequent indisposition to work for their subsistence. Now, in the circumstances above enumerated, we have three capital causes why, in every State, a certain portion of the community must derive their subsistence from the exertions of the rest; the first proceeds from some *physical* defect, as in the case of the old and the young, the super-annuated and the sub-annuated, the crippled and the maimed; the second from some *intellectual* defect, as in the case of lunatics and idiots; and the third from some *moral* defect, as in the case of the indolent, the vagrant, the professional mendicant, and the criminal. In all civilized countries, there will necessarily be a greater or less number of human parasites living on the sustenance of their fellows. The industrious must labour to support the lazy, and the sane to keep the insane, and the able-bodied to maintain the infirm.

Still, to complete the social fabric, another class requires to be specified. As yet, regard has been paid only to those who must needs labour for their living, or who, in default of so doing, must prey on the proceeds of the industry of their more active or more stalwart brethren. There is, however, in all civilized society, a farther portion of the people distinct from either of those above mentioned, who, being already provided—no matter how—with a sufficient stock of sustenance, or what will exchange for such, have no occasion to toil for an additional supply.

Hence all society would appear to arrange itself into four different classes:—

- I. THOSE THAT WILL WORK.
- II. THOSE THAT CANNOT WORK.
- III. THOSE THAT WILL NOT WORK.
- IV. THOSE THAT NEED NOT WORK.

Under one or other section of this quadruple division, every member, not only of our community, but of every other civilized State, must necessarily be included; the rich, the poor, the industrious, the idle, the honest, the dishonest, the virtuous, and the vicious—each and all must be comprised therein.

Let me now proceed specially to treat of each of these classes—to distribute under one or other of these four categories the diverse modes of living peculiar to the members of our own community, and so to enunciate, for the first time, the natural history, as it were, of the industry and idleness of Great Britain in the nineteenth century.

It is no easy matter, however, to classify the different kinds of labour scientifically. To arrange the several varieties of work into "orders," and to group the manifold species of arts under a few comprehensive genera—so that the mind may grasp the whole at one effort—is a task of a most perplexing character. Moreover, the first attempt to bring any number of diverse phenomena within the rules of logical division is not only a matter of considerable difficulty, but one, unfortunately, that is generally unsuccessful. It is impossible, however, to proceed with the present inquiry without making some attempt at systematic arrangement; for of all scientific processes, the classification of the various phenomena, in connection with a given subject, is perhaps the most important; indeed, if we consider that the function of cognition is essentially *discriminative*, it is evident, that without distinguishing between one object and another, there can be no knowledge, nor, indeed, any perception. Even as the seizing of a particular difference causes the mind to *apprehend* the special character of an object, so does the discovery of the agreements and differences among the several phenomena of a subject enable the understanding to *comprehend* it. What the generalization of events is to the ascertainment of natural laws, the generalization of things is to the discovery of natural systems. But classification is no less dangerous than it is important to science; for in precisely the same proportion as a correct grouping of objects into genera and species, orders and varieties, expands and assists our understanding, so does any erroneous arrangement cripple and retard all true knowledge. The reduction of all external substances into four elements by the ancients—earth, air, fire, and water—perhaps did more to obstruct the progress of chemical science than even a prohibition of the study could have effected.

But the branches of industry are so multifarious, the divisions of labour so minute and manifold, that it seems at first almost impossible to reduce them to any system. Moreover, the crude generalizations expressed in the names of the several arts, render the subject still more perplexing.

Some kinds of workmen, for example, are called after the *articles they make*—as saddlers, hatters, boot-makers, dress-makers, breeches-makers, stay-makers, lace-makers, button-makers, glovers, cabinet-makers, artificial-flower-makers, ship-builders, organ-builders, boat-builders, nailers, pin-makers, basket-makers, pump-makers, clock and watch makers, wheel-wrights, ship-wrights, and so forth.

Some operatives, on the other hand, take their names not from what they make, but from the *kind of work they perform*. Hence we have carvers, joiners, bricklayers, weavers, knitters, engravers, embroiderers, tanners, curriers, bleachers, thatchers, lime-burners, glass-blowers, seamstresses, assayers, refiners, embossers, chasers, painters, paper-hangers, printers, book-binders, cab-drivers, fishermen, graziers, and so on.

Other artizans, again, are styled after the *materials upon which they work*, such as tinmen, jewellers, lapidaries, goldsmiths, braziers, plumbers, pewterers, glaziers, &c. &c.

And lastly, a few operatives are named after the *tools they use*; thus we have ploughmen, sawyers, and needlewomen.

But these divisions, it is evident, are as unscientific as they are arbitrary; nor would it be possible, by adopting such a classification, to arrive at any practical result.

Now, I *had* hoped to have derived some little assistance in my attempt to reduce the several varieties of work to system from the arrangement of the products of industry and art at "the Great Exhibition." I knew, however, that the point of classification had proved the great stumbling block to the French Industrial Exhibitions. In the Exposition of the Arts and Manufactures of France in 1806, for instance, M. Costaz adopted a topographical arrangement, according to the departments of the kingdom whence the specimens were sent. In 1819, again, finding the previous arrangement conveyed little or no knowledge, depending, as it did, on the mere local association of the places of manufacture, the same philosopher attempted to classify all arts into a sort of natural system, but the separate divisions amounted to thirty-nine, and were found to be confused and inconvenient. In 1827 M. Payon adopted a classification into five great divisions, arranging the arts according as they are chemical, mechanical, physical, economical, or "miscellaneous" in their nature. It was found, however, in practice, that two, or even three, of these characteristics often belonged to the same manufacture. In

1834 M. Dupin proposed a classification that was found to work better than any which preceded it. He viewed man as a locomotive animal, a clothed animal, a domiciled animal, &c., and thus tracing him through his various daily wants and employments, he arrived at a classification in which all arts are placed under nine headings, according as they contribute to the alimentary, sanitary, vestimentary, domiciliary, locomotive, sensitive, intellectual, preparative, or social tendencies of man. In 1844 and 1849 attempts were made towards an eclectic combination of two or three of the above-mentioned systems, but it does not appear that the latter arrangements presented any marked advantages.

Now, with all the experience of the French nation to guide us, I naturally expected that especial attention would be directed towards the point of classification with us, and that a technological system would be propounded, which would be found at least an improvement on the bungling systems of the French. It must be confessed, however, that no nation could possibly have stultified itself so egregiously as we have done in this respect. Never was there anything half so puerile as the classification of the works of industry in our own Exhibition!

But this comes of the patronage of Princes; for we are told that at one of the earliest meetings at Buckingham Palace his Royal Highness *propounded* the system of classification according to which the works of industry *were to be* arranged. The published minutes of the meeting on the 30th of June, 1849, inform us—

"His Royal Highness communicated his views regarding the formation of a Great Collection of Works of Industry and Art in London in 1851, for the purposes of exhibition, and of competition and encouragement. His Royal Highness considered that such a collection and exhibition should consist of the following divisions:—

Raw Materials.

Machinery and Mechanical Inventions.

Manufactures.

Sculpture and Plastic Art generally."

Now, were it possible for monarchs to do with natural laws as with social ones, namely, to blow a trumpet and declaring "*le roi le veut*," to have their will pass into one of the statutes of creation, it might be advantageous to science that Princes should seek to lay down orders of arrangement and propound systems of classification. But seeing that Science is as pure a republic as Letters, and that there are no "Highnesses" in philosophy—for if there be any

aristocracy at all in such matters, it is at least an aristocracy of intellect—it is rather an injury than a benefit that those who are high in authority should interfere in these affairs at all; since, from the very circumstances of their position it is utterly impossible for them to arrive at anything more than the merest surface knowledge on such subjects. The influence, too, that their mere "authority" has over men's minds is directly opposed to the perception of truth, preventing that free and independent exercise of the intellect from which alone all discovery and knowledge can proceed.

Judging the quadruple arrangement of the Great Exhibition by the laws of logical division, we find that the three classes—Raw Materials, Machinery, and Manufactures—which refer more particularly to the Works of Industry, are neither distinct nor do they include the whole. What is a raw material, and what a manufacture? It is from the difficulty of distinguishing between these two conditions that leather is placed under Manufactures, and steel under Raw Materials—though surely steel is iron *plus* carbon, and leather skin *plus* tannin; so that, technologically considered, there is no difference between them. If by the term raw material is meant some natural product in its crude state, then it is evident that "Geological maps, plans, and sections; prussiate of potash, and other mixed chemical manufactures; sulphuric, muriatic, nitric, and other acids; medicinal tinctures, cod liver oil, dried fruits, fermented liquors and spirits, preserved meats, portable soups, glue, and the alloys" cannot possibly rank as *raw* materials, though one and all of these articles are to be found so "classified" at the Great Exhibition; but if the meaning of a "raw material" be extended to any product which constitutes the substance to be operated upon in an industrial art, then the answer is that leather, which is the material of shoes and harness, is no more a manufacture than steel, which is placed among the raw materials, because forming the constituent substance of cutlery and tools. So interlinked are the various arts and manufactures, that what is the product of one process of industry is the material of another—thus, yarn is the product of spinning, and the material of weaving, and in the same manner the cloth, which is the product of weaving, becomes the material of tailoring.

But a still greater blunder than the non-distinction between products and materials lies in the confounding of *processes* with *products*. In an Industrial Exhibition to

reserve no special place for the processes of industry is very much like the play of Hamlet with the part of Hamlet omitted; and yet it is evident that, in the quadruple arrangement before mentioned, those most important industrial operations which consist merely in arriving at the same result by simpler means—as, for instance, the hot blast in metallurgical operations—can find no distinct expression. The consequence is that methods of work are arranged under the same head as the work itself; and the “Executive” have been obliged to group under the first subdivision of *Raw Materials* the following inconsistent jumble:—Salt deposits; ventilation; safety lamps and other methods of lighting; methods of lowering and raising miners, and draining; methods of roasting, smelting, or otherwise reducing ores; while under the second subdivision of *Raw Materials* chemical and pharmaceutical processes and products are indiscriminately confounded.

Another most important defect is the omission of all mention of those industrial processes which have *no special or distinct products of their own*, but which are rather engaged in *adding to the beauty or durability of others*; as, for instance, the bleaching of some textile fabrics, the embroidering of others, the dyeing and printing of others; the binding of books; the cutting of glass; the painting of china, &c. From the want of an express division for this large portion of our industrial arts, there is a jumbling and a bungling throughout the whole arrangement. Under the head of *manufactures* are grouped printing and bookbinding, the “dyeing of woollen, cotton, and linen goods,” “embroidery, fancy, and industrial work,” the cutting and engraving of glass; and, lastly, the art of “decoration generally,” including “ornamental, coloured decoration,” and the “imitations of woods, marbles, &c.”—though surely these are one and all *additions* to manufactures rather than *manufactures* themselves. Indeed, a more extraordinary and unscientific hotch-potch than the entire arrangement has never been submitted to public criticism and public ridicule.

Amid all this confusion and perplexity, then, how are we to proceed? Why, we must direct our attention to some more judicious and more experienced guide. In such matters, at least, as the Exposition of the Science of Labour, it is clear that we must “put not our trust in princes.”

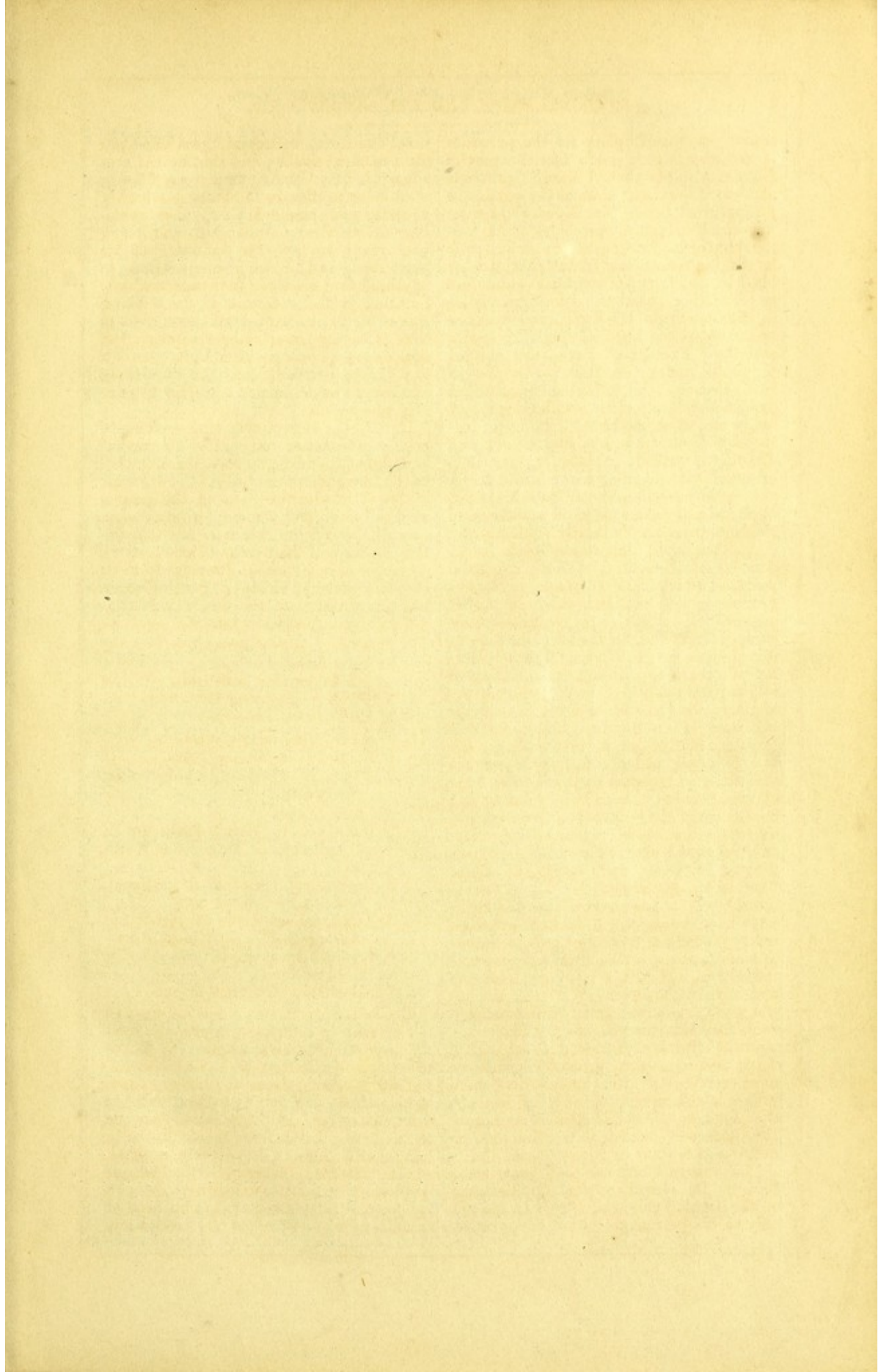
That Prince Albert has conferred a great boon on the country in the establishment of the Great Exhibition (for it is due not only to his patronage but to his own per-

sonal exertions), no unprejudiced mind can for a moment doubt; and that he has, ever since his first coming among us, filled a most delicate office in the State in a highly decorous and commendable manner, avoiding all political partizanship, and being ever ready to give the influence of his patronage, and, indeed, co-operation, to anything that appeared to promise an amelioration of the condition of the working classes of this country, I am most glad to have it in my power to bear witness; but that, *because of this*, we should pin our faith to a “hasty generalization” propounded by him, would be to render ourselves at once silly and servile.

If, with the view of obtaining some more precise information concerning the several branches of industry, we turn our attention to the Government analysis of the different modes of employment among the people, we shall find that for all purposes of a scientific or definite character the Occupation Abstract of the Census of this country is comparatively useless. Previous to 1841, the sole attempt made at generalization was the division of the entire industrial community into three orders, viz.:—

- I. *Those employed in Agriculture.*
 1. Agricultural Occupiers.
 - a. Employing Labourers.
 - b. Not employing Labourers.
 2. Agricultural Labourers.
- II. *Those employed in Manufactures.*
 1. Employed in Manufactures.
 2. Employed in making Manufacturing Machinery.
- III. *All other Classes.*
 1. Employed in Retail Trade or in Handicraft, as Masters or Workmen.
 2. Capitalists, Bankers, Professional, and other educated men.
 3. Labourers employed in labour not Agricultural—as Miners, Quarriers, Fishermen, Porters, &c.
 4. Male Servants.
 5. Other Males, 20 years of age.

The defects of this arrangement must be self-evident to all who have paid the least attention to economical science. It offends against both the laws of logical division, the parts being neither distinct nor equal to the whole. In the first place, what is a manufacturer? and how is such an one to be distinguished from one employed in handicraft? How do the workers in metal, as the “tin manufacturers,” “lead manufacturers,” “iron manufacturers”—who are one and all classed under the head of manufacturers—differ, in an economical



LONDON LABOUR AND THE LONDON POOR.

TABLE SHOWING THE
DENSITY OF THE POPULATION IN THE DIFFERENT COUNTIES IN ENGLAND AND WALES
IN 1851.

COUNTIES.	Dimensions.		Houses.					Population, 1851.					Density.			
	Square Miles.	Statute Acres.	Number of Inhabited Houses.	Number of Uninhabited Houses.	Total Number of Houses.	Total Number of Houses, 1851.	Total Number of Houses, 1841.	Increase of Houses per cent., 1841-51.	Males.	Females.	Total Population, 1851.	Total Population, 1841.	Increase of Population per cent., 1841-51.	No. of Persons to each 100 acres.	No. of Acres to each Person.	No. of Persons to each Inhabited House.
Bedford	465	297,632	25,694	676	26,496	26,496	22,477	15.8	62,490	67,369	129,789	112,378	16	43.5	2.3	51
Berks	741	473,920	39,462	1,563	41,236	41,236	39,690	4.0	99,927	99,927	199,154	189,297	5	41.7	2.4	5.0
Bucks	725	463,890	29,217	1,103	30,469	30,469	26,896	5.4	70,784	70,784	143,670	133,248	4	31.3	3.2	4.9
Cambridge	838	536,313	39,773	1,777	40,754	40,754	35,769	13.8	95,565	96,351	191,856	169,638	13	35.8	2.8	5.3
Chester	1014	649,050	79,949	4,248	84,153	84,153	75,103	13.0	206,715	216,723	423,438	368,115	15	65.2	1.5	7.6
Cornwall	1356	854,770	63,214	4,526	73,695	73,695	71,913	1.6	171,979	184,693	336,692	343,263	4	41.7	2.4	5.2
Cumberland	1515	969,490	36,771	1,531	38,540	38,540	37,169	3.7	96,166	99,391	195,487	177,407	10	30.0	5.0	5.3
Derby	1036	683,180	52,482	2,411	60,893	60,893	57,207	9	129,379	131,328	260,707	239,791	9	40.0	2.5	5.0
Devon	2557	1,636,450	99,104	6,016	105,185	105,185	102,424	3.4	271,579	290,628	562,207	534,883	6	34.5	2.9	5.7
Dorset	989	627,920	34,771	1,554	36,543	36,543	35,490	3.2	85,816	91,791	177,597	167,689	6	28.6	3.5	5.1
Durham	1062	679,530	68,969	3,039	72,614	72,614	61,940	17.2	206,696	204,966	411,592	325,654	26	62.5	1.6	5.9
Essex	1539	979,000	68,353	3,353	72,100	72,100	65,570	10.0	172,161	171,755	343,916	320,605	7	34.5	2.9	5.0
Gloucester	1235	790,470	78,385	4,961	83,739	83,739	79,553	4.7	196,122	221,333	419,475	395,533	6	53.0	1.9	5.3
Hereford	850	543,800	30,453	963	31,416	31,416	29,119	1.8	49,694	49,418	99,112	96,515	3	18.2	5.5	4.8
Hertford	626	400,350	33,954	1,169	35,357	35,357	32,697	8.2	86,331	87,632	173,963	162,394	7	43.5	2.3	5.1
Hunts	379	242,250	12,472	641	13,113	13,113	11,676	12.8	29,984	30,396	60,390	55,555	9	25.0	4.0	4.8
Kent	1746	972,240	108,396	5,516	113,912	113,912	101,717	13.3	306,115	311,692	619,207	540,275	14	63.6	1.6	5.7
Lancaster	799	511,340	49,968	1,500	51,765	51,765	49,470	12.8	115,295	119,643	234,933	220,363	7	20.0	5.0	5.8
Leicester	2940	1,683,850	79,697	3,394	83,640	83,640	74,138	12.8	201,027	199,339	400,396	356,296	12	45.4	2.2	4.7
Lincoln	2980	1,759,500	242,798	12,213	255,011	255,011	225,443	16.1	485,614	1,010,096	1,895,710	1,592,538	20	103.0	1.6	7.9
Middlesex	507	324,310	32,901	1,473	34,557	34,557	30,699	12.8	92,095	85,070	177,165	150,544	17	55.5	1.8	5.4
Monmouth	2019	1,292,300	91,143	3,312	94,994	94,994	88,373	7.4	210,390	223,443	433,833	404,971	7	33.3	3.0	4.8
Norfolk	1011	646,810	43,945	1,478	45,691	45,691	42,353	7.8	106,533	107,221	213,794	198,518	7	33.3	3.0	4.9
Northampton	1821	1,165,430	47,569	2,060	49,933	49,933	55,337	10.8	149,153	154,377	303,535	265,636	13	25.6	3.9	6.3
Northumberland	822	525,890	59,427	1,481	60,908	60,908	57,611	6.2	144,428	150,010	294,438	270,535	9	55.5	1.8	5.0
Nottingham	730	407,230	34,922	1,323	36,350	36,350	34,151	6.4	85,449	84,857	170,286	163,216	4	37.0	2.7	4.9
Oxford	152	97,500	4,961	153	5,138	5,138	4,899	4.8	12,270	12,002	24,272	23,151	5	25.0	4.0	4.9
Rutland	1351	864,590	48,942	2,184	51,138	51,138	50,131	2.0	122,022	122,997	245,019	241,685	1	28.6	3.5	5.0
Salop	1696	1,023,000	87,776	3,690	93,252	93,252	90,947	2.6	216,716	239,521	456,237	449,793	2	43.5	2.3	5.2
Somerset	1501	1,018,550	74,588	3,471	78,676	78,676	69,807	12.7	160,834	202,199	402,033	348,298	13	39.4	2.6	5.3
Southampton	1150	736,290	120,501	4,526	125,989	125,989	107,941	16.7	320,394	310,112	630,506	578,867	20	83.3	1.2	5.2
Stafford	1436	918,760	67,479	3,068	70,547	70,547	67,050	8.9	165,267	170,734	335,991	314,467	7	37.0	2.7	4.8
Suffolk	741	474,480	109,453	5,717	115,133	115,133	101,121	15.6	325,155	359,650	684,805	596,816	17	144.0	1.7	6.3

Sussex	1419	907,920	59,308	2,220	600	62,137	58,506	6'2	166,828	172,600	339,428	302,081	12	37'0	2'7	14'6	5'7
Warwick	887	567,930	58,323	4,660	977	103,909	90,868	14'4	235,353	244,716	479,979	406,814	18	83'3	1'2	5'4	4'9
Westmorland	759	485,900	11,247	530	94	11,971	11,783	0'8	29,064	29,316	59,380	56,000	3	12'0	8'3	40'9	5'2
Wilts	1356	8,060	40,061	2,223	171	51,455	49,918	3'1	118,839	122,164	241,003	242,772	0'7	27'7	3'6	16'8	4'9
Worcester	718	9,710	22,055	2,753	362	55,170	49,371	11'8	126,739	132,923	258,762	230,387	13	35'4	1'8	8'5	5'0
York	5733	3,689,510	330,694	16,469	3244	378,417	341,147	10'9	896,845	901,922	1,788,767	1,582,977	13	48'7	2'5	9'7	4'9
Travelling						87,333	85,847	8'5	290,538	293,622	404,169	388,106	..	19'	5'1	23'2	4'9
North Wales	3194	2,044,160	63,091	3,730	522	125,620	115,822	1'7	300,645	306,451	607,406	528,849	14	22'2	4'5	21'5	5'1
South Wales	4231	2,707,840	119,507	5,269	844												
TOTAL FOR ENGLAND AND WALES	57,067	36,522,615	3,290,961	152,830	26,534	3,460,333	3,144,635	10'0	8,762,533	9,100,180	17,922,763	15,384,204	13	49'7	2'0	10'5	5'5

* In 1841 Flats were returned in Northumberland as separate Houses: this accounts for the decrease in 1851.

LIST OF COUNTIES IN THE ORDER OF THE DENSITY OF THEIR POPULATION, AS SHOWN BY THE NUMBER OF PERSONS TO EVERY 100 ACRES.

Counties above the Average.		Counties below the Average.	
Middlesex	1050'0	Leicester	45'4
Lancaster	200'0	Bedford	43'5
Surrey	144'0	Hertford	43'5
Stafford	83'3	Somerset	43'5
York, West Riding	83'3	Berks	41'7
Chester	65'2	Cornwall	41'7
Kent	63'6	Derby	40'0
Durham	62'5	Southampton	38'4
Worcester	55'5	Oxford	37'0
Warwick	83'3	Suffolk	37'0
Nottingham	55'5	Sussex	37'0
Monmouth	55'5	Cambridge	35'8
Gloucester	53'0	Devon	34'5
Average for England and Wales	49'7	Essex	34'5
		Norfolk	33'3
		Northampton	33'3
		York, East Riding	33'3
		Bucks	31'3
		Dorset	28'6
		Shropshire	28'6
		Wilts	27'7
		Northumberland	25'6
		Huntingdon	25'0
		Rutland	25'0
		Lincoln	23'8
		South Wales	22'2
		Cumberland	20'0
		North Wales	19'6
		Hereford	18'2
		York, North Riding	15'2
		Westmorland	12'0

COMPARISON OF THE DENSITY OF THE POPULATION IN 1841 AND 1851.

	1841.	1851.		1841.	1851.
<i>Agricultural Counties.</i>			<i>Mining Counties.</i>		
Lincoln.....	21-7	23-8	Durham.....	47-6	62-5
Rutland.....	22-7	25-0	Cornwall.....	41-6	41-7
Huntingdon.....	25-0	25-0	<i>Manufacturing and Sub-Mining Counties.</i>		
Cambridge.....	30-3	33-8	Derby.....	41-6	40-0
Essex.....	35-7	34-5	Stafford.....	71-4	83-3
Sussex.....	32-2	37-0	<i>Agricultural and Sub-Mining Counties.</i>		
Hereford.....	20-3	18-2	Shropshire.....	23-5	28-6
<i>Agricultural and Sub-Manufacturing Counties.</i>			North Wales.....	19-3	19-6
Westmorland.....	11-6	12-0	South Wales.....	19-0	22-2
Norfolk.....	32-2	33-3	<i>Sub-Agricultural and Sub-Mining Counties.</i>		
Suffolk.....	33-3	37-0	Northumberland.....	21-2	25-6
Hertford.....	40-0	43-5	Cumberland.....	18-5	20-0
Bedford.....	37-0	43-5	Monmouth.....	43-0	55-5
Buckingham.....	33-3	31-3	<i>Metropolitan County.</i>		
Northampton.....	31-2	33-3	Middlesex.....	100-0	105-0
Oxford.....	34-4	37-0	<i>Sub-Metropolitan Counties.</i>		
Berks.....	34-4	41-7	Surrey.....	125-0	141-0
Hants.....	47-6	38-4	Kent.....	53-5	63-6
Wilts.....	30-3	27-7			
Dorset.....	27-7	28-6			
Somerset.....	41-6	43-5			
Devon.....	32-2	34-5			

NOTE.—An Agricultural county has more than 10 per cent., and a Sub-Agricultural county less than 10 per cent., of its population employed in agriculture.
A Manufacturing county has more than 15 per cent., and a Sub-Manufacturing county less than 15 per cent., of its population employed in manufacture.
A Mining county has more than 5 per cent., and a Sub-Mining county less than 5 per cent., of its population employed in mining.

SHOWING THE NUMBER OF PERSONS TO EVERY 100 ACRES:

OR

IN EACH OF THE COUNTIES OF
ENGLAND AND WALES

IN 1851.

*** The counties printed *black* are those in which the Population is *above* the average density.

The counties left *white* are those in which the Population is *below* the average density.

The average has been calculated from the last returns of the Registrar-General.



MAP

SHOWING THE NUMBER OF THE CRIMINAL OFFENDERS TO EVERY
10,000 OF THE POPULATION ;

OR

THE INTENSITY OF THE CRIMINALITY

IN EACH COUNTY OF
ENGLAND AND WALES.



LONDON LABOUR AND THE LONDON POOR.

**TABLE SHOWING THE CRIMINALITY OF THE DIFFERENT COUNTIES IN ENGLAND AND WALES
IN THE UNDERMENTIONED YEARS.**

COUNTIES.	Average Population from 1841-50.	Total number of Persons committed for Trial or Bailed.										Total for 10 years.	Average per Year.	Proportion to the Population	Number of Criminals to every 10,000 of Population.
		1841.	1842.	1843.	1844.	1845.	1846.	1847.	1848.	1849.	1850.				
Bedford . . .	121,083	191	229	202	188	155	185	178	204	162	161	1,855	185	1 in 654	15.2
Berks . . .	194,763	306	333	328	287	260	250	335	360	358	318	3,135	313	" 622	12.9
Bucks . . .	140,959	287	277	313	280	286	283	315	310	287	242	2,880	288	" 489	20.4
Cambridge . . .	180,747	240	241	257	297	239	276	255	244	309	302	2,660	266	" 679	14.7
Chester . . .	395,919	943	1086	1018	777	688	767	871	1070	861	900	8,981	898	" 440	22.6
Cornwall . . .	349,991	295	282	301	269	272	280	341	272	277	226	2,815	281	" 1245	8.0
Cumberland . . .	186,762	151	115	109	138	118	147	120	130	159	146	1,333	133	" 1404	7.1
Derby . . .	250,249	277	322	322	279	186	277	214	264	245	255	2,641	264	" 947	10.5
Devon . . .	554,738	687	716	740	715	720	721	949	934	893	807	7,872	787	" 704	14.1
Dorset . . .	172,786	284	241	252	203	218	225	307	287	326	190	2,533	253	" 682	14.6
Durham . . .	368,787	215	266	300	376	203	249	279	334	321	358	2,901	290	" 1271	7.8
Essex . . .	332,363	647	753	710	596	554	602	603	689	587	631	6,377	638	" 520	19.1
Gloucester . . .	407,504	1236	1252	1186	1071	929	884	1092	1042	1063	920	10,675	1067	" 381	26.1
Hereford . . .	97,813	245	259	238	230	226	158	212	270	242	252	2,332	233	" 419	23.8
Hertford . . .	168,178	319	338	265	271	244	243	291	348	318	315	2,952	295	" 570	17.5
Hunts . . .	57,942	62	68	68	79	88	81	89	104	93	90	822	82	" 706	14.1
Kent . . .	535,249	962	1155	977	911	831	815	889	1020	980	958	9,598	960	" 609	16.4
Lancaster . . .	1,881,261	3987	4497	3677	2893	2852	3072	3456	3778	3290	3340	34,842	3484	" 539	18.5
Leicester . . .	227,621	466	492	509	481	328	358	335	346	299	300	3,914	391	" 582	17.1
Lincoln . . .	378,246	349	507	563	542	389	419	506	504	529	528	4,836	484	" 781	12.8
Middlesex . . .	1,740,814	3586	4094	4260	4027	4440	4641	5175	4856	3861	3732	42,672	4267	" 407	24.5
Monmouth . . .	164,093	364	264	261	278	196	217	282	298	370	433	2,963	296	" 554	18.0
Norfolk . . .	419,463	666	808	782	788	642	720	751	689	633	705	7,184	718	" 584	17.1
Northampton . . .	206,496	342	346	270	294	302	270	243	307	327	248	2,949	295	" 699	14.2
Northumberland . . .	284,777	226	245	290	294	189	169	189	201	261	283	2,347	235	" 1211	8.2
Nottingham . . .	282,584	329	374	353	348	267	286	343	364	341	325	3,330	333	" 848	11.8
Oxford . . .	166,751	323	334	328	296	309	228	299	296	303	252	2,968	297	" 591	17.8
Rutland . . .	23,711	14	48	39	23	28	26	41	52	35	27	333	33	" 718	13.9
Salop . . .	243,352	416	470	534	449	308	227	267	305	347	307	3,630	363	" 670	14.9
Somerset . . .	452,515	991	1148	967	1039	873	701	774	888	885	754	9,020	902	" 501	19.9
Southampton . . .	377,040	677	702	676	517	619	608	737	728	751	686	6,701	670	" 562	17.7
Stafford . . .	579,686	1059	1485	1175	885	717	851	1028	1120	1009	1053	10,382	1038	" 558	17.9
Suffolk . . .	325,336	482	527	585	630	407	471	505	495	537	472	5,111	511	" 636	15.7
Surrey . . .	635,917	923	1017	867	941	942	958	1315	1296	1109	1030	10,398	1040	" 611	16.3

LONDON LABOUR AND THE LONDON POOR.

Sussex	320,944	539	550	493	409	409	468	522	546	502	480	4918	492	652	153
Warwick	444,558	1046	1003	1045	894	769	799	998	1257	910	880	9601	960	463	216
Westmoreland	57,494	33	39	44	24	46	74	33	47	57	70	467	47	1223	81
Wilts	241,887	506	548	464	432	379	436	502	465	452	386	4570	457	529	189
Worcester	244,574	566	609	679	603	563	535	620	681	653	607	6116	612	399	250
York	1,686,461	1895	2598	2804	1691	1417	1560	1794	2036	2022	1915	19,232	1923	876	114
North Wales	396,161	251	279	294	283	269	220	307	332	338	316	2889	289	1370	72
South Wales	568,430	377	387	546	514	426	350	471	590	514	613	4788	479	1186	84
TOTAL FOR ENGLAND AND WALES	16,918,458	27,760	31,309	29,591	26,542	24,303	25,107	28,883	30,349	27,816	26,813	278,423	27,842	607	164

THE YEARS OF CRIME.

LIST OF COUNTIES IN THE ORDER OF THEIR CRIMINALITY, AS SHOWN BY THE NUMBER OF CRIMINALS TO EVERY 10,000 OF THE POPULATION.															
Counties above the Average in Crime.								Counties below the Average in Crime.							
Gloucester	26.1	Kent	16.4	Stafford	17.9	Lincoln	12.8	Derby	10.5	South Wales	8.4	Westmoreland	8.2	North Wales	7.8
Worcester	25.0	Surrey	16.3	York	10.5	Westmorland	8.1	South Wales	8.0	Derham	7.2	North Wales	7.1	Cumberland	7.1
Middlesex	24.5	Suffolk	15.7	Nottingham	11.8	Northumberland	8.1	Derby	10.5	South Wales	8.4	Westmoreland	8.2	North Wales	7.8
Hereford	23.8	Sussex	15.3	Derby	10.5	Westmorland	8.1	South Wales	8.0	Derham	7.2	North Wales	7.1	Cumberland	7.1
Chester	22.6	Bedford	15.2	Nottingham	11.8	Northumberland	8.1	South Wales	8.0	Derham	7.2	North Wales	7.1	Cumberland	7.1
Warwick	21.6	Salop	14.9	York	10.5	Westmorland	8.1	South Wales	8.0	Derham	7.2	North Wales	7.1	Cumberland	7.1
Bucks	20.4	Cambridge	14.7	Derby	10.5	Westmorland	8.1	South Wales	8.0	Derham	7.2	North Wales	7.1	Cumberland	7.1
Somerset	19.9	Dorset	14.6	Nottingham	11.8	Northumberland	8.1	South Wales	8.0	Derham	7.2	North Wales	7.1	Cumberland	7.1
Essex	19.1	Northampton	14.2	Derby	10.5	Westmorland	8.1	South Wales	8.0	Derham	7.2	North Wales	7.1	Cumberland	7.1
Wilts	18.9	Devon	14.1	Nottingham	11.8	Northumberland	8.1	South Wales	8.0	Derham	7.2	North Wales	7.1	Cumberland	7.1
Lancaster	18.5	Rutland	13.9	Derby	10.5	Westmorland	8.1	South Wales	8.0	Derham	7.2	North Wales	7.1	Cumberland	7.1
Monmouth	18.0	Berks	12.9	Derby	10.5	Westmorland	8.1	South Wales	8.0	Derham	7.2	North Wales	7.1	Cumberland	7.1
Stafford	17.9	Lincoln	12.8	Derby	10.5	Westmorland	8.1	South Wales	8.0	Derham	7.2	North Wales	7.1	Cumberland	7.1
Oxford	17.8	Nottingham	11.8	Derby	10.5	Westmorland	8.1	South Wales	8.0	Derham	7.2	North Wales	7.1	Cumberland	7.1
Southampton	17.7	York	10.5	Derby	10.5	Westmorland	8.1	South Wales	8.0	Derham	7.2	North Wales	7.1	Cumberland	7.1
Hertford	17.5	Derby	10.5	Derby	10.5	Westmorland	8.1	South Wales	8.0	Derham	7.2	North Wales	7.1	Cumberland	7.1
Leicester	17.1	South Wales	8.4	Derby	10.5	Westmorland	8.1	South Wales	8.0	Derham	7.2	North Wales	7.1	Cumberland	7.1
Norfolk	17.1	Westmorland	8.1	Derby	10.5	Westmorland	8.1	South Wales	8.0	Derham	7.2	North Wales	7.1	Cumberland	7.1
Average for all England and Wales	16.4	Westmorland	8.1	Derby	10.5	Westmorland	8.1	South Wales	8.0	Derham	7.2	North Wales	7.1	Cumberland	7.1
THE YEARS.															
Years.	Number of Criminal Offenders.	Population.	Number of Criminals to every 10,000 people.	Years.	Number of Criminal Offenders.	Population.	Number of Criminals to every 10,000 people.	Years.	Number of Criminal Offenders.	Population.	Number of Criminals to every 10,000 people.	Years.	Number of Criminal Offenders.	Population.	Number of Criminals to every 10,000 people.
1811	5,337	10,150,615	5.2	1831	19,647	13,897,187	14.1	Total in 10 years	225,050	148,114,825	15.0	Total for 10 years	278,413	169,180,270	16.5
1812	6,576	10,332,441	6.3	1832	20,829	14,096,142	14.7	Average ditto	22,305	14,311,402	15.0	Average ditto	27,841	16,818,027	16.5
1813	7,164	10,515,567	6.8	1833	20,972	14,290,097	14.0								
1814	6,390	10,689,093	5.9	1834	22,451	14,500,052	15.4								
1815	7,818	10,881,919	7.3	1835	20,731	14,701,007	14.1								
1816	9,091	11,064,745	8.2	1836	20,504	14,901,962	14.1								
1817	13,932	11,247,571	11.5	1837	23,612	15,102,917	15.6								
1818	13,567	11,439,397	11.8	1838	23,094	15,303,872	15.1								
1819	14,254	11,613,223	12.2	1839	24,443	15,504,827	15.7								
1820	13,710	11,796,049	11.6	1840	27,187	15,705,702	17.3								
Total for 10 years	97,839	109,630,320		Total in 10 years	225,050	148,114,825									
Average ditto.	9,783	10,963,032	8.9	Average ditto	22,305	14,311,402	15.0								
1821	13,115	11,979,375	10.9	1841	27,750	15,914,148	17.4								
1822	12,241	12,170,796	10.0	1842	31,360	16,115,010	19.4								
1823	12,263	12,363,537	9.9	1843	29,591	16,315,872	18.1								
1824	13,028	12,554,368	10.9	1844	26,542	16,516,734	16.0								
1825	14,437	12,746,199	11.3	1845	24,363	16,717,596	14.5								
1826	16,164	12,938,030	12.5	1846	25,107	16,918,438	14.9								
1827	17,924	13,129,361	13.6	1847	28,353	17,119,320	16.8								
1828	16,564	13,321,092	12.4	1848	30,349	17,320,182	17.5								
1829	15,675	13,531,823	11.6	1849	27,816	17,521,044	15.9								
1830	13,107	13,705,354	9.5	1850	26,813	17,721,906	15.1								
Total for 10 years	153,188	128,421,145		Total for 10 years	278,413	169,180,270									
Average ditto	15,318	12,842,114	11.9	Average ditto	27,841	16,818,027	16.5								



point of view, from the workers in wood, as the carpenters and joiners, the cabinet-makers, ship-builders, &c., who are all classed under the head of handicraftsmen? Again, according to the census of 1831, a brewer is placed among those employed in retail trade or in handicrafts, while a vinegar maker is ranked with the manufacturers. According to Mr. Babbage, *manufacturing* differs from mere *making* simply in the quantity produced—he being a manufacturer who makes a greater number of the same articles; manufacturing is thus simply production in a large way, in connection with the several handicrafts. Dr. Ure, however, appears to consider such articles manufactures as are produced by means of machinery, citing the word which originally signified production by hand (being the Latin equivalent for the Saxon *handicraft*) as an instance of those singular verbal corruptions by which terms come to stand for the very opposite to their literal meaning. But with all deference to the Doctor, for whose judgment I have the highest respect, Mr. Babbage's definition of a manufacturer, viz., as a producer on a large scale, appears to me the more correct; for it is in this sense that we speak of manufacturing chemists, boot and shoe manufacturers, ginger-beer manufacturers, and the like.

The Occupation Abstract of the Census of 1841, though far more comprehensive than the one preceding it, is equally unsatisfactory and unphilosophical. In this document the several members of Society are thus classified:—

- I. *Persons engaged in Commerce, Trade, and Manufacture.*
- II. *Agriculture.*
- III. *Labour, not Agricultural.*
- IV. *Army and Navy Merchant Seamen, Fishermen, and Watermen.*
- V. *Professions and other pursuits requiring education.*
- VI. *Government, Civil Service, and Municipal and Parochial Officers.*
- VII. *Domestic Servants.*
- VIII. *Persons of Independent Means.*
- IX. *Almspeople, Pensioners, Paupers, Lunatics, and Prisoners.*
- X. *Remainder of Population, including Women and Children.*

Here it will be seen that the defects arising from drawing distinctions where no real differences exist, are avoided, those engaged in handicrafts being included under the same head as those engaged in manufacture; but

the equally grave error of confounding or grouping together occupations which are essentially diverse, is allowed to continue. Accordingly, the first division is made to include those who are engaged in trade and commerce as well as manufacture, though surely—the one belongs strictly to the distributing, and the other to the producing class—occupations which are not only essentially distinct, but of which it is absolutely necessary for a right understanding of the state of the country that we know the proportion that the one bears to the other. Again, the employers in both cases are confounded with the employed, so that, though the capitalists who supply the materials, and pay the wages for the several kinds of work are a distinct body of people from those who do the work, and a body, moreover, that it is of the highest possible importance, in an economical point of view, that we should be able to estimate numerically,—no attempt is made to discriminate the one from the other. Now these three classes, distributors, employers, and operatives, which in the Government returns of the people are jumbled together in one heterogeneous crowd, as if the distinctions between Capital, Labour, and Distribution had never been propounded, are precisely those concerning which the social inquirer desires the most minute information.

The Irish census is differently arranged from that of Great Britain. There the several classes are grouped under the following heads:—

- I. *Ministering to Food.*
 1. As Producers.
 2. As Preparers.
 3. As Distributors.
- II. *Ministering to Clothing.*
 1. As Manufacturers of Materials.
 2. As Handicraftsmen and Dealers.
- III. *Ministering to Lodging, Furniture, Machinery, &c.*
- IV. *Ministering to Health.*
- V. *Ministering to Charity.*
- VI. *Ministering to Justice.*
- VII. *Ministering to Education.*
- VIII. *Ministering to Religion.*
- IX. *Various Arts and Employments, not included in the foregoing.*
- X. *Residue of Population, not having specified occupations, and including unemployed persons and women.*

This, however, is no improvement upon the English classification. There is the same want of discrimination, and the same dis-

regard of the great "economical" divisions of society.

Moreover, to show the extreme fallacy of such a classification, it is only necessary to make the following extract from the Report of the Commissioners for Great Britain:—

"We would willingly have given a classification of the occupations of the inhabitants of Great Britain into the various wants to which they respectively minister, but, in attempting this, we were stopped by the various anomalies and uncertainties to which such a classification seemed necessarily to lead, from the fact that many persons supply more than one want, though they can only be classed under one head. Thus to give but a single instance—the farmer and grazier may be deemed to minister quite as much to clothing by the fleece and hides as he does to food by the flesh of his sheep and cattle."

He, therefore, who would seek to elaborate the natural history of the industry of the people of England, must direct his attention to some social philosopher, who has given the subject more consideration than either princes or Government officials can possibly be expected to devote to it. Among the whole body of economists, Mr. Stuart Mill appears to be the only man who has taken a comprehensive and enlightened view of the several functions of society. Following in the footsteps of M. Say, the French social philosopher, he first points out concerning the products of industry, that labour is not creative of objects but of utilities, and then proceeds to say:—

"Now the utilities produced by labour are of three kinds; they are—

"First, utilities *fixed and embodied in outward objects*; by labour employed in investing external material things with properties which render them serviceable to human beings. This is the common case, and requires no illustration.

"Secondly, utilities *fixed and embodied in human beings*; the labour being in this case employed in conferring on human beings qualities which render them serviceable to themselves and others. To this class belongs the labour of all concerned in education; not only schoolmasters, tutors, and professors, but governments, so far as they aim successfully at the improvement of the people; moralists and clergymen, as far as productive of benefit; the labour of physicians, as far as instrumental in preserving life and physical or mental efficiency; of the teachers of bodily exercises, and of the various trades, sciences, and arts, together with the labour of the learners in acquiring them, and all labour bestowed by

any persons, throughout life, in improving the knowledge or cultivating the bodily and mental faculties of themselves or others.

"Thirdly, and lastly, utilities *not fixed or embodied in any object*, but consisting in a mere service rendered, a pleasure given, an inconvenience or pain averted, during a longer or a shorter time, but without leaving a permanent acquisition in the improved qualities of any person or thing; the labour here being employed in producing an utility *directly*, not (as in the two former cases) in *fitting some other thing* to afford an utility. Such, for example, is the labour of the musical performer, the actor, the public declaimer or reciter, and the showman.

"Some good may, no doubt, be produced beyond the moment, upon the feeling and disposition, or general state of enjoyment of the spectators; or instead of good there may be harm, but neither the one nor the other is the effect intended, is the result for which the exhibitor works and the spectator pays, but the immediate pleasure. Such, again, is the labour of the army and navy; they, at the best, prevent a country from being conquered, or from being injured or insulted, which is a service, but in all other respects leave the country neither improved nor deteriorated. Such, too, is the labour of the legislator, the judge, the officer of justice, and all other agents of Government, in their ordinary functions, apart from any influence they may exert on the improvement of the national mind. The service which they render is to maintain peace and security; these compose the utility which they produce. It may appear to some that carriers, and merchants or dealers, should be placed in this same class, since their labour does not add any properties to objects, but I reply that it does, it adds the property of being in the place where they are wanted, instead of being in some other place, which is a very useful property, and the utility it confers is embodied in the things themselves, which now actually are in the place where they are required for use, and in consequence of that increased utility could be sold at an increased price proportioned to the labour expended in conferring it. This labour, therefore, does not belong to the third class, but to the first."

To the latter part of the above classification, I regret to say I cannot assent. Surely the property of being in the place where they are wanted, which carriers and distributors are said to confer on external objects, cannot be said to be fixed—if, in-

deed, it be strictly *embodied* in the objects, since the very act of distribution consists in the alteration of this local relation, and transferring such objects to the possession of another. Is not the utility which the weaver fixes and embodies in a yard of cotton, a very different utility from that effected by the linendraper in handing the same yard of cotton over the counter in exchange for so much money? and in this particular act, it would be difficult to perceive what is fixed and embodied, seeing that it consists essentially in an exchange of commodities.

Mr. Mill's mistake appears to consist in not discerning that there is another class of labour besides that employed in producing utilities *directly*, and that occupied in *fitting other things* to afford utilities: viz., that which is engaged in *assisting* those who are so occupied in fitting things to be useful. This class consists of such as are engaged in aiding the producers of permanent material utilities either *before* or during production, and such as are engaged in aiding them *after* production. Under the first division are comprised capitalists, or those who supply the materials and tools for the work, superintendents and managers, or those who direct the work, and labourers, or those who perform some minor office connected with the work, as in turning the large wheel for a turner, in carrying the bricks to a bricklayer, and the like; while in the second division, or those who are engaged in assisting producers *after* production, are included carriers, or those who remove the produce to the market, and dealers and shopmen, or those who obtain purchasers for it. Now it is evident that the function of all these classes is merely *auxiliary* to the labour of the producers, consisting principally of so many modes of economizing their time and labour. Whether the gains of some of these auxiliary classes are as disproportionately large, as the others are disproportionately small, this is not the place to inquire. My present duty is merely to record the fact of the existence of such classes, and to assign them their proper place in the social fabric, as at present constituted.

Now, from the above it will appear, that there are four distinct classes of workers:—

- I. ENRICHERS, or those who are employed in producing utilities fixed and embodied in material things, that is to say, in producing exchangeable commodities or riches.
- II. AUXILIARIES, or those who are employed in aiding the production of exchangeable commodities.

III. BENEFACTORS, or those who are employed in producing utilities fixed and embodied in human beings, that is to say, in conferring upon them some permanent good.

IV. SERVITORS, or those who are employed in rendering some service, that is to say, in conferring some temporary good upon another.

Class 1 is engaged in investing *material* objects with qualities which render them serviceable to others.

Class 2 is engaged in aiding the operations of Class 1.

Class 3 is engaged in conferring on *human beings* qualities which render them serviceable to themselves or others.

Class 4 is engaged in giving a pleasure, averting a pain (during a longer or shorter period), or preventing an inconvenience, by performing some office for others that they would find irksome to do for themselves.

Hence it appears that the operations of the first and third of the above classes, or the Enrichers and Benefactors of Society, tend to leave some *permanent acquisition* in the improved qualities of either persons or things,—whereas the operations of the second and fourth classes, or the Auxiliaries and Servitors, are limited merely to promoting either the labours or the pleasures of the other members of the community.

Such, then, are the several classes of Workers; and here it should be stated that, I apply the title Worker to all those who do *anything* for their living, who perform any act whatsoever that is considered worthy of being paid for by others, without regard to the question whether such labourers tend to add to or decrease the aggregate wealth of the community. I consider all persons doing or giving something for the comforts they obtain, as self-supporting individuals. Whether that something be really an equivalent for the emoluments they receive, it is not my vocation here to inquire. Suffice it some real or imaginary benefit is conferred upon society, or a particular individual, and what is thought a fair and proper reward is given in return for it. Hence I look upon soldiers, sailors, Government and parochial officers, capitalists, clergymen, lawyers, wives, &c., &c., as self-supporting—a certain amount of labour, or a certain desirable commodity, being given by each and all in exchange for other commodities,

which are considered less desirable to the individuals parting with them, and more desirable to those receiving them.

Nevertheless, it must be confessed that, economically speaking, the most important and directly valuable of all classes are those whom I have here denominated Enrichers. These consist not only of Producers, but of the Collectors and Extractors of Wealth, concerning whom a few words are necessary.

There are three modes of obtaining the materials of our wealth—(1) by collecting, (2) by extracting, and (3) by producing them. The industrial processes concerned in the collection of the materials of wealth are of the rudest and most primitive kind—being pursued principally by such tribes as depend for their food, and raiment, and shelter, on the spontaneous productions of nature. The usual modes by which the collection is made is by gathering the vegetable produce (which is the simplest and most direct form of all industry), and when the produce is of an animal nature, by hunting, shooting, or fishing, according as the animal sought after inhabits the land, the air, or the water. In a more advanced state of society, where the erection of places of shelter has come to constitute one of the acts of life, the felling of trees will also form one of the modes by which the materials making up the wealth of the nation are collected. In Great Britain there appears to be fewer people connected with the mere collection of wealth than with any other general industrial process. The fishermen are not above 25,000, and the wood-cutters and woodmen not 5000; so that even with gamekeepers, and others engaged in the taking of game, we may safely say that there are about 30,000 out of 18,000,000, or only one-six hundredth of the entire population, engaged in this mode of industry—a fact which strongly indicates the artificial character of our society.

The production of the materials of wealth, which indicates a far higher state of civilization, and which consists in the several agricultural and farming processes for increasing the natural stock of animal and vegetable food, employs upwards of one million; while those who are engaged in the extraction of our treasures from the earth, either by mining or quarrying, both of which processes—depending, as they do, upon a knowledge of some of the subtler natural powers—could only have been brought into operation in a highly advanced stage of the human intellect, number about a quarter of a million. Altogether, there appear to be about one mil-

lion and a half of individuals engaged in the industrial processes connected with the collection, extraction, and production of the materials of wealth; those who are employed in operating upon these materials, in the fashioning of them into manufactures, making them up into commodities, as well as those engaged in the distribution of them—that is to say, the transport and sale of them when so fashioned or made up—appear to amount to another two millions and a half, so that the industrial classes of Great Britain, taken altogether, may be said to amount to four millions. For the more perfect comprehension, however, of the several classes of society, let me subjoin a table in round numbers, calculated from the census of 1841, and including among the first items both the employers as well as employed:—

Engaged in Trade and Manufacture	3,000,000
„ Agriculture	1,500,000
„ Mining, Quarrying, and Transit	750,000
Total Employers and Employed	5,250,000
Domestic Servants	1,000,000
Independent persons	500,000
Educated pursuits (including Professions and Fine Arts)	200,000
Government Officers (including Army, Navy, Civil Service, and Parish Officers)	200,000
Alms-people (including Paupers, Prisoners, and Lunatics)	200,000
	7,350,000
Residue of Population (including 3,500,000 wives and 7,500,000 children)	11,000,000
	18,350,000

Now, of the 5,250,000 individuals engaged in Agriculture, Mining, Transit, Manufacture and Trade, it would appear that about one million and a quarter may be considered as employers; and, consequently, that the remaining four millions may be said to represent the numerical strength of the operatives of England and Scotland. Of these about one million, or a quarter of the whole, may be said to be engaged in producing the materials of wealth; and about a quarter of a million, or one-sixteenth of the entire number, in extracting from the soil the substances upon which many of the manufacturers have to operate.

The artisans, or those who are engaged in the several handicrafts or manufactures operating upon the various materials of wealth thus obtained, are distinct from the workmen above-mentioned, belonging to what are called skilled labourers, whereas those who are employed in the collection, extraction, or growing of wealth, belong to the unskilled class.

An artisan is an *educated* handicrafts-

man, following a calling that requires an apprenticeship of greater or less duration in order to arrive at perfection in it; whereas a labourer's occupation needs no education whatever. Many years must be spent in practising before a man can acquire sufficient manual dexterity to make a pair of boots or a coat; dock labour or porter's work, however, needs neither teaching nor learning, for any man can carry a load or turn a wheel. The artisan, therefore, is literally a handicraftsman—one who by practice has acquired manual dexterity enough to perform a particular class of work, which is consequently called "skilled." The natural classification of artisans, or skilled labourers, appears to be according to the materials upon which they work, for this circumstance seems to constitute the peculiar quality of the art more than the tool used—indeed, it appears to be the principal cause of the modification of the implements in different handicrafts. The tools used to fashion, as well as the instruments and substances used to join the several materials operated upon in the manufactures and handicrafts, differ according as those materials are of different kinds. We do not, for instance, attempt to saw cloth into shape nor to cut bricks with shears; neither do we solder the soles to the upper leathers of our boots, nor nail together the seams of our shirts. And even in those crafts where the means of uniting the materials are similar, the artisan working upon one kind of substance is generally incapable of operating upon another. The tailor who stitches woollen materials together would make but a poor hand at sewing leather. The two substances are joined by the same means, but in a different manner, and with different instruments. So the turner, who has been accustomed to turn wood, is unable to fashion metals by the same method.

The most natural mode of grouping the artisans into classes would appear to be according as they pursue some *mechanical* or *chemical* occupation. The former are literally mechanics or handicraftsmen—the latter chemical manufacturers. The handicraftsmen consist of (1) The workers in silk, wool, cotton, flax, and hemp—as weavers, spinners, knitters, carpet-makers, lace-makers, rope-makers, canvas-weavers, &c. (2) The workers in skin, gut, and feathers—as tanners, curriers, furriers, feather dressers, &c. (3) The makers up of silken, woollen, cotton, linen, hempen, and leathern materials—as tailors, milliners, shirt-makers, sail-makers, hatters, glove-makers, saddlers, and the like. (4) The workers in

wood, as the carpenters, the cabinet-makers, &c. (5) The workers in cane, osier, reed, rush, and straw—as basket-makers, straw-plait manufacturers, thatchers, and the like. (6) The workers in brick and stones—as bricklayers, masons, &c. (7) The workers in glass and earthenware—as potters, glass-blowers, glass-cutters, bottle-makers, glaziers, &c. (8) The workers in metals—as braziers, tinmen, plumbers, goldsmiths, pewterers, copper-smiths, iron-founders, blacksmiths, whitesmiths, anchor-smiths, locksmiths, &c. (9) The workers in paper—as the paper-makers, cardboard-makers. (10) The chemical manufacturers—as powder-makers, white-lead-makers, alkali and acid manufacturers, lucifer-match-makers, blacking-makers, ink-makers, soap-boilers, tallow-chandlers, &c. (11) The workers at the superlative or extrinsic arts—that is to say, those which have no manufactures of their own, but which are engaged in adding to the utility or beauty of others—as printing bookbinding, painting, and decorating, gilding, burnishing, &c.

The circumstances which govern the classification of *trades* are totally different from those regulating the division of work. In trade the convenience of the purchaser is mainly studied, the sale of such articles being associated as are usually required together. Hence the master coachmaker is frequently a harness manufacturer as well, for the purchaser of the one commodity generally stands in need of the other. The painter and house-decorator not only follows the trade of the glazier, but of the plumber, too; because these arts are one and all connected with the "doing up" of houses. For the same reason the builder combines the business of the plasterer with that of the bricklayer, and not unfrequently that of the carpenter and joiner in addition. In all of these businesses, however, a distinct set of workmen are required, according as the materials operated upon are different.

We are now in a position to proceed with the arrangement of the several members of society into different classes, according to the principles of classification which have been here laid down. The difficulties of the task, however, should be continually borne in mind; for where so many have failed it cannot be expected that perfection can be arrived at by any one individual; and, slight as the labour of such a task may at the first glance appear to some, still the system here propounded has been the work and study of many months.

CLASSIFICATION
OF
THE WORKERS AND NON-WORKERS
OF GREAT BRITAIN.

THOSE WHO WILL WORK.

- I. ENRICHERS, as the Collectors, Extractors, or Producers of Exchangeable Commodities.
- II. AUXILIARIES, as the Promoters of Production, or the Distributors of the Produce.
- III. BENEFACTORS, or those who confer some permanent benefit, as Educators and Curators engaged in promoting the physical, intellectual, or spiritual well-being of the people.
- IV. SERVITORS, or those who render some temporary service, or pleasure, as Amusers, Protectors, and Servants.

THOSE WHO CANNOT WORK.

- V. THOSE WHO ARE PROVIDED FOR BY SOME PUBLIC INSTITUTION, as the Inmates of workhouses, prisons, hospitals, asylums, almshouses, dormitories, and refuges.
- VI. THOSE WHO ARE UNPROVIDED FOR, and incapacitated for labour, either from want of power, from want of means, or from want of employment.

THOSE WHO WILL NOT WORK.

- VII. VAGRANTS.
- VIII. PROFESSIONAL BEGGARS.
- IX. CHEATS.
- X. THIEVES.
- XI. PROSTITUTES.

THOSE WHO NEED NOT WORK.

- XII. THOSE WHO DERIVE THEIR INCOME FROM RENT.
- XIII. THOSE WHO DERIVE THEIR INCOME FROM DIVIDENDS.
- XIV. THOSE WHO DERIVE THEIR INCOME FROM YEARLY STIPENDS.
- XV. THOSE WHO DERIVE THEIR INCOME FROM OBSOLETE OR NOMINAL OFFICES.
- XVI. THOSE WHO DERIVE THEIR INCOME FROM TRADES IN WHICH THEY DO NOT APPEAR.
- XVII. THOSE WHO DERIVE THEIR INCOME BY FAVOUR FROM OTHERS.
- XVIII. THOSE WHO DERIVE THEIR SUPPORT FROM THE HEAD OF THE FAMILY.

THOSE WHO WILL WORK.

I. *Enrichers*, or those engaged in the collection, extraction, or production of exchangeable commodities.

A. COLLECTORS.

1. Fishermen.
2. Woodmen.
3. Sand and Clay-collectors.
4. Copperas, Cement-stones, and other finders.

B. EXTRACTORS.

1. Miners.
 - a. Coal.
 - b. Salt.
 - c. Iron, Lead, Tin, Copper, Zinc, Manganese.
2. Quarryers.
 - a. Slate.
 - b. Stone.

C. GROWERS.

1. Farmers.
 - a. Capitalist Farmers.
 - i. Yeomen, or Proprietary Farmers.
 - ii. Tenant Farmers.
 - b. Peasant Farmers.
 - i. Peasant Proprietors, as the Cumberland "Statesmen."
 - ii. "Metayers," or labourers paying the landlord a certain portion of the produce as rent for the use of the land.
 - iii. "Cottiers," or labouring Tenant Farmers.
2. Graziers.
3. Gardeners, Nurserymen, Florists.

D. MAKERS OR ARTIFICERS.

1. Mechanics.
 - a. Workers in Silk, Wool, Worsted, Hair, Cotton, Flax, Hemp, Coir.
 - b. Workers in Skin, Gut, and Feathers.
 - c. Workers in Woollen, Silken, Cotton, Linen, and Leathern Materials.
 - d. Workers in Wood, Ivory, Bone, Horn, and Shell.
 - e. Workers in Osier, Cane, Reed, Rush, and Straw.
 - f. Workers in Stone and Brick.
 - g. Workers in Glass and Earthenware.
 - h. Workers in Metal.
 - i. Workers in Paper.
2. Chemical Manufacturers.
 - a. Acid, Alkali, Alum, Copperas, Prussian-Blue, and other Manufacturers.
 - b. Gunpowder Manufacturers, Percussion-Cap, Cartridge, and Firework Makers.
 - c. Brimstone and Lucifer-match Manufacturers.
 - d. White-lead, Colour, Black-lead, Whiting, and Blue Manufacturers.
 - e. Oil and Turpentine Distillers, and Varnish Manufacturers.
 - f. Ink Manufacturers, Sealing-wax and Wafer Makers.
 - g. Blacking Manufacturers.
 - h. Soap Boilers and Grease Makers.
 - i. Starch Manufacturers.
 - j. Tallow and Wax Chandlers.
 - k. Artificial Manure Manufacturers.

- l. Artificial Stone and Cement Manufacturers.
 - m. Asphalte and Tar Manufacturers.
 - n. Glue and Size Makers.
 - o. Polishing Paste, and Glass and Emery Paper Makers.
 - p. Lime, Coke, and Charcoal Burners.
 - q. Manufacturing Chemists and Drug Manufacturers.
 - r. Workers connected with Provisions, Luxuries, and Medicines.
 - i. Bakers, and Biscuit Makers.
 - ii. Brewers.
 - iii. Soda-water and Ginger-beer Manufacturers.
 - iv. Distillers and Rectifiers.
 - v. British Wine Manufacturers.
 - vi. Vinegar Manufacturers.
 - vii. Fish and Provision Curers.
 - viii. Preserved Meats and Preserved Fruit Preparers.
 - ix. Sauce and Pickle Manufacturers.
 - x. Mustard Makers.
 - xi. Isinglass Manufacturers.
 - xii. Sugar Bakers, Boilers, and Refiners.
 - xiii. Confectioners and Pastry-cooks.
 - xiv. Rice and Farinaceous Food Manufacturers.
 - xv. Chocolate, Cocoa, and other Manufacturers of Substitutes for Tea.
 - xvi. Cigar, Tobacco, and Snuff Manufacturers.
 - xvii. Quack, and other Medicine Manufacturers, as Pills, Powders, Syrups, Cordials, Embrocations, Ointments, Plaisters, &c.
3. Workers connected with the Superlative Arts, that is to say, with those arts which have no products of their own, and are engaged either in adding to the beauty or usefulness of the products of other arts, or in inventing or designing the work appertaining to them.
- a. Printers.
 - b. Bookbinders.
 - c. Painters, Decorators, and Gilders.
 - d. Writers and Stencillers.
 - e. Dyers, Bleachers, Scourers, Calenderers, and Fullers.
 - f. Print Colourers.
 - g. Designers of Patterns.
 - h. Embroiderers (of Muslin, Silk, &c.), and Fancy Workers.
 - i. Desiccators, Anti-dry-rot Preservers, Waterproofers.
 - j. Burnishers, Polishers, Grinders, Japanners, and French Polishers.
 - k. Engravers, Chasers, Die-Sinkers, Embossers, Engine-Turners, and Glass-Cutters.
 - l. Artists, Sculptors, and Carvers of Wood, Coral, Jet, &c.
 - m. Modellers and Moulders.
 - n. Architects, Surveyors, and Civil Engineers.
 - o. Composers.
 - p. Authors, Editors, and Reporters.
- * * Operatives are divisible, according to the mode in which they are paid, into—
- 1. Day-workers.
 - 2. Piece-workers.
 - 3. "Lump" or Contract-workers, as at the docks.
 - 4. Perquisite-workers, as waiters, &c.
 - 5. "Kind" or Truck-workers, as the farm servants in the North of England, Domestic Servants and Milliners, Ballast-heavers, and men paid at "Tommy-shops."
 - 6. Tenant-workers, or those who lodge with or reside in houses belonging to their employers. The Slop-working Tailors generally lodge with the "Sweaters," and the "Hinds" of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland have houses found them by their employers. These "Hinds" have to keep a

"Bondager," that is, a female in the house ready to answer the master's call, and to work at stipulated wages.

7. Improvement-workers, or those who are considered to be remunerated for their work by the instruction they receive in doing it; as "improvers" and apprentices. The wages of "society-men" among operatives are settled by *custom*, the wages of "non-society-men" are settled by *competition*.
8. Tribute-workers, as the Cornish Miners, Whalers, and Weavers in some parts of Ireland, where a certain proportion of the proceeds of the work done belongs to the workmen.

Operatives are also divisible, *according to the places at which they work*, into—

1. Domestic workers, or those who work at home.
2. Shop or Factory workers, or those who work on the employer's premises.
3. Out-door workers, or those who work in the open air, as bricklayers, agricultural labourers, &c.
4. Jobbing-workers, or those who go out to work at private houses.
5. Rent-men, or those who pay rent for
 - a. A "seat" at some domestic worker's rooms.
 - b. "Power," as turners, and others, when requiring the use of a steam-engine. Some operatives have to pay rent for tools or "frames," as the sawyers and "stockingers," and some for gas when working on their employer's premises.

Operatives are further divisible, *according to those whom they employ to assist them*, into—

1. Family workers, or those who avail themselves of the assistance of their wives and children, as the Spitalfields Weavers.
2. "Sweaters" and Piece-master workers, or those who employ other members of their trade at less wages than they themselves receive.
3. "Garret-master" workers, or those who avail themselves of the labour of apprentices.

Operatives are moreover divisible, *according to those by whom they are employed*, into—

1. "Flints" and "Dungs;" "Whites" and "Blacks," according as they work for employers who pay or do not pay "society prices."
2. Jobbing piece-workers, or those who work single-handed for the public (without the intervention of an "employer") and are paid by the *piece*. These mostly do the work at their own homes, as cobblers, repairers, &c.
3. Jobbing day-workers, or those who work single-handed for the public (without the intervention of an "employer") and are paid by the *day*. These mostly go out to work at persons' houses and frequently have their food found them. Among the tailors and carpenters this practice is called "whipping the cat."
4. "Co-operative men," or those who work in "association" for their own profit, obtaining their work directly from the public, without the intervention of an "employer."

Lastly, Operatives admit of being arranged into two distinct classes, viz., the superior, or higher-priced, and the inferior, or lower-priced.

The superior, or higher-priced, operatives consist of—

1. The skilful.
2. The trustworthy.
3. The well-conditioned.

The inferior, or lower-priced operatives, on the other hand, are composed of—

1. The unskilful, as the old or superannuated, the young (including apprentices and "improvers"), the slow, and the awkward.

2. The untrustworthy, as the drunken, the idle, and the dishonest. Some of the cheap workers, whose wages are minimized almost to starvation point, so that honesty becomes morally impossible, have to deposit a certain sum of money, or to procure two householders to act as security for the faithful return of the work given out to them.
3. The inexpensive, consisting of—
 - a. Those who can live upon less, as single men, foreigners, Irishmen, women, &c.
 - b. Those who derive their subsistence from other sources, as Wives, Children, Paupers, Prisoners, Inmates of Asylums, Prostitutes, and Amateurs (or those who work at a business merely for pocket-money).
 - c. Those who are in receipt of some pecuniary or other aid, as Pensioners, Allottees of land, and such as have out-door relief from the workhouse.

II. *Auxiliaries*, or those engaged in promoting the enrichment and distributing the riches of the community.

A. PROMOTERS OF PRODUCTION.

1. Employers.

- a. Administrative Employers, or those who supply wholesale or retail dealers. These are subdivisible into—
 - i. Standard Employers, or those who work at the regular standard prices of the trade.
 - ii. "Cutting" Employers, or those who work at less than the regular prices of the trade, as Contractors, &c.
- b. Executive Employers, or those who work directly for the public without the intervention of a wholesale or retail dealer, as Builders, &c.
- c. Distributive Employers, or those who are both producers and retail traders.
 - i. Those who retail what they produce, as Tailors, Shoemakers, Bakers, Eating-house Keepers, Street Mechanics, &c.
 - ii. Those who retail other things (generally provisions), and compel or expect the men in their employ to deal with them for those articles, as the Truck-Masters and others.
 - iii. Those who retail the appurtenances of the trade to which they belong, and compel or expect the men in their employ to purchase such appurtenances of them, as trimmings in the tailors' trade, thread among the seamstresses, and the like.
- d. Middlemen Employers, or those who act between the employer and the employed, obtaining work from employers, and employing others to do it, as Sub-contractors, Sweaters, &c. These consist of—
 - i. Trade-working Employers, or those who make up goods for other employers in the trade.
 - ii. Garret-masters, or those who make up goods for the trade on the smallest amount of capital, and generally on speculation.
 - iii. Trading Operative Employers, or those who obtain work in considerable quantities, and employ others at reduced wages to assist them in it, as "Sweaters," "Seconders," &c. These are either—
 - a. Piece Masters, as those who take out a certain piece of work and employ others to help them at reduced wages.
 - β. "Lumper" Employers, or those who contract to do the work by the lump, which is usually paid for by the piece, and employ others at reduced wages in order to complete it.

* * Employers are known among operatives as "honourable" or "dishonourable," according as the wages they pay are those, or less than those, of the Trade Society.

2. Superintendents, or those who look after the workmen on behalf of employers.

- a. Managers.
 - b. Clerks of the Works.
 - c. Foremen.
 - d. Overlookers.
 - e. Tellers and Meters, or those who take note of the number and quantity of the articles delivered.
 - f. Provers, or those whose duty it is to examine the quality or weight of the articles delivered.
 - g. Timekeepers, or those who note the time of the operatives coming to and quitting labour.
 - h. Gatekeepers, or those who see that no goods are taken out.
 - i. Clerks, or those who keep accounts of all sales and purchases, incomings, and outgoings of the business.
 - j. Pay Clerks, or those who pay the workmen their wages.
3. Labourers.
- a. Acting as motive powers.
 - i. Turning wheels, working pumps, blowing bellows.
 - ii. Wheeling, dragging, pulling, or hoisting loads.
 - iii. Shifting (scenes), or turning (corn).
 - iv. Carrying (bricks, as hodmen).
 - v. Driving (piles), ramming down (stones, as paviments).
 - vi. Pressing (as fruit, for juice; seeds, for oil).
 - b. Uniting or putting one thing to another.
 - i. Feeding (furnace), laying-on (as for printing machines).
 - ii. Filling (as "fillers-in" of sieves at dust-yards).
 - iii. Oiling (engines), greasing (railway wheels), pitching or tarring (vessels), pasting paper (for bags).
 - iv. Mixing (mortar), kneading (clay).
 - v. Tying up (plants and bunches of vegetables).
 - vi. Folding (printed sheets).
 - vii. Corking (bottles), or caulking (ships).
 - c. Separating one thing from another.
 - i. Sifting (cinders), screening (coals).
 - ii. Picking (fruit, hops, &c.), shelling (peas), peeling, barking, and threshing.
 - iii. Winnowing.
 - iv. Weeding and stoning.
 - v. Reaping and mowing.
 - vi. Felling, lopping, hewing, chopping (as fire-wood), cutting (as chaff), shearing (sheep).
 - vii. Sawing.
 - viii. Blasting.
 - ix. Breaking (stones), crushing (bones and ores), pounding (drugs).
 - x. Scouring (as sand from castings), scraping (ships).
 - d. Excavating, sinking, and embanking.
 - i. Tunnelling.
 - ii. Sinking foundations.
 - iii. Boring.
 - iv. Draining, trenching, ditching, and hedging.
 - v. Embanking.
 - vi. Road-making, cutting.

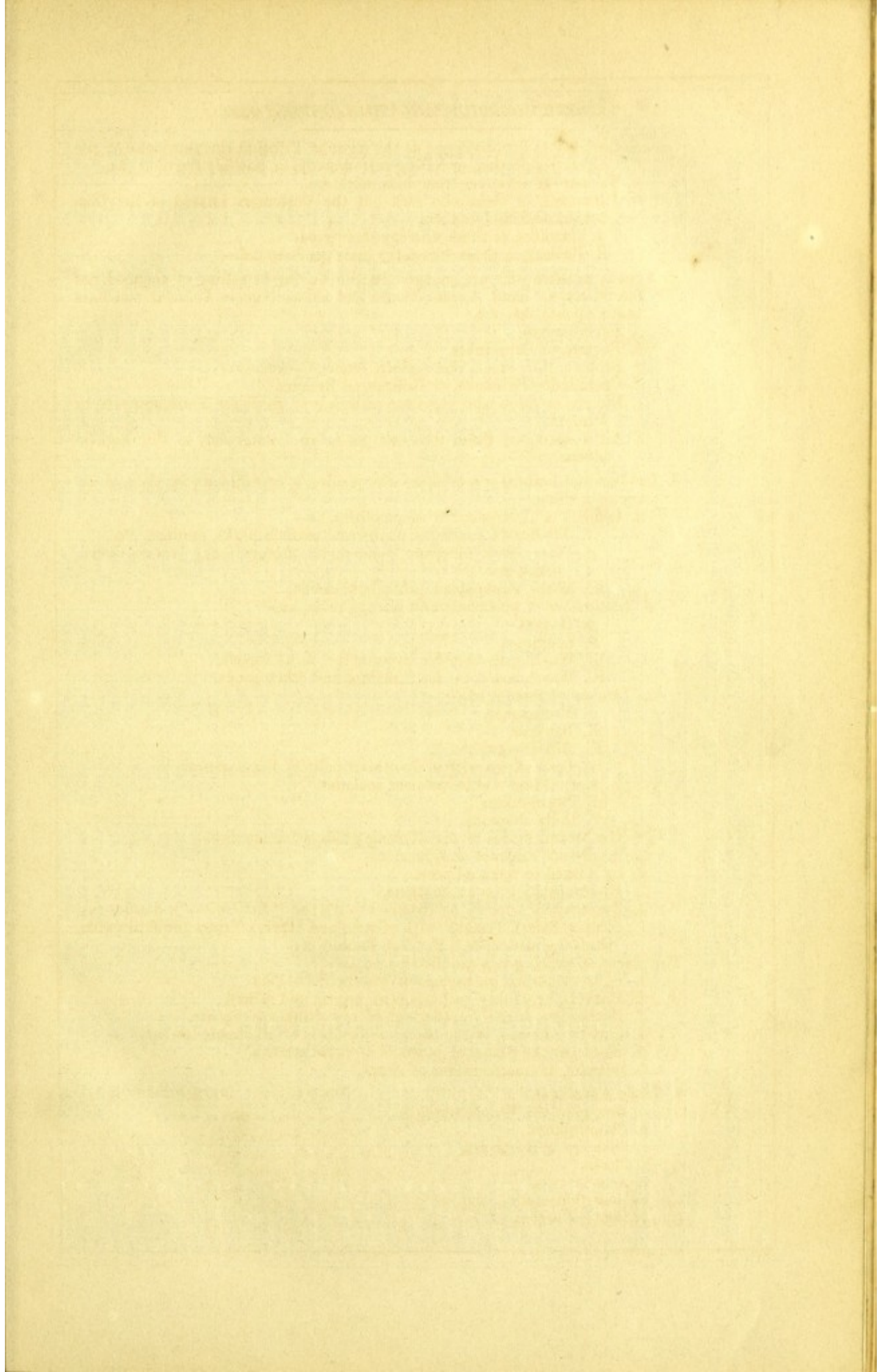
B. DISTRIBUTORS OF PRODUCTION.

- 1. Dealers, or those who are engaged in the buying and selling of commodities on their own account.
 - a. Merchants or Importers, and Exporters.
 - b. Wholesale Traders.
 - c. Retail Traders.
 - d. Contracting Purveyors, or those who supply goods by agreement.
 - e. Contractors for work or repairs, as Road Contractors, and others.

- f.* Contractors for privileges, as the right of Printing the Catalogue of the Great Exhibition, or selling refreshments at Railway Stations, &c.
- g.* Farmers of revenues from dues, tolls, &c.
- h.* Itinerants, or those who seek out the Customers, instead of the Customers seeking out them.
 - i.* Hawkers, or those who cry their goods.
 - ii.* Pedlars, or those who carry their goods round.
- 2. Agents, or those who are engaged in the buying or selling of commodities for others, as Land Agents, House and Estate Agents, Colonial and East India Agents, &c., &c.
 - a.* Supercargoes.
 - b.* Factors, or Consignees.
 - c.* Brokers, Bill, Stock, Share, Ship, Sugar, Cotton, &c.
 - d.* Commission Salesmen, or Unlicensed Brokers.
 - e.* Buyers, or those who purchase materials or goods for Manufacturers, or Dealers.
 - f.* Auctioneers, or those who sell goods on Commission to the highest bidder.
- 3. Lenders and Lettors-out, or those who receive a certain sum for the loan or use of a thing.
 - a.* Lenders or Lettors-out of commodities, as—
 - i.* Job-horses, carriages, chairs and seats in parks, gardens, &c.
 - ii.* Plate, linen, furniture, piano-fortes, flowers, fancy dresses, Court suits, &c.
 - iii.* Books, newspapers, prints, and music.
 - b.* Lettors-out of tenements and storage room, as—
 - i.* Houses.
 - ii.* Lodgings.
 - iii.* Warehouse-room for imports, &c., as at wharfs.
 - iv.* Warehouse-room for furniture and other goods.
 - c.* Lenders of money, as—
 - i.* Mortgagees.
 - ii.* Bankers.
 - iii.* Bill-discounters.
 - iv.* Loan offices with and without policies of assurance.
 - v.* Building and investment societies.
 - vi.* Pawnbrokers.
 - vii.* Dolly shopmen.
- * * The several modes of distributing goods or money are—
 - 1. By private contract or agreement.
 - 2. By a fixed or ticketed price.
 - 3. By competition, as at Auctions.
 - 4. By games of chance, as Lotteries (with the "Art Union"), Raffles (at Fancy Fairs), Tossing (with piemen and others), Prizes for skill (with throwing sticks, &c.), Betting, Racing, &c.

The places at which goods are distributed are—

- 1. Fairs, or annual gatherings of buyers and sellers.
- 2. Markets, or weekly gatherings of buyers and sellers.
- 3. Exchanges, or daily gatherings of merchants and agents.
- 4. Counting-houses, or the places of business of wholesale traders.
- 5. Shops, or the places of business of retail traders.
- 6. Bazaars, or congregations of shops.
- 4. Trade Assistants.
 - a.* Shopmen and Warehousemen.
 - b.* Shopwalkers.
 - c.* Cashiers or Receivers.
 - d.* Clerks.
 - e.* Accountants.
 - f.* Rent-Collectors.
 - g.* Debt-collectors.



LONDON LABOUR AND THE LONDON POOR.

TABLE SHOWING THE IGNORANCE OF THE DIFFERENT COUNTIES IN ENGLAND AND WALES, DEDUCED FROM THE NUMBER WHO SIGNED THE MARRIAGE REGISTER WITH MARKS IN THE UNDERMENTIONED YEARS.

COUNTIES.	Average Annual No. of Persons married, 1839-48.	Number of Males and Females who signed the Marriage Register with Marks.										Total for 10 Years.	Annual Average.	No. of Persons who signed with Marks in every 100 married.	Per Cent. above and below the Average.
		1839.	1840.	1841.	1842.	1843.	1844.	1845.	1846.	1847.	1848.				
Bedford . .	1,850	1,112	1,148	956	921	1,028	1,110	1,095	1,124	957	1,003	10,454	1,045	56	+40.0
Berks . .	2,588	1,036	1,131	1,061	1,063	1,111	1,079	1,070	1,137	1,118	1,164	10,970	1,097	42	+5.0
Bucks . .	1,920	979	1,008	820	918	882	918	975	1,074	906	999	9,479	948	49	+22.5
Cambridge . .	2,784	1,269	1,372	1,495	1,389	1,281	1,330	1,471	1,398	1,213	1,328	18,546	1,355	45	+12.5
Chester . .	5,160	2,343	2,510	2,350	2,096	2,366	2,403	2,777	2,608	2,121	2,503	24,017	2,408	46	+15.0
Cornwall . .	4,894	2,150	2,148	2,128	2,312	2,284	2,141	2,338	2,407	2,102	2,146	22,156	2,216	45	+12.5
Cumberland . .	2,072	470	563	527	539	506	500	581	647	520	350	5,203	520	25	+37.5
Derby . .	3,652	1,521	1,490	1,321	1,061	1,351	1,455	1,642	1,544	1,382	1,377	14,144	1,414	39	+2.5
Devon . .	8,678	2,603	1,817	2,744	2,971	2,995	3,055	3,312	3,224	2,782	1,981	27,484	2,748	32	+20.0
Dorset . .	2,358	725	930	785	852	449	945	1,033	905	941	923	8,488	849	36	+10.0
Durham . .	5,770	1,900	2,083	2,001	1,830	1,771	1,825	2,375	2,378	2,376	2,327	20,866	2,087	36	+10.0
Essex . .	4,228	1,964	2,215	2,103	2,062	2,110	2,157	2,246	2,163	1,977	1,963	20,960	2,096	50	+25.0
Gloucester . .	6,918	2,329	2,541	2,347	2,197	2,393	2,277	2,578	2,698	2,215	2,304	23,879	2,388	35	+12.5
Hereford . .	1,268	462	463	522	548	609	516	598	576	424	488	5,206	521	41	+2.5
Hertford . .	1,976	1,189	1,045	1,057	954	1,083	1,038	1,153	1,102	947	1,013	10,581	1,058	54	+35.0
Hunts . .	904	391	465	453	446	439	413	434	466	438	440	4,385	439	49	+22.5
Kent . .	8,094	2,431	2,382	2,476	2,488	2,556	2,502	2,944	2,855	2,569	2,481	25,684	2,568	32	+20.0
Lancaster . .	34,068	16,411	15,793	16,096	14,626	17,820	19,850	22,177	20,709	16,588	18,161	178,231	17,823	52	+30.0
Leicester . .	3,460	1,494	1,504	1,281	1,189	1,416	1,505	1,518	1,579	1,329	1,441	14,256	1,426	41	+2.5
Lincoln . .	5,530	1,944	2,209	2,174	2,082	1,959	1,998	2,232	2,166	2,159	2,436	21,359	2,136	39	+2.5
Middlesex . .	31,590	5,134	5,569	5,242	5,045	5,416	6,141	6,456	6,163	5,666	5,433	56,265	5,627	18	+55.0
Monmouth . .	2,562	1,646	1,697	1,283	1,091	1,110	1,228	1,722	1,982	1,720	1,574	15,053	1,505	59	+47.5
Norfolk . .	6,042	2,485	2,772	2,514	2,832	2,816	2,901	3,120	2,964	2,783	2,855	28,042	2,804	46	+15.0
Northampton . .	3,194	1,338	1,489	1,377	1,220	1,404	1,441	1,504	1,467	1,253	1,332	13,825	1,383	43	+7.5
Northumberland . .	4,094	1,149	1,264	1,108	965	1,013	811	1,214	1,244	1,190	1,328	11,286	1,129	28	+30.0
Nottingham . .	4,168	1,715	1,724	1,645	1,642	1,742	1,953	2,000	1,834	1,635	1,760	17,650	1,765	42	+5.0
Oxford . .	2,316	826	961	951	957	929	889	831	880	869	843	8,936	894	39	+2.5
Rutland . .	216	115	92	125	99	97	69	73	99	152	118	1,039	104	49	+22.5
Salop . .	3,180	1,647	1,568	1,497	1,533	1,392	1,496	1,428	1,544	1,532	1,661	15,298	1,530	48	+20.0
Somerset . .	6,226	2,300	2,608	2,705	2,643	2,654	2,643	2,598	2,632	2,183	2,360	25,326	2,533	41	+2.5
Southampton . .	5,768	1,614	1,801	2,049	1,959	1,910	1,977	2,181	2,185	2,019	1,875	19,570	1,957	34	+15.0
Stafford . .	3,886	3,886	4,045	3,552	3,065	3,335	3,937	5,091	4,920	6,423	5,263	43,517	4,352	52	+30.0
Suffolk . .	2,173	2,173	2,333	2,342	2,057	2,124	2,304	2,436	2,389	2,325	2,354	22,857	2,286	48	+20.0

LONDON LABOUR AND THE LONDON POOR.

Surrey	10,374	2,123	2,260	2,180	2,129	2,205	2,185	2,473	2,451	2,134	2,089	22,184	2,218	21	*47.5
Sussex	4,268	1,452	1,480	1,400	1,364	1,443	1,427	1,594	1,534	1,512	1,371	14,577	1,458	34	*15.0
Warwick	6,494	1,512	2,470	2,294	2,052	2,415	2,516	2,670	2,958	2,870	2,855	24,612	2,461	38	*5.0
Westmorland	780	195	191	177	185	193	225	237	321	220	135	2,079	208	27	*32.5
Wilts	3,236	1,495	1,603	1,550	1,487	1,522	1,527	1,685	1,642	1,481	1,528	15,520	1,552	48	*20.0
Worcester	5,536	3,201	3,098	2,934	2,588	2,528	2,974	3,744	4,192	1,871	1,643	28,773	2,877	52	*30.0
York	26,664	11,439	11,899	10,726	10,503	11,099	12,970	13,395	12,688	11,797	11,930	118,446	11,845	44	*10.0
North Wales	5,164	3,028	3,022	2,999	2,925	2,694	2,737	2,916	3,219	2,904	1,951	28,395	2,840	55	*37.5
South Wales	8,152	4,382	4,532	4,378	4,093	4,190	4,617	4,978	5,565	4,703	4,811	46,249	4,625	57	*42.5
Total for England and Wales	261,340	100,616	104,335	99,634	94,996	101,235	107,985	118,894	117,633	104,306	105,937	1,050,907	105,091	40	

THE CRIME AND IGNORANCE OF THE SEVERAL COUNTIES COMPARED.

LIST OF COUNTIES IN THE ORDER OF NUMBER WHO SIGNED THE MARRIAGE REGISTER WITH MARKS IN EVERY 100 PERSONS MARRIED.									
Counties above the Average, or most Ignorant.					Counties below the Average, or least Ignorant.				
Monmouth	50	Derby	30						
South Wales	56	Lincoln	30						
Bedford	57	Oxford	30						
North Wales	55	Warwick	30						
Hertford	54	Worcester	38						
Leicester	52	Dorset	36						
Stafford	52	Durham	36						
Essex	52	Gloucester	35						
Bucks	50	Southampton	34						
Hants	49	Sussex	34						
Rutland	49	Devon	32						
Salop	48	Kent	32						
Suffolk	48	Northumberland	29						
Wilts	48	Westmorland	27						
Chester	43	Cumberland	25						
Norfolk	46	Surrey	21						
Cambridge	45	Middlesex	18						
Cornwall	45								
York	44								
Northampton	43								
Berks	42								
Nottingham	42								
Hertford	41								
Leicester	41								
Somerset	41								
Average for England and Wales					40				

Percentage above and below the Average.				Percentage above and below the average.			
In No. of Criminals	In No. Register with Marks.	In No. of Criminals unable to read and write.		In No. of Criminals	In No. Register with Marks.	In No. of Criminals unable to read and write.	
<i>Counties having great Crime and little Ignorance.</i>							
Gloucester	† 59.1	† 8.5		Gloucester	† 12.5	† 11.9	
Middlesex	† 49.4	† 41.5		Middlesex	† 53.0	† 21.7	
Oxford	† 8.5	† 9.4		Oxford	† 3.5	† 9	
Southampton	† 7.9	† 6.9		Southampton	† 15.0	† 13.5	
<i>Counties having little Crime and great Ignorance.</i>							
North Wales	† 56.1	† 15.4		North Wales	† 57.5	† 20.4	
Hants	† 48.7	† 38.6		Hants	† 42.5	† 14.7	
Northampton	† 13.4	† 19.1		Northampton	† 22.5	† 1.9	
Salop	† 9.1	† 23.5		Salop	† 7.5	† 1.5	
Bedford	† 7.3	† 14.3		Bedford	† 20.0	† 25.3	
Suffolk	† 4.2	† 12.9		Suffolk	† 40.0	† 28.3	
<i>Counties having little Crime, and in which the Ignorance Tests are contradictory.</i>							
Durham	† 51.8	† 9.7		Durham	† 10.0	† 1.5	
Cornwall	† 51.2	† 20.4		Cornwall	† 12.5	† 6.9	
York	† 30.5	† 13.2		York	† 10.0	† 8.5	
Nottingham	† 21.4	† 13.2		Nottingham	† 5.0	† 5.6	
Berks	† 15.2	† 3.4		Berks	† 5.0	† 4.7	
Rutland	† 10.3	† 11.6		Rutland	† 22.5	† 2.5	
Cambridge	† 10.0	† 2.5		Cambridge	† 12.5	† 2.5	
Dorset	† 10.0	† 4.2		Dorset	† 10.0	† 4.7	
Kent	† 20.0	† 2.5		Kent	† 20.0	† 6.3	

LONDON LABOUR AND THE LONDON POOR.

TABLE SHOWING THE AMOUNT OF IGNORANCE AMONGST THE CRIMINALS IN THE DIFFERENT COUNTIES OF ENGLAND AND WALES IN THE UNDERMENTIONED YEARS.

COUNTIES.	Average Annual Number of Criminals from 1839-48.	Number of Criminals who could neither read nor write.								Total for 10 years.	Average Number per Year.	No. of Criminals who can neither read nor write in every 100.	Per Cent. above and below the Average. + denotes above, * below.
		1839.	1840.	1841.	1842.	1843.	1844.	1845.	1846.	1847.	1848.		
Bedford	181	39	72	90	110	80	81	64	66	64	79	40.8	+28.3
Berks	313	103	121	97	113	48	75	79	88	100	127	30.3	* 4.7
Bucks	285	89	107	87	112	113	91	95	89	105	82	34.0	+ 6.9
Cambridge	249	79	65	90	78	80	77	69	78	75	81	30.9	* 2.5
Chester	904	285	370	334	333	336	259	230	296	336	371	34.8	+ 9.4
Cornwall	294	81	95	82	80	82	65	90	89	125	86	29.6	* 6.9
Cumberland	130	39	30	26	45	37	41	21	46	32	37	26.9	*15.4
Derby	263	74	48	66	92	77	61	53	63	41	64	24.3	*23.5
Devon	755	143	154	146	144	204	235	211	248	307	295	27.7	*12.9
Dorset	258	84	107	96	75	95	73	83	64	93	84	33.3	+ 4.7
Durham	260	70	33	56	88	96	138	66	78	97	120	32.3	+ 1.5
Essex	638	213	297	302	295	290	219	188	242	254	224	252	+24.2
Gloucester	1067	326	322	370	414	330	211	210	235	293	276	39.5	*11.9
Hereford	229	102	120	121	107	107	83	96	64	112	115	28.0	+41.5
Hertford	288	147	133	146	119	98	111	90	82	121	148	45.0	+29.8
Hunts	77	20	33	21	22	26	27	32	14	21	36	32.4	+ 1.9
Kent	942	348	251	353	371	330	301	301	267	305	368	33.8	+ 6.3
Lancaster	3462	1143	1391	1556	1947	1423	992	1023	1097	1283	1389	38.8	+22.0
Leicester	419	141	159	135	141	137	135	87	96	66	82	28.1	*11.6
Lincoln	458	117	119	99	133	131	134	112	125	136	137	27.1	*14.8
Middlesex	4230	927	882	980	800	1033	933	1230	1177	1280	1322	24.9	*21.7
Monmouth	272	83	94	112	73	79	67	34	45	81	95	27.9	*12.2
Norfolk	727	285	266	258	308	284	290	254	271	293	247	37.9	+19.1
Northampton	291	96	92	118	111	92	90	107	86	56	93	32.3	+ 1.5
Northumberland	214	24	57	45	58	75	96	44	45	49	57	25.7	*19.1
Nottingham	333	104	108	91	102	112	115	79	88	95	106	30.0	* 5.6
Oxford	308	113	134	106	99	117	84	93	64	90	73	31.5	* 9
Rutland	29	4	—	1	11	13	8	12	8	15	17	31.0	* 2.5
Salop	1367	136	176	182	173	215	164	104	89	112	119	40.0	+25.8
Somerset	935	281	410	352	363	333	360	298	224	266	313	34.1	+ 7.2
Southampton	664	215	207	188	186	159	126	153	193	213	194	27.5	*13.5
Stafford	1017	233	271	324	465	313	304	212	263	354	387	30.7	* 3.4
Suffolk	511	187	201	184	188	195	198	113	159	159	179	34.4	+ 8.1
Surrey	1026	345	320	274	300	223	233	223	218	348	340	27.4	*13.8

LONDON LABOUR AND THE LONDON POOR.

Sussex	498	173	173	176	191	143	111	97	151	136	168	1,519	152	30.5	* 4.0
Warwick	959	293	396	403	363	392	267	237	234	324	440	8,349	335	34.9	+ 9.7
Westmorland	41	8	6	5	5	6	3	11	20	5	9	78	8	19.5	* 38.6
Wilts	462	132	145	146	127	116	100	85	101	118	104	1,174	117	25.3	* 20.4
Worcester	594	169	275	244	250	242	204	210	195	229	232	2,250	225	34.5	+ 8.5
York	1878	553	572	531	776	621	444	378	453	528	619	5,475	547	29.1	+ 8.5
North Wales	274	84	110	92	122	116	107	81	79	126	136	1,053	105	38.3	+ 20.4
South Wales	435	108	136	135	138	174	188	183	108	187	240	1,593	159	36.5	+ 14.7
TOTAL FOR ENGLAND AND WALES.	27,542	8196	9058	9220	10,128	9173	7901	7438	7698	9050	9691	87,553	8755	31.8	

LIST OF COUNTIES IN THE ORDER OF THE IGNORANCE AMONGST THEIR CRIMINALS, AS SHOWN BY THE NUMBER OF PERSONS WHO COULD NEITHER READ NOR WRITE IN EVERY 100 CRIMINALS.

Counties above the Average.	Counties below the Average.
Hereford 45.0	Oxford 31.5
Hertford 41.3	Rutland 31.0
Bedford 40.3	Cambridge 30.9
Salop 40.0	Stafford 30.7
Essex 39.5	Sussex 30.5
Lancaster 39.3	Berks 30.3
North Wales 38.3	Nottingham 30.0
Norfolk 37.9	Cornwall 29.6
South Wales 36.5	York 29.1
Warwick 34.9	Leicester 28.1
Chester 34.3	Gloucester 28.0
Worcester 34.5	Monmouth 27.9
Suffolk 34.4	Devon 27.7
Somerset 34.1	Southampton 27.5
Bucks 34.0	Surrey 27.4
Kent 33.8	Lincoln 27.1
Dorset 33.3	Cumberland 26.9
Hunts 32.4	Northumberland 25.7
Durham 32.3	Wilts 25.3
Northampton 32.3	Middlesex 24.9
Average for Eng-land and Wales 31.8	Derby 24.3
	Westmorland 19.5

THE COUNTIES ARRANGED CRIMINALLY AND TOPOGRAPHICALLY (to show the local association of crime).

Division I.—Northern, Welsh, and Cornish Counties.	No. of Criminals in 10,000.	Division IV.—South Eastern and South Western.	No. of Criminals in 10,000.
Cumberland	7.1	Berks	12.9
Durham	7.1	Devon	14.1
Westmorland	7.3	Dorset	14.8
Northumberland	8.2	Sussex	15.3
North Wales	7.2	Surrey	16.3
South Wales	8.4	Kent	16.4
Cornwall	8.0	Hants	17.7
Division II.—York and N. Midland Counties.		Wilts	18.9
York	11.4	Somerset	19.9
Derby	10.5	Monmouth	18.0
Nottingham	11.8	Division V.—Western and North Western.	
Lincoln	12.8	Shropshire	14.9
Rutland	13.9	Leicestershire	17.1
Division III.—S. Mid-land & Eastern Counties.		Stafford	17.9
Hunts	14.1	Lancaster	18.5
Northampton	14.2	Chester	22.6
Cambridge	14.7	Warwick	21.6
Bedford	15.2	Hereford	23.8
Suffolk	15.7	Worcester	25.0
Norfolk	17.1	Gloucester	26.1
Essex	19.1	Division VI.—Metropolitan.	
Oxford	17.3	Middlesex	24.5
Herts	17.5	The Northern, Welsh, and Cornish Counties range in criminality from 7.1 to 8.4 in 10,000.	
Bucks	20.4	York and the N. Midland Counties, from 11.4 to 13.9.	
The S. Eastern and S. Western, from 12.9 to 19.9.		The S. Midland and Eastern Counties, from 14.1 to 26.1.	
The Western and N. Western, from 14.9 to 26.1.		The Metropolitan, 24.5.	

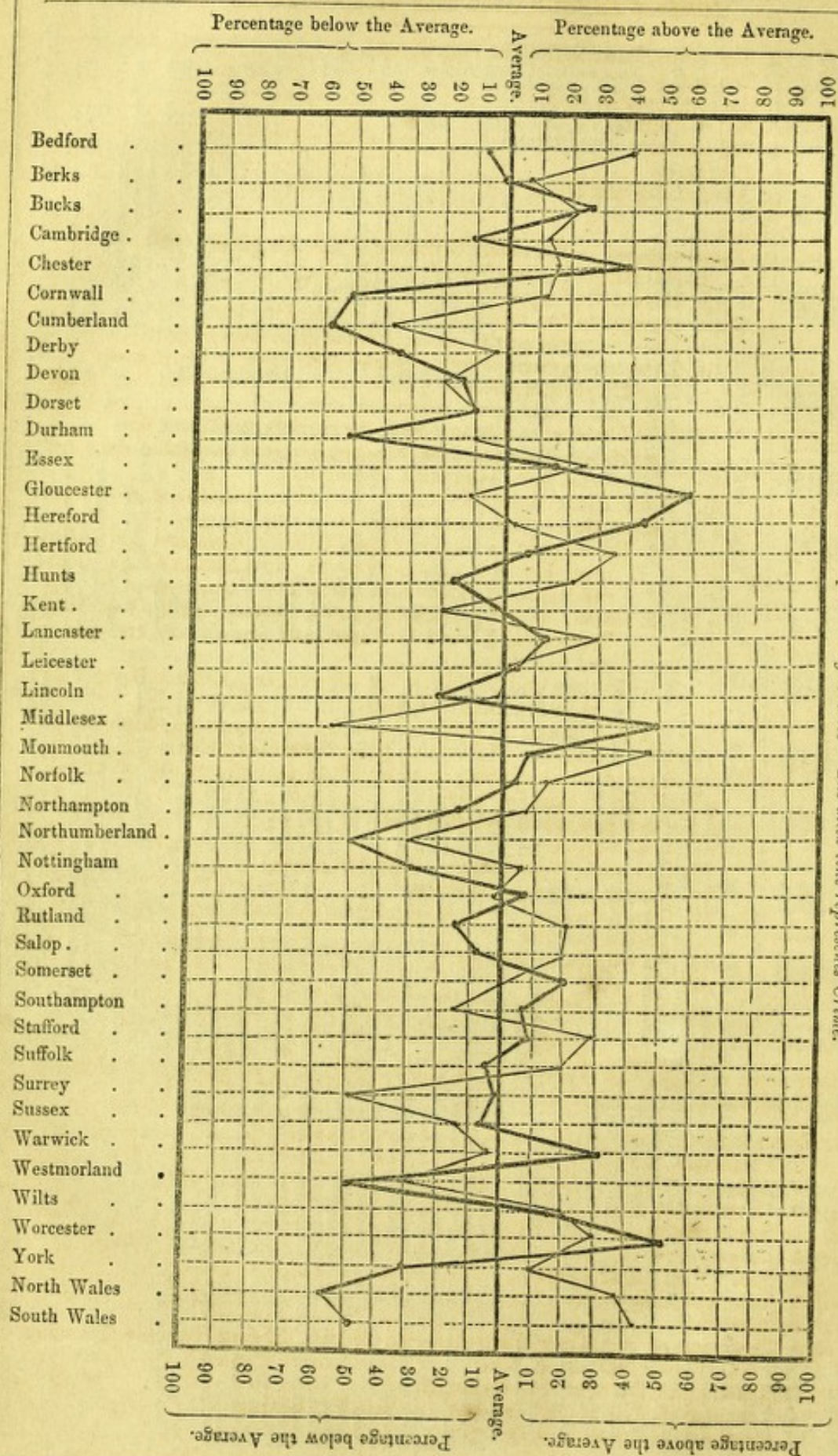
TABLE SHOWING THE RELATIVE CRIMINALITY AND IGNORANCE OF THE SEVERAL COUNTIES, ARRANGED ACCORDING TO THE OCCUPATION OF THEIR INHABITANTS.

Agricultural Counties.	No. of Criminals in every 10,000 of Pop.	No. of Persons who signed with 100 married.	Agricultural and Sub-Mining Counties.	No. of Criminals in every 10,000 of Pop.	No. of Persons who signed with 100 married.
Lincoln	12	39	Chester	22	46
Rutland	13	49	Nottingham	11	42
Leicestershire	14	45	Leicester	17	41
Huntingdon	14	45	Warwick	21	33
Cambridge	19	50	Worcester	25	52
Essex	15	34	Mining Counties.		
Sussex	23	41	Durham	7	26
Hereford	23	41	Cornwall	8	45
Agricultural and Sub-Mining Counties.			Manufacturing and Sub-Mining Counties.		
Westmorland	8	27	Derby	10	39
Norfolk	17	46	Stafford	17	52
Suffolk	15	48	Agricultural and Sub-Mining Counties.		
Hertford	17	54	Salop	14	48
Bedford	15	36	North Wales	7	55
Buckingham	20	49	South Wales	8	57
Northampton	14	43	Sub-Agricultural and Sub-Mining Counties.		
Oxford	17	39	Northumberland	8	28
Berks	12	42	Cumberland	7	25
Hants	17	34	Monmouth	18	50
Wilts	18	48	Metropolitan County.		
Dorset	14	36	Middlesex	24	18
Somerset	19	41	Sub-Metropolitan Counties.		
Sub-Agricult. and Sub-Manufactur. County.			Surrey	16	21
Gloucester	26	35	Kent	16	32
Manufacturing Counties.					
Lancaster	18	52			
Yorkshire	11	44			

For definition of Agricultural, Manufacturing, and Mining Counties, see Table of Density of Population, No. 37.

LONDON LABOUR AND THE LONDON POOR.

TABLE SHOWING THE
RELATIVE DEGREES OF CRIMINALITY AND IGNORANCE IN THE DIFFERENT COUNTIES IN ENGLAND AND WALES.
THE AVERAGE TAKEN FOR TEN YEARS.



- h. Travellers, Town as well as Commercial.
 - i. Touters.
 - j. Barkers (outside shops).
 - k. Bill deliverers.
 - l. Bill-stickers.
 - m. Boardmen.
 - n. Advertizing-van Men.
5. Carriers.
- a. Those engaged in the external transit of the Kingdom.
 - i. Mercantile Sailing Vessels.
 - ii. Mercantile Steam Vessels.
 - b. Those engaged in the internal Transit of the Kingdom.
 - i. Those engaged in the coasting trade from port to port.
 - ii. Those engaged in carrying inland from town to town, as—
 - a. Those connected with land carriage, as railroad men, stage coachmen, mail coachmen, and mail cartmen, post boys, flymen, waggoners, country carriers, and drovers.
 - β. Those connected with water carriage, as navigable river and canal men, bargemen, towing men.
 - iii. Those engaged in carrying to and from different parts of the same town by land and water.
 - a. Passengers: as Omnibus-men, Cabmen, Glass and Job Coachmen, Fly Men, Excursion-van Men, Donkey-boys, Goat-carriage boys, Sedan and Bath Chair Men, Guides.
 - β. Goods: as Waggoners, Draymen, Carters, Spring-Van Men, Truckmen, Porters (ticketed and unticketed, and public and private men).
 - γ. Letters and Messages: as Messengers, Errand Boys, Telegraph Men, and Postmen.
 - δ. Goods and Passengers by water: as Bargemen, Lightermen, Hoymen, Watermen, River Steamboat Men.
 - c. Those engaged in the lading and unlading and the fitting of vessels, as well the packing of goods.
 - i. Dock and wharf labourers.
 - ii. Coal whippers.
 - iii. Lumpers, or dischargers of timber ships.
 - iv. Timber porters and rafters.
 - v. Corn porters.
 - vi. Ballast heavers.
 - vii. Stevedores, or stowers.
 - viii. Riggers.
 - ix. Packers and pressers.

III. *Benefactors*, or those who confer some *permanent* benefit by promoting the physical, intellectual, or spiritual well-being of others.

A. EDUCATORS.

- 1. Professors.
- 2. Tutors.
- 3. Governesses.
- 4. Schoolmasters.
- 5. Ushers.
- 6. Teachers of Languages.
- 7. Teachers of Sciences.
- 8. Lecturers.
- 9. Teachers of "Accomplishments"—as Music, Singing, Dancing, Drawing, Wax-Flower Modelling, &c.
- 10. Teachers of Exercises—as Gymnastics.
- 11. Teachers of Arts of Self-Defence—as Fencing, Boxing, &c.
- 12. Teachers of Trades and Professions.

B. CURATORS.

1. Corporeal.
 - a. Physicians.
 - b. Surgeons.
 - c. General Practitioners.
 - d. Homœopathists.
 - e. Hydropathists.
2. Spiritual.
 - a. Ministers of the Church of England.
 - b. Dissenting Ministers.
 - c. Catholic Ministers.
 - d. Missionaries.
 - e. Scripture Readers.
 - f. Sisters of Charity.
 - g. Visitants.

IV. *Servitors*, or those who render some temporary service or pleasure to others.

A. AMUSERS, or those who contribute to our entertainment.

1. Actors.
2. Reciters.
3. Improvisers.
4. Singers.
5. Musicians.
6. Dancers.
7. Riders, or Equestrian Performers.
8. Fencers and Pugilists.
9. Conjurers.
10. Posturers.
11. Equilibrists.
12. Tumblers.
13. Exhibitors or Showmen.
 - a. Of Curiosities.
 - b. Of Monstrosities.

B. PROTECTORS, or those who contribute to our security against injury.

1. Legislative.
 - a. The Sovereign.
 - b. The Members of the House of Lords.
 - c. The Members of the House of Commons.
2. Judicial.
 - a. The Judges in Chancery, Queen's Bench, Common Pleas, Exchequer, Ecclesiastical, Admiralty, and Criminal Courts.
 - b. Masters in Chancery, Commissioners of the Bankruptcy, Insolvent Debtors, Sheriffs, and County Courts, Magistrates, Justices of the Peace, Recorders, Coroners, Revising Barristers.
 - c. Barristers, Pleaders, Conveyancers, Attorneys, Proctors.
3. Administrative or Executive.
 - a. The Lords Commissioners of the Treasury; the Secretaries of State for Home, Foreign, and Colonial Affairs; the Chancellor and Comptroller of the Exchequer; the Privy Council, and the Privy Seal; the Board of Trade, the Board of Control, and the Board of Health; the Board of Inland Revenue, the Poor-Law Board, and the Board of Audit; the Commissioners of Woods and Forests; the Ministers and Officials in connection with the Army and Navy, the Post Office, and the Mint; the Inspectors of Prisons, Factories, Railways, Workhouses, Schools, and Lunatic Asylums; the Officers in connection with the Registration and Statistical Departments; and the other Functionaries appertaining to the *Government at home*.
 - b. The Ambassadors, Envoys Extraordinary, Ministers Plenipotentiary, Secretaries of Legation, *Chargés d'Affaires*, Consuls, and other Ministers and Functionaries appertaining to the *Government abroad*.

- c. The Governors and Commanders of British Colonies and Settlements.
- d. The Lord Lieutenants, Custodes Rotulorum, High and Deputy Sheriffs, High Bailiffs, High and Petty Constables, and other Functionaries of the Counties.
- e. The Mayors, Aldermen, Common Councilmen, Chamberlains, Common Sergeants, Treasurers, Auditors, Assessors, Inspectors of Weights and Measures, and other Functionaries of the Cities or incorporated Towns.
- f. The Churchwardens, the Commissioners of Sewers and Paving, the Select and Special Vestrymen, the Vestry Clerks, the Overseers or Guardians of the Poor, the Relieving Officers, the Masters of the Workhouses, the Beadles, and other Parochial Functionaries.
- g. The Masters and Brethren of the Trinity Corporation, the Pier and Harbour Masters, Conservators of Rivers, and other Functionaries connected with Navigation, and the Trustees and Commissioners in connection with the Public Roads.
- h. The Naval and Military Powers—as the Army, Navy, Marines, Militia, and Yeomanry.
- i. The Civil Forces—as Policemen, Patrole, and Private Watchmen.
- j. Sheriffs' Officers, Bailiffs' Followers, Sponging-house Keepers.
- k. Governors of Prisons, Jailers, Turnkeys, Officers on board the Hulks and Transport Ships, Hangmen.
- l. The Fiscal Forces—as the Coast Guard, Custom-house Officers, Excise Officers.
- m. Collectors of Imposts—as Tax and Rate Collectors, Turnpike Men, Toll Collectors of Bridges and Markets, Collectors of Pier and Harbour dues, and Light, Buoy, and Beacon dues.
- n. Guardians of special localities, as Rangers, and Park-keepers, Arcade-keepers, Street-keepers, Square-keepers, Bazaar-keepers, Gate and Lodge-keepers, Empty-house-keepers.
- o. Conservators, as Curators of Museums, Librarians, Storekeepers, and others.
- p. Protective Associations, as Insurance Companies against Loss by fire, shipwreck, storms, railway accidents, death of cattle, Life Assurance Societies, Provident or Benefit Clubs, Guarantee Societies, Trade Protection Societies, Fire Brigade and Fire-escape Men, Humane Society Men, and Officers of the Societies for the Suppression of Mendicity, Vice, and cruelty to Animals.

C. SERVANTS, or those who contribute to our comfort or convenience by the performance of certain offices for us.

1. Private Servants, regularly engaged.

- a. Stewards.
- b. Farm Bailiffs.
- c. Secretaries.
- d. Amanuenses.
- e. Companions.
- f. Butlers.
- g. Valets.
- h. Footmen, Pages, and Hall Porters.
- i. Coachmen, Grooms, "Tigers," and Helpers at Stables.
- j. Huntsmen and Whippers-in.
- k. Kennelmen.
- l. Gamekeepers.
- m. Gardeners.
- n. Housekeepers.
- o. Ladies' Maids.
- p. Nursery Maids and Wet Nurses.
- q. House Maids and Parlour Maids.
- r. Cooks and Scullery Maids.
- s. Dairy Maids.
- t. Maids of all work.

2. Private Servants temporarily engaged.
 - a. Couriers.
 - b. Interpreters.
 - c. Monthly Nurses and Invalid Nurses.
 - d. Waiters at Parties.
 - e. Charwomen.
 - f. Knife, boot, window, and paint Cleaners, Pot scourers, Carpet beaters.
3. Public Servants.
 - a. Waiters at hotels and public gardens.
 - b. Masters of the Ceremonies.
 - c. Chamber-Maids.
 - d. Boots.
 - e. Ostlers.
 - f. Job Coachmen.
 - g. Post-boys.
 - h. Washerwomen.
 - i. Dustmen.
 - j. Sweeps.
 - k. Scavengers.
 - l. Nightmen.
 - m. Flushermen.
 - n. Turncocks.
 - o. Lamplighters.
 - p. Horse Holders.
 - q. Crossing Sweepers.

THOSE WHO CANNOT WORK.

V. *Those that are provided for by some Public Institution.*

- A. THE INMATES OF WORKHOUSES.
- B. THE INMATES OF PRISONS.
 1. Debtors.
 2. Criminals (Some of these, however, are made to work by the authorities).
- C. THE INMATES OF HOSPITALS.
 1. The Sick.
 2. The Insane—as Lunatics and Idiots.
 3. Veterans—as Greenwich and Chelsea Hospital men.
 4. The Deserted Young—as the Foundling Hospital children.
- D. THE INMATES OF ASYLUMS AND ALMSHOUSES.
 1. The Afflicted—as the Deaf, and Dumb, and Blind.
 2. The Destitute Young—as Orphans.
 3. The Decayed Members of the several Trades or Sects.
 - a. Trade and Provident Asylums and Almshouses.
 - b. Sectarian Asylums and Almshouses—as for aged Jews, Widows of Clergymen, &c.
- E. THE INMATES OF THE SEVERAL REFUGES AND DORMITORIES FOR THE HOUSELESS AND DESTITUTE.

VI. *Those who are Unprovided for.*

- A. THOSE WHO ARE INCAPACITATED FROM WANT OF POWER.
 1. Owing to their Age.
 - a. The Old.
 - b. The Young.
 2. Owing to some Bodily Ailment.
 - a. The Sick.
 - b. The Crippled.
 - c. The Maimed.

- d. The Paralyzed.
- e. The Blind.
- 3. Owing to some Mental Infirmary.
 - a. The Insane.
 - b. The Idiotic.
 - c. The Untaught, or those who have never been brought up to any industrial occupation (as Widows and those who have "seen better days").
- B. THOSE WHO ARE INCAPACITATED FROM WANT OF MEANS.
 - 1. Having no tools (as is often the case with distressed carpenters).
 - 2. Having no clothes (as servants when long out of a situation).
 - 3. Having no stock-money (as impoverished street-sellers).
 - 4. Having no materials (as the "used-up" garret or chamber masters in the boot and shoe or cabinet-making trade).
 - 5. Having no place wherein to work (as when those who pursue their calling at home are forced to become the inmates of a nightly lodging-house).
- C. THOSE WHO ARE INCAPACITATED FROM WANT OF EMPLOYMENT.
 - 1. Owing to a glut or stagnation in business (as among the cotton-spinners, the iron-workers, the railway-navigators, and the like).
 - 2. Owing to a change in fashion (as in the button-making trade).
 - 3. Owing to the introduction of machinery (as among the sawyers, hand-loom weavers, pillow-lace makers, threshers, and others).
 - 4. Owing to the advent of the slack season (as among the tailors and mantua-makers, and drawn-bonnet-makers).
 - 5. Owing to the continuance of unfavourable weather.
 - a. From the prevalence of rain (as street-sellers, and others).
 - b. From the prevalence of easterly winds (as dock-labourers).
 - 6. Owing to the approach of winter (as among the builders, brickmakers, market-gardeners, harvest-men).
 - 7. Owing to the loss of character.
 - a. Culpably; from intemperate habits, or misconduct of some kind.
 - b. Accidentally; as when a servant's late master goes abroad, and a written testimonial is objected to.

THOSE WHO WILL NOT WORK.

VII. *Vagrants or Tramps.*

Under this head is included all that multifarious tribe of "sturdy rogues," who ramble across the country during the summer, sleeping at the "casual wards" of the workhouses, and who return to London in the winter to avail themselves of the gratuitous lodgings and food attainable at the several metropolitan refuges.

VIII. *Professional Beggars and their Dependents.*

- A. NAVAL AND MILITARY BEGGARS.
 - 1. Turnpike Sailors.
 - 2. Spanish Legion Men, &c.
 - 3. Veterans.
- B. "DISTRESSED-OPERATIVE" BEGGARS.
 - 1. Pretended Starved-out Manufacturers, as the Nottingham "Driz" or Lace-Men.
 - 2. Pretended Unemployed Agriculturists.
 - 3. Pretended Frozen-out Gardeners.
 - 4. Pretended Hand-loom Weavers, and others deprived of their living by Machinery.
- C. "RESPECTABLE" BEGGARS.
 - 1. Pretended Broken-down Tradesmen, or Decayed Gentlemen.
 - 2. Pretended Distressed Ushers, unable to take situation for want of clothes.

3. "Clean-Family Beggars" with children in very white pinafores, their faces newly washed, and their hair carefully brushed.
4. Ashamed Beggars, or those who "stand pad with a fakement" (remain stationary, holding a written placard), and pretend to hide their faces.

D. "DISASTER" BEGGARS.

1. Shipwrecked Mariners.
2. Blown-up Miners.
3. Burnt-out Tradesmen.
4. Lucifer Droppers.

E. BODILY AFFLICTED BEGGARS.

1. Having real or pretended sores, vulgarly known as the "scaldrum dodge."
2. Having swollen legs.
3. Being crippled, deformed, maimed, or paralyzed.
4. Being blind.
5. Being subject to fits.
6. Being in a decline, and appearing with bandages round the head.
7. "Shallow coves," or those who exhibit themselves in the streets half clad, especially in cold weather.

F. FAMISHED BEGGARS.

1. Those who chalk on the pavement, "I am starving."
2. Those who "stand pad" with a small piece of paper similarly inscribed.

G. FOREIGN BEGGARS.

1. Frenchmen who stop passengers in the street and request to know if they can speak French, previous to presenting a written statement of their distress.
2. Pretended Destitute Poles.
3. Hindoos and Negroes, who stand shivering by the kerb.

H. PETTY TRADING BEGGARS.

1. Tract sellers.
2. Sellers of lucifers, boot-laces, cabbage-nets, tapes, and cottons.

* * The several varieties of beggars admit of being sub-divided into—

- a. Patterers, or those who beg on the "blob," that is, by word of mouth.
- b. Screevers, or those who beg by *screeving*, that is, by written documents, setting forth imaginary cases of distress, such documents being either—
 - i. "Slums" (letters).
 - ii. "Fakements" (petitions).

I. THE DEPENDENTS OF BEGGARS.

1. Screevers Proper, or the writers of slums and fakements for those who beg by screeving.
2. Referees, or those who give characters to professional beggars when a reference is required.

IX. *Cheats and their Dependents.*

A. THOSE WHO CHEAT THE GOVERNMENT.

1. Smugglers defrauding the Customs.
2. "Jiggers" defrauding the Excise by working illicit stills, and the like.

B. THOSE WHO CHEAT THE PUBLIC.

1. Swindlers, defrauding those of whom they buy.
2. "Duffers" and "horse-chaunters," defrauding those to whom they sell.
3. "Charley-pitchers" and other low gamblers, defrauding those with whom they play.
4. "Bouncers and Besters" defrauding, by laying wagers, swaggering, or using threats.
5. "Flatcatchers," defrauding by pretending to find some valuable article—as Fawney or Ring-Droppers.

6. Bubble-Men, defrauding by instituting pretended companies—as Sham Next-of-Kin-Societies, Assurance and Annuity Offices, Benefit Clubs, and the like.
7. Douceur-Men, defrauding by offering for a certain sum to confer some boon upon a person as—
 - a. To procure Government Situations for laymen, or benefices for clergymen.
 - b. To provide Servants with Places.
 - c. To teach some lucrative occupation.
 - d. To put persons in possession of some information “to their advantage.”
8. Deposit-Men, defrauding by obtaining a certain sum as security for future work or some promised place of trust.

C. THE DEPENDENTS OF CHEATS ARE—

1. “Jollies,” and “Magsmen,” or accomplices of the “Bouncers and Besters.”
2. “Bonnets,” or accomplices of Gamblers.
3. Referees, or those who give false characters to swindlers and others.

X. *Thieves and their Dependents.*

A. THOSE WHO PLUNDER WITH VIOLENCE.

1. “Cracksmen”—as Housebreakers and Burglars.
2. “Rampsmen,” or Footpads.
3. “Bludgers,” or Stick-slingers, plundering in company with prostitutes.

B. THOSE WHO “HOCUS,” OR PLUNDER THEIR VICTIMS WHEN STUPIFIED.

1. “Drummers,” or those who render people insensible.
 - a. By handkerchiefs steeped in chloroform.
 - b. By drugs poured into liquor.
2. “Bug-hunters,” or those who go round to the public-houses and plunder drunken men.

C. THOSE WHO PLUNDER BY MANUAL DEXTERITY, BY STEALTH, OR BY BREACH OF TRUST.

1. “Mobsmen,” or those who plunder by manual dexterity—as the “light-fingered gentry.”
 - a. “Buzzers,” or those who abstract handkerchiefs and other articles from gentlemen’s pockets.
 - i. “Stook-buzzers,” those who steal handkerchiefs.
 - ii. “Tail-Buzzers,” those who dive into coat-pockets for sneezers (snuff-boxes,) skins and dummies (purses and pocket-books).
 - b. “Wires,” or those who pick ladies’ pockets.
 - c. “Prop-nailers,” those who steal pins and brooches.
 - d. “Thimble-screwdrivers,” those who wrench watches from their guards.
 - e. “Shop-lifters,” or those who purloin goods from shops while examining articles.
2. “Sneaksmen,” or those who plunder by means of stealth.
 - a. Those who purloin goods, provisions, money, clothes, old metal, &c.
 - i. “Drag Sneaks,” or those who steal goods or luggage from carts and coaches.
 - ii. “Snoozers,” or those who sleep at railway hotels, and decamp with some passenger’s luggage or property in the morning.
 - iii. “Star-glazers,” or those who cut the panes out of shop-windows.
 - iv. “Till Friskers,” or those who empty tills of their contents during the absence of the shopmen.
 - v. “Sawney-Hunters,” or those who go purloining bacon from cheese-mongers’ shop-doors.
 - vi. “Noisy-racket Men,” or those who steal china and glass from outside of china-shops.
 - vii. “Area Sneaks,” or those who steal from houses by going down the area steps.
 - viii. “Dead Lurkers,” or those who steal coats and umbrellas from passages at dusk, or on Sunday afternoons.
 - ix. “Snow Gatherers,” or those who steal clean clothes off the hedges.
 - x. “Skinners,” or those women who entice children and sailors to go with them and then strip them of their clothes.

- xi. "Bluey-Hunters," or those who purloin lead from the tops of houses.
- xii. "Cat and Kitten Hunters," or those who purloin pewter quart and pint pots from the top of area railings.
- xiii. "Teshers," or those who purloin copper from the ships along shore.
- xiv. Mudlarks, or those who steal pieces of rope and lumps of coal from among the vessels at the river-side.
- b. Those who steal animals.
 - i. Horse Stealers.
 - ii. Sheep, or "Woolly-bird," Stealers.
 - iii. Deer Stealers.
 - iv. Dog Stealers.
 - v. Poachers, or Game Stealers.
 - vi. "Lady and Gentlemen Racket Men," or those who steal cocks and hens.
 - vii. Cat Stealers, or those who make away with cats for the sake of their skins and bones.
- c. Those who steal dead bodies—as the "Resurrectionists."
- 3. Those who plunder by breach of trust.
 - a. Embezzlers, or those who rob their employers.
 - i. By receiving what is due to them, and never accounting for it.
 - ii. By obtaining goods in their employer's name.
 - iii. By purloining money from the till.
 - b. Illegal Pawnors.
 - i. Those who pledge work given out to them by employers.
 - ii. Those who pledge blankets, sheets, &c., from lodgings.
 - c. Dishonest servants, those who make away with the property of their masters.
 - d. Bill Stealers, or those who purloin bills of exchange entrusted to them, to get discounted.
 - e. Letter Stealers.
- D. "SHOFUL MEN," OR THOSE WHO PLUNDER BY MEANS OF COUNTERFEITS.
 - 1. Coiners or fabricators of counterfeit money.
 - 2. Forgers of bank notes.
 - 3. Forgers of checks and acceptances.
 - 4. Forgers of wills.
- E. DEPENDENTS OF THIEVES.
 - 1. "Fences," or receivers of stolen goods.
 - 2. "Smashers," or utterers of base coin or forged notes.

XI. *Prostitutes and their Dependents.*

A. PROFESSIONAL PROSTITUTES.

- 1. Seclusives, or those who live in private houses or apartments.
 - a. Kept Mistresses.
 - b. "Prima Donnas," or those who belong to the "first class," and live in a superior style.
- 2. Convives, or those who live in the same house with a number of others.
 - a. Those who are independent of the mistress of the house.
 - b. Those who are subject to the mistress of a brothel.
 - i. "Board Lodgers," or those who give a portion of what they receive to the mistress of the brothel, in return for their board and lodging.
 - ii. "Dress Lodgers," or those who give either a portion or the whole of what they get to the mistress of the brothel in return for their board, lodging, and clothes.
- 3. Those who live in low lodging-houses.
- 4. Sailors' and soldiers' women.
- 5. Park women, or those who frequent the parks at night, and other retired places.

6. Thieves' women, or those who entrap men into bye streets for the purpose of robbery.
7. The Dependents of Prostitutes :
 - a. "Bawds," or Keepers of Brothels.
 - b. Followers of Dress Lodgers.
 - c. Keepers of Accommodation Houses.
 - d. Procurers, Pimps, and Panders.
 - e. Fancy-Men.
 - f. Magsmen and Bullies.
- B. CLANDESTINE PROSTITUTES.
 1. Female Operatives.
 2. Maid Servants.
 3. Ladies of Intrigue.
 4. Keepers of Houses of Assignment.
- C. COHABITANT PROSTITUTES.
 1. Those whose paramours cannot afford to pay the marriage fees.
 2. Those whose paramours do not believe in the sanctity of the ceremony.
 3. Those who have married a relative forbidden by law.
 4. Those whose paramours object to marry them for pecuniary or family reasons.
 5. Those who would forfeit their income by marrying, as officers' widows in receipt of pensions, and those who hold property only while unmarried.

THOSE WHO NEED NOT WORK.

XII. *Those who derive their income from rent.*

- A. LANDLORDS OF ESTATES.
- B. LANDLORDS OF HOUSES.

XIII. *Those who derive their income from dividends.*

- A. FUNDHOLDERS.
- B. SHAREHOLDERS.
 1. In Mines.
 2. In Canals.
 3. In Railways.
 4. In Public Companies.

XIV. *Those who derive their income from yearly stipends.*

- A. ANNUITANTS.
- B. PENSIONERS.

XV. *Those who hold obsolete or nominal offices.*

- SINECURISTS.

XVI. *Those who derive their incomes from trades in which they never appear.*

- A. SLEEPING PARTNERS.
- B. ROYALTY MEN.

XVII. *Those who derive their incomes by favour from some other.*

- A. PROTEGÉS.
- B. DEPENDENTS.

XVIII. *Those who derive their support from the head of the family.*

- A. WIVES.
- B. CHILDREN.

OF THE NON-WORKERS.

THE exposition of the several members of society being finished, I now come to treat of that inoperative moiety of it, which more especially concerns us here. The non-workers, we have seen, consist of three broadly marked and distinct orders, viz:—

The incapacitated, or compulsory non-workers.

The indisposed, or voluntary non-workers.

The independent, or privileged non-workers.

It would be of the highest possible importance, could we ascertain with any precision the number of people existing in this country, who do no manner of work for their support; and I was anxious to have concluded the preceding account of the several divisions of society, with an estimate of the numbers appertaining to each of the four great classes, as well as the incomes accruing to them. I found, however, on consulting the official documents with this view, that the government returns were in such an economical tangle—distributor being confounded with employer, and employer again jumbled up with the employed—that any attempt to unravel the twisted yarn would have cost an infinity of trouble, and have been almost worthless after all; and it was from a long experience as to the incompetency of the official returns to aid the social inquirer in solving the great economical problems concerning the production and distribution of wealth, that I was induced to suggest to Sir George Grey (to whom I had been indebted for much courtesy and valuable information, and who, from the commencement of my investigations, had shown a readiness to afford me every assistance), that, in the ensuing census, an attempt should be made to obtain some definite account of the numbers of employers and employed, and I am happy to say that, in conformity with my suggestion, the next "Abstract of the Occupations of the People," will at least teach us the proportion between these two main elements of our social state; so that if the Distributors are but kept distinct from the Promoters and Producers of the wealth of the country, one important step towards a right understanding of the subject will assuredly have been made*.

* Mr. Mill's mistake in ranking the Employers and Distributors among the Enrichers, or those who increase the exchangeable commodities of the

It should, however, be borne in mind, that, though the distribution, the promotion, and the production of the riches or exchangeable commodities of a country are usually distinct offices in every civilized nation, they are not invariably separate functions, even in our own. The exceptions to the economical rule with us appear to be as follows:—

1. Sometimes the producers themselves supply the materials, tools, shelter, and subsistence, that they require for their work, though this is usually done by some capitalist; and having finished the work, proceed themselves to find purchasers for it likewise (though this is generally the office of the distributor or dealer). Street artizans, or those who make the goods they sell in the streets, may be cited as instances of a class uniting in itself the three functions of producer, capitalist (supplying the materials, &c.), and distributor.

2. Sometimes the capitalist employer is also the distributor of the commodities, such being the case with bakers, tailors,

country, arose from a desire to place the dealers and capitalists among the productive labourers, than which nothing could be more idle, for surely they do not add, *directly*, one brass farthing, as the saying is, to the national stock of wealth. A little reflection would have shown that gentleman that the true function of employers and dealers was that of the *indirect aiders* of production rather than the direct producers. The economical scale of production appears to be as follows:—(1) The Employer, providing the materials, tools, and shelter necessary for the due performance of the work, together with the food for the subsistence of the artificer during the work. (2) The Labourer, fitting or preparing the materials for the artificer. (3) The Artificer or workman, positively doing the work and creating a new product. (4) The Superlative Artizan, engaged in adding to the beauty or utility of such product. (5) The Distributor or Dealer, engaged in carrying and disposing of the product in the best market. The functions of Nos. 1 and 2 generally precede production, those of Nos. 4 and 5 usually succeed it; while No. 3 is the absolute producer. The labours of No. 4, however, are so intimately associated with the produce—sometimes designing the work, and sometimes "finishing" it—that it seems but right that the superlative artizan should be ranked with the artificer; the mere labourer, however, who turns the wheel for the turner, or carries the bricks to the bricklayer and the like, cannot strictly be ranked as a *producer* any more than a porter or dock labourer.

and the like, who themselves "purvey" what they employ others to produce.

3. Sometimes the craft does not admit of a distributor being attached to it; the employer himself undertaking to supply the wants of the public; this is the case with the building and decoration of houses.

4. Sometimes the work is done directly for the public, without the intervention of either a distributor or trading-employer; such is the case with the jobbing, day, or piece workers—among the seamstresses and journeymen tailors, for instance—who "make up ladies' and gentlemen's own materials," either at home or at the houses of those for whom the work is done.

5. Sometimes the artificers or working men are their own capitalists; providing the materials, tools, shelter, and subsistence requisite for the work, as is the case with the garret and chamber-masters in the slop cabinet and shoe trades, and among the members of co-operative associations.

6. Sometimes the artificers are both employers and employed; being supplied with their materials and subsistence from a capitalist, and supplying them again to other artificers working under them; this is the case with sweaters, piece-working masters, first hands, and the like.

7. Sometimes the capitalist employer, on the other hand, is, or rather assumes to be, the proprietor of both the capital and labour; as is the case with the slave-owners, masters of serfs, bondmen, villeins, and the like; though this state of things, thank God, no longer exists in this country.

8. Sometimes the capitalist supplies all the requisites of production, excepting the subsistence of the artificer, who is remunerated by a certain share of the profits (if any); this is often the case with publishers and authors.

9. Sometimes the capitalist supplies only the materials and subsistence, but not the tools, of the artificers, and sometimes he compels them to pay him a rent for them out of their wages; as is the case with the employers of the sawyers and stockingers.

10. Sometimes the capitalist supplies the materials, tools, and subsistence of the artificers, but not the appliances of their work; and sometimes he compels them to purchase such appliances of him at an exorbitant profit; as the trimmings in the tailors' trade, thread with the seamstresses, and the like.

11. Sometimes the capitalist supplies the materials, tools, subsistence, and shelter of the artificers, but not their gas-light, and compels them to pay a rent for the same out of their wages.

12. Sometimes the capitalist supplies the materials, tools, appliances, and subsistence, but not the shelter, necessary for the due performance of the work, the artificers, in such cases, doing the work at their own homes.

But all this concerns the workers more directly than the non-workers of society, and it is mentioned here merely with the view of completing the classification before given. Our more immediate business in this place lies with the inoperative, rather than the operative, members of the community. Nor is it with the entire body of these that we have to deal, but rather with that third order of the non-working class who are unwilling, though able, to work, as contradistinguished from those who are willing, but unable, to do so. The non-workers are a peculiar class, including orders diametrically opposed to each other: the very rich and the very poor, in the first place, and the honest and dishonest in the second. The dishonest members of society constitute those who are known more particularly as the criminal class. Hence to inquire into their means of living and mode of life, involves an investigation into the nature and the extent of crime in this country. Crime, sin, and vice are three terms used for the infraction of three different kinds of laws—social, religious, and moral. Crime is the transgression of some social law, even as sin is the transgression of some religious law, and vice the breach of some moral one. These laws, however, often differ only in emanating from different authorities; while infractions of them are merely offences against different powers. To thieve is to offend at once socially, religiously, and morally; for not only does the social, but the religious and moral law, each and all, enjoin that we should respect the property of others.

But there are other crimes or offences against the social powers, besides such as are committed by those who will not work. The crimes perpetrated by those who object to labour for their living, are habitual crimes; whereas those perpetrated by the other classes of society are accidental crimes, arising from the pressure of a variety of circumstances. Here, then, we have a most important fundamental distinction: all crimes, and consequently all criminals, are divisible into two different classes, the professional and the casual; that is to say, there are two distinct orders of people continually offending against the laws of society, viz., those who do so as a regular means of living, and those who do so from some

accidental cause. It is impossible to arrive at any accurate knowledge on the subject of crime generally, without making this first analysis of the several species of offences according to their causes; that is to say, arranging them into opposite groups or classes, according as they arise from an habitual indisposition to labour on the part of some of the offenders, or from the temporary pressure of circumstances upon others. The official returns, however, on this subject are as unphilosophic as the generality of such documents, and consist of a crude mass of undigested facts, being a statistical illustration of the "rudis indigestaque moles," in connection with a criminal chaos.

At present the several crimes of the country are officially divided into four classes:—

- I. Offences against persons; including murder, rape, bigamy, assaults, &c.
- II. Offences against property.
 - A. With violence; including burglary, robbery, piracy, &c.
 - B. Without violence; including embezzlement, cattle-stealing, larceny, and fraud.
 - C. Malicious offences against property; including arson, incendiarism, maiming cattle, &c.
- III. Forgery and offences against the currency; including the forging of wills, bank-notes, and coining, &c.
- IV. Other offences; including high-treason, sedition, poaching, smuggling, working illicit stills, perjury, &c.
- M. Guerry, the eminent French statist, adopts a far more philosophic arrangement, and divides the several crimes into—
 - I. Crimes against the State; as high treason, &c.
 - II. Crimes against personal safety; as murder, assault, &c.
 - III. Crimes against morals (with and without violence); as rape, bigamy, &c.
 - IV. Crimes against property (proceeding from cupidity or malice); as larceny, embezzlement, incendiarism, and the like.

The same fundamental error which renders the government classification comparatively worthless, deprives that of the French philosopher of all practical value. It gives us no knowledge of the character of the people committing the crimes; being merely a system of criminal mnemonics, as it were, or easy method of remembering the several varieties of offences. The classes in both systems are but so many mental pigeon-holes for the orderly arrangement

and partitioning of the various infractions of the law; further than this they cannot help us.

Whatever other information the inquirer may want, he must obtain for himself; if he wish to learn from the crimes something as to their causes, as well as the nature of the criminals, he must begin *de novo*, and, using the official facts, but rejecting the official system of classification, proceed to arrange all the several offences into two classes, according as they are of a professional and casual character, committed by habitual or occasional offenders. Adopting this principle, it will be found that the *non-professional* crimes consist mainly of murder, assaults, incendiarism, ravishment, bigamy, embezzlement, high treason, and the like; for it is evident that none can make a trade or profession of the commission of these crimes, or resort to them as a regular means of living*.

The *professional* crimes, on the other hand, will be generally found to include burglary, robbery, poaching, coining, smuggling, working of illicit stills, larceny from the person, simple larceny, &c., because each and every of these are regular crafts, requiring almost the same apprenticeship as any other mode of life. Burglary, coining, working illicit stills, and picking pockets, are all *arts* to which no man, without some previous training, can take. Hence to know whether the number of these dishonest *handicrafts*—for such they really are—be annually on the increase or not, is to solve a most important portion of the criminal problem; it is to ascertain whether crime pursued as a profession or business, is being augmented among us—to discover whether the criminal class, as a distinct portion of our people is, or is not, on the advance. The non-professional crimes will furnish us with equally curious results, showing a yearly impress of the character of the times; for being only occasional offences, of course the number of such offenders at different years will give us a knowledge of the intensity of the several occasions inducing the crimes in such years.

The accidental crimes, classified according to their causes, may be said to consist of—

- I. Crimes of malice, exercised either against the person or the property of the object.

* At one time, however, murder became a *trade* in this country, namely, when the dead bodies of human beings grew to be of such value that the burking of the living was resorted to by the "resurrectionists," as a means of keeping up the supply.

- II. Crimes of lust and perverted appetites; as rape, &c.
- III. Crimes of shame; as concealing the births of infants, attempts to procure miscarriage, and the like.
- IV. Crimes of temptation, } with, or with-
- V. Crimes of cupidity, } out breach of
- VI. Crimes of want, } trust.
- VII. Crimes of political prejudices.

With the class of casual or accidental criminals, however, we are not at present concerned. Those who resort to crime as a means of support, when in a state of extreme want, for instance, cannot be said to belong to the *voluntary* non-workers, for many of these would willingly work to increase their sustenance, if that end were attainable by such means, but the poor shirt-workers, slop-tailors, and the like, have not the power of earning more than the barest subsistence by their labour, so that the pawning of the work entrusted to them by their employers, becomes an act to which they are immediately impelled for "dear life," on the occurrence of the least illness or mishap among them. Such offenders, therefore, belong more properly to those who cannot work for their living, or rather, who cannot live by their working, and though they offend against the laws in the same manner as those that will not work, they cannot certainly be said to be of the same class.

The *voluntary* non-workers are a distinct body of people. In the introductory chapter to the first volume of the "Street-folk," they have been shown to appertain to even the rudest nations, being as it were the human parasites of every civilized and barbarous community. The Hottentots have their "Sonquas," and the Kafirs their "Fingoes," as we have our "Prigs" and "Cadgers." Those who will not work for the food they consume, appear to be part and parcel of a State—an essential element of the social fabric as much as those who cannot, or need not work for their living. Go where you will, to what corner of the earth you please, search out or propound what new-fangled or obsolete form of society you may, there will be some members of it more apathetic than the rest, who object to work—some more infirm than the rest, who are denied the power to work—and some more thrifty than the rest, who from their past savings have no necessity to work for the future. These several forms are but the necessary consequences of specific differences in the constitution of different beings. Circumstances may tend to give an unnatural development to either one or other of the classes; the criminal

class, the pauper class, or the wealthy class, may be in excess in one form of society, as compared with another, or they may be repressed by certain social arrangements; nevertheless, to a greater or less degree, there they will and *must* ever be.

Since, then, there is an essentially distinct class of people who *will* not work for their living, and since work is a necessary condition of the human organism, the question becomes, How do such people live? There is but one answer:—If they do not labour to procure their own food, of course they must live on the food procured by the labour of others. But how do they obtain possession of the food belonging to others? There are but two means: it must either be given to them by, or be taken from, the industrious portion of the community. Consequently, the next point to be settled is, what are the means by which those who *object* to work get their food given to them, and what the means by which they are enabled to take it from others. Let us begin with the last mentioned.

The means by which the criminal classes obtain their living constitute the essential points of difference among them, and form indeed the methods of distinction among themselves. The "Rampsmen," the "Drummers," the "Mobsmen," the "Sneaksmen," and the "Shofulmen,"* which are the terms by which they themselves designate the several branches of the "profession," are but so many expressions indicating the several modes of obtaining the property of which they become possessed.

The "Rampsmen" or "Cracksmen" plunder by force; as the burglar, footpad, &c.

The "Drummer" plunders by stupefaction; as the "hocusser."

The "Mobsmen" plunders by manual dexterity; as the pickpocket.

The "Sneaksmen" plunders by stealth; as the petty-larceny men and boys.

The "Shofulmen" plunders by counterfeits; as the coiner.

Now each and all of these are distinct species of the genus, having often little or no connection with the others. The "Cracksmen," or housebreaker, would no more think of associating with the "Sneaksmen" than a barrister would dream of sitting down to dinner with an attorney; the perils braved by the housebreaker or the footpad make the cowardice of the sneaksmen contemptible to him; and the one is distinguished by a

* The word Shoful is derived from the Danish *shuffe*, to shove, to deceive, cheat; the Saxon form of the same verb is *Scufan*, whence the English *Shove*.

kind of bulldog insensibility to danger, while the other is marked by a low cat-like cunning. The "Mobsmen," on the other hand, is more of a handicraftsman than either, and is comparatively refined by the society he is obliged to keep. He usually dresses in the same elaborate style of fashion as a Jew on a Saturday (in which case he is more particularly described by the prefix "swell"), and "mixes" generally in the "best of company," frequenting—for the purposes of his business—all the places of public entertainment, and often being a regular attendant at church and the more elegant chapels, especially during charity sermons. The Mobsmen takes his name from the gregarious habits of the class to which he belongs, it being necessary, for the successful picking of pockets, that the work be done in small gangs or mobs, so as to "cover" the operator. Among the Sneaksmen, again, the purloiners of animals, such as the horse stealers, the sheep stealers, the deer stealers, and the poachers, all belong to a particular tribe (with the exception of the dog stealers)—they are agricultural thieves; whereas the others are generally of a more civic character. The Shofulmen, or coiners, moreover constitute a distinct species, and upon them, like the others, is impressed the stamp of the peculiar line of roguery they may chance to follow as a means of subsistence.

Such are the more salient features of that portion of the voluntary non-workers who live by *taking* what they want from others. The other moiety of the same class who live by getting what they want *given* to them, is equally peculiar. These consist of the "Flatcatchers," the "Hunter" and "Charley* Pitchers," the "Bouncers" and "Besters," the "Cadgers," the Vagrants, and the Prostitutes.

The "Flatcatchers" obtain what they want by false pretences; as swindlers, duffers, ring droppers, and cheats of all kinds.

The "Hunter" and "Charley Pitchers" obtain what they want by gaming; as thimblery men, &c.

The "Bouncers" and "Besters" obtain what they want by betting, intimidating, or talking people out of their property.

The "Cadgers" obtain what they want by begging, and exciting false sympathy.

The Vagrants obtain what they want by declaring on the casual ward of the parish workhouse.

* A Charley Pitcher seems to be one who pitches to the *Ceorla*, or countryman, and hence is equivalent to the term *Yokel-hunter*.

The Prostitutes obtain what they want by the performance of an immoral act.

Each of these, again, are unmistakably distinguished from the rest. The "Flatcatchers" are generally remarkable for great shrewdness, especially in the knowledge of human character and ingenuity in designing and carrying out their several schemes. The "Charley Pitchers" appertain more to the conjuring or sleight-of-hand and black-leg class. The "Cadgers," again, are to the class of cheats what the "Sneaksmen" are to the thieves, the lowest of all, being the least distinguished for those characteristics which mark the other members of the same body. As the "Sneaksmen" are the least daring and expert of all the thieves, so are the "Cadgers" the least intellectual and cunning of all the cheats. A "shallow cove," that is to say, one who exhibits himself half naked in the streets as a means of obtaining his living, is looked upon as the most despicable of all, since the act requires neither courage, intellect, nor dexterity for the execution of it. The Vagrants, on the other hand, are the wanderers—the English Bedouins—those who, in their own words, "love to shake a free leg"—the thoughtless and the careless vagabonds of our race; while the Prostitutes, as a body, are the shameless among our women.

Such, then, are the characters of the voluntary non-workers, or professionally criminal class, the vagrants, beggars, cheats, thieves, and prostitutes—each order expressing some different mode of existence adopted by those who object to labour for their living. The vagrants, who love a roving life, exist principally by declaring on the parish funds for the time being; the beggars, as deficient in courage and intellect as in pride, prefer to live by soliciting alms of the public; the cheats, possessed of considerable cunning and ingenuity, choose rather to subsist by continual fraud and deception; the thieves, distinguished generally by a hardihood and comparative disregard of danger, find greater delight in risking their liberty by taking what they want, instead of waiting to have it given them; while the prostitutes, as deficient in shame as the beggars are in pride, prefer to live by using their charms for the vilest of purposes.

The exposition of the *causes* why the several species of voluntary non-workers object to labour for their living, I shall reserve for a future occasion; that they do *object* to work is patent in the fact that they might sustain themselves by their industry if they chose (for those who are unable to do so,

and are consequently driven to dishonesty, have been purposely removed from the class).

The number of individuals belonging to the professional criminal class, we are not yet in a position to ascertain; but few dependable facts have been collected on the subject, and even these have been obtained

so many years back that, with the increase of population, they have become almost worthless, except in a historic point of view. Such as they are, however, it will be as well to add them to this introduction to the class of voluntary non-workers, as the best information at present existing upon the subject.

TABLE SHOWING THE NUMBER OF DEPREDATORS, OFFENDERS, AND SUSPECTED PERSONS WHO HAVE BEEN BROUGHT WITHIN THE COGNIZANCE OF THE POLICE IN THE YEAR 1837, COMPREHENDING:—

1. Persons who have no visible means of subsistence, and who are believed to live wholly by violation of the law, as by habitual depredation, by fraud, by prostitution, &c.

2. Persons following some ostensible and legal occupation, but who are known to have committed an offence, and are believed to augment their gains by habitual or occasional violation of the law.

3. Persons not known to have committed any offences, but known as associates of the above classes, and otherwise deemed to be suspicious characters.

Character and description of Offenders.		Metropolitan Police District.			
		1st Class.	2nd Class.	3rd Class.	Total all Classes.
RAMPSMEN †	Burglars	77	22	8	107
	Housebreakers	59	17	34	110
	Highway robbers	19	8	11	38
		155	47	53	255
MOBSMEN	Pickpockets	544	75	154	773
SNEAKSMEN	Common thieves	1667	1338	652	3657
ANIMAL STEALERS	Horse stealers	7	4		11
	Cattle stealers				
	Dog stealers	45	48	48	141
		52	52		152
SHOPULMEN	*Forgers		3		3
	*Coiners	25	1	2	28
	Utterers of base coin	202	54	61	317
		227	58	63	348
FLATCATCHERS	*Obtainers of goods by false pretences	33	108		141
	*Persons committing frauds of any other description	23	118	41	182
		56	226		323
	Receivers of stolen goods	51	158	134	343
	*Habitual disturbers of the public peace	723	1866	179	2768
	Vagrants	1089	186	20	1295
CADDERS	*Begging-letter writers	12	17	21	50
	Bearers of begging-letters	22	40	24	86
		34	57	45	136
PROSTITUTES	*Prostitutes, well-dressed, living in brothels	813	62	20	895
	*Prostitutes, well-dressed, walking the streets	1460	79	73	1612
	Prostitutes, low, infesting low neighbourhoods	3533	147	184	3864
		5806	288	277	6371
	*Classes not before enumerated	40	2	438	470
Total		10,444	4353	2104	16,901

* Those marked thus * are of a non-migratory character.

† The titles of the classes as here given do not form part of the original table.

The estimate made for five of the principal provincial towns in the same year was as follows:—

TABLE SHOWING THE NUMBER OF DEPREDATORS, OFFENDERS, AND SUSPECTED PERSONS BROUGHT WITHIN THE COGNIZANCE OF THE POLICE OF THE UNDERMENTIONED DISTRICTS, IN THE YEAR 1837.

District or Place.	Number of Depredators, Offenders, and Suspected Persons.				Average Length of Career.	Proportion of known bad Characters to the Population.
	1st Class.	2nd Class.	3rd Class.	Total.		
Metropolitan Police District . .	10,444	4353	2104	16,901	4 yrs.	1 in 89
Borough of Liverpool	3,580	916	215	4,711	.....	1 in 45
City and County of Bristol . .	1,935	1190	356	3,481	.....	1 in 31
City of Bath	284	470	847	1,601	.....	1 in 37
Town and County of Newcastle-on-Tyne	1,730	222	62	2,014	2½ yrs.	1 in 27
Total	17,973	7151	3584	28,708		

By the above table it will be seen that, in 1837, there were 28,708 persons of known bad character, infesting five of the principal towns in England: nearly 18,000 of the entire number had no visible means of subsistence, and were believed to live wholly by depredation; 7000 were believed to augment their gains by habitual or occasional violation of the law; and 3500 were known to be associates of the others, and otherwise deemed suspicious characters. According to the average proportion of these persons to the population, there would have been in the other large towns nearly 32,000 persons of a similar class, and upwards of 69,000 of such persons dispersed throughout the rest of the country. Adding these together, we have as many as 130,000 individuals of known bad character in England and Wales, *without* the walls of the prisons.

To form an accurate notion of the total number of the criminal population at the above period, we must add to the preceding amount the number of persons resident *within* the walls of the prisons. These, at the time of taking the last census, amounted to 19,888, which, added to the 130,000 above enumerated, gives within a fraction of 150,000 individuals for the entire criminal population of the country, as known to the police in 1837.

Let us now, for a moment, turn our attention to the number and cost of the honest and dishonest poor throughout England and Wales. Mr. Porter, usually no mean authority upon all matters of a statistical nature, tells us, in his "Progress of the Nation," p. 530, that "the proportion of persons in the United Kingdom who pass their time without applying to any gainful occupation is quite *inconsiderable*! Of

5,800,000 males of 20 years and upwards living at the time of the census of 1831, there were said to be engaged in some calling or profession 5,450,000, thus leaving unemployed only 350,000, or rather less than six per cent." "The number of unemployed adult males in Great Britain in 1841," he afterwards informs us, "was only 274,000 and odd."

But this statement gives us no accurate idea of the number of persons subsisting by charity or crime, for the author of the "Progress of the Nation," strange to say, wholly excludes from his calculation the mass of individuals maintained by the several parishes, as well as the criminals, almspeople, and lunatics throughout the country! Now, according to the Report of the Poor-law Commissioners, the number of paupers receiving in and out-door relief, in 1848, was no less than 1,870,000 and odd. The number of criminals and suspicious characters throughout the country, in 1837, we have seen, was 150,000. In 1844 the number of lunatics in county asylums was 4000 and odd; while, according to the occupation abstract of the population returns there were in 1841 upwards of 5000 almspeople, 1000 beggars, and 21,000 pensioners. These, formed into one sum, give us no less than 2,000,000 of individuals living upon the income of the remainder of the population. By the above computation, therefore, we see that, out of a total of 16,000,000 souls, in England and Wales, one-eighth, or twelve per cent. of the whole, continue their existence either by pauperism, mendicancy, or crime.

Now, the cost of this immense mass of vice and want is even more appalling than the number of individuals subsisting in such utter degradation. The total amount

THE STATE OF EDUCATION AND DENSITY OF THE POPULATION IN THE SEVERAL COUNTIES COMPARED.

THE CRIME AND DENSITY OF THE POPULATION OF THE SEVERAL COUNTIES COMPARED.

Counties having great Ignorance and little density of Population.	Percentage above and below the Average.		Counties having little Ignorance and great density of Population.	Percentage above and below the Average.	
	In No. of signers of register with Marks.	In No. of Per-sons to 100 Acres.		In No. of Crimi-nals.	In No. of Per-sons to 100 Acres.
Monmouth ..	47	9	Gloucester ..	1591	6.4
Lancaster ..	30	270	Worcester ..	152.4	13.3
Stafford ..	30	72	Middlesex ..	149.4	20.0
Worcester ..	30	13	Cheshire ..	137.8	31.2
Cheshire ..	15	31	Warwick ..	131.7	70.0
Nottingham ..	5	12	Lancaster ..	112.3	27.0
			Monmouth ..	9.7	9.9
			Stafford ..	9.1	72.2

Counties having little Ignorance and little density of Population.

Counties having great Ignorance and little density of Population.	Percentage above and below the Average.		Counties having little Ignorance and great density of Population.	Percentage above and below the Average.	
	In No. of signers of register with Marks.	In No. of Per-sons to 100 Acres.		In No. of Crimi-nals.	In No. of Per-sons to 100 Acres.
South Wales ..	42	35	Cumberland ..	56.7	50.6
Bedford ..	40	12	North Wales ..	51.2	16.3
North Wales ..	37	30	Westmorland ..	50.6	75.9
Hertford ..	35	20	Northumb. ..	48.1	48.1
Bucks ..	22	37	South Wales ..	48.7	55.1
Hunts ..	22	40	Derby ..	38.0	20.0
Rutland ..	22	42	York ..	30.5	2.0
Salop ..	20	26	Lincoln ..	22.0	51.7
Suffolk ..	20	44	Reiks ..	21.4	15.5
Wills ..	15	33	Hunts ..	14.0	40.0
Norfolk ..	12	38	Devon ..	14.0	30.0
Cambridge ..	12	16	Rutland ..	13.4	40.0
York ..	10	33	Northampton ..	13.4	33.4
Northampton ..	7	15	Cambridge ..	10.0	20.2
Herts ..	5	63	Dorset ..	10.0	43.1
Hereford ..	2	7	Salop ..	9.1	42.9
Leicester ..	2	7	Bedford ..	7.3	12.3
Somerset ..	2	10	Sussex ..	6.7	25.0
			Suffolk ..	4.2	20.6

* The rule appears to be, that those counties are the most ignorant in which the population is the least dense.

N.B. The † prefixed to a number denotes that it is above, the * that it is below the average by the percentage which it expresses.

EDUCATION OF CRIMINALS (ENGLAND AND WALES).

TABLE SHOWING THE DEGREES OF INSTRUCTION OF PERSONS OF ALL AGES COMMITTED TO PRISON FROM 1839 TO 1848.

Years.	Unread or write.		Read and write imperfectly.		Superior to read and write well.		Instruction not be as certain.		Total.
	Unread or write.	Read and write imperfectly.							
1839	8,196	13,071	24,62	636	24,443				
1840	9,058	15,100	22,53	636	27,167				
1841	9,220	15,732	20,53	636	27,760				
1842	10,128	18,200	21,21	636	29,501				
1843	9,173	17,045	23,71	636	29,542				
1844	7,001	15,735	21,63	500	24,363				
1845	7,433	14,179	19,36	446	25,167				
1846	7,603	14,942	19,36	475	26,353				
1847	9,050	16,900	22,45	482	29,349				
1848	9,621	17,111	23,04	482	30,349				

TABLE SHOWING THE CENTESIMAL DEGREES OF INSTRUCTION OF PERSONS OF ALL AGES COMMITTED TO PRISON FROM 1839 TO 1848.

Years	Unread or write.		Read and write imperfectly.		Superior to read and write well.		Instruction not be as certain.	
	Unread or write.	Read and write imperfectly.						
1839	33.53	53.48	10.07	0.32	9.00			
1840	33.32	55.57	8.29	0.37	9.45			
1841	33.21	56.47	7.40	0.43	9.27			
1842	32.35	53.32	6.77	0.22	9.34			
1843	31.00	57.00	8.02	0.47	9.41			
1844	29.77	50.23	8.42	0.42	9.41			
1845	30.61	53.34	8.33	0.37	9.30			
1846	30.05	50.51	7.71	0.31	1.78			
1847	31.30	50.40	7.79	0.23	1.85			
1848	31.93	50.33	9.63	0.27	1.50			

* "The instruction of the offenders," say the Criminal Returns of 1848, "has been without much variation, exhibiting, on a comparison of the last ten years, a decreased proportion of those entirely uneducated;" and it may be added a corresponding increase of those who are able to read and write imperfectly.

* The rule appears to be, that those counties are the least criminal in which the population is the least dense.

N.B. The † prefixed to a number denotes that it is above, the * that it is below the average by the percentage which it expresses.

MAP

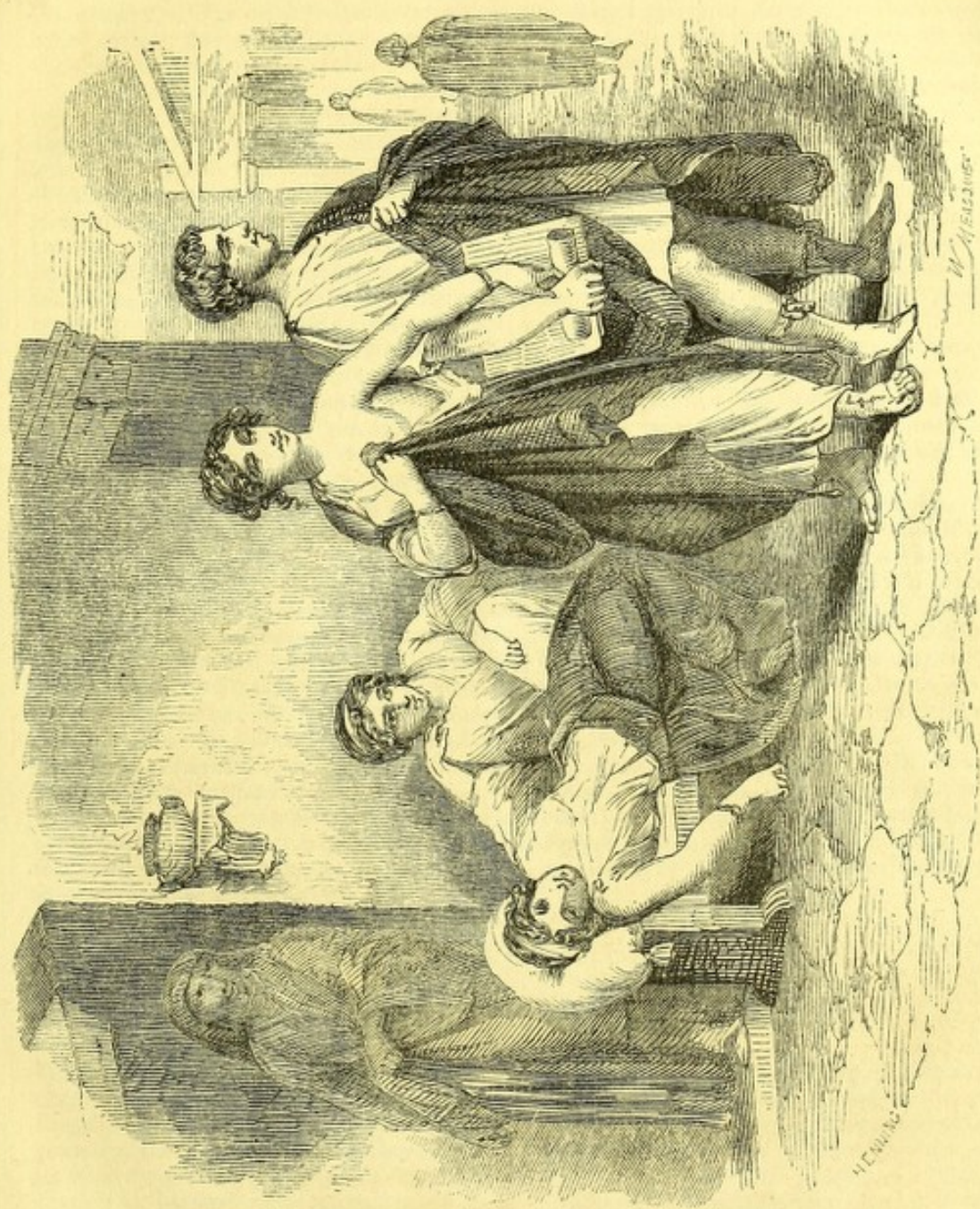
SHOWING THE NUMBER WHO SIGNED THE MARRIAGE REGISTER WITH MARKS
IN EVERY 100 PERSONS MARRIED;

OR

THE INTENSITY OF IGNORANCE

IN EACH COUNTY OF
ENGLAND AND WALES.





ROMAN BROTHEL—IMPERIAL ERA. (DUFOUT.)

of money levied in 1848 for the relief of the poor throughout England and Wales, was 7,400,000*l.* But, exclusive of this amount, the magnitude of the sum that we give voluntarily towards the support and education of the poorer classes, is unparalleled in the history of any other nation, or of any other time. According to the summary of the returns annexed to the voluminous reports of the Charity Commissioners, the rent of the land and other fixed property, together with the interest of the money left for charitable purposes in England and Wales, amounts to 1,200,000*l.* a year; and it is believed that, by proper management, this return might be increased to an annual income of at least two millions of money. "And yet," says Mr. McCulloch, "there can be no doubt that even this large sum falls far below the amount expended every year in voluntary donations to charitable establishments. Nor can any estimate be formed," he adds, "of the money given in charity to individuals, but in the aggregate it cannot fail to amount to an immense sum." All things considered, therefore, we cannot be very far from the truth, if we assume the sums *voluntarily* subscribed towards the relief of the poor to equal, in the aggregate, the total amount raised by assessment for the same purpose (the income from voluntary subscriptions to the *metropolitan* charities alone equals 1,000,000*l.* and odd); so that it would appear that the well-to-do amongst us expend the vast sum of 15,000,000*l.* per annum in mitigating the miseries of their less fortunate brethren.

But though it may be said that we give altogether 15,000,000*l.* a year to alleviate the distress of those who want or suffer, we must remember that this vast sum expresses

not only the liberal extent of our sympathy, but likewise the fearful amount of want and suffering, on the one hand, and of excess and luxury on the other, that there must be in the land. If the poorer classes require fifteen millions to be added in charity every year to their aggregate income in order to relieve their pains and privations, and the richer can afford to have the same immense sum taken from theirs, and yet scarcely feel the loss, it shows at once how much the one class must have in excess and the other in deficiency. Whether such a state of things is a necessary evil connected with the distribution of wealth, this is not the place for me to argue. All I have to do here is to draw attention to the fact. It is for others to lay bare the cause, and, if possible, discover the remedy.

There still remains, however, to be added to the sum expended in voluntary or compulsory relief of the poor, the cost of our criminal and convict establishments at home and abroad. This, according to the Government estimates, amounts to very nearly 1,000,000*l.*; then there is the value of the property appropriated by the 150,000 habitual criminals, and this, at 10*s.* a week per head, amounts to very nearly 4,000,000*l.*; so that, adding these items to the sum before-mentioned, we have, in round numbers, the enormous amount of 20,000,000*l.* per annum as the cost of the paupers and criminals of this country; and, reckoning the national income, with Mr. McCulloch and others, at 350,000,000*l.*, it follows that the country has to give upwards of five per cent. out of its gross earnings every year to support those who are either incapable or unwilling to obtain a living for themselves.

OF THE PROSTITUTE CLASS GENERALLY.

We have now seen that the two modes of obtaining a living other than by working for it are, by forcibly or stealthily appropriating the proceeds of another's labour, or else by seducing the more industrious or thrifty to part with a portion of their gains. Prostitution, professionally resorted to, belongs to the latter class, and consists, when adopted as a means of subsistence without labour, in inducing others, by the performance of some immoral act, to render up a portion of their possessions. Literally construed, prostitution is the putting of anything to a vile use; in this sense perjury is a species of prostitution, being an

unworthy use of the faculty of speech; so, again, bribery is a prostitution of the right of voting; while prostitution, specially so called, is the using of her charms by a woman for immoral purposes. This, of course, may be done either from mercenary or voluptuous motives; be the cause, however, what it may, the act remains the same, and consists in the base perversion of a woman's charms—the surrendering of her virtue to criminal indulgence. Prostitution has been defined to be the illicit intercourse of the sexes; but illicit is unlicensed, and the mere sanctioning of an immoral act could not dignify it into a

moral one. Such a definition would make the criminality of the act to consist solely in the absence of the priest's licence.

In Persia there are no professional prostitutes permitted; but though the priest's sanction there precedes the surrendering of the woman's virtue in every instance, still the same immoral perversion takes place—it being customary for couples to be wedded for a small sum by the priest in the evening, and divorced by him, for an equally small sum, in the morning. Here, then, we find the licensed intercourse assuming the same immoral cast as the unlicensed; for surely none will maintain that these nuptial ephemera are sanctified, because accompanied with a priestly licence. Nor can we, on the other hand, assert that the mere fact of continence in the association of the sexes, the persistence of the female to one male, or the continued endurance of an unsanctioned attachment, can ever be raised into anything purer than cohabitation, or the chastity of unchastity.

Prostitution, then, does not consist solely in promiscuous intercourse, for she who confines her favours to one may still be a prostitute; nor does it consist in illicit or unsanctioned intercourse, for, as we have seen, the intercourse may be sanctioned and still be prostitution to all intents and purposes. Nor can it be said to consist solely in the mercenary motives so often prompting to the commission of the act; for fornication is expressly that form of prostitution which is the result of illicit attachment.

In what, then, it may be asked, does prostitution consist? It consists, I answer, in what the word literally expresses—putting a woman's charms to vile uses. The term *whore* has, strictly, the same signification as that of *prostitute*; though usually supposed to be from the Saxon verb *hyrian*, to hire, and, consequently, to mean a woman whose favours can be procured for a reward. But the Saxon substantive *hure*, is the same word as the first syllable of *hor-cwen*, which signifies literally a filthy quean, a *har-lot*. Now the term *hor*, in *hor-cwen*, is but another form of the Saxon adjective *horig*, filthy, dirty, the Latin equivalent of which is *sordidus*; hence the substantive *horines* means filthiness, and *horingas*, adulterers (or filthy people), and *hornung*, adultery, fornication, whoredom (or filthy acts). Prostitution and whoredom, then, have both the same meaning, viz., perversion to vile or filthy uses; and consist in the surrendering of a woman's virtue in a manner

that excites our moral disgust. The offensiveness of the act of unchastity to the moral taste or sense constitutes the very essence of prostitution; and it is this moral offensiveness which often makes the licensed intercourse of the sexes, as in the marriage of a young girl to an old man, for the sake of his money, as much an act of prostitution as even the grossest libertinism.

The next question consequently becomes, what are the invariable antecedents which excite the moral disgust in every act of prostitution? or are there any such invariable antecedents characterizing each offensive perversion of a woman's charms? Is the offensiveness a mere matter of taste, differing according as the moral palates of the individuals or races may differ one from the other, and ultimately referable to some peculiar form of organization, convention, fashion, or geography? or is it a part of the inherent constitution of things?—in a word, is there an abstract chastity and unchastity; an erotic *τὸ καλὸν* and *τὸ κακὸν*; an universal standard of moral beauty and ugliness in woman—that, go where you will, is the same to all natures and in all countries? or is the vice of one set of people the virtue of another, as this race admires white teeth and that black?

This is a matter lying, as it were, across the very threshold of the subject, and which must necessarily, according as one or other view be taken, give a wholly different cast, not only to all our thoughts in connection with the evil, but to all our plans for the remedy of it. If prostitution be loathsome to us, merely because it is the moral fashion of our people that it should be so, then by popularizing new forms of thought and feeling among us may we remove all opprobrium from the act, and so put an end to all the moral evil in connection with it; but if it be naturally and innately offensive to every healthy mind, then can it be remedied solely by improving the tone of the thoughts and feelings of the depraved, and restoring the lost moral sense, as well as directing the perverted taste to more wholesome and beautiful objects.

To solve this part of the problem, then, it will be necessary that we should take as comprehensive a view of the subject as possible, collecting a large and multifarious body of facts, and examining the matter from almost every conceivable point of view. It will be necessary that we should regard it by the light of the early ages of society—that we should contemplate it

amid all the primitive rudeness of barbaric life—and ultimately that we should study it under the many varied phases that it assumes in civilized communities.

For the better performance of this task I have availed myself of the services and assistance of my friend, Mr. Horace St. John, whom I shall now leave to lay before the reader the many curious and interesting facts which he has collected at my request in connection with the ancient and foreign part of the subject, after which I shall return to the consideration of that branch of the general inquiry connected more immediately with the prostitution of this country.

OF PROSTITUTION IN ANCIENT STATES: GENERAL VIEW.

IN the following inquiry, though the chief object will be to ascertain the extent and character of the prostitute class of women, it will be necessary to indicate generally the condition of the sex in various ages, and among different nations. This will afford a comparative view of the subject. It is impossible to form a judgment on the condition of this class, and its influence on society, without learning in what degree of estimation morality is viewed by a people; what position in the social scale is occupied by their women; at what price chastity is held; and what are the relative stations of the sexes. To afford a correct idea of this, in plain, popular language, is the task to which we now apply ourselves; and we commence with the ancient states whose institutions have, in a greater or less degree, influenced those of all others, in every later age. It is necessary to maintain a distinction between those countries where marriage was an institution, and those—if they are not quite fabulous—at least savage communities where the intercourse of men with women is looser than that of beasts.

Far as we can trace the history of society we discover no state without the blemish of prostitution. In some it was more, in others less prevalent; but in all it existed in one form or another. In examining the manners of the ancient nations, Hebrews, Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, Celts, and Anglo Saxons, we find women who degraded themselves from vanity, lust, or for gain; and, among the old communities of the East, less known to us, public immorality was a characteristic. We shall show this to have been the case, and, basing our statements on the most creditable authority, indicate the principal features of each system. The information, it is true, which

has been bequeathed to us, and elucidated by the learning and diligence of numerous scholars, is far from complete; but enough may be collected among the antiquities of Israel, Greece, Rome, and Egypt, to establish a fair opinion. The general design of this inquiry will be to draw a view of the position occupied by the female sex in different ages and countries, to measure the estimation in which it was held, to fix the accepted standard of morality, to ascertain the recognised significance of the marriage contract, the laws relating to polygamy and concubinage, the value at which feminine virtue and modesty were held, and thus to consider the prostitute in relation to the system of which she formed a part. *She* will be the particular object of investigation; but the others are by no means unimportant. They are, indeed, necessary to a just and comprehensive view of the question before us. In a society where men lived in brutal promiscuousness with the women, prostitution could scarcely exist; where chastity was lightly esteemed, and marriage held to be a loose contract for social purposes, adultery could hardly be very full of shame. In this, therefore, as in all other inquiries, it is necessary to view the actual object in relation to others which are invariably connected with it. There is no universal, unvarying standard, by which even prostitution can be measured. Circumstances, not belonging, yet not entirely foreign to it, are to be considered. Consequently, while we hold that in view as the main ground of research, we shall, where materials allow, draw a sketch of the situation occupied by the female sex, and of the other traits of civilization to which we have referred.

In a general view, Greece and Rome, with the great city of Babylon, stand most prominently forward with their system of prostitution. Closer inquiry, however, induces us to hesitate before assigning them that distinction. Of the two classical states especially, it is because our information is more immediate and complete, that their public immorality is more remarkable. The poets of the earlier, and the historians of the later, period, have transmitted to us numerous accounts of the manners and customs of Greece and Rome; their painters have left us views,—their architects and sculptors, monuments of their civilization. Their moralists and satirists have enlarged on the prevalent vices, and from all these sources we are enabled to derive clearer ideas of their women, and especially their prostitution. Besides, in a polished state, with pure manners the prostitute class will

always be more distinct, and therefore more conspicuous.

Babylon, far more than a thousand years ago, was a proverb of immorality. Her name and the name of Whore have been associated ideas, not on account only of the idolatry practised by her people, but on account of their licentious manners. Concerning Egypt, though Diodorus and Herodotus wrote of it, little is known; of the marriage ceremony absolutely nothing. The prostitutes are not described; but, from every trace and record of their civilization which has been preserved, it is evident that a large class addicted itself to this calling. Who were the public musicians, disreputable in the eyes of all other persons?—who were the dancers who performed their wanton feats at the entertainments of the rich, and stripped themselves half, or entirely, naked before their couches?—who were the drunken women, who bared their bodies, and capered in that state on the Nile boats, during the festival of Bubastis?—who were they who assisted at the sacerdotal orgies, which defiled the temples of ancient Egypt?—who could they have been, but women of abandoned character, who prostituted themselves for vile purposes, for gain or pleasure?

Among the Jews, again, the continually reiterated allusions to harlots, in the Scriptures, the abominations perpetually charged to their account, the threats pronounced upon their wickedness, the frequent allusions to their licentious manners, indicate a wide prevalence of this system. Among a people so commonly guilty of nameless crimes, we cannot expect to find chastity a peculiar virtue. Indeed, it is seldom such vices are practised until all the inferior offences against decency have become insipid through satiety. The writers, therefore, who parade before us the civilization of the Jews, as an example of public morality, base their conclusions on a strange interpretation of facts. To contrast them with the manners of Attic Greece, is a pure satire on common sense. Sparta was licentious, but not in the low and gross manner of the Jews. Athens harboured a licentious class; but none like those bestial voluptuaries among the Hebrews, in whom lust became a loathsome passion. Although, therefore, the actual manners of ancient Israel have been less vividly described than those of Greece, it is evident from the tenour of Scripture history, that morality there was less pure than in the Attic state.

Rome, under the republic, was, perhaps, still farther removed from the charge of corruption. Prostitutes it had, and brothels; but its women were generally virtuous.

The chastity of the Roman matron has passed into a proverb. It was, however, if we may credit the historian Tacitus, exceeded by the modesty of the women in ancient Germany. Among them morals appear purged of licentiousness. Polygamy was forbidden, and practised only by the petty kings who set themselves above the law. The manners of the people, rather than the enactments of their code, prohibited divorce. Adultery, rare as it was, ranked as an inexpiable crime; while seduction was condemned, and prostitution unknown. It was not, however, the severity of the law which enforced the virtue; it was the virtue that imparted its spirit to the law. From the morals of ancient Germany, the lawgivers of society might learn many useful lessons. Bars and bolts, multiplied walls, troops of eunuchs, jealous lattices, and the dread of punishment, failed to guard the harems of the East; while the hut of the German barbarian, open on all sides, was impregnable against the seducer. The poor toy of the Persian's seraglio, protected by a hundred devices, often eluded them all; but the German women were the guardians of their own honour. They may be described as possessing all the virtues, without the vices, of the stern Spartan stock; and, living on terms of equality with the men, held their virtue at too dear a price to prostitute it for admiration, or lust, or money. Civilization, in this respect, has done the Germans a very ill office.

Allied to these fierce wanderers in the Hyrcynian wood were the Saxons, from whom our ancestors descended. We shall find among them, on their native soil, similar manners, especially in the circumstance of the adulteress being whipped without mercy through the village. Among them prevailed, however, an enlightened reverence for the female sex, which contrasted strongly with the ideas of many surrounding nations, who looked on a woman as a creature merely dedicated to the service and gratification of man. They brought over to England institutions susceptible of being moulded to a different form. They became more refined and less moral. Whenever, indeed, rude men, who have not given themselves up to the indulgence of their low physical appetites, turn from the chase, from war, and similar rough occupations, to the framing of laws, to the formation of society, to any intellectual exercise, it appears natural that other propensities should be awakened in them, and of these the sensual always form a part. It is, consequently, interesting to

study the progress of manners from stage to stage of civilization, from the rudest tribe to the most refined community.

We shall occupy ourselves first with the Hebrew republic, and then with the monarchy which succeeded it. From Israel we proceed to Egypt, related to it in various ways. Thence our attention will be directed to Greece, which offered models to the statesmen and public economists of all time. The contrast between the Ionic and the Doric states will be presented. Then we shall proceed to Rome, which will lead us to the Anglo-Saxons, others being incidentally noticed by the way.

In all, as far as our limits and our materials will allow, a sketch of the condition of women, the national ideas of feminine virtue, the laws of marriage, and the extent of prostitution, will be given; and thus the reader will be prepared to enter on the wider field of modern society abroad. This will be divided into the barbarous and the civilized; and of the barbarous, the hunters, fishers, shepherds, and tillers of the soil, may be separately noticed.

The account of every ancient people will not be equally complete, because the sources of information are not so. Thus of Egypt, its marriage-customs are wholly unknown; of the Anglo-Saxons, although the learning and industry of Sharon Turner have been employed upon them, our knowledge is extremely imperfect. Even Rome and Greece, though they present us with the general features of their social systems, disappoint us when we search into details. Nevertheless, the reader may be enabled, as we have before said, to form a just idea of the condition of women in antiquity; for the researches of modern scholars have succeeded, at least, in laying bare the principal roots of the ancient system, upon which all the institutions of existing society are, in one form or another, established.

OF PROSTITUTION AMONG THE JEWS AND OTHER ANCIENT NATIONS.

A SLIGHT and rapid view of the subject in connection with the Jews, and more obscure nations of antiquity, is all that can here be attempted. With reference to the republic of the Hebrew race, though the ingenuity of modern writers has built up very pleasing theories, described as the manners and customs of the Jews, we can look nowhere for information except to the Bible, and, in a later age, to Josephus.

The position of woman among the Jews was by no means exalted. She was seldom

consulted by her friends, when an union with her was desired by a wealthy suitor. Indeed, in the patriarchal times she was regarded more as her husband's property than as his companion. Such must invariably be the case where polygamy and concubinage are institutions of society. At a still earlier period the customs of society were even more at variance with our ideas. Of course the sons of Adam must have married their sisters, and the practice continued after the necessity for it had ceased. Abraham formed such an union without exciting surprise. The patriarchs permitted men to wed two sisters at once, but the law of Moses brought a reform of marriage customs among the Jews*. They discontinued the intercourse between blood-relatives long before it was abandoned by the surrounding nations. Marriages with sisters not by the same mother were forbidden in the Mosaic code. Previously, however, none, were unlawful except those of a man with his mother, or mother-in-law, or full sister. In the new dispensation the widow of a deceased brother was placed within the prohibited degree of consanguinity.

The laws against adultery were severe; death was ordained for both the guilty persons, and the punishment appears always to have been by stoning. Many victims, doubtless, perished under this cruel code; but the example of Jesus Christ gave a new lesson to mankind. The woman was brought before him, and the Jews claimed her condemnation. They asked him "should she be stoned." Had he said no, they might have charged him with favouring adultery, and denying the Mosaic law; had he said yes, the Romans might have impeached him, for they had assumed the distribution of justice, and abolished the punishment of death for adultery. But he evaded their malice, and gave the law of mercy. "Let him that is without sin among you cast the first stone." They all went out, and when he was alone with her he said, "Hath no man condemned thee?" She answered, "No man, Lord." And he again said, "*Neither do I condemn thee—go, and sin no more.*"

That sentence should ever be in remembrance when we frame our moral code.

* The marriage institution is mentioned early in Genesis vi. 1, 2, "And it came to pass, when men began to multiply on the face of the earth, and daughters were born unto them,

"That the sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair; and they took them wives of all which they chose."

Adultery, however, was a crime only to be committed with a married woman, or one who was betrothed. The man's marriage placed him under no obligation to abstain from intercourse with other than his wife. Wives to the number of four were allowed, while concubinage was unlimited. The first wife, however, was superior to the others. Jealousy, therefore, among the Jewish women could not have been a powerful feeling. Indeed we find strong proofs to the contrary. When Sarah found herself barren, she gave Hagar, her Egyptian maid, to Abraham, as a concubine or inferior wife. Other women, frequently, on discovering themselves to be sterile, begged their husbands to procure another companion of the bed, that they might not die childless. Similar instances are common in the social history of the East.

Marriage with an idolater was forbidden; but a man might marry a proselyte captive. When he saw a beautiful woman among his prisoners of war, he was to take her home, shave her head, pare her nails, change her raiment into that of a free person, and as he had humbled her, was forbidden to make merchandise of her again. The possession, nevertheless, of two wives by a private individual was a rare thing. Popular feeling was generally averse to it. The personages who most commonly practised it were the great men and kings, who were most expressly prohibited. In the Book of Deuteronomy, when the degraded Israelites had clamoured for a king, the law was given, "Neither shall he multiply wives to himself, so that his heart turn not away." No command was more frequently broken in the palaces of Israel. David had an immense harem; it seemed to be reckoned among the regalia. Solomon, who married Pharaoh's daughter, had seven hundred wives — princesses — and three hundred concubines; but we find that he "did evil in the sight of the Lord," and that "his heart was turned away."

Respecting the children born to these parents there was a change in the law. In *Genesis* a man was allowed to transfer the inheritance to a favourite child; but, probably from the many flagitious actions committed, it was in Deuteronomy ordained, that if a man had two wives, of whom he hated one and loved the other—each bearing a child, the first-born, whether of the loved or the hated woman, should enjoy the right of inheritance.

From all the passages in Scripture referring to this subject, it appears that women among the Jews held but an in-

different position, being made the subject of barter, and that marriage was not a sacred but a civil institution,—a legal bond, which might be broken by a legal act. Matches were usually made by the woman's kindred, she herself being a secondary actor in the transaction.

Throughout the Bible, notwithstanding, we find women held by the inspired writers in great respect, their treatment by the rebellious Jews, as they sank through various degrees of corruption, being continually set forth among the abominations practised by that flagitious people.

In the Scriptures we discover innumerable references to women, and to prostitutes in particular; but, collecting and comparing them all, we find for our present purpose materials by no means abundant: there is no exact information. Prostitutes, we know, existed, and we are told in what estimation they were held; that they stood at the corners of streets, that they practised many seductive arts, and sold themselves at a very cheap rate: but how many they were, how they lived, what was the nature of their places of resort, we are left uninformed, or guided only by obscure allusions. Nevertheless, sufficient is known upon which to base a view of the condition of women, and the extent of morality among the most ancient nation recognised in history.

In the book of Genesis, whence we obtain our first glimpses of the social history of mankind, we find interesting, though imperfect, sketches of a curious state of society. We meet, even so early as this, with a woman wearing a veil, not taking her meals in company with men, living in separate apartments, and presenting a model of the system still prevalent in the East. Simplicity and luxury in strange combination characterized the manners of that remote age. Their morals appear to have been at all times gross; and one of the principal tasks of legislation was to restrain the licentiousness to which the people were so prone to abandon themselves. Many barbarous races present at this day social institutions similar to those of the Jews, whence many writers have traced them to that stock. It is more probable, however, that similar manners grow out of a similar condition.

Several writers, we know, contend for the purity of manners among the Jews, and point to the rigid laws which ruled them. The social history of mankind, however, if it proves anything, proves this, that it is not by any means the nation with the severest code which is the most

virtuous. Examples of the contrary might be multiplied. No state, savage or civilized, could ever have more rigorous laws than Achin and Japan, and nowhere have the people been more flagitious. While the Draconic code was in force, morals in Greece went to rot. Consequently, if we are to consider the Jews to have been a moral people, it must certainly not be on the ground of their severe laws. Arguing from that, a contrary inference should be drawn. The direct evidence, however, tends the other way. Chastity appears to have been by no means a favourite virtue. Not to allude to the unnatural abominations mentioned in the Bible, it is certain that there existed a considerable class of public women, who prostituted themselves to any one for a certain reward.

The story of Tamar is a curious illustration of this subject. To impose on Judah, and bear a child by him, and in spite of him, she assumes the habit and appearance of a regular prostitute. She then goes out, and sitting down by the highway covers her face. Judah thought her to be a harlot, "because she covered her face," which, as the commentators tell us, it was the custom for such women to do, as among the same class of females in Persia, in mimicry of a shame they did not feel. Judah speaks to her, and says, "Go to, I pray thee, let me come in unto thee." She answers, "What wilt thou give me, that thou mayest come in unto me?" He promises to give her a kid from his flock, but she demands a pledge; this he gave, and went with her.

The circumstance is related in a manner which seems to show that the practice was common with men, nor does any particular disgrace appear to attach to it. When, however, Judah learns that his daughter-in-law Tamar is "with child by whoredom," he condemns her to the punishment of death by burning, on the secret being at length revealed to him*. We have here a

* The passage here alluded to is as follows:—

"Then said Judah to Tamar his daughter in law, Remain a widow at thy father's house, till Shelah my son be grown: for he said, Lest peradventure he die also, as his brethren did. And Tamar went and dwelt in her father's house.

"And in process of time the daughter of Shuah Judah's wife died; and Judah was comforted, and went up unto his sheepshearers to Timnath, he and his friend Hirah the Adullamite.

"And it was told Tamar, saying, Behold thy father in law goeth up to Timnath to shear his sheep.

"And she put her widow's garments off from

singular illustration of manners among the primitive tribes of that great family of mankind. The corruption of manners reached, it is probable, a high degree before the laws were given.

Where concubinage was practised, feminine virtue could not be held as a precious possession. The intercourse accordingly of a married man with an unmarried woman was esteemed simply as a proof of deficient chastity. At the same time, the encouragement of prostitution, or "the feeding of whores," is denounced as the conduct of foolish and profligate men, who unwisely waste their substance. The

her, and covered her with a vail, and wrapped herself, and sat in an open place, which is by the way to Timnath; for she saw that Shelah was grown, and she was not given unto him to wife.

"When Judah saw her, he thought her to be an harlot; because she had covered her face.

"And he turned unto her by the way, and said, Go to, I pray thee, let me come in unto thee; (for he knew not that she was his daughter in law.) And she said, What wilt thou give me, that thou mayest come in unto me?

"And he said, I will send thee a kid from the flock. And she said, Wilt thou give me a pledge, till thou send it?

"And he said, What pledge shall I give thee? And she said, Thy signet, and thy bracelets, and thy staff that is thine hand. And he gave it her and came in unto her, and she conceived by him.

"And she arose, and went away, and laid by her vail from her, and put on the garments of her widowhood.

"And Judah sent the kid by the hand of his friend the Adullamite, to receive his pledge from the woman's hand: but he found her not.

"Then he asked the men of that place, saying, Where is the harlot, that was openly by the way side? And they said, There was no harlot in this place.

"And he returned to Judah, and said, I cannot find her; and also the men of the place said, that there was no harlot in this place.

"And Judah said, Let her take it to her, lest we be shamed: behold, I sent this kid, and thou hast not found her.

"And it came to pass about three months after, that it was told Judah, saying, Tamar thy daughter in law hath played the harlot; and also, behold, she is with child by whoredom. And Judah said, Bring her forth, and let her be burnt.

"When she was brought forth, she sent to her father in law, saying, By the man, whose these are, am I with child: and she said, Discern, I pray thee, whose are these, the signet, and bracelets, and staff.

"And Judah acknowledged them, and said, She hath been more righteous than I; because that I gave her not to Shelah my son. And he knew her again no more."—Gen. xxxviii. 11–26.

class of prostitutes was held in very low esteem; they were, in general, foreigners and heathens, and are spoken of usually as "strange women." Delilah, who beguiled Sampson, was probably a Philistine, though it is not certain that she was not an Israelite. At any rate, there appear to have been many Jewish women, of the lowest order, who followed this degrading occupation. To render them as few as possible, a law was passed forbidding men, under severe penalties, from bringing up their daughters to prostitution for gain. Legislation, however, could not entirely restrain the vicious from such a course of life.

Apparently the prostitutes, among the Jews, sometimes obtained husbands. Priests, however, were forbidden on any account to marry a harlot, or indeed any woman with even a breath of imputation on her fame. For the daughter of a priest, who took to the calling of a prostitute, the punishment was death by burning. For any woman it was infamous, but in spite of what was laid down in the law, or by the public opinion of the Jews, cities never wanted prostitutes, and women walked the streets, or stood in groups at the corners, ready to entrap the young men who came forth in quest of pleasure. Among the exhortations of parents to their sons, and of patriarchs to youth, we always find an injunction to beware of strange women, which implies a considerable prevalence of the system. The readers of the Bible will at once remember the many passages of this kind contained in that volume*.

With respect to prostitution among the Jews, an illustration is afforded by the story of the two mothers who came before Solomon for judgment. They were *harlots*, though bearing children, and they said they dwelt in one house, and "there was no stranger with us in the house." Another is afforded by the account of the two men whom Joshua sent out as spies. They came into a harlot's house at Rabbah—a brothel, in fact, where, as at Rome in the Imperial age, the woman sat impudently, without a veil, at the door, and solicited the passers by. They wore peculiar clothing. In addition to the vile customs of the East, we find, "Thou shalt not bring into the temple the price of a whore." This

was to guard against the introduction of a practice not uncommon among some ancient and modern nations, of the priests enriching themselves and their temple by hiring out prostitutes*.

Another state, known to us from Scripture, is Babylon, surnamed the Whore, as well from its profligacy as its idolatry. The one, indeed, was accompanied by the other. Luxury and debauch were carried to the highest excess. The Temple of Venus,—a goddess known there as Mylitta,—was sacred to prostitution. The priests had, in immemorial time, invented a law that every woman should once in her life present herself at the temple, and prostitute her body to any stranger who might desire it. Consecrated by religion, this act appeared odious to few of the Babylonian citizens. The woman came, dressed brilliantly, and crowned with a garland of flowers; she sat down with her companions in a place where the strangers who filled the galleries might observe and make choice of their victims. Numbers were found always ready enough to enjoy the privilege procured for them by the priests. When a man had selected one of the women who pleased him most, he came down, and making her a present of money, which she was compelled to take, took her hand and said, "I implore in thy favour the goddess Mylitta!" He then led her to a retired spot and consummated the transaction. Having once entered the temple it was impossible for any ordinary woman to return home without having prostituted herself. Nevertheless, the priests allowed some ladies of rank and wealth to make a bargain for their chastity, which they probably desired to dispose of more agreeably to their own caprice. These few privileged persons went through the ceremonies without performing the usual act of prostitution. At the taking of Babylon by Cyrus, men were found ready to hire out their daughters and prostitute them for profit, while in the Alexandrian age men sent their wives to strangers for a sum of money†.

Throughout the countries of the East, upon the history of which at that early period any light has been thrown, we discover the prevalence of similar customs. The most celebrated appear the most licentious, but probably only because they have

* All this is based on the authority of the Bible. Elucidations also have been afforded by "The Book of the Religion &c., of the Jews," from the Hebrew, by Gamaliel ben Peldahzur; "The Laws and Polity of the Jews," Sigonius, "Repubblica Hebraeorum;" and the various commentators.

* Mary Magdalene, of Magdala, was not the sinner, the woman of the city, who washed the feet of Jesus. She appears to have been a reputable person, while the other had been a prostitute. What a lesson is read to us by Christ's behaviour to her!

† See Goguet, "Origine des Loix," with Herodotus, Strabo, and Quintus Curtius.

been the most strictly investigated. The wealthy and luxurious capitals, in which the spoils of great conquests were piled up, never failed to supply a sufficient number of abandoned women, supported by the looser sort of men, in various degrees of position, from penury to splendour. Though circumstances of time and place, of religion and civilization, imparted peculiar characteristics to the prostitute class of each age and country, the general features of the system were invariably the same, and the prostitutes of Babylon resembled very much the prostitutes of New Orleans and London. We turn next to ancient Egypt, a country of whose laws and manners we have had interesting, if not complete, accounts bequeathed us.

OF PROSTITUTION IN ANCIENT EGYPT.

TURNING to ancient Egypt, we find, in the records of that singular people, little directly bearing on the question before us. Herodotus, and Diodorus the Sicilian, are almost the sole lights which guide us in our researches among them. Recently, the labours of a learned antiquarian have tended to increase our acquaintance with the people of old Egypt, by translating into language the volumes of information engraved or painted on the walls of tombs, temples, palaces, and monuments, so numerous in the cities on the banks of the Nile. We have thus had broad glimpses of the ancient history, the geography, population, government, the arts, the industry, and the manners of that country at that period; but the extent of the prostitute system has not been touched upon. Nevertheless, as one of the most ancient civilizations known to history, Egyptian society deserves some attention, and it is worth while to glance at the general condition of its women, especially as a few facts throw light on the especial point of our inquiry.

The position of a woman in ancient Egypt was in some respects remarkable. Entire mistress of the household, she exercised considerable influence over her husband, and was not subjected to any intolerable tyranny. In all countries, however, where concubinage is allowed, the condition of the sex must be in a degree degraded. Herodotus tells us that the Egyptians married only one wife, Diodorus that they married as many as they pleased, the restriction applying only to the sacerdotal order. The contradiction may be reconciled by supposing that the former writer described the general practice, and the latter the permission granted by the law; or, which is more probable, that he

confounded concubinage with polygamy. From frequent allusions to this system we know it was tolerated. Wise laws, however, held a check upon the practice. Every child, the fruit of whatever union, was to be reared by its parents, infanticide being severely punished. Illegitimacy was a term not recognised. The son of the free, and the son of the bondwoman, had an equal right to inheritance, the father alone being referred to, since the mother was viewed as little more than a nurse to her own offspring. Women in Egypt bore numerous children, which rendered many concubines a burden too heavy for any but the wealthy to bear; nevertheless, some did indulge themselves in this manner, procuring young girls from the slave-merchants who came from abroad, or captives taken in the field.

In a country where the marriage of brother and sister was allowed, we might expect to find curious laws relating to the subject before us. But they were not curious, in any particular degree. Adultery was punished in the woman by the amputation of her nose, in the man by a thousand blows with a stick. The wealthier men were extremely jealous, forcing their wives to go barefooted, that they might not wander in the streets. Eunuchs, also, were maintained by some. Among classes of a lower grade, the women enjoyed peculiar freedom, being allowed to take part in certain public festivals, on which occasions they wore a transparent veil. Among all sorts and conditions of the sex, the drinking of wine was permitted, as it was by the Greeks, though not by the Romans; and ladies are occasionally represented on the monuments, exhibiting all the evidences of excess.

These observations apply to the respectable female society of ancient Egypt. There existed, however, another class, nowhere indeed indicated under the term harlot, or prostitute, but evidently such from the accounts we have received. If the descriptions transmitted to us of the ordinary female society be correct, the women to whom we allude could have been no other than public prostitutes. Such were, in all probability, those who enlivened the festival of Bubastis, and danced at the private entertainments. What ideas of decency prevailed among them, may be imagined from the brief though curious account afforded by Herodotus. When the time of the festival arrived, men and women embarked promiscuously, and in great numbers, on board the vessels which conveyed them up or down the river. During the

voyage, they played on various instruments, and whenever they arrived at a city moored the boats. Then some of the women, who could have been no other than the *Almés* of those days*, played furiously all kinds of music, flung off their garments, challenged the women of the town with gross insulting language, and outraged decency by their gestures and postures. An immense concourse of people assembled on the occasion, and a large proportion of them belonged to the female sex. "Some of them" only, according to our author, took part in the exhibitions of profligacy we have noticed.

The public dancers and musicians of the female sex were also, in all probability, members of the sisterhood we allude to. They were, it is well known, held in extremely low estimation: they were clothed, like the prostitutes of ancient Greece, in a single light garment; indeed, from the monuments, it is questionable whether they did not, like those in the Roman saturnalia of Flora, dance entirely naked at some of the more dissolute private festivals of the wealthy. At any rate, their forms are represented so completely undraped, that any garment they wore must have been a light veil which clung to the skin, and was transparent. But from what we are told of the festival of Bubastis, it is by no means improbable that they were actually nude.

In that remote period, fancifully called the age of Sesostrius, chastity does not appear to have been the capital virtue of society among the Egyptians. At least, we must draw this inference if we are to attach any significance to traditions or fables, which generally reflect some phase of truth. Sesostrius, it is said, having offended the gods, was struck blind, and ordered to find a woman who had been strictly faithful to her husband. He was very long in performing the task, being furnished with an unerring rule of judgment. Of course the account is an idle fable, yet it is not altogether unworthy of notice, for it indicates an opinion as to the chastity of that period†.

OF PROSTITUTION IN ANCIENT GREECE.

In the heroic ages of Greece, we find women—on the authority, indeed, of poets, the sole historians of those times—enjoying a considerable share of liberty, held in much

respect, accustomed to self-reliance, and allowed freely to mingle with others of their own sex and with men. A modest simplicity of manners is ascribed to them, which is wholly foreign to modern ideas of refinement. What education they received is not well known, though they appear to have been trained to practise many of the useful as well as the elegant arts of life; but with respect to the morality prevalent among them little exact information can be gained. As in the Bible, however, frequent allusion is made to harlots and strange women, waiting at the corners of the streets, so in the poets of antiquity, passages occur which point to the existence of a class, dedicating itself to serve, for gain, the passions of men who could not afford marriage, or would not be bound by its restrictions. The science of statistics, however, does not seem to have been cultivated in those days. We are not told with certainty of the population of cities, or even whole countries, and men were not then found to calculate how many in a hundred were immoral, or to compare the prostitute with the honourable classes of women.

With the commencement of the strictly historical age, though statistics are still wanting, there have been collected materials from which we may gather fair ideas of the *status* of women, and the position and extent of the prostitute class among them. Beginning with Sparta, a very peculiar system displays itself. Among the citizens of that celebrated Doric state, women were regarded as little more than agencies for the production of other citizens. The handsome bull-stranglers of Lacedæmon held exceedingly lax notions of morality, and would have considered a delicately chaste woman as one characterized by a singular natural weakness. Taught to consider themselves more in their capacity of citizens than of women, their duty to their husbands, or to their own virtue, occupied always the second place. Their education inculcated the practice of immorality. All ideas of modesty were by a deliberate public training obliterated from their minds. Scourged with the whip when young, taught to wrestle, box, and race naked before assemblages of men, their wantonness and licentiousness passed every bound. Marriage, indeed, was an institution of the state; but no man could call his wife his own. On occasions when the male population was away in the field, the women complained that there was no chance of children being born, and young men were sent back from the camp, to become the husbands of the

* Dr. Beloe also takes this view.

† Diodorus Siculus, i. 59. See also the *Euterpe* of Herodotus, and Sir G. Wilkinson's *Ancient Egypt*.

whole female population, married and single.

In times of peace, also, the public laws gave every woman a chance of becoming what we should in these days term a public prostitute. A man without a wife might insist on borrowing for a certain time the wife of another. Should her husband resist, the law was called in to enforce the demand. It is asserted, indeed, by some, that adultery was unknown in Sparta. There was no such offence, in truth, recognised in the code. It was common, legal, and occurred every day. At the same time, however, it is to be remembered, that the severe laws of Sparta, recognising no concessions to the weaker passions of men, allowed these things only for state purposes, that citizens might be brought forth. There appears to have been no class of prostitutes gaining a livelihood by selling their persons to the pleasures of men: the rigorous code of the state forbade such sensual indulgences. Women were not allowed, apparently, to walk the streets. The young were strictly watched by the elders, the elders jealously observed by the young; and any proneness to a practice subversive of that vigorous health in the population, considered essential to preserve the manhood of Sparta, would have been denounced as an attempt to introduce luxury and effeminacy—the vices, in their eyes, of slaves. To assert that in the whole state no virtuous women, and no public prostitutes, in our sense of the word, could be found, would be rash; but it is certain that no authority which has come down to us represents chastity as a Spartan virtue, or prostitution for money, or from predilection, one of their social institutions.

In Athens a wholly different picture is presented. There, and generally among the Ionians, the duty of the wife was to preserve a chastity as delicate and pure as any which is required in our strictest social circle. There, at the same time, the courtesan class existed, and men of all descriptions and all ages encouraged prostitution, to which a considerable class of women devoted themselves. This is a complete contrast with Sparta.

The young girls of Attica were early trained to all the offices of religion; they acquired considerable knowledge; their intellectual qualities were to some degree developed: they were educated to become housekeepers, wives, and mothers, such as we describe under those heads. Exercising considerable influence over their male relatives, they possessed consequently considerable weight in the community, and

altogether held a higher position than the women of Sparta. They led secluded lives, yet they enjoyed many opportunities of intercourse with the other sex; and though, in their theatres, and in their temples, indecency of the grossest description was frequently displayed to their sight, they seem otherwise to have been somewhat refined in this respect. In Sparta, the virgins never hesitated to expose themselves naked before any circle of spectators: in Athens they observed at least the public forms of decorum, and, with the exception of the *Hetairæ* or prostitute class, were sufficiently modest in their conversation and in their behaviour.

Accustomed to be present at public spectacles, to converse with men, to share in the performance of ceremonies at religious or civic festivals, the women of Athens occupied a position somewhat approaching that which we believe is proper to their sex. Marriages, as among us, were contracted, some from sentiment, others from interest. We are led to form a high idea of the general morality prevailing in the Attic states of Greece at an early period, from the exalted view of love, of chastity, of matronly duties, urged in the writers of the time. This seems a fair measure to employ, since, in a later age, when morals were more corrupt, and the regular class of prostitutes might be confounded with the general society, the style and sentiment of poets and others formed an exact reflex of the prevailing state of morality.

Traditions point to a period in the social history of Greece, when men and women dispensed altogether with the ceremony of marriage, living not only out of wedlock, but promiscuously, without an idea of any permanent compact between two individuals of opposite sexes. If such a state of things ever existed, it must have been before any regular society was formed, and it is therefore vain to dwell upon it. Polygamy, we know, long continued in practice among the Greeks, though it was a privilege and a propensity chiefly followed by the powerful and rich. In Athens marriage was held sacred. The character of a bachelor was disreputable. So, indeed, was it in Sparta, where young men remaining single after a certain period might be punished for the neglect of a duty exacted from them by the severe laws of the state. In both states, but in different degrees, the prohibition of marriage within certain limits of consanguinity extended; but when once the union took place, it was, in Athens, a crime of great enormity to defile its sanctity. The influence of the

wife was, in the household, powerful; and commanding, as she did, the respect of men, the advantages of her position were so great, that to risk their loss by a transgression of the moral law, was not a common occurrence. We may therefore assign to the women of Athens a high average of morality, and consider them as having been held in remarkable estimation.

An important point in the manners of every people is the institution of marriage. From an inquiry into its estimation, whether it be held a religious rite, or a civil contract, or both, with various other circumstances in connection with these, we are aided in forming a just idea of the prevalent civilization. In the Doric states of Greece, it was esteemed as little more than a prudent ceremony, binding man and woman together for purposes of state. As among the savages of Australasia, it was the custom for a man to bear a woman forcibly from among her companions, when he took her to the bridesmaid's house, and, her hair being cut short and her clothes changed, she was delivered to him as wife. His intercourse with her however, was, for some time clandestine, and he shunned being seen in her society. This was the case with the wealthier maidens. The portionless girls were, from time to time, shut up in a dark edifice, and the youths, being introduced, accepted each the woman he happened to seize upon. A penalty was imposed on any one refusing to abide by the decision of chance.

Occasionally public ceremonies were enacted at the marriages of the rich; but from all testimony it appears certain that the union of man with woman at Sparta was entirely of a civil, and by no means of a sacred character. Private interest, sentiment, and happiness were indeed, in this, as in all other matters, subordinate to the public exigencies. When a woman had no children by her own husband, she was not only allowed, but required by the law to cohabit with another man. Anaxandrides, to procure an heir, had, contrary to all custom, two wives. The state excused no licentiousness for its own sake, but any amount for a public object*.

In Attic Greece, the ceremony of marriage was viewed in a more poetical light, and divinity was supposed to preside over it. We have already alluded to the notion of the promiscuous intercourse among them at a remote period; but, passing from this fable, we find traces of polygamy long discernible.

* Manners and Customs of Ancient Greece, by J. A. St. John.

Heracles maintained a regular seraglio. Egeus, Pallas, Priam, Agamemnon, and nearly all the chiefs, possessed harems, but these were irregularities, contrary to law and custom, and only in fashion among royal personages. The story of the two wives of Socrates seems a pure invention.

In the Athenian Republic, marriage, being held in reverence, was protected by the law. In the later and better known ages, consanguinity within certain limits was a bar to such union. Men, however, might marry half-sisters by the fathers' side, though few availed themselves of the permission. Betrothed long before marriage by their parents, the young man and woman were nevertheless allowed on most occasions to consult their own inclinations. Numerous religious rites preceded the actual ceremony, and heavenly favour was invoked upon it. The marriage was performed at the altar in the temple, where sacrifice was made, and a mutual oath of fidelity strengthened by every sacred pledge. Adultery was held a debasing crime, and divorce discreditable to man and wife*.

In connection with the subject of marriage is that of infanticide. It prevailed among the Greeks, under the sanction of philosophy. Among the Thebans and the Tyrrhenians it was, however, unknown. Why? Because they were more humane, or moral? Not by any means. They were among the most profligate societies of antiquity. It is generally shame which induces to child-murder women bearing offspring from illicit intercourse with men. Where no disgrace attaches to illegitimate offspring, the principal incentive to destroy them is taken away; and in Tyre, where female slaves served naked at the table of the rich, and even ladies joined the orgies in that condition, modesty was by no means a common grace of their sex.

The Thebans, a very gross people, made infanticide a capital crime; but allowed the poor to impose on the state, under certain circumstances, the burden of their children. In Thrace, the infant, placed in an earthen pot, was left to be devoured by wild beasts, or to perish of cold and hunger†.

In Sparta, clandestine infanticide was a crime; but the state often performed what it declared a duty, by condemning weakly and delicate infants to be flung into a pit. In Athens, on the contrary, it was left for desperate women, and cold-blooded men,

* Manners and Customs of Ancient Greece, by J. A. St. John.

† Mackinnon's History of Civilization.

privately to accomplish the act, exposing their children in public places to perish, or to claim charity from some wayfarer. Frequently the rich had recourse to this, for concealing an intrigue, and left a costly dowry of gold and jewels in the earthen jar where they deposited the victim. The temple steps sometimes received the foundling; but occasionally they were left to die in desert places.

In the flourishing period of the Republic, however, poverty was so rare, indeed so unknown, that it seldom exacted these sacrifices from the humbler people. Infanticide was then left to the wholly unnatural who refused the burden, or the guilty who dreaded the shame, of a child.

But in the female society of that state, there was, as we have said, a sisterhood which exercised no inconsiderable influence on public manners. These were the *Hetairæ*, or prostitutes, who occupied much the same position which the same class does in most civilized communities of modern times. The youthful, beautiful, elegant, polished, and graceful, commanded, while their attractions lasted, the favours and the deference of wealthy and profligate young men, and, when their persons had faded, sank by degrees, until they dragged themselves in misery through the streets, glad to procure a meal by indiscriminate prostitution, with all who accepted their company. When children were born to them, infanticide usually—especially in the case of girls—relieved them of the burden.

The position the prostitute class of Athens occupied in relation to the other women in the community was peculiar. They entered the temples during the period of one particular festival—and in modern countries the church is never closed against them; but they were not, as among us, allowed to occupy the same place at the theatre with the Athenian female citizen. Yet this was not altogether to protect the virtue of the woman; it was to satisfy the pride of the citizen, since every stranger suffered an equal exclusion from these "reserved seats." Notwithstanding this, however, the courtezans occasionally visited the ladies in their own houses, to instruct them in those accomplishments in which, from the peculiar tenor of their lives, they were most practised, while it appears that both classes mingled at the public baths.

The *Hetairæ*, or prostitute class, exercised undoubtedly an evil influence on the society of Athens. They indulged the sensual tastes and the vanity of the young, encouraged among them a dissolute man-

ner of life, and, while the power of their attractions lasted, led them into expensive luxury, which could not fail of an injurious effect on the community. The career of the prostitute was, as it is in all countries, short, and miserable at its close. While their beauty remained unfaded they were puffed up with vanity, carried along by perpetual excitement, flattered by the compliments of young men, and by the conversation of even the greatest philosophers, and maintained in opulence by the gifts of their admirers. Premature age, however, always, except in a few celebrated cases, assailed them. They became old, ugly, wrinkled, deformed, and full of disease, and might be seen crawling through the market places, haggling for morsels of provision, amid the jeers and insults of the populace.

In some instances, indeed, there occurred in Athens what occasionally happens in all countries. Men took as wives the prostitutes with whom they had associated. Even the wise Plato became enamoured of *Archæanassa*, an *Hetaira* of *Ctesiphon*. For many of these women were no less renowned for the brilliancy of their intellectual qualities than for their personal charms. Of *Phryne*, whose bosom was bared before the judges by her advocate, and who sat as a model to the greatest of ancient sculptors, all the world has heard. Her statue, of pure gold, was placed on a pillar of white marble at *Delphi*. *Aspasia* exercised at Athens influence equal to that of a queen, attracting round her all the characters of the day, as *Madame Roland* was wont to do in *Paris*. *Socrates* confessed to have learned from her much in the art of rhetoric. Yet these women, harsh as the judgment may appear, were common whores, though outwardly refined, and mentally cultivated. Instances, indeed, of high public virtue displayed by members of that sisterhood, distinguished among the *Hetairæ* of ancient Greece, are on record, and sufficient accounts of them have been transmitted to us to show that they were among the male society a recognised and respected class, while by the women they were neither abhorred nor considered as a pollution to the community. Still, prostitutes they were, to all intents and purposes.

The mean, the poor, and faded, were chiefly despised for their ugliness and indigence, not for their incontinence. It was in the Homeric ages, as we learn from the *Odyssey*, held disgraceful for "a noble maiden" to lose her chastity. But in Athens, at a later time, chastity in an unmarried woman was not held a virtue,

the loss of which degraded her utterly below the consideration of all other classes, or debarred her for ever from any intercourse with the honourable of her own sex. The *Hetaira* was not, it is true, admitted to mingle freely in the society of young women; but she was not shut out from all communication with them; while among men, if her natural attractions or accomplishments were great, she exercised peculiar influence. Consequently, it appears that in Athens the superior public prostitute had a *status* higher than that of any woman of similar character in our own day. If we look for a comparison to illustrate our meaning, we may find it in many of the ladies who at various periods have frequented our court—known but not acknowledged prostitutes*.

In the public judgments of Athens we find, it is true, a penalty or fine imposed on "whoredom,"† from which, however, the people escaped by a variation of terms, calling a whore a mistress, as Plutarch tells us. Solon, however, recognised prostitution as a necessary, or at least an inevitable evil, for he first built a temple to Aphrodite Pandemos, which, truly rendered, means Venus the Prostitute; and his view was justified by the declaration that the existence of a prostitute class was necessary, in order, as Cato also thought, that the wives and daughters of citizens might be safe from the passion which young men would, in one way or the other, satiate upon the other sex. Though procurers, therefore, were punishable by law, and the *Hetairæ* were obliged to wear coloured or flowered garments, it was enacted in the civil code of Athens, that "persons keeping company with common strumpets shall not be deemed adulterers, for such shall be common for the satiating of lust."

Brothels, consequently, existed in moderate numbers at Athens, and the young men were not discouraged from attending them occasionally. There were also particular places in the city where the prostitutes congregated, and a Temple of Venus, which was their peculiar resort. We find in the poets passages, indeed, advocating the support of whores‡.

Still, respected and beloved as the *Hetairæ* were among their friends and lovers, recognised by the law, and protected by it,

general public respect was denied them, for the Athenians estimated above their brilliant charms the modest virtues of inferior women*.

One of the most remarkable features in the public economy of Athens was the tax upon prostitutes, introduced also in Rome by Caligula. It was annually farmed out by the Senate to individuals who knew accurately the names of all who followed this calling. It is to be regretted that their statistics have not been furnished to us. Every woman, it appears, had a fixed price, which she might charge to the men to whom she prostituted her person, and the amount of the tax varied according to their profits. Apparently, they were principally "strangers" who filled the ranks of the *Hetairæ*, for we find that if persons enjoying the rank and privilege of citizens took to the occupation, a tax was imposed on them as on the ordinary prostitutes, and they were punished by exclusion from the public sacrifices, and from the honourable offices of state. The same writer informs us, on the authority of Demosthenes, that a citizen who cohabited with an alien paid a penalty, in case he was convicted, of a thousand drachmas, but the penalty could not often have been enforced, as the laws of Solon recognised prostitution; it was a feature in the manners of the city, and brothels were fearlessly kept, and entered without shame. Numerous evidences of this have been supplied us†. To preserve a respect for chastity, however, and to inculcate a horror for the prostitute's occupation, the same code allowed men to sell their sisters or daughters when convicted of an act of fornication, which, in Athens, as elsewhere, frequently was the first step in the regular career of these women‡.

The dishonour thus accruing to the general body of prostitutes, though a small class of them enjoyed many superior advantages from their wealth, and the polish of their manners, served at Athens, in some degree, to preserve public morality. The system never seems to have reached the height which it has gained in many of our modern cities, where married women often follow the occupation, and live upon its gains§.

In Corinth, however, prostitutes abounded, and the Temple of Venus in that city was sometimes thronged by a thousand of them. They were usually

* This view is chiefly drawn from information collected in *Manners and Customs of Ancient Greece*, by J. A. St. John.

† *Potter's Antiquities of Greece*.

‡ *Ibid.*

* *Hase On the Ancient Greeks*.

† *Boeck's Public Economy of Athens*.

‡ *Potter's Antiquities of Greece*.

§ *Hase On the Ancient Greeks*.

LONDON LABOUR AND THE LONDON POOR.

A TABLE SHOWING THE NUMBER OF ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS IN ENGLAND AND WALES IN THE UNDERMENTIONED YEARS.
 * * The average is calculated for as long a series of years as the returns of the Registrar General will permit.

COUNTIES.	Total Number of Births for 4 Years, from 1845-48.	Average per Year.	Number of Illegitimate Births.				Total for 4 Years.	Average per Year.	Proportion to all Births, 1 in every	Number of illegitimate in every 1000 Births.	Per Cent. above and below the Average. +denotes above * below
			1845.	1846.	1847.	1848.					
Bedford .	17,384	4,346	355	349	302	338	1,344	336	12.9	77	+14.9
Berks .	23,195	5,799	463	472	438	470	1,843	461	12.5	79	+17.9
Bucks .	17,984	4,496	328	329	296	306	1,259	315	14.2	70	+4.4
Cambridge	25,546	6,386	441	407	442	404	1,694	423	15.0	66	*1.5
Chester .	51,396	12,599	1188	1190	1064	1072	4,514	1128	11.3	89	+32.8
Cornwall	45,017	11,254	576	537	515	508	2,136	534	21.0	47	*29.8
Cumberland	23,541	5,885	647	641	629	638	2,555	639	9.2	108	+61.2
Derby .	32,295	8,074	672	670	674	610	2,626	656	12.2	81	+20.9
Devon .	64,802	16,200	789	889	758	837	3,273	818	19.7	50	*25.3
Dorset .	20,529	5,132	364	331	309	366	1,370	342	14.9	66	*1.5
Durham .	54,916	13,729	804	821	812	859	3,296	824	16.3	60	*10.4
Essex .	41,356	10,339	588	673	590	634	2,485	621	16.6	60	*10.4
Gloucester	49,444	12,361	811	855	720	767	3,153	788	15.6	64	*4.5
Hereford	10,984	2,746	273	305	254	263	1,095	274	10.0	100	+49.2
Hertford	21,590	5,397	402	414	368	367	1,551	388	13.9	72	+7.4
Hunts .	8,179	2,045	116	100	80	98	394	98	20.7	48	*28.3
Kent .	73,836	18,459	1015	1008	976	995	3,994	998	14.8	54	*19.4
Lancaster	293,023	73,256	5929	5897	5477	5384	22,687	5672	12.9	77	+14.9
Leicester	29,512	7,378	640	624	531	536	2,331	583	12.6	79	+17.9
Lincoln .	49,546	12,386	843	845	773	821	3,282	820	15.0	66	*1.5
Middlesex	217,523	54,381	2048	2254	2201	2298	8,801	2200	24.7	40	*40.3
Monmouth	21,995	5,499	247	266	253	309	1,075	269	20.4	49	*26.8
Norfolk .	52,387	13,097	1424	1440	1295	1336	5,495	1374	9.5	105	+56.7
Northampton	27,674	6,918	440	420	395	411	1,666	416	16.6	60	*10.4
Northumberland	37,523	9,381	668	678	715	679	2,740	685	13.6	73	+8.9
Nottingham	35,244	8,811	895	827	775	736	3,233	808	10.9	91	+35.8
Oxford .	20,886	5,221	368	468	386	361	1,583	396	13.1	76	+13.4
Rutland .	2,825	706	52	34	30	45	161	40	17.5	56	*16.4
Salop .	25,893	6,475	676	658	593	632	2,559	640	10.1	99	+47.7
Somerset	53,509	13,377	903	860	796	830	3,389	847	15.7	63	*6.0
Southampton	46,726	11,681	704	711	688	709	2,812	703	16.6	60	*10.4
Stafford .	77,972	19,493	1240	1283	1409	1433	5,365	1341	14.5	69	+3.0
Suffolk .	42,055	10,514	937	950	849	846	3,582	895	11.7	85	+26.8
Surrey .	81,968	20,492	855	911	930	915	3,611	903	22.6	44	*34.3

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Sussex	38,454	9,613	657	669	695	626	2,647	662	14.5	68	+1.5
Warwick	58,938	14,734	779	835	830	879	3,323	831	17.7	56	+16.4
Westmorland	7,078	1,793	179	147	149	149	624	156	11.3	87	+29.8
Wilts	29,008	7,252	521	549	485	469	2,024	506	14.3	69	+3.0
Worcester	40,561	10,140	768	885	512	553	2,718	679	14.9	66	+1.5
York	231,444	57,861	4266	4317	4030	4106	16,619	4155	13.9	71	+6.0
North Wales	43,268	10,817	872	854	830	832	3,388	847	12.7	78	+16.4
South Wales	72,188	18,047	1407	1256	1271	1300	5,234	1308	13.7	72	+7.4
Total for England and Wales	2,219,170	554,792	38,241	38,259	36,125	36,747	149,642	37,410	14.8	67	

THE EARLY MARRIAGES AND THE INCREASE OF THE POPULATION IN EACH COUNTY COMPARED.

LIST OF COUNTIES IN THE ORDER OF THEIR ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS, AS SHOWN BY THE NUMBER OF ILLEGITIMATES IN EVERY 1000 CHILDREN BORN.												
Counties above the Average.					Counties below the Average.							
Cumberland	108	Cambridge	66	Lancaster	22	50	139	Lincoln	12	39	153	
Norfolk	105	Dorset	66	Stafford	20	62	176	Sussex	12	38	160	
Hereford	100	Lincoln	66	Bedford	16	100	235	Counties in which the Increase of the Population and the Early Marriages among Females are below the Average and those among Males above it.				
Salop	99	Worcester	66	Chester	15	54	151	Warwick	13	46	131	
Nottingham	91	Gloucester	64	Counties in which the Increase of the Population and the number of Early Marriages are both below the Average.					County in which the Increase of the Population and Early Marriages among Females are below the Average, and those among Males above it.			
Cheshire	89	Somerset	63	Northumberland	13	39	124	Durham	26	35	142	
Westmorland	87	Southampton	60	Southampton	13	25	118	Kent	14	46	140	
Suffolk	85	Northampton	60	Cumberland	10	33	105	Counties in which the Increase of the Population and the Early Marriages among Females are above the Average and those among Males below it.				
Derby	81	Essex	60	Gloucester	6	42	104	Durham	26	35	142	
Berks	79	Durham	60	Devon	6	22	82	Kent	14	46	140	
Leicester	79	Warwick	56	Rutland	5	36	126	County in which the Increase of the Population and Early Marriages among Females are below the Average, and those among Males above it.				
North Wales	78	Rutland	56	Cornwall	4	32	131	Warwick	13	46	131	
Lancaster	77	Kent	54	North Wales	4	27	77	Counties in which the Increase of the Population and the Early Marriages among Females are above the Average and those among Males below it.				
Bedford	77	Devon	50	Hereford	3	17	79	Durham	26	35	142	
Oxford	76	Monmouth	49	Westmorland	3	32	128	Kent	14	46	140	
Northumberland	73	Hunts	48	Salop	1	29	95	Counties in which the Increase of the Population and the Early Marriages among Females are below the Average and those among Males above it.				
Hertford	73	Cornwall	47	Counties in which the Increase of the Population and the number of Early Marriages is above the Average, and the number of Early Marriages is below it.					County in which the Increase of the Population and Early Marriages among Females are below the Average and those among Males above it.			
South Wales	72	Surrey	44	Lincoln	12	39	153	Warwick	13	46	131	
York	71	Middlesex	40	Sussex	12	38	160	Counties in which the Increase of the Population and Early Marriages among Females is below the Average and those among Males above it.				
Bucks	70											
Wilts	69											
Stafford	69											
Sussex	68											

LIST OF COUNTIES IN THE ORDER OF THEIR ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS, AS SHOWN BY THE NUMBER OF ILLEGITIMATES IN EVERY 1000 CHILDREN BORN.

Counties above the Average.		Counties below the Average.	
Cumberland	108	Cambridge	66
Norfolk	105	Dorset	66
Hereford	100	Lincoln	66
Salop	99	Worcester	66
Nottingham	91	Gloucester	64
Cheshire	89	Somerset	63
Westmorland	87	Southampton	60
Suffolk	85	Northampton	60
Derby	81	Essex	60
Berks	79	Durham	60
Leicester	79	Warwick	56
North Wales	78	Rutland	56
Lancaster	77	Kent	54
Bedford	77	Devon	50
Oxford	76	Monmouth	49
Northumberland	73	Hunts	48
Hertford	72	Surrey	47
South Wales	72	Cornwall	44
York	71	Hereford	44
Bucks	70	Westmorland	40
Stafford	69	Salop	40
Sussex	68		
Average for England and Wales	67		

MAP
SHOWING
THE NUMBER OF ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN
IN EVERY 1000 BIRTHS,

IN EACH COUNTY OF
ENGLAND AND WALES.



The Average for all England and Wales is 67 in every 1000.

LONDON LABOUR AND THE LONDON POOR.

TABLE SHOWING THE NUMBER OF EARLY MARRIAGES OF MALES AND FEMALES IN THE SEVERAL COUNTIES
FOR THE UNDERMENTIONED YEARS.

* * The returns of the Registrar do not admit of the average being calculated from a longer series of years.

COUNTIES.	Annual Average Number of Marriages from 1844-48.	Number of Early Marriages.								Total for 5 years.		Average per year.		Proportion to all Marriages, 1 in every		Number of early Marriages to every 1000.		Per Cent. above and below the Average. + denotes above " below	
		1844.		1845.		1846.		1847.		1848.		Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
		Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females								
Bedford . . .	960	102	237	103	216	108	238	115	221	96	218	524	1,130	105	226	9.1	4.2	109	235
Berks . . .	1,322	52	186	61	182	62	201	74	204	70	171	319	944	64	189	20.6	6.9	48	143
Bucks . . .	974	66	181	66	175	87	196	76	179	67	213	362	944	72	189	13.5	5.1	74	194
Cambridge . . .	1,428	115	324	89	308	112	349	96	311	115	328	527	1,620	105	324	13.6	4.4	73	227
Chester . . .	2,764	153	393	175	427	154	455	132	372	136	446	750	2,093	150	419	18.4	6.5	54	151
Cornwall . . .	2,510	86	312	84	348	80	334	86	313	68	341	404	1,648	81	330	30.9	7.6	32	131
Cumberland . . .	1,090	31	88	54	145	28	133	23	94	38	97	174	557	35	111	30.2	9.5	33	105
Derby . . .	1,954	86	276	76	243	104	289	82	270	109	275	507	1,353	91	271	21.4	7.2	46	138
Devon . . .	4,574	84	324	95	352	104	367	97	401	124	430	544	1,874	101	375	45.2	12.1	22	82
Dorset . . .	1,209	62	155	64	161	46	130	57	166	57	147	286	759	57	152	21.2	7.9	47	125
Durham . . .	3,137	82	353	110	468	118	463	124	462	115	489	549	2,235	110	447	28.5	7.0	35	142
Essex . . .	2,154	125	454	123	436	116	415	123	411	121	462	618	2,178	124	436	17.3	4.9	57	202
Gloucester . . .	3,568	133	350	162	378	180	414	114	340	163	372	752	1,854	150	371	23.7	9.6	42	104
Hereford . . .	648	15	47	10	61	11	60	14	47	7	42	57	257	11	51	58.9	12.7	17	79
Hertford . . .	1,009	86	218	77	229	83	227	68	193	68	192	382	1,059	76	212	13.2	4.7	75	210
Hunts . . .	455	77	370	41	91	29	110	42	94	37	102	226	767	45	153	10.1	2.9	99	336
Kent . . .	4,339	98	584	112	614	128	659	108	567	128	625	574	3,049	115	610	37.7	7.1	26	140
Lancaster . . .	18,785	831	2310	1040	2729	1005	2784	773	2330	1100	2864	4749	13,017	950	2603	19.7	7.2	50	139
Leicester . . .	1,827	160	330	168	359	150	321	125	277	124	347	727	1,634	145	327	12.6	5.5	79	179
Lincoln . . .	2,862	112	393	115	430	82	453	110	417	138	509	557	2,202	111	440	25.7	6.5	39	153
Middlesex . . .	16,859	249	1262	360	1477	329	1606	322	1428	286	1437	1546	7,210	309	1442	54.5	11.6	18	85
Monmouth . . .	1,395	28	119	38	149	43	147	44	157	44	165	197	737	39	147	35.7	9.4	28	105
Norfolk . . .	3,189	164	467	173	448	158	472	144	444	164	504	803	2,335	161	467	19.8	6.8	50	146
Northampton . . .	1,648	109	317	136	354	112	326	110	287	119	281	586	1,565	117	313	14.0	5.2	71	190
Northumberland . . .	2,161	68	219	79	283	98	310	97	255	77	278	419	1,345	84	269	24.5	8.0	39	124
Nottingham . . .	2,204	148	369	183	365	139	365	113	302	130	341	663	1,742	133	348	16.5	6.3	60	158
Oxford . . .	1,154	53	172	52	190	56	156	51	163	57	196	269	877	54	175	21.3	6.5	46	151
Rutland . . .	164	2	10	5	16	4	14	11	34	6	33	28	107	6	21	27.3	7.5	36	128
Salop . . .	1,596	36	144	32	118	62	165	52	151	55	177	237	755	47	151	33.9	10.5	29	95
Somerset . . .	3,159	144	375	159	328	166	385	116	319	159	371	744	1,778	149	356	21.2	8.8	47	112
Southampton . . .	3,085	77	370	81	414	100	370	67	304	70	367	395	1,825	79	365	39.0	8.4	25	118
Stafford . . .	4,807	215	634	278	818	285	835	391	1045	319	907	1488	4,239	298	848	16.1	5.6	62	176

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Surrey	5,550	84	485	90	523	108	532	86	536	70	462	438	2,538	88	508	63-0	10-9	16	91	*63	*25
Sussex	2,231	83	320	98	355	95	411	72	345	79	356	427	1,787	85	357	26-2	6-2	38	160	*12	*19
Warwick	3,650	130	383	158	437	175	482	176	502	212	597	851	2,401	170	480	21-4	7-6	46	131	*7	*3
Westmorland	436	10	44	11	40	22	80	17	64	8	50	68	278	14	56	31-1	7-7	32	128	*25	*5
Wilts	1,681	117	265	108	294	134	308	99	246	115	282	573	1,395	115	279	14-6	6-0	68	164	*58	*21
Worcester	2,796	151	421	201	583	254	604	93	272	89	240	788	2,120	158	424	17-6	6-5	56	151	*30	*12
York	14,399	828	2,586	934	2,868	841	2,774	747	2,649	794	2,619	4,144	13,496	829	2,699	17-3	5-3	57	187	*33	*39
North Wales	2,643	75	200	75	186	65	224	67	207	79	211	361	1,028	72	206	36-7	12-8	27	77	*37	*43
South Wales	4,337	113	280	118	377	141	417	129	345	150	372	651	1,791	130	358	33-3	12-1	30	82	*30	*39
Total for Eng-land & Wales	139,146	5515	17,410	6287	19,376	6313	20,001	5566	18,118	6091	19,336	29,772	94,241	5954	18,848	23-3	7-3	43	135		

LIST OF COUNTIES IN THE ORDER OF THEIR EARLY MARRIAGES, AS SHOWN BY THE NUMBER OF MARRIAGES, UNDER TWENTY-ONE YEARS OF AGE, IN EVERY 1000 MARRIAGES.

AMONGST MALES.		AMONGST FEMALES.	
Counties above the Average.	Counties below the Average.	Counties above the Average.	Counties below the Average.
Bedford .. 109	Gloucester .. 42	Huntingdon .. 336	Warwick .. 131
Hunts .. 99	Lincoln .. 39	Bedford .. 235	Cornwall .. 131
Leicester .. 79	Northumb. .. 39	Cambridge .. 227	Westmor. .. 128
Hertford .. 75	Sussex .. 38	Hertford .. 210	Rutland .. 128
Bucks .. 74	Rutland .. 36	Essex .. 204	Dorset .. 125
Cambridge .. 73	Durham .. 35	Bucks .. 194	Northumb. .. 124
Northamp. .. 71	Cumberland .. 33	Northamp. .. 190	Southamp. .. 118
Wilts .. 68	Cornwall .. 32	York .. 187	Somerset .. 112
Stafford .. 62	Westmor. .. 32	Leicester .. 179	Monmouth .. 105
Nottingham .. 60	S. Wales .. 30	Stafford .. 176	Cumberland .. 105
Essex .. 57	Salop. 29	Wilts .. 164	Gloucester .. 104
York .. 56	Monmouth .. 28	Sussex .. 162	Shropshire .. 95
Worcester .. 56	N. Wales .. 27	Sussex .. 160	Surrey .. 91
Chester .. 54	Kent .. 26	Nottingham .. 158	Middlesex .. 85
Suffolk .. 52	Southamp. .. 25	Lincoln .. 153	Devon .. 82
Lancaster .. 50	Devon .. 22	Oxford .. 151	S. Wales .. 82
Norfolk .. 48	Middlesex .. 18	Chester .. 151	Hereford .. 79
Berks .. 47	Hereford .. 16	Worcester .. 151	N. Wales .. 77
Dorset .. 47	Surrey .. 16	Norfolk .. 148	
Somerset .. 47		Berks .. 143	Average for England
Derby .. 46		Durham .. 142	
Oxford .. 46		Kent .. 140	Average for England and Wales
Warwick .. 46		Lancaster .. 139	135
		Derby .. 138	

* * * The rule is, that where the greatest number of males marry at an early age, the greatest number of females do so likewise—the exceptions being Dorset, Somerset, and Warwick, among the males, and Sussex, Lincoln, Durham, and Kent among the females.

†† There are, on an average, rather more than 3 females married at an early age to every male.

THE ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS AND EARLY MARRIAGES IN THE SEVERAL COUNTIES COMPARED.

Percent. above & below the Aver.		Percent. above & below the Aver.	
Counties in which the Illegitimate Births and the Early Marriages are both above the Average.		Counties in which the Illegitimate Births are above the Average and the Early Marriages below it.	
In No. of Births.	In No. of Early Marriages.	In No. of Births.	In No. of Early Marriages.
Among Males.	Among Females.	Among Males.	Among Females.
Norfolk .. 156	16	Cumberland .. 161	23
Nottingham .. 135	40	Hereford .. 149	60
Suffolk .. 120	21	Salop. 147	30
Derby .. 120	7	Westmorland .. 129	25
Chester .. 122	25	North Wales .. 112	43
Leicester .. 117	84	Northumberland .. 8	31
Berks .. 114	12	South Wales .. 7	39
Lancaster .. 114	16		
Bedford .. 113	153		
Oxford .. 113	7		
Hereford .. 112	74		
York .. 106	33		
Bucks .. 104	72		
Stafford .. 103	44		
Wilts .. 103	58		
Middlesex .. 80	59		
Surrey .. 84	63		
Cornwall .. 82	25		
Monmouth .. 82	35		
Devon .. 82	49		
Rutland .. 82	16		
Southampton .. 82	42		
Gloucester .. 82	2		
Counties in which the Illegitimate Children and Early Marriages are both below the Average.		Counties in which the Illegitimate Children are below the Average, and the Early Marriages above it.	
Middlesex .. 40	37	Hunts .. 33	130
Surrey .. 34	25	Northampton .. 10	65
Cornwall .. 29	3	Essex .. 10	50
Monmouth .. 26	22	Worcester .. 1	12
Devon .. 25	39	Cambridge .. 1	68
Rutland .. 16	5		
Southampton .. 10	13		
Gloucester .. 4	23		
Counties in which the Illegitimate Children and Early Marriages among Males are both below the Average, and those among Females above it.		Counties in which the Illegitimate Children and the Early Marriages among Females are both below the Average, and those among Males above it.	
Kent .. 19	40	Warwick .. 16	3
Durham .. 10	19	Somerset .. 6	17
Lincoln .. 1	9	Dorset .. 1	7
Sussex .. 1	12		

* * * The rule appears to be, that in those counties in which there are the greatest number of Early Marriages, there are (generally) the greatest number of Illegitimate Children, and vice versa.



the most beautiful women of the state, presented or sold to the temple, who prostituted themselves for hire. They were of a superior kind, admitting to their embraces none but men who would pay munificently, and in this manner many of them are said to have accumulated large fortunes*.

Tabular statements, and numerical estimates, have been wanting to complete this glance at the system in ancient Greece; but it may, nevertheless, afford a just idea of the extent and character of the prostitute class there.

OF PROSTITUTION IN ANCIENT ROME.

If our knowledge of ancient Greece, with reference to its moral economy, is slight, ancient Rome is still less understood. Nothing, indeed, like a detailed account of its social institutions has been preserved; its scheme of manners is incompletely comprehended; and only an outline picture of its private life can be formed from passages supplied by hundreds of authors, from allusions in the poets and in the satirical writers. German scholars have laboured industriously in the field of classical politics; but the social economy of Rome has been neglected, or, which is worse, obscured by them. We are, therefore, enabled only to afford a general sketch of the subject in connection with the great Republic, and the imperial system which grew out of its decay.

Examining the condition of the female sex, especially with reference to prostitutes, we must in Rome, as in all other states, distribute our observations over several distinct periods—for such there were in the social history of the nation.

In the more honourable days of the Republic, women occupied a high status. While the state was extremely young we find them, indeed, in perpetual tutelage; but gradually, as institutions were improved and manners refined, they rose to independence, and formed an influential element in society. The matron, in particular, stood in her due position. Respected, accomplished, allowed to converse with men, she was, in the most flourishing era of Roman history, a model for her sex. She presided over the whole household, superintended the education of the children, while they remained in tender years, and shared the honours of her husband. Instead of confined apartments being allotted to her as a domestic prison, the best cham-

bers in the house were assigned, while the whole of it was free to her. Other circumstances in her condition combined to invest her with dignity; and the consequence was, that the Roman matron seldom or never transgressed against the moral or social law. No divorce is recorded before the year 234 B.C.; and that instance was on account of the woman's barrenness—a plea allowed by the law, but universally reprobated by the people. Yet the obstacles to this dissolution of the marriage compact were by no means formidable. Under the imperial régime, when there was less facility, divorces were more frequent.

The Roman law of marriage was strict. Degrees of consanguinity were marked, though within narrower limits than among us, within which marriage was not only illegal, but wholly void, and any intercourse, by virtue of it, denounced as incest by the law. Public infamy attached to it—not only the odium of opinion, but a formal decree by the prætor. Adultery was held as a base, inexpiable crime. It was interdicted under every penalty short of death, and even this was allowed under certain circumstances to be inflicted by the husband. Wedded life, indeed, was held sacred by every class from the knights to the slaves, though among these social aliens actual marriage could not take place. Celibacy was not only disreputable, but, in a particular degree, criminal; while barrenness brought shame upon the woman who was cursed with it. In an equal, or a greater ratio, was parentage honourable. Polygamy was illegal; but the social code allowed one wife and several concubines, occupying a medium position, finely described by Gibbon, as below the honours of a wife, and above the infamy of a prostitute. Such institutions were licensed that common whoredom might be checked; though the children born of such intercourse were refused the rank of citizens. Often, indeed, they were a burden to the guilty as well as to the poor; and infanticide, which was declared in 374 B.C. a capital crime, was resorted to as a means of relief.

If we examine our question in connection with marriage among the ancient Romans we find a curious system. First, there were certain conditions to constitute *conubium*, without which no legal union could be formed. There was only *conubium* between Roman citizens*; there

* Boeck. Potter. Mitford's notions of the *Hetairæ* appear to have been somewhat fanciful.

* Occasional exceptions occurred. At one time there was no *conubium* between the plebeian and the patrician; but the *Lex Canuleia* allowed it.

was none where either of the parties possessed it already with another; none between parent and child, natural or by adoption; none between grandparents and grandchildren; none between brothers and sisters, of whole or half blood; none between uncle and niece, or aunt and nephew: though Claudius legalized it by his marriage with Agrippina, the practice never went beyond the example. Unions of this kind taking place were void, and the father could claim no authority over his children. Mutual consent was essential—of the persons themselves, and of their friends. One wife only was allowed, though marriage after full divorce was permitted.

There were two kinds of marriage,—that *cum*, and that *sine conventionione*. In the former the wife passed into her husband's family, and became subject to him; in the latter she abdicated none of her old relations, and was equal to her husband. There was no ceremony absolutely essential to constitute a marriage. Cohabitation during a whole year made a legal and lasting union; but the woman's absence during three nights annually released her from the submission entailed by the marriage *cum conventionione*. Certain words, also, with religious rites, performed in presence of ten witnesses, completed a marriage; but certain priestly offices, such as those of the *flamen dialis*, could only be performed for those whose parents had been wedded in a similar way*. The sponsalia, or contracts between the man and his wife's friends, were usual, but not essential, and could be dissolved by mutual consent. The Roman idea of marriage was, in a word, the union of male and female for life, bringing a community of fortune, by a civil, not a sacred contract. Yet from the ceremonies generally observed, it is evident that an idea, though unrecognised, of a religious union, existed among the Romans in their more pious age.

With respect to property, its arrangement depended on settlements made before hand. Divorce was at one time procured by mutual consent, though afterwards it became more difficult, but never impossible.

There was in Rome a legal concubinage between unmarried persons, resembling the morganatic or "left-handed" marriage, giving neither the woman nor her children any rights acquired from the husband.

* The sacerdotal functionary, termed *flamen dialis*, like the high-priest of the Jews, could only wed a virgin of unblemished honour, and when she died, could not marry again, but was forced to resign his office.

Widowers often took a concubine, without infamy*.

The law of Romulus, enacting that no male child should be exposed, and that the first daughter should always be preserved, while every other should be brought up, or live on trial, as it were, for three years, has misled some writers into giving the Romans credit for a loftier humanity. No parent, it is argued, would destroy a three years' old child. Nevertheless, it is certain that, in the imperial age, at least, infanticide and child-dropping were frequent occurrences. Deformed or mutilated infants, having been shown to five witnesses, might be destroyed at once. The Milky Column, in the Herb-market, was a place where public nurses sat to suckle or otherwise tend the foundlings picked up in various parts of the city. In the early Christian age it was a reproach to the Romans that they cast forth their sons, as Tertullian expresses it, to be picked up and nourished by the fisherwomen who passed. Mothers would deny their children when brought home to their houses. Some strangled them at once. Various devices were adopted among them, as among other nations of antiquity, to check the overflow of population, as well as to hide the crimes of the guilty. Thus the Phœnicians passed children through fire, as a sacrifice; the Carthaginians offered them up at the altar; the Syrians flung them from the lofty propylæa of a temple†. One observation, however, applies to the Romans, and, we believe, to every other nation, savage or civilized, in every age of the world—exceptions being invariably allowed. Cruel as may have been the laws sanctioning infanticide, when once the child was received into the bosom of the family it was cared for with tenderness, and, generally, with discretion. It is not sentiment, but justice, which induces us to say that the mother, having once accepted her charge, has seldom been guilty of wilful neglect. The abandoned and dissolute, especially in those societies where fashion has made the performance of maternal duty ridiculous, if not disreputable, have consigned their offspring to others; but women in their natural state usually fulfil this obligation.

In Rome, from various causes, public decency was, at least during the republican period, more rigidly observed, and licen-

* See Julian Law, Ulpian, Gaius, Tacitus, Suetonius, and Dion Cassius, from whom, with various others, Smith's Dictionary is compiled.

† Dion. Halicar.; Apuleius; Festus; Lactantia Columna; Tertullian's Apolog.; Ambrose's Hexam.; Lucian, De Syriâ Deâ.

tiousness less common and less tolerated than in Sparta or even the later age of Athens. None of its institutions rivalled the dissolute manners of Crete or Corinth. One cause of prostitution being less common was the licence of concubinage, which was to the rich a preferable and a safer plan of self-indulgence. It existed, however, in the State, and employed a considerable class of women, though we are told the accomplished prostitute was known as a Grecian import. Nevertheless, the frequent allusions of the laws to these women prove that they formed no insignificant element in the society of the capital.

Lenocinium, or the keeping of female slaves to hire them out as prostitutes for profit, was an offence rather against the moral than the written law of Rome. The lenones, in many instances, kept brothels or houses open for the trade of prostitution. They purchased in the market handsome girls, for each of whom a sum equal to about 250*l.* of English currency was given—from which we infer that the rates charged in the superior establishments of this kind were somewhat high. Free women were also kept for the same purpose, upon a mutual agreement. The practice was not actually interdicted, but branded as infamous by the prætor's declaration. No woman, however, whose father, grandfather, or husband had been a Roman knight was allowed to prostitute herself for gain. The independent prostitutes, or those who occupied houses of their own, were compelled to affix on the door a notice of their calling, and the price they demanded. They were also required when they signified to the prætor, as they were bound to do, their intention of following this disgraceful occupation, to drop their real names, which they resumed whenever they abandoned that mode of life. Cato, the censor, recognised prostitution as Solon did, and Cicero declared no State ever existed without it. Notwithstanding this, the occupation of the prostitute was, in the republican age, so infamous that a comparatively small class practised it; but under the emperors it grew so prevalent, that during the reign of the few of them who even pretended to morality, the severest edicts appeared called for against it. Caligula, however, made a profit from the system. The lenones were subject to a tax, which fell, of course, as in Athens, upon the prostitutes themselves. No check, therefore, was offered by him to prostitution. But Theodosius and Valentinian sought, by formidable penalties, to prevent parents from prostituting their children, and masters their slaves, for gain.

Lenocinium was interdicted under pain of the scourge, banishment, and other punishments. In one age public opinion, in the other the whip, held guardianship over the morals of the State.

The owners of houses who allowed lenocinium to be carried on on their premises were liable to forfeit the property, besides paying a price of ten pounds weight of gold. Such edicts, however, only drove immorality into the dark. When the prostitutes could not find enough brothels to harbour them—and, indeed, at all times the poorer sort were excluded from these large establishments—places of refuge were still open. The *fornices* of Rome were long galleries, divided into a double row of cells—some broad and airy, others only small dark arches, situated on a level with the street, and forming the substructure of the houses above. Some of them, as those of the Formian villa of Cicero, were tastefully stuccoed, and painted in streaks of pink, yellow, and blue. In these long lines of cells the prostitutes of the poorer class were accustomed to assemble, and thence was derived the ecclesiastical term fornication, with its ordinary English meaning. Allusions to this practice occur in the works of Horace and Juvenal, as well as other writers. Some of the arches appear to have been below the surface of the ground, as we find a decree of Theodosius against the subterranean brothels of Rome.

The great satirist who has left us his vivid, though exaggerated picture of manners in the imperial age, supplies some allusions in elucidation of our subject. He speaks of the "transparent garments" worn by prostitutes, as by the dancers of ancient Egypt; of the "foreign women" who swarmed in its "foul brothels;" of the "gay harlots' chariots" dashing through the streets; and of the porticos and covered walks forming for these women places of promenade. We learn that some of them were forced, as a punishment for disorderly behaviour, to wear the male toga, while most were distinguished by a yellow head-dress. The *fornices* were publicly opened and closed at certain hours. The women stood at the doors of their cells, in loose, light attire, their bosoms exposed, and the nipples gilt. Thus Messelana stood at the door of the lupanaria, with her breast adorned with this singular ornament*.

At various periods efforts were made to suppress the prostitutes' calling, but never with success. The lawmakers of the imperial age gave no example of the morality

* See Satire vi. 121-2.

which their edicts pretended to uphold. Thus, the bawds who inveigled or ravished girls from their homes, to obtain a livelihood by their prostitution, became liable to "extreme penalties," though what these were we know not. The law of lenocinium was more widely interpreted, as manners became more corrupt. If a husband permitted his wife to prostitute herself that he might share the gains, it was lenocinium. Justinian allowed a woman the privilege of divorce, if her husband endeavoured to tempt her into such adultery: he was forced also to restore her dowry. On the other hand, if a woman committed the crime, it was lenocinium for the husband to receive her again, to spare the adulterer if caught in the act, or to refrain from prosecuting him if otherwise detected. If a man married a woman convicted of adultery, discovered a crime of this kind and was bribed to hold his peace, commenced a prosecution for adultery and withdrew it, or lent his house for rape or prostitution, the Julian law made him guilty of lenocinium, and penalties of various kinds were attached to the offence in its different modifications.

Lupanaria, or common brothels, were at all times considered infamous. Young men seem to have been more careful to visit them in secret than at Athens, where they visited and left them in the light of open day, and were encouraged to do so by the poets. There was, however, another class of disreputable places of assembly, to which a similar exists in most modern cities. These were the lower order of *popinæ*, or houses of entertainment, not absolutely recognised as "stews," but generally known to be the resorts of prostitutes and their companions. In Pompeii there appears to have existed a class of the same description, for in one of the wine-houses discovered there, an inner room is situated behind the shop, the walls of which are covered with lewd and filthy pictures. Pornography, or obscene painting, was much practised at Rome, and doubtless afforded much pleasure to the company who nightly assembled in the *Ganææ*, or regular brothels.

As among the Greeks, instances of men willing to marry prostitutes occurred among the Romans. It was found necessary to check the practice by rendering it disreputable. The penalty of public infamy was denounced against all freemen contracting such an union; while a senator, and the son of a senator, were especially forbidden.

The prostitutes of Rome, like those of

many other countries, varied their principal calling by others which rendered them more attractive to the dissolute youth of the city. They cultivated the arts of dancing, singing, and playing on musical instruments. They performed lascivious dances at their places of assembly, playing on the flute, and practising all those tricks of seduction employed so successfully by the *Almé* of Egypt.

Difficulties have arisen before many inquirers into the social condition of the ancient Romans, as to whence the prostitutes came, seeing that they were chiefly strangers. Some light, we think, is thrown on the subject by the fact that the *Ambubaia* were Syrian musicians, who performed dances in Rome, and, like the *Bayaderes* of India, the *Almé* of Egypt, and the dancers of Java, led a life of prostitution. They continued long to be imported; for, in the History of Gibbon, we find particular notice of the lascivious dances performed by the Syrian damsels round the altars on the Palatine Hill, to please the bestial senses of *Elagabalus*. During the public pantomimes, the prostitutes danced naked before the people; and, at the *Floralian* festival, the actresses at the theatre, who are known to have been common prostitutes, were compelled to strip, and perform indecent evolutions for the delight of the audience. This refers, however, to the imperial age. It was at no time a task of much inconvenience to divest themselves of clothing, for the harlots never encumbered themselves with much. In this they resembled the *Hetairæ* of Greece, whose thin slight garment was so insufficient for the purposes of decency, that it was designated as "naked." This was not, however, from hardness or simplicity, but merely to promote the profit of their calling. In other respects the luxury of the wealthy prostitutes was boundless, and they were borne through the streets on the rich and elegant *lactræ* or portable couches, softly pillowed on which they reposed their limbs in voluptuous indolence. In the reign of Domitian a decree was passed that no whore should in future make use of these couches, which were reserved as an especial luxury to the privileged classes of Rome.

The edicts against prostitution increased in severity under various emperors. The severity of Constantine enacted that a man guilty of rape should die, whether he accomplished his purpose by violence, or by gentle and gradual seduction. The virgin who confessed her consent, instead of procuring a mitigation of this sentence, exposed herself to share the penalty. Slaves

who were accomplices in the crime of procuring young women for prostitution, were punished by being burnt, or having boiling metal poured down their throats. The consequence of such a savage law was, that it could not be generally applied; nor was it enforced by the example of the emperor, who, once rigidly strict, turned dissolute and luxurious towards the close of his reign.

It will be seen, from the information here collected, that no actual knowledge exists of the precise extent of the prostitute system in Rome. Facts, and some of these extremely curious, have been preserved in connection with it; but the statistics of the question are wholly lost, if, indeed, they ever existed. On this account, it appeared possible to do no more than bring those facts together, and, throwing them into a general sketch of the morality prevailing at different periods in the social history of that state, to draw thence an idea of the truth. Under the comparatively virtuous Republic, a line could certainly be drawn between the profligate and the moral classes of the community. Under some of the emperors such a distinction was wholly impossible. The vulgar prostitute was commonly met at the tables of the rich, and the palace itself was no more than an imperial brothel. A few notes on the history of the empire will justify these remarks.

In the early period of the decline, the licentious amours of Faustina were excused, even encouraged, by her husband, and the nobles paid homage in the temples before the image of an adulteress. In the eyes of Commodus virtue was criminal, since it implied a reflection upon his profligacy. Dissolving his frame in lust amid 300 concubines and boys, he violated by force the few modest women remaining near his court. Julia, the wife of Severus, though flattered in life and death by public writers, was no better than a harlot. We have already noticed the pleasures of Elagabalus, who committed rape upon a vestal virgin, and condescended to the most bestial vice. The nobles readily followed his example, and the people were easily led into the fashion. Maximin drowned every coy maiden who refused his embraces. In process of time, the most degrading features of Asiatic profligacy were introduced into Rome, and eunuchs crowded the palaces of the emperor and his nobles. History alludes to no more vulgar prostitute than the Empress Theodora, who played comedies before the people of Constantinople, and prostituted her person—of unparalleled beauty as it was—night after

night to a promiscuous crowd of citizens and strangers, of every rank and description. She exhibited herself naked in the theatre. Her sympathy for the prostitute class may be indicated by almost the only virtuous action recorded of her;—inducing her husband Justinian to found a monastery on the shores of the Bosphorus, where 500 miserable women, collected from the streets and brothels, were offered a refuge. When we remember the usual relative proportion of objects relieved by charity, to the numbers from which they are selected, this indicates a considerable trade in prostitution then carried on in Constantinople. When, however, such a social system prevailed, no inquiry could fix the professional class of harlots, since moral women, if any existed, were certainly exceptions.

It is always necessary, while inquiring into the morality of any people, to inquire into the extent to which the practice of procuring abortion was carried, and how it was viewed. Montesquieu justly observes, that it is by no means unnatural, though it may be criminal, for a prostitute, should she by chance conceive a child, to seek to be relieved from the burden. She has no means of support except one which she cannot possibly follow and at the same time fulfil the duties of a mother. These considerations, perhaps, had some weight with the legislators of Rome, as well as those reasons of political prudence which in various ancient states recognised infanticide. That it was practised to some extent there, is shown by frequent allusions in various works. It has been asserted, indeed, that the custom of procuring abortion prevailed to such an extent, that, combined with celibacy, it materially affected the population of the state, but this appears a false view. There are no accounts to support such an idea. It is not known at what particular time a law was introduced against it. Certainly it was held in a different light than it is by our religion, and our civilization. Plato's republic permits it. Aristotle also allows it to be practised under certain circumstances, but only before the child is quick in the womb. So, also, among the Romans, it seems long to have been unrestrained by law, though it is impossible to believe that the natural instincts of women would not deter them, except in desperate situations, from such unnatural offences.

Such is the view of the prostitute system, with a sketch of general morality, which the facts preserved by history enable us to offer. It appears from these facts, that, during the more flourishing period of

the Roman state, the prostitutes formed a class, to which the principal immorality of the female society was confined, while in the later or imperial age profligacy ran loose among the people, so that the distinction between the regular harlot and the unrecognised prostitute was all but lost. Chastity, under the Republic, was a peculiar Roman virtue, and the prostitutes were usually foreigners, while we do not find that they ever mixed with reputable women who had characters to lose*.

OF PROSTITUTION AMONG THE ANGLO-SAXONS.

WE leave the countries of classical antiquity and arrive at the Anglo-Saxons of our own history, in whom the reader will feel a peculiar interest. Unfortunately, our usual observations with reference to ancient times, apply to them also. Extremely imperfect records exist of their manners, laws, and institutions. The learned and industrious Sharon Turner has collected most of the facts known, yet neither the word prostitution, nor any term analogous to it, is to be found in his work. In the *Leges Anglo-Saxonice*, we find laws and regulations in reference to the chastity of the women, but nothing which indicates the existence of a class professionally addicted to prostitution. Nevertheless, it is improbable that such a class was utterly unknown, for the modern historians, as well as the old chroniclers, who have described the era, allude repeatedly to the licentious manners of the period. Gluttoning and deep drinking may, however, have excused the epithet, without supposing any prevalence of immorality.

Sharon Turner refers us to the Maories of New Zealand, for a parallel to the manners and condition of Great Britain, when first invaded by the Romans. As far as profligacy goes, the comparison appears correct.

Among the Britons, however, prevailed the extraordinary and pernicious institution of small societies of ten or twelve men, with a community of women among them.

* Taylor's *Elements of the Civil Law*; Becker's *Private Life of the Greeks and Romans*; Suetonius, with Burmann's *Notes*; the *Codes of Justinian and Constantine*; Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*; Adams's *Antiquities*; Fergusson's *Roman Republic*; Niebuhr's *History*; Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, supply facts for the above; while the writings of Horace, Juvenal, Lactantius, Dion Cassius, the *Augustine History*, and numerous other authors, afford scattered notices, not easy to collect or digest.

Ceremonies of marriage, indeed, took place, but for no other purpose than to provide that each woman's husband should maintain all her children, whoever their fathers might be. In some of their religious ceremonies women officiated naked, and in all their modes of life a coarse licentiousness obtained.

The Romans introduced a more refined luxury, and manners became less coarse, though no less profligate. The Saxons, however, then transported themselves to these islands from the Cymbric Peninsula, and the civilization of the country passed through a complete revolution. In their original country they had displayed a system of manners peculiar to themselves, and the other wild races inhabiting the mighty woods of Germany. Their laws against adultery were of the most savage character. When a woman was guilty of it, she was compelled to hang herself, her body was burned, and the execution of the adulterer took place over the pile of her ashes. Among some communities the punishment was still more severe, and infinitely more barbarous. The guilty creature was whipped from village to village by a number of women, who tore off her garments to the waist, and pierced her with their knives. Company after company of them pursued her until she sank under the shame, torture, and loss of blood. Chastity, indeed, was very generally regarded among these rude people, but their ideas were very foreign from ours. The degrees of consanguinity within which marriage was prohibited were extremely narrow, a son being permitted to marry his father's widow, provided she was not his own mother.

In their marriage customs the Anglo-Saxons displayed considerable regard for the female sex, although the wife was taken rather as the property than as the companion of the husband. The original laws of Ethelbert, indeed, as we have said, made the transaction wholly one of purchase; but in the reign of Edmund a more refined code was established. The betrothal usually took place some time before the actual ceremony. This was held as a sacred tie, the high-priest being at the marriage to consecrate it, and pray for a blessing on the wedded pair*.

* To show that a prostitute class existed, among women without means of support, we might mention instances of wills in which mothers left property to their daughters, on condition that they should marry or keep themselves chaste, and not earn money by prostitution.

The manners of the Anglo-Saxons, after their settlement in England, underwent considerable improvement. They became, indeed, to a degree civilized. Their women were no longer the savages of Germany. They occupied a position wholly different from that of their sex among the more polished and luxurious nations of the East. It was, we may say, similar to that which they at present fill among us. They were recognised as members of the body politic, could bequeath and inherit property, could appeal to the law against any man; they possessed, in a word, the rights, the duties, and the public relations of citizens. Of course, in all these particulars, their position was modified by the natural restraints imposed on their sex. This refers to the more improved period of their civilization. In the laws of Ethelbert a man was permitted to buy a wife, provided he did it openly. By Edmund's time, however, the practice was changed, and the woman's consent, as well as that of her friends, was necessary. The man was also pledged before the law to support and respect her. She carried public protection into her new home. Considerable honour, consequence, and independence were there pre-enjoyed by the female sex. Nevertheless there continued long to be in the transaction much of a business character, and the consent of the woman was frequently no more than submission to the terms of a bargain struck between her lover and her parents. By some husbands, indeed, a wife seems to have been considered as little more than a property. We find adultery, for instance, allowed to be compounded. "If a freeman cohabit with the wife of a freeman he must pay the fine, and obtain another woman with his own money, and lead her to the other." In

other words, when he has destroyed the value of one wife, he must buy a fresh one for the injured husband.

This would seem to indicate that women were to be had for money. Adultery, indeed, was at all times an affair of payments. It was punished only by various fines, varying according to the rank of the woman. The chastity of the high noble's wife was valued at six pounds, that of a churl's attendant at six shillings.

In the *Leges Anglo-Saxonice* we find many regulations laid down respecting rape and fornication, which imply the occasional practice of those crimes. From the tone of the enactments on the subject, it seems impossible reasonably to doubt that a class of women existed who prostituted themselves for gain or pleasure to the other sex. None such, it is true, is directly indicated. We find, however, a rule of the venerable Bede, that any "slave woman" or "servile" turning her eyes immodestly on men, is to be severely chided. Blount also, quoted in Brand's "Popular Antiquities," with the historian Henry, describes the punishment of the cuckooing stool, as inflicted by the Anglo-Saxons, both in Germany and in England, upon scolds, disorderly women, and strumpets, who in the more barbarous society on the Continent were suffocated in marshes. In Cornwall harlots were long punished in the ludicrous and degrading manner described by Brand.

In the absence of any ground upon which to stand, we cannot describe a particular class among the Anglo-Saxons as addicted to prostitution, but from the whole colour of their civilization, from the rudest to the most refined period, it is evident the practice was followed, in a greater or less degree*.

OF PROSTITUTION AMONG THE BARBAROUS NATIONS.

INTRODUCTION.

In surveying the social aspects of the barbarian world, we discover many striking phenomena. The relations of the sexes, among uneducated races, appear modified by every circumstance of their position; but everywhere the natural ascendancy of the strong over the weak is displayed. A few savage communities allow women a position nearly level with that of the men; but wherever this is the case, a degree of civilization has been attained.

If we divide mankind into two classes—the civilized and the savage—forming an ideal of both extremes, we shall not find one

tribe or community to occupy either pole of our supposed sphere. No one requires to be told that every part of the human race is still below the perfect development of its good attributes; but the observation is equally true, though less generally accepted, that every family of creatures showing our nature has advanced beyond the utterly savage state. When we find men wandering not only unclothed, but unhoused, over the earth, and following only their animal propensities, we may

* Consult Sharon Turner; the various old chroniclers; the *Leges Anglo-Saxonice*, ed. Wilkins; Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, &c.

regard them as wholly untaught. At present no such tribe is known. Every human being that has come under our notice has progressed beyond the simple gratification of his appetites. The love of ornament and the practice of exchange have raised him one step in the scale.

The Africans, the Australians, the New Zealanders, the ruder tribes of the Pacific Isles, the Dyaks of Borneo, and the natives of Sumatra and Celebes, with the Indians of North and South America, may be included under the appellation *barbarous*. They vary, however, in the characteristics of their barbarism, as the nations of Europe vary in the characteristics of their civilization. They are even divided into classes. (1) The hunters, with little property in the soil, precarious means of existence, and migratory habits; the fishers, who are only the hunters of the sea; (2) the pastoral tribes, with property in herds and flocks, nomade, and therefore little property in the soil; (3) the agricultural tribes, permanently or temporarily fixed to localities, whose means of life are less precarious, and whose habits are more regular than those of the two former. The third is the most educated, the second the most innocent, the first the most simple state. It is among the shepherds that women enjoy most consideration, and that morality is highest. The hunters are more savage, and the tillers of the earth more sensual.

In judging the condition of the female sex, it is always necessary to hold in view the general state of manners. When we inquire how husbands behave to their wives, and how parents treat their daughters, we must ask also how they live themselves. Where the male sex is degraded the female will be so. On the other hand, the refinement of any people may be estimated by the condition of its women. The islanders of Celebes are among the most elevated of barbarian races, and the sexes are nearly on an equality. The hordes of Western Africa are the most gross and ferocious of savages, and their women are treated as reptiles. The Indians of North America offer, apparently, an exception to this rule, for their lofty, proud, and polished warriors behave contemptuously to the squaws in their wigwam, who crouch to the earth while their lords stand haughtily before the most powerful conquerors. But the Choctaws and the Cherokees are in reality as far removed from true civilization as the dwellers in New Zealand. The amenities and not the arts of life civilize men. Wherever in the Indian village the gentler influences of

humanity prevail, the feebler sex is treated with respect and affection.

The points of contrast between barbarian and civilized races display themselves strongly in relation to the condition of the female sex. Throughout the savage portions of Africa one system of manners prevails. The men occupy the lowest stage of the social scale. They are neither hunters, fishers, shepherds, nor tillers of the soil; but mix up several occupations, though none of an elevating character. Some raise a few materials of food; others collect ivory in the woods; others live on the profits of the slave-trade; but the greater number subsist on the refuse of what they gain in the service of their petty kings. They have been sophisticated from the simplicity of savages without acquiring one grace from civilization. Subject to the gross caprice of princes more miserable than themselves, they have remained beyond the reach of every humanizing influence, and, as a natural consequence, their women are debased. Polygamy produces its worst results. The wife is an object of barter; a slave, whose labour assists to support her owner. In some parts diligence is more valued than chastity. In others the husband makes a profit from his wife's prostitution. The slave trade has assisted largely towards this melancholy state of manners. The finer sentiments of humanity are altogether lost, and the contempt for life, as well as for all that is amiable or pure, has reduced men far below the level of the brute creation. We speak literally in saying that a nobler, happier spectacle is presented among the antelope and elephant herds than among the swarms of men and women corrupting in Africa. In the few parts where the male sex has risen from this debasement, the female has been equally improved. The barbarous Edeeyahs offer an example.

The savages of Australia differ in many respects from those of Western Africa. They are even less educated, but they are also less ferocious; their women are their abject servitors, but there is more humanity in their treatment. They have scarcely approached so near to the forms of regular society, as to systematize the intercourse of the sexes. Nevertheless, among some tribes we not only find the institution of marriage respected, but wives guarded with Turkish jealousy. Among a people which does not dwell in regular habitations, or even lodge in roomy tents, it is scarcely possible to imagine the sanctity of a man's harem; but it is true, notwithstanding, that a similar seclusion is

enforced. The Australian woman, in the desert and under the open sky, is hedged round by her husband's jealousy as securely as the ancient German was in her unwall'd shelter of thatch.

It is seldom, however, that among barbarous races we find the sentiment of chastity in its abstract sense. Women are generally treated as though their inclinations were licentious, and in this consists one great line of distinction between civilization and barbarism. With the one, moral influence—with the other, material force, is employed as the guardian of female honour. The result is important to be noticed. Women are depraved by the rude and gross means devised to keep them virtuous. Where the moral sentiment is feebly developed, guilt is created by the efforts made to prevent it. The wife perpetually watched, as though her heart were full of adultery, becomes an adulteress. The young girl continually guarded, with the avowed object of compelling her to be chaste, loses insensibly any natural feeling she may have possessed, and covets the opportunity to sin.

In the South Sea Islands this truth is illustrated; in New Zealand it is still more strongly proved. It is taken for granted that a woman will prostitute herself if she can. The state of morality is consequently so low that it is difficult for parents to preserve a daughter's virtue until she is given in marriage. To prevent her holding vicious intercourse she is forbidden to hold any intercourse with the opposite sex.

Another characteristic of civilized races is the separation of the vicious from the moral classes; they systematize the offences against society. Every class of vile persons becomes, as it were, an isolated community; the prostitute is segregated from the rest of her sex. In some barbarian states, as in Dahomey, the same division is effected; but the kings of that country have sought to mimic the forms of educated communities. The professional is distinguished from the habitual prostitute only by her open assumption of the title; but the immorality of the female sex in Dahomey is far from being represented by the order of confessed harlots.

The inhabitants of some islands, and the shores of bays and roadsteads, have discovered that in prostituting their women to the crews of trading ships they have a readier means of subsistence than was offered by their former industry. This has produced a frightful system of vicious commerce, which still prevails to a great extent in the Pacific, as well as in New

Zealand and the ports of Africa. It is for Europeans to repair the evil created by the incontinence of their predecessors. Many captains of vessels have already effected much good by forbidding women to come on board.

In proportion as nations approach the higher stages of civilization does the respect for human life increase. Infanticide is practised with the least remorse by the most savage tribes. Among those communities with whom the means of existence are precarious this crime is most common. Wherever barbarians have been induced to labour, and secured in the enjoyment of their earnings, the natural feelings of the breast have revived; and mothers who have slain six infants cherish the seventh as a sacred possession. Missionary enterprise has produced much good in this respect; while the beneficent rule of our Indian government has bestowed incalculable blessings on the people of the East, among whom the system of infanticide is daily becoming rarer, and the condition of women more elevated.

The same may be remarked of that unnatural practice upon which, as indeed on all kindred subjects, writers are reluctant to touch—that, we mean, of destroying the unborn fruits of union. The savage regards it as an act rather meritorious for its ingenuity than abominable for its unnatural character. The cause that encourages infanticide encourages this, which, indeed, is the less horrible crime. The woman is less reluctant to extinguish the vitality of a being which has become to her dear only in anticipation, than to quench a life which has once been embodied before her eyes, and warmed in her bosom. The operation, so dangerous to females in civilized communities, is, like childbirth, far easier among savages. The native of the Bornean woods, without any of the delicacy engendered by luxury, may one moment be without a pang giving birth to an infant, and the next be washing it in a neighbouring brook. The Malayan lady, bred in a city in indolence and comfort, suffers agony under which she sometimes perishes before her offspring has breathed. So it is with the practice of destroying the unborn child. Civilization lessens in all creatures their means of independent life, and their powers of endurance; but it also enables them to discover or compound the elements by which these artificial ills may be remedied.

In proportion as the intercourse of the sexes is loose is the difficulty of learning the actual extent of immoral practices. The prostitute class, as we proceed from

the pure savage to the highest point of civilization, becomes more and more distinct—being more conspicuous because more isolated. This is accompanied by another process, which is a superior standard by which to measure the social elevation of a people. Women respect themselves in proportion as men respect them. Where locks and bolts, scourges and cudgels, are the guardians of female chastity, it is only preserved when there is no opportunity to lose it. When the protecting influence springs from within, the woman moves a virtuous being, defended even from a licentious glance by the impenetrable cloud which her native modesty and virtue diffuse around her.

OF PROSTITUTION AMONG AFRICAN NATIONS.

IN the wide field of inquiry presented by the barbarian races of our own time, Africa occupies a prominent place. Some of the most wild and savage tribes of the human family are to be found on that immense peninsula. Many degrees in the inferior scale of civilization are represented, from the uncouth Hottentots of the south to the wandering Arabs of the desert, in whose blameless lives we have a picture of original simplicity—not far removed from the real refinement, though very far from the vices, of the most polished among the communities of Europe. The inquiry we have made into the condition of women and the state of manners in Africa, has confirmed us in our opinion, which is supported also by many circumstances observed among other races of men. The medium of refinement is accompanied by the least immorality. As in our own, among other civilized states, the ratio of profligacy is greatest at the opposite poles of society—the wealthiest and the most indigent—so in Africa it is among the basest savages and among the most highly polished communities that immorality prevails to the greatest extent. The brutal hordes on the western coast, with the populations of the half-civilized cities of the north, abound in vices, while the barbarian though innocent communities, with the wandering dwellers in the desert, are characterised by manners far more pure.

In ranging over Africa in search of facts to complete the present inquiry, we meet with numerous tribes belonging to seven separate races of mankind: the Hottentot, the Kaffir, the Negro, the Moor, the Abyssinian, the Arab, and the Copts or descendants of the true Egyptian stock. Among each of these we perceive some varieties of

manners; but everywhere in Africa one circumstance is prominent—the degraded condition of the female sex. The women of Cairo and Algiers are in comparison treated with little more refinement than those of some purely savage states; but we shall not include such communities among the barbarian races, reserving Egypt and some of the other countries characterised by a mongrel civilization for separate notices. We may, as far as our present inquiry goes, present the subject clearly and without confusion by making a geographical arrangement, and, commencing from the south, pass over the continent, until we encounter a form of civilization in the valley of the Lower Nile.

The condition of women generally in heathen countries is degraded. As we proceed through Africa this truth will be strongly illustrated. Commencing with the Hottentots of the south, we find them a dissolute profligate race, who have been so from the earliest period. It was remarked in 1655 by Van Riebeck, when the chiefs, departing on a distant expedition, were urged to leave their women behind, they replied “that their wives must be with them everywhere so as to be kept from the other men.” It was remarked also in 1840 by Colonel Napier, who describes them as proverbially unchaste. Polygamy, at the early period referred to, was prevalent. Men bought their wives—sometimes from their wealthier, sometimes from their poorer, neighbours; but all alliances between persons of near kindred were held in utter abhorrence. Indecency and lewdness are their characteristics, for though now accustomed to clothing, it is no uncommon thing for them, when drunk at their festivals, to strip naked and perform lascivious dances, to music of the rudest harmony. Many among them appear to prostitute themselves readily to strangers, some from inclination, others for money, many for a gift of finery; but in what numbers this disreputable class exists we have no means of knowing*. A superior order, however, is scattered among these degraded creatures, and many lively, intelligent, and well-conducted women have attracted the notice of travellers.

The pastoral Kaffirs are perhaps a more moral though a more ferocious people than the Hottentots. They are, indeed, superior in mental and physical characteristics, being more addicted to arms, and less to debauch. They also, however, practise polygamy, and buy their wives for so many

* Napier's Excursions in Southern Africa.

head of cattle. Among them, as well as among the Bechuanas, the girls undergo a probation before marriage, during which they live apart, and hold no intercourse with their tribe except through an old woman. Sichele, king of the Bechuanas, had numerous wives, of whom one was a favourite; but he granted each a separate hut, so that his palace was a kind of village surrounded by a fence. They punish theft in a woman by twisting dry grass round her fingers and burning them to the bone. Wandering from place to place in tent-shaped temporary huts, they carry their women with them, and condemn them to domestic labour. Even the chief's wives assist in grinding the corn, and tending their husband's nomade household. Divorce is easy, on very slight grounds. We occasionally hear of women committing what is termed fornication, but no professed class of prostitutes has been described. As among all nations practising polygamy, marriage is not held as a sacred tie; but adultery on the wife's part is severely punished as an infraction of the social law. The bonds of natural affection appear extremely weak among the Kaffir tribes. Men are inspired by an inclination, not an attachment, to their wives, and mothers possess less affection for their children than is observed even in the Australian savage. The weak and sickly are sometimes abandoned, to save the expense or trouble of their support. Mrs. Ward knew of a woman who, having a little daughter in a decline, buried it alive, to be rid of the burden. The little creature, imperfectly interred, burst from its grave and ran home. Again it was forced into the hole, again it escaped, and a third time it was removed to the earth; once more, however, it struggled till free, and, flying to its mother's hut, was at last received, and ultimately recovered. Such instances of inhumanity are not rare among the Kaffir tribes, whose passion for blood and war seems to have blunted some of their natural sentiments. Husbands, when their wives are sick, frequently drag them into a neighbouring thicket, where they are left to die, and women continually do the same with their poor offspring. It is important, however, to mention, that in the instances of Kaffirs converted to Christianity their manners undergo a most favourable modification. One of them was known to Mrs. Ward who had refused to take a second wife, in deference to the moral law laid down by the interpreters of his adopted religion; and, where the conversion is sincere, they always manifest an inclina-

tion to practise the manners of the white men*.

In the rude maritime region extending from the countries on the border of the Cape territory as far as the Senegal, a set of characteristic features is universally marked on the people, varied though their nationality be. Differences, of course, prevail among the numerous tribes in the several states; but the impress of African civilization is there all but uniform.

Those between the tropics, especially, are absorbed in licentiousness. Morality is a strange idea to them. Polygamy is universally practised, and in most places without limitation; while nowhere is a man restrained by the social law from intercourse with any number of females he chooses. The result is that women are, for the most part, looked upon as a marketable commodity; that the pure and exalted sentiment of love is utterly unknown; and that even the commonest feelings of humanity appear absent from among them. Husbands, for instance, on the Gold Coast, are known to prostitute their wives to others for a sum of money. This is an open transaction. In other places, however, where the adulterer pays a fine to the husband he has injured, we find men allowing their wives an opportunity to be unfaithful, in order to obtain the price of the crime. Throughout, indeed, the gloomy and savage states, sheltered by the woods bordering the Niger, and over the whole western coast, mankind appears in its uncouthest form. Human nature, degraded by perpetual war against itself, rots at the feet of a gross superstition. As we have said, the result is developed in various modifications of barbarian manners.

When Laird, in 1832, visited the Niger, he found the condition of the female sex upon its borders most humiliating. In the dominions of King Boy polygamy was unlimited, and the wives reduced to slavery in their own homes. The people dwelling on the banks of the Lower Niger may be described, in fact, as among the most idle, ignorant, and profligate in Africa. The prince himself set the example to his subjects. He possessed 140 wives and concubines, of whom one was no more than thirteen years of age, whom he had purchased for a few muskets and a piece of cloth. Half a dozen enjoyed the distinction of favourites; one of them was more than 25 stones in weight. The mo-

* Harriet Ward's *Five Years in Kaffir Land*; Barrow's *Travels*; Methuen's *Life in the Wilderness*.

ther of this pluralist was maintained in her son's palace, where she amused the court by dances of the most revolting and obscene description. No care was, in any respect, taken to preserve a sense of virtue in the king's harem; but adultery was, nevertheless, punished with death. This appears the case in most countries where shame holds no check on immorality; it may, indeed, be taken in some measure as an index to the state of manners where crimes against chastity are visited with public infamy alone, or with legal penalties. In the dominions of Boy, one wife, at least, was expected to attend her husband, even when dead. The chosen victim was bound and thrown into the river; a mode of death preferable to that practised at Calabar, on the coast, where the miserable woman is buried alive. In the kingdom of Fundals, when a chief died leaving fifteen women in his harem, the king selected one to be hung over the tomb, and transferred the rest to his own palace; nevertheless, a few of these enjoyed an independent existence. One lively intelligent woman possessed an estate of land and 200 slaves, whom she employed in trade. Industry flourished, there being small competition, as a more idle demoralized people than the dwellers on the Niger as far as Ebo cannot be imagined.

Above that place, where the land is less marshy and more favourable to cultivation, the natives are more intelligent, more addicted to agriculture, more manly in their habits, and in proportion more kind and respectful to their women. Polygamy, it is true, prevails, as it does all over Western Africa, but the sex is somewhat raised above a mere instrument of sensual gratification. In other directions the old features are resumed. The Bambarras, a Pagan people, marry as many wives as they can support; and the Mandingoes, who are only allowed four, treat them as slaves, though they love their children.

The native of Western Africa, in most cases, looks upon his wife, in one respect as a source of pleasure, in another as a source of gain, reckoning her as property to the amount she can earn by labour. In the institution of marriage, therefore, it may easily be conceived that no sacred tie is acknowledged. It is merely a civil contract, to be dissolved at will. The man sends a present to the woman's father; if a virgin, she exchanges her leathern girdle for a cloth wrapped about the loins, and a little merry-making consummates the transaction. This account applies especially to the Tilatates. In Yarriba and Bughor,

when a woman finds herself *enceinte*, she is obliged to inform her husband, or suffer a public whipping when the discovery is made. This custom refers, there is no doubt, to a feature in the morals of the people. Mothers, also, are forced to suckle their children until three years old, and punished if, during that period, they cohabit with a man.

Strange inconsistencies occasionally display themselves in the manners of these unintellectual barbarians. They have introduced a feature of Asiatic luxury, by having eunuchs to guard their seraglios, while instances occur in which the uncouth savage professes a sentiment of attachment. The King of Attah told Lander that he loved him as he loved the wife who shared his bed. Yet he was a polygamist, and a sensualist. In Abookir the prince was continually multiplying the inmates of his harem, and having many daughters, had numbers of wives younger than they. Girls of eleven years old are there considered marriageable.

Regarded as a mere social contract, temporary or otherwise, marriage, in this region, is held among the most ordinary occurrences of life. A man arriving at the age of 20 takes one wife, and then another, increasing the number from four to 100, as his circumstances allow. Many women, even under this system, cannot procure husbands. This, however, we must not ascribe so much to a vast preponderance of the female sex over the male, as to the fact that thousands of men take no permanent partners at all. It may, perhaps, be safe to assert that, of the single men, none remain without intercourse with women, and of the unmarried women, that not one preserves her chastity. The idea of that virtue appears foreign to those races. Adultery, indeed, is held a crime, but not so much against morals as against the husband. A wife suspected of it is compelled to drink a decoction called Sassy water, which poisons her, unless she bribes the priest to render it harmless by dilution, in which case she is pronounced innocent. The widow, even, who has been known to live on bad terms with her husband is forced, among the tribes on the banks of the Lower Niger, to undergo this ordeal. An illicit connection with the king's wife, however, is punished with death to both parties, while among the chiefs the fine of a slave is exacted. Every woman, except the consort of royalty, has thus her market value, which is greatly increased if her friends fatten her up to a colossal size. Men frequently buy slender girls at a cheap rate, and feed them to a proper

obesity before taking them as companions. Marriage, or concubinage, may be entered on at the age of thirteen, and so universal is the system in this part of Africa, that the sex seems absolutely wedded to its degradation.

Among the people of Ibu a singular custom exists. When twins are born they are immediately exposed to wild beasts. The mother, compelled to go through a long course of purification and penance, is thenceforward an outlaw, disgraced among the women, who hold up two fingers as she passes, to remind her of the misfortune:—she is at once divorced from her husband.

Though thus reduced to slavery by the other sex, women, among these tribes, enjoy a certain degree of freedom, which is a mitigation of their miserable state. Married without their own consent, they are sold to a husband for from 26s. and upwards, and thenceforward become his servants. Yet the favourite wives of the rich, exempt from toil, are allowed to amuse themselves in various ways, and even to walk about unveiled, under the guard of an eunuch. Men never eat with their wives, and often treat them brutally, bewailing the loss of a slave far more than the death of a wife, unless she happens to please the caprice of the hour. It is among the poorest that most freedom is allowed, and among those tribes who have intercourse with Europeans that most ferocity prevails. Some dig the soil, some attend to the household, some support their husbands by the profits of a petty retail trade, while others, kept for his gratification, are allowed to idle. These favoured ones are often slaves. A handsome young one often sells for from 60,000 to 120,000 cowries (from 3*l.* 15*s.* to 7*l.* 10*s.**), while the price of a common wife is only 20,000 cowries (25*s.*). Frequently, the man's inclination changes its direction, and he sells one girl to purchase another. With many of the kings and chiefs a continual trade in women is common. King Bell, of the Cameroons, for instance, had more than 100 wives, and his wealth was increased by their numbers. In his dominions the young maidens had considerable liberty, sporting in the fields, and enjoying, for a few years, comparative independence of the men†.

In the kingdom of Dahomey, on the Guinea Coast, we find some of the most remarkable institutions with respect to

women which exist in the world. It has been the centre of the slave trade. Few of the comparatively fair aboriginal race exist, but in their place has been gathered a mixed population, incontestably one of the most profligate in Africa. Entering its seaport town the traveller is at once struck by the remarkable immodesty of the female population. Throughout the country the same characteristic is observable, though in a modified degree. Sir John Malcolm observed of the subjects of the Imaum of Muscat—manners they have none, and their habits are disgusting. The same description has been judiciously applied to the people of Dahomey. They are profligates, from the highest to the lowest—a bloody-minded savage race, delighting in human suffering, and finding their national pleasure in customs the most revolting and cruel that ever obtained in the world.

The king practises all these, and is superior in brutality and filthiness to any of his subjects. This has been a characteristic of the throne in Dahomey. He has thousands of wives, while his chiefs have hundreds, and the common people tens. The royal favourites are considered too sacred to be looked upon by vulgar eyes. Whenever they proceed along the public road, a bell is rung to warn all passengers of their approach, and every one must then turn aside or hide his face. If one of them commits adultery, she is, with her paramour, put to death. The harem is sacred against strangers, but the privileged nobility attend the royal feasts, where the king's wives sit, attired in showy costumes of the reign of Charles II., drinking rum and leading the debauch. Those of an inferior class, or the concubines, are employed in trade, the profits of which accrue to their master. Every unmarried woman in Dahomey is virtually the property of the sovereign, who makes his choice among them. No one dares to dispute his will, or to claim a maiden towards whom he has signified his inclination.

When the king desires to confer honour on any favourite, he chooses a wife for him, and presents her publicly. In this case she performs the ceremony of handing to her husband a cup of rum, which is a sign of union. Otherwise no rite or ceremony whatever is essential. However, the man must finally take his wife or concubine, in the usual business manner, for if he seduces a maiden he must marry her, or pay to her parent or master 160,000 cowries (equal to 7*l.* 10*s.* of our money). Failing in this, he may be sold as a slave. This punishment also is inflicted on those who

* Cowries are valued at fifteen pence to the thousand.

† Bowdich's Essay; Thompson and Allen's Expedition to the Niger; Laird's Voyage.

commit adultery with a common person's wife. The rich often buy a number of concubines, live with them for a short time, and then sell them at a profit. It is in Dahomey, too, that the practice prevails of throwing a wife in the way of committing adultery for the sake of the penalty which her husband may exact from the criminal. It is commonly known that the king of Dahomey supports an army of several thousand Amazonian soldiers. These women dress in male attire, and are not allowed to marry, or supposed to hold intercourse with the other sex. They declare themselves, indeed, to have changed their nature. "We are men," they say, "and no women." In all things—courage and ferocity among the rest—they seek to preserve the character. They dwell in barracks, under the care of eunuchs; they practise wild war-dances, and, officered by their own sex, scorn the allurements of any weaker passion; they are, therefore, for the most part chaste. Vanity and superstition combine to guard their virtue. They boast of never encountering a man except in the field of battle. Thus their pride is enlisted in the service of their chastity. A charm is placed under the threshold of their common dwelling, as it is under that of the palace harem, which is supposed to strike with disease the bowels of any guilty woman who may cross it. So strong is this belief, that many incontinent Amazons have voluntarily revealed their crime, though well aware that the punishment of death will be, without mercy, dealt upon them as well as their lovers*.

Most men have a favourite wife, and her privilege is valuable so long as her husband lives; but on his decease it entails a terrible obligation. The dying chief invites one or more of his principal wives to die with him, and these, with a number of slaves, varying according to his rank, are sacrificed at his tomb.

In consequence of the immense number of wives and concubines kept by the king and his wealthier subjects, numbers of the

common people are forced to be content with the company of prostitutes, who are licensed in Dahomey, and subject to a particular tax. There is a band of them, according to Dalzel, who appears worthy of belief, in every village, though confined to a certain quarter, and they prostitute themselves to any who desire it, at a moderate fixed price. The profits thus obtained are often insufficient for their support, and they eke out their gains by breeding fowls, and other industrial occupations. Women also hire themselves out to carry heavy burdens, and they no doubt belong to the prostitute class. Norris saw 250 of these unfortunate women collected in a troop on a public occasion. The object of this institution, according to the king, was to save the respectable people from seduction. There were many men who could not get wives, and, unless prostitutes existed, they would seduce the wives or daughters of others. At Whyddah, on the coast, Mr. John Duncan was assailed by numbers of women who offered to "become his wives," or, in other words, to prostitute themselves to him, for a drop of rum. Many of the poorer class strolled about naked, ready to accept any one for a miserable gratuity. In that city it was the custom when a man committed adultery, to press him into the king's army. Formerly he was sacrificed, but the practice was abolished—prisoners of war furnishing "the annual customs" with victims. Whatever the punishment was, however, it was ineffectual to suppress the crime, as depravity was the general characteristic of the people. At Zapoora, beyond Dahomey, a chief offered one of his wives for sale, and parents asked a price for their children; while at Gaffa, still further, the men are more jealous, and the women more modest. Adultery with the king's wife was punished by impalement on a red-hot stake.

The dirty, lazy, and dull people of the Fantec coast, near Dahomey, wear the same moral aspect as the subjects of that kingdom. Women support the men. Parents would sell their children, husbands their wives, and women themselves, for a trifling sum. One woman was so desirous of changing her companion, that she took possession of a recent traveller's bed, and could only be expelled by force. Marriage is a mere purchase—of from six to twenty wives and concubines. The rich support their harems at a great cost. The common price is sixteen dollars. Maidens are seldom bought when beyond fifteen or sixteen years of age, so that many men have wives younger than their daughters. The indivi-

* A letter, published in the *Times* in August last, announces the disastrous defeat of the celebrated body of fighting women in the pay of the King of Dahomey. The Amazons had advanced to the attack of Abbeokuta, a town in the Bight of Benin, with the object of surprising and carrying off the inhabitants, to supply the demand for slaves; but the latter, being apprised of the approach of the female warriors, turned out in force, repulsed them from the town, and in the course of pursuit effected great slaughter amongst their ranks. More than 1000 are reported to have been left dead on the field.

TABLE SHOWING THE PROPORTION OF FEMALES TO MALES IN THE DIFFERENT COUNTIES OF ENGLAND AND WALES.

COUNTIES.	1851.		Proportion per Cent. above and below the Average. † denotes above, * below.
	Male Population.	Female Population.	
Belford	62,430	67,323	†29
Berks	99,227	99,927	*33
Bucks	70,784	72,886	*19
Cambridge	95,505	96,351	*38
Chester	216,723	216,723	
Cornwall	171,979	184,683	†19
Cumberland	99,331	99,331	*19
Derby	129,379	131,323	*38
Devon	271,579	300,623	†57
Dorset	85,816	91,781	†19
Durham	206,665	204,825	*57
Essex	172,161	171,755	*43
Gloucester	158,122	221,353	†67
Hereford	49,694	49,418	*57
Hertford	86,331	87,632	*29
Hunts	39,984	39,336	*38
Kent	308,115	311,692	*38
Lancaster	1,005,697	1,036,298	†10
Leicester	115,295	119,643	*57
Lincoln	201,027	199,289	†86
Middlesex	885,614	1,010,096	†24
Monmouth	92,035	85,070	*10
Norfolk	210,289	225,443	†10
Northampton	106,533	107,231	*19
Northumberland	149,139	154,377	*10
Nottingham	144,428	150,010	*57
Oxford	85,449	84,837	*67
Rutland	12,270	12,002	*38
Salop	122,022	122,967	†57
Somerset	216,716	239,521	†11
Southampton	199,634	202,199	*38
Stafford	320,304	310,112	*19
Suffolk	165,207	170,724	†57
Surrey	325,155	350,630	*19
Sussex	166,823	172,690	*10
Warwick	235,283	244,716	*10
Westmorland	20,064	20,316	*38
Wills	113,889	122,164	*19
Worcester	196,780	132,023	*10
York	696,845	901,922	*29
North Wales	200,338	203,622	*29
South Wales	300,645	306,351	*29
TOTAL FOR ENGLAND AND WALES	8,762,593	9,160,190	

LIST OF COUNTIES IN THE ORDER OF THEIR PROPORTION OF FEMALE TO MALE POPULATION, AS SHOWN BY THE NUMBER OF FEMALES TO EVERY 100 MALES.

COUNTIES ABOVE THE AVERAGE.	COUNTIES BELOW THE AVERAGE.
Middlesex.....114	Chester.....105
Gloucester.....112	Lancaster.....105
Devon.....111	Leicester.....104
Somerset.....111	Nottingham.....104
Surrey.....111	Warwick.....104
Bedford.....109	Worcester.....104
Cornwall.....107	Bucks.....103
Dorset.....107	Cumberland.....103
Norfolk.....105	Northumb.....103
	Suffolk.....103
	Sussex.....103
	Wills.....103
	Hertford.....102
	York.....102
	North Wales.....102
	South Wales.....102
	Berks.....101
	Cambridge.....101
	Derby.....101
	Hunts.....101
	Kent.....101
	Northampton.....101
	Salop.....101
	Southampton.....101
	Westmorland.....101
	Essex.....100
	Durham.....99
	Hereford.....99
	Lincoln.....99
	Oxford.....98
	Rutland.....97
	Stafford.....97
	Monmouth.....92

Average for England & Wales 105

TABLE NO. VIII. LONDON LABOUR AND THE LONDON POOR.

THE EXCESS OF FEMALES AND ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS COMPARED.

Counties in which the Number of Females and Illegitimate Births are both above the Average.	Percentage above and below the Average. † denotes above and * below.	In No. of Females to Males.	In No. of Illegitimate Births to Males.	Counties in which the Number of Females is above the Average.	Percentage above and below the Average. † denotes above and * below.	In No. of Females to Males.	In No. of Illegitimate Births to Males.
Belford	13	†14	†48	Middlesex.....	16	†4	†40
Norfolk	†1	†56	†16	Gloucester.....	15	†25	†25
				Devon.....	15	†34	†34
				Surrey.....	15	†6	†6
				Somerset.....	12	†29	†29
				Cornwall.....	11	†1	†1
				Dorset.....	11	†1	†1

Counties in which the Number of Females and Illegitimate Births are both below the Average.

Counties in which the Number of Females is below the Average and the Illegitimate Births above it.	Percentage above and below the Average. † denotes above and * below.	In No. of Females to Males.	In No. of Illegitimate Births to Males.	Counties in which the Number of Females is below the Average and the Illegitimate Births above it.	Percentage above and below the Average. † denotes above and * below.	In No. of Females to Males.	In No. of Illegitimate Births to Males.
Monmouth	12	*36	*7	Stafford.....	13	†3	†3
Rutland	*6	*16	*5	Oxford.....	13	†13	†13
Lincoln	*5	*1	*5	Hereford.....	13	†29	†29
Durham	*5	*10	*3	Westmorland.....	13	†29	†29
Essex	*4	*10	*3	Salop.....	13	†29	†29
Hunts	*3	*28	*3	Derby.....	13	†29	†29
Northampton	*3	*10	*3	Berks.....	13	†29	†29
Kent	*3	*19	*3	York.....	13	†29	†29
Cambridge	*3	*1	*3	Hertford.....	13	†29	†29
Southampton	*3	*10	*3	South Wales.....	13	†29	†29
Warwick	*1	*16	*2	North Wales.....	13	†29	†29
Worcester	*1	*1	*1	Northumb.....	13	†29	†29
				Cumberland.....	13	†29	†29
				Wills.....	13	†29	†29
				Suffolk.....	13	†29	†29
				Bucks.....	13	†29	†29
				Nottingham.....	13	†29	†29
				Leicester.....	13	†29	†29
				Sussex.....	13	†29	†29
				Lancaster.....	13	†29	†29
				Chester.....	13	†29	†29

* * The rule appears to be, that in those counties in which the number of females, in proportion to the males, is the smallest, the number of illegitimate births is the greatest, and where it is the greatest, the illegitimate births are the smallest.

MAP
SHOWING
THE NUMBER OF FEMALES TO EVERY 100 MALES
IN EACH OF THE COUNTIES OF
ENGLAND & WALES.

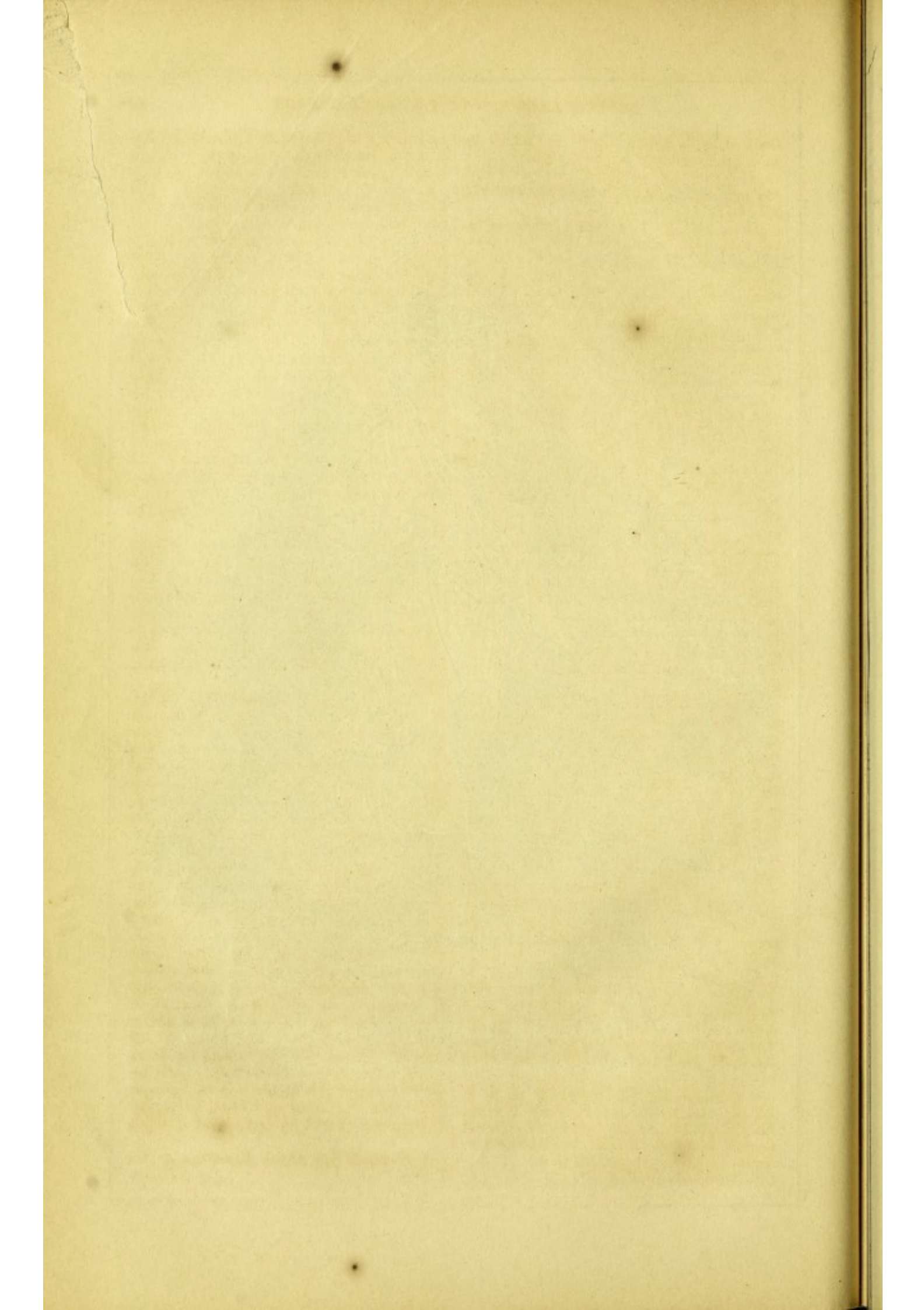


The Average for all England and Wales is 105 Females to every 100 Males.



GREEK DANCING GIRL—HETAIRA: *Age of Socrates.*

(From "*Costume Antico e Moderno.*"—Milan, 1616.)



dual committing adultery is forced to buy his paramour at her original price. Contrary to the custom of Ibu and Bony, the mother of twins is, among the Fantees, held in great respect.

Along the coast of Benin manners, in most respects similar to these, prevail—public dancers acting as prostitutes in most of the native towns, and offering themselves for a wretched price. Every woman holds it an honour to be the king's companion even for one night*.

In Ashantee, where polygamy, as elsewhere in Africa, prevails, adultery is common, especially among the king's wives, who, when discovered, are hewn to pieces. The manners of the people are profligate beyond anything of which in England we can realize an idea. In the country of the Kroomen, eastward on the Guinea Coast, where nearly all the labour devolves on women, men become independent by the possession of from twenty to forty wives. One practice prevailing there is characterized by an unusual depravity. The son, inheriting his father's property, inherits also his wives, his own mother then becoming his slave. In the interior, on the banks of the Asinne, we find a people among whom the men are industrious, and the women treated with respect. The consequence is a far higher standard of morality†.

It is remarkable to find among the Edeeyahs of Fernando Po a strong contrast to these general characteristics of manners and morality in Western Africa. Generous, hospitable, humane, practising no murder, possessing no slaves, with only innocent rites, they treat their women with comparative consideration, and assign them far less than the usual amount of hard labour. To cook food, bear palm oil to market, and press the nuts, are their principal occupations. Polygamy is allowed, and when a man undertakes a journey, he is accompanied by one or more of his wives, who are much attached to their husbands and children.

The first wife taken by a man must be betrothed to him at least two years before marriage. During that period the lover must perform all the duties which otherwise would have been performed by her. He must go, indeed, through a probation

resembling the servitude of Jacob for Rachel. Meanwhile the maiden is kept in a hut, concealed from the sight of the people. These courtships often begin while the girl is no more than thirteen or fourteen, and her lover only a youth; but if he seduces her before the two years are elapsed, he is severely punished. That time having expired the young wife is still kept in the hut, where she receives her husband's visits until it is evident she is about to become a mother—or if not, for eighteen months. When she first appears publicly as a married woman, all the virgins of her tribe salute her and dance about her. These customs indicate far more purity and elevation of manners among the Edeeyahs than among any other people in Western Africa. They are only observed, however, with regard to the first wife, all the others being virtually no more than concubines governed by her. Some chiefs have upwards of a hundred, and the king more than twice that number.

Adultery is severely punished, but, nevertheless, not very rare. For the first offence both parties lose one hand. For the second the man, with his relatives, is heavily fined, and otherwise chastised, while the woman, losing the other hand, is driven as an outlaw into the woods. This exile is more terrible to the Edeeyahs than the mutilation*.

In examining the condition of Africa, in the light we have chosen, it would entail a tiresome repetition to pass in review all the various groups of states sunk in barbarism. The natives are generally barbarian. Elevated slightly above the hunting or pure savage state, they have subdued some animals to their use, and practise some ingenious arts; but their manners are baser than those of any race below them in point of art and luxury. We have seen that in the West, with a few rare exceptions, profligacy is the universal feature of society. In the East it is almost equally so. Our knowledge of that coast, it is true, is less full than of the West; but travellers afford sufficient information to justify an opinion on the general state of manners. In Zulu, as an example of the rest, the king has a seraglio of fifteen hundred women, who are slaves to his caprice. His mother was in that condition when Isaacs visited the country. She endured corporal chastisement from her son. A number of women and boys, belonging to the royal harem, and suspected of illicit

* Dahomey and the Dahomans, by J. E. Forbes; Dalzel's History of Dahomey; M'Leod's Account; John Duncan's Travels; Adams's Remarks on the West Coast; Adams's Sketches; Meredith's Account of the Gold Coast.

† Dupuis' Observations.

* Thompson and Allen's Expedition up the Niger.

intercourse, were massacred by the prince's orders. Adultery, indeed, was a thing of continual occurrence in the palace. Marriage is held among the people not as a sacred tie but as a state of friendship. All the people, however, are polygamists, and the laws of morality refer only to wives. With others the intercourse of the sexes is unrestrained. Men do not cohabit with their wives on the first night after their wedding. This ceremony among the rich is accompanied by a grand feast, though, as in other parts of Africa, the wife is bought—at the most for ten cows. A man cannot sell but may dismiss his wife, over whom also he has the power of life and death. Adultery is always capitally punished, that is, when discovered; for with eighty or ninety women in his possession, it is not always possible for the husband to watch their conduct—especially as they labour for his support. Girls are not allowed to marry or become concubines until the age of fourteen, until which period they go without clothing. The degrees of consanguinity, within which marriage is strictly prohibited, are very wide—an union being permitted only between the most distant relations.

It is necessary to observe that in the Zulu kingdom profligacy is more general among the men than among the women, for wives hold the marriage tie in great estimation. It is the unlimited power of the male sex over the other which forces it to become the prey of sensuality. Throughout the Eastern region, indeed, women are the mere instruments of pleasure, being bought and sold like cattle—forced to toil and live in drudgery for the benefit of their masters and husbands*.

Among the nomade and stationary tribes of the Sahara, who are not aboriginal to that region, we have a different system of manners. In the Arabian communities you may find women ready to perform indecent actions, and even to prostitute themselves for money; but these are of the low classes. Cases of adultery are rare.

The Mohammedans believe that a man cannot have too many wives, or, at least, too many concubines. They declare it assists their devotion; but the feeling is one merely sensual. Pure sentiment is a thing in which they can scarcely believe. Rich men who are accustomed to travel in pursuit of trade, have one family at Ghadames, another, perhaps, at Ghat, and another at Soudan, and live with each of

them by turns. These women stand in great fear of their husbands. The rich are veiled, and live in retirement; the poor do not; but all will unveil their faces to a stranger, if it can be done with safety. The white, or respectable women of Ghadames, never descend into the streets, or even into the gardens of their houses. The flat roof of their dwelling is their perpetual promenade, and a suite of two or three rooms their abode. It is said that in these retreats many of the women privately rule their husbands, though no men will confess the fact. Among the Marabouts it is held disgraceful to be unmarried, but shameful also to be under the wife's control.

The negresses and half-castes who may be seen in the streets of the cities of the Sahara, are generally slaves. The women of the Touarik tribes, however, are by no means so. They belong to a fierce and warlike tribe, half vagrant, half stationary, and are bound by few restrictions. Their morals are described as superior to those of the lower class of women in Europe; though exceptions, of course, are found. One Touarik woman offered to prostitute herself to Richardson for a sum of money; or, as it was expressed, to become his wife.

Polygamy, though universally allowed in the Sahara, is not carried to an extent at all equal to that prevailing in the savage regions on the east and west. Three wives usually occupy the harem of a rich man. Marriage is, as usual with people of that religion, a civil contract with a shade of sanctity upon it, but celebrated with great feasts and rejoicings. The bridegroom is expected to live in retirement during two or three weeks. He occasionally walks about the town at evening alone, dressed in gay clothes of blue and scarlet, and bearing a fine long stave of brass or polished iron. He never speaks or is spoken to, and vanishes on meeting any one.

The manners of the communities in the Sahara are imperfectly known; but from the accounts we have received they appear to be of a far more elevated order than those of any other part of Africa. It is true that customs prevail which shock our ideas of decency. A chief, for instance, offered Richardson his two daughters as wives. It is also true that many women exist who follow the profession of prostitutes, though we have no distinct account of them. But immorality is usually among them a secret crime. Their general customs with regard to sexual intercourse are at least as pure as those of Europe. Among the wandering tribes of the desert the hardship of their lives, continual occu-

* Isaacs' Travels on the East Coast; Captain Owen's Voyage.

pation, varied scenes of excitement, and contempt for sensual enjoyments, contribute to preserve chastity among their virtues; while the Marabouts of the cities are of a generally moral character. Intoxication never happens among the women. Still, the condition of the sex is degraded; for they are, with exceptions, regarded only as the materials of a man's household, and ministers to the sensual enjoyments of his life*. The Mohammedans of Central Africa, bigoted as to dogmas, are nevertheless more liberal to women, who enjoy more consideration among them than in the more important strongholds of that religion†.

The wandering Arabs of Algeria hold marriage as a business transaction, though the estimation of the sex is not low. The lover brings to the woman's home ten head of cattle, with other presents, which usually form her dowry. The father asks, "How much does she whom you are going to have for wife cost you?" He replies, "A prudent and industrious woman can never be too dear." She is dressed, placed on a horse, and borne to her new home amid rejoicing. She then drinks the cup of welcome, and thrusting a stick into the ground, declares, "As this stick will remain here until some one forces it away, so will I." She then performs some little office to show she is ready for the duty of a wife, and the ceremony is ended‡.

Transferring our observations to Abyssinia, we find in its several divisions different characteristics of manners. In Tajura, on the Red Sea, profligacy is a conspicuous feature of society. Men live with their wives for a short period, and then sell them, maintaining thus a succession of favourites in their harems. Parents, also, are known not only to sell their daughters as wives, but to hire them out as prostitutes. One chief offered a traveller his daughter either as a temporary or a permanent companion; he showed another whom he would have sold for 100 dollars. One woman presented herself, stating, as a recommendation, that she had already lived with five men. These are nothing but prostitutes, whatever the delicacy of travellers induces them to term them. Unfortunately the inquiries made into this system are very slight, affording us no statistics or results of any kind. We are thus left to judge of mo-

rality in Tajura by the fact that syphilis afflicts nearly the whole population, man and woman, sultan and beggar, priests and their wives included.

In the Christian kingdom of Shoa, the Christian king has one wife, and 500 concubines; seven in the palace, thirteen at different places in the outskirts, and the rest in various parts of his dominions. He makes a present to the parents of any women he may desire, and is usually well paid in return for the honour. The governors of cities and provinces follow this example, keeping establishments of concubines at different places. Scores of the royal slaves are cast aside, and their place supplied by others.

In Shoa there are two kinds of marriage; one a mere agreement to cohabitation, another a holy ceremony; the former is almost universally practised. The men and women declare before witnesses that they intend to live happily together. The connection thus easily contracted is easily broken; mutual consent only is necessary to a divorce. In Shoa a wife is valued according to the amount of her property. The heiress to a house, a field and a bedstead, is sure to have a husband. When they quarrel and part, a division of goods takes place. Holy ceremonies are very rare, and not much relished. A wedded couple, in one sense of the term, is a phenomenon. Instances of incontinence are frequent; while the caprice of the men leads them often to increase the number of their concubines. These are procured as well from the Christians as from the Mohammedans and Pagans; but the poor girls professing these religions are forced to a blind profession of Christianity. Favourite slaves and concubines hold the same position with married women; while illegitimate and legitimate children are treated by the law with no distinction. Three hundred of the king's concubines are slaves, taken in war or purchased from dealers. They are guarded by fifty eunuchs, and live in seclusion; though this by no means prevents the court from overflowing with licentiousness. Numerous adulteries take place, and this example is followed by the people; among whom a chaste married couple is not common.

Women in Abyssinia, which is an agricultural country, mix freely with the men, and dance in their company; though a few jealous husbands or cautious parents seclude them. Morality is at an extremely low ebb. At the Christmas saturnalia, gross and disgusting scenes occur, as well as at other feasts. What else can be ex-

* Richardson's Travels in the Sahara.

† Account of Africa, by Jameson, Wilson, and Hugh Murray.

‡ Count St. Marie's Visit to Algeria.

pected in a country where 12,000 priests live devoted, in theory at least, to celibacy; and where, at the annual baptisms, these priests, with men, women, and children strip naked, and rush in promiscuous crowds into a stream, where they are baptised according to the Christian religion! The sacerdotal class of Shoa is notoriously drunken and profligate. Another cause of corruption is the caprice which induces men to abandon their concubines after short cohabitation with them. These women, discarded and neglected, devote themselves to an infamous profession, and thus immorality is perpetuated through every grade of their society: in a word, the morals of Shoa are of the lowest description. In the Mohammedan states in its neighbourhood the condition of the sex is no better. If there is less general prostitution, it is because every woman is the slave of some man's lust, and is imprisoned under his eye. He is jealous only of her person; scarcely attributing to her a single quality which is not perceptible to his senses*.

In the southern provinces of Kordofan, under the government of Egypt, south of the Nubian Mountains, immense labour is imposed on the unmarried girls; yet the sentiment of love is not altogether unknown to them, and men fight duels with whips of hippopotamus hide on account of a disputed mistress. The wife is nevertheless a virtual slave, and still more degraded should she prove barren; the husband, in that case, solaces himself with a concubine, who, if she bears a child, is elevated to the rank of wife. It is common among the rich for a man to make his wife a separate allowance after the birth of her second child, when she goes to live in a separate hut. All their bloom is gone by the time they are twenty-four years old, and thenceforward they enjoy no estimation from the men. Yet, improvident in their hearts, the young girls of Kordofan are merry; and, whether at work or idle, spend the day in songs and laughter; while in the evening they assemble and dance to the music of the Tarabuka drum. Their demeanour, in general, is modest, and their lives are chaste. Married women, on the contrary, especially those who are neglected by their husbands, occupy themselves in gossip, and find solace in criminal intrigues. In some parts of the country,

* These views of Abyssinian society are afforded by Bruce, and lately by Gogot, and have been contradicted by Mr. Salt. They are fully corroborated, however, by the more recent and valuable authority of Sir Cornwallis Harris.

indeed, men consider it an honour for their wives to have intercourse with others; and the women are often forwarded in their advances. Female slaves often have liberty when they bear children to their proprietors.

Women eat when the men have done, and pretty dancers attend at the feasts to amuse their employers. These girls, like the Ghawazee of Lower Egypt, are usually prostitutes, and very skilful in the arts of seduction. Numbers of this class fled from Egypt into Kordofan, on one occasion, when Mohammed Ali, in one of his affected fits of morality, endeavoured to suppress their calling altogether.

Marriage, it may be scarcely necessary to say, is concluded without the woman's consent. The man bargains for her, pays her price, takes her home, strips off her virginal girdle, which is the only garment of unmarried girls, and covers her with a cloth about her loins; a feast and a dance occasionally celebrate the event. When a wife is ill-treated beyond endurance, she demands a divorce; and, taking her female offspring, with her dowry, returns home. Trifles often produce these separations. That her husband has not allowed her sufficient pomatum to anoint her person with, is not unfrequently the ground of complaint. Few men in Kordofan have more than two wives; but most have concubines besides, whom the more opulent protect by a guard of eunuchs.

These remarks apply to the agricultural or fixed population. The Baghaira, or wandering pastoral tribes of Kordofan, are a modest, moral race—naked, but not on that account indecent*.

A chief of the Berbers offered a late traveller the choice of his two daughters for a bedfellow. They were already both married. Women there, however, as well as in Dongola, are, many of them, ready to prostitute themselves for a present. A virgin, whether as wife or concubine, may be purchased for a horse. "Why do you not marry?" said a traveller to a young Berber. He pointed to a colt and answered "When that is a horse I shall marry."†

The condition of women and state of manners on the upper borders of the Nile, we find described in Ferdinand Werne's account of his recent voyage to discover the sources of the White Stream. The system in Khartum may be indicated by one sentence in the traveller's own language. He speaks of desiring that the pay

* Ignatius Palme's Travels in Kordofan.

† Expedition to Dongola and Sennaar.

might be advanced to prevent starvation from visiting the soldiers' families, "which, from the low price of female slaves, were numerous." It may, without resort to hyperbole, be said, that the female monkeys peopling the neighbouring woods occupy a far nobler and more natural position. Among the barbarians on the banks of the river further up, the state of manners is in a great degree more pure. The Keks, for example, are described as leading a blameless life. The travellers saw no marriageable maidens or children, married women alone appearing. The most singular social economy prevails among them. The women live, during a considerable part of the year, in villages apart from the men, who possess only temporary huts. Their wives have regular substantial habitations, which are common to both sexes during the rainy season. A man dare not approach the "harem village," except at the proper period, though some of the women occasionally creep into their husbands' village. Polygamy is allowed, but only practised by the chiefs, since all the wives are bought, which renders the indulgence costly.

Among some of the tribes on the banks of the White Nile women will sell their children if they can do so with profit. Everywhere in that region the maidens mingle naked with the men, but appear by no means immodest. When married they wear an apron. All exhibit a sense of shame at exhibiting themselves unclothed before strangers. Beyond the Mountains of the Moon, however, Werne found people, among whom the unmarried men and women were separated. They were completely naked, but chaste and decent nevertheless. A heavy price was always asked for a girl, which prevented common polygamy, though their social code permitted it*.

It must be evident that, in an inquiry like the present, a view of the manners and morals of Africa with regard to the female sex must be incomplete. In the first place, our information is very limited; in the second, we are confined for space—for otherwise these sketches could be extended to an indefinite extent. We have, however, taken observations in Southern, in Western, in Eastern, in Northern, and Central Africa. Kingdoms and communities, indeed, there are which we have not included in our description. Of these some wear features so similar to others we have noticed, that to particularise them is unnecessary in a general view. Of others,

* Werne's Expedition up the White Nile.

such as Egypt, Nubia, Barca, Tripoli, Algiers, and Morocco, we shall treat in a future division of the subject, because they are not included, by the character of their civilization, among the communities of which we have hitherto spoken. The reader will, we trust, have been enabled to form a fair idea of the average of morals among the savages and semi-savages of Africa. With modern barbarians, as with ancient states, tabular statistics are impossible: but from a description in general terms, we cannot always refuse to ground a confident opinion.

WOMEN IN AUSTRALIA.

IN Australia we have a family of the human race still more uneducated, though not more barbarous, than that which inhabits the woods of the African continent. There is among them less approach to the arts of civilization, less ingenuity, less intelligence, but there is more simplicity. Their customs are not so brutal as those prevailing on the banks of the Joliba or the Senegal. Nevertheless they are true savages, and the condition of their women is consistent with all the other features of their irreclaimed state. Of the Australians, however, as of all races imperfectly known, there obtains in this country a vulgar idea drawn from the old accounts, which are little better than caricatures. They have been represented as a hideous race, scarcely elevated above the brute, blood-thirsty, destitute of human feeling, without any redeeming characteristics, and, moreover, incapable of civilization. Such a description is calculated only to mislead. The aborigines of Australia are certainly a low, barbarous, and even a brutal race, but the true picture of their manners, which form the expression of their character, is not without encouraging traits.

Considering the great extent of New Holland, it is surprising to find such an uniformity of character and customs, as we actually discover among its nations. The language, varied by dialects, the habits, social laws, and ideas of the people, are extremely similar, whether we visit them in that province called the Happy or in the districts around Port Essington. Consequently, though it occupy a large space on the map, this region will not require any very extended notice. An idea of the condition and morality of its women may be afforded by one general view, with reference to the various local peculiarities noticed by travellers.

The native inhabitants of Australia are generally nomadic. They dwell in tempo-

rary villages scattered over vast surfaces of country, and move from place to place, as the supply of provisions, spontaneously provided by the earth, is more or less abundant. Separated as they are into small isolated communities—rarely numbering more than eighty members—they resort to the borders of lakes and streams, which dry up at certain seasons, and force them to seek elsewhere a home. A rude copy of the patriarchal form of government prevails among them—old men being the rulers of the tribe.

The condition of women among these primitive savages is extremely low. They are servants of the stronger sex. In some of their dialects wife and slave are synonymous. All the labour devolves on her, and, as no form of agriculture is practised, this consists principally in the search for the means of life. She collects the daily food, she prepares the camp or the hut at night, she piles fire-wood, draws water, weaves baskets, carries all burdens, and bears the children on her back, and the return for all this willing devotion is frequently the grossest ill-usage.

There is no form of marriage ceremony observed. A man gets a wife in various ways. Sometimes she is betrothed to him while an infant—even before her birth, and sometimes she devolves to him with other property. The eldest surviving brother, or next male relative, inherits the women of a whole family. Thus many households are supplied. Others steal their wives from hostile tribes, and frequent wars arise from such proceedings. Polygamy is universally allowed, but not by any means generally practised; for there are few parts of Australia where the female sex is not outnumbered by the male. Plurality of wives consequently implies wealth and distinction—each additional one being regarded as a new slave, an increase of property. Nor are the women jealous of polygamy. When a man has many wives, they subdivide the labour, which otherwise would devolve on one, thus lightening each others' burdens, and procuring companionship. There can indeed be little jealous feeling where affection on the part of the husband to the wife is almost a thing unknown.

The Australian wife when past the prime of life is usually a wretched object. She is often deformed and crippled by excessive toil—her body bent, her legs crooked, her ankles swollen, her face wearing an aspect of sullen apathy, produced by long hardship. When young, however, they are frequently lively and happy, not being

cursed with keen feelings, and caring for little beyond the present hour. Should a young woman, nevertheless, be distinguished by peculiar beauty, she leads, while her attractions last, a miserable course of existence. Betrothed at an early age, she is perpetually watched by the future husband, and upon the least suspicion of infidelity is subjected to the most brutal treatment. To thrust a spear through her thigh or the calf of her leg is the common mode of punishment. She may, in spite of all precautions, be snatched away: whether consenting or not, she must endure the same penalty. If she be chaste, the man who has attempted to seduce her may strike her with a club, stun her, and bear her to a wood, where she is violated by force. Still she is punished, and it is, says Sir George Grey, no common sight to see a woman of superior elegance or beauty who has not some scars disfiguring various parts of her person. This period, however, is soon over, for the bloom of an Australian woman is very short-lived. When the seducer is found, he is punished in a similar manner, and if he have committed adultery with a married woman, suffers death.

The jealousy of the married men is excessive, and would be ridiculous were it not that their vigilance is absolutely called for. A careless husband would speedily suffer for his neglect. Accordingly we find the Australian savages practising in their woods or open plains restrictions not dissimilar to those adopted in the seraglios of the East. When an encampment is formed for the night every man overlooks his wives while they build one or more temporary huts, over which he then places himself as a guard. The young children and the unmarried girls occupy this portion of the village. Boys above ten years of age and all single men are forced to sleep in a separate encampment, constructed for them by their mothers, and are not allowed to visit the bivouacs of the married men. Under no circumstances is a strange native allowed to approach one of the family huts. Each of these little dwellings is placed far from the rest, so that when their inmates desire to hold converse they sing to each other from a distance. When the young men collect to dance, the maidens and wives are allowed to be spectators, but only on a few occasions to join. They have dances of their own, at which the youth of the other sex are not permitted to be present.

In spite of this excessive jealousy the idea of a husband's affection for his wife

appears strange to them. Men return from journeys without exchanging a greeting with the mothers of their children, but those children they salute with many endearing terms, falling on their necks and shedding tears with every demonstration of love. A man has been known, when his wife was grievously sick, to leave her to die in the wilderness, rather than be troubled with her on his journey.

Yet the influence of women is not by any means small. In some of the tribes they obtain a position of moderate equality with the husband, are well-fed, clothed, and treated as rational beings. Everywhere the men, young and old, strive to deserve their praise; and exhibitions of vanity take place, perfectly ludicrous to those European travellers who forget that the silly dandyism of the Australian savage, with his paint and opossum skin, is only peculiar in its form of expression. Women are often present on the field of battle, to inspire their husbands by exhortations, to rouse them by clamours of revenge or appeals to their valour; and among the chief punishments of cowardice is their contempt. The man failing in any great duty of a warrior is so disgraced. Thus, if he neglect to avenge the death of his nearest relation, his wives may quit him; the unmarried girls shun him with scorn, and he is driven by their reproaches to perform his bloody and dangerous task.

Where polygamy exists it is seldom the woman's consent is required before her union with a suitor. In Australia it is never required or expected. The transaction is entirely between her father and the man who desires her for a wife, or, rather, for a concubine. She is ordered, perhaps, to take up her household bag, and go to a certain man's hut, and this may be the first notice she has of the marriage. There she is in the position of a slave to her master. If she be obedient, toil without torture is her mitigated lot; but if she rebel, the club is employed to enforce submission. She is her husband's absolute property. He may give her away, exchange her, or lend her as he pleases. Indeed, old men will sometimes offer their wives to friends, or as a mark of respect to strangers; and the offer is not uncommonly accepted.

Though we have mentioned three ways of obtaining a wife, the system of betrothal is the most general. Almost every female child is so disposed of a few days after its birth. From that moment the parents have no control whatever over her future settlement; she is in fact a bought slave.

Should her betrothed die she becomes the property of his heir. Whatever her age she may be taken into the hut; cohabitation often commencing while the girl is not twelve years old, and her husband only a boy. Three days after her first husband's death the widow goes to the hut of the second.

Some restrictions, however, are imposed on the intercourse of the sexes. Thus all children take the family name of their mother, and a man may not marry a woman of his own family name. Relations nearer than cousins are not allowed to marry, and an alliance even within this degree is very rare. The Australians have, indeed, a horror of all connections with the least stigma of incest upon them, and adjudge the punishment of death to such an offence. Their laws, which are matters not of enactment but of custom, are extremely severe upon this and all other points connected with their women.

Chastity, nevertheless, is neither highly appreciated nor often practised. It is far from being prized by the women as a jewel of value; on the contrary, they plot for opportunities to yield it illicitly, and can scarcely be said to know the idea. Profligacy is all but universal among them; it is a characteristic even of the children. When some schools were formed at Perth, for the education of the natives, it was found absolutely necessary to separate children of tender years, in order to prevent scenes of vile debauch from being enacted. It should be said, however, that though indiscriminate prostitution among the women, and depraved sensuality among the men, exist in the most savage communities, disease and vice are far less characteristic of them than of those tribes which have come in contact with Europeans. In all the colonial towns there is a class of native women following the calling of prostitutes, and there the venereal disease and syphilis are most deadly and widely prevalent. The former appears to have been brought from Europe, and makes terrible havoc among them. The latter, ascribed by their traditions to the East, has been found among tribes which had apparently never held intercourse with the whites; in such cases, however, it is in a milder form.

Several causes contribute to the corruption of manners among these savage tribes. One of the principal is, the monopoly of women claimed by the old men. The patriarchs of the tribe, contrive to secure all the young girls, leaving to their more youthful brethren only common prosti-

tutes, prisoners of war, and such women as they can ravish from a neighbouring community, or seduce from their husbands' dwellings. They also abandon to them their own wives when 30 or 40 years old, obtaining in exchange the little girls belonging to the young man's family. The youthful warrior, therefore, with a number of sisters, can usually succeed in obtaining a few wives by barter. That their personal attractions are faded is not of any high importance; since they are needed chiefly to render him independent of labour. His sensual appetites he is content to gratify, until he becomes a patriarch, by illicit intrigues with other women of the tribe. Of these there are generally some ready to sell or give away their favours. The wives, especially of the very old chiefs, look anxiously forward to the death of their husbands, when they hope, in the usual course of inheritance, to be transferred to the hut of a younger man; for, among nations in this debased state, it is not the woman that is prized, but a woman. Personal attachment is rare. The husband whose wife has been ravished away by a warrior from a neighbouring tribe may be pacified by being presented with another companion. Even in Australia Felix, which is peopled by the most intelligent, industrious, and manly of the Australian race, the young man disappointed of a wife in his own tribe sets off to another, waylays some woman, asks her to elope with him, and, on her refusal, stuns her with his club, and drags her away in triumph. Marriage, indeed, appears too dignified a term to apply to this system of concubinage and servitude which in Australia goes under that name. Travellers have found in the far interior happy families of man and wife, roaming together, with common interests, and united by affection; but such instances are rare.

A large proportion of the young men in Australia can by no means obtain wives. This arises from the numerical disparity between the sexes, which is almost universal in that region, and is chiefly attributable to the practice of infanticide. Child-killing is indeed among the social institutions of that poor and barbarous race. Women have been known to kill and eat their offspring, and men to swing them by the legs and dash out their brains against a tree. The custom is becoming rare among those tribes in constant intercourse with Europeans, but that intercourse itself has caused much of the evil. Half-castes, or the offspring of native women by European fathers, are almost

invariably sacrificed. They are held in dread by the people, who fear the growth of a mixed race which may one day conquer or destroy them. Females, also, are killed in great numbers. This class of infanticide is regulated by various circumstances in different communities. Among some tribes all the girls are destroyed until a boy is born; in others, the firstborn is exposed; in others, all above a certain number perish; but everywhere the custom prevails. One of two twins—a rare birth—is almost always killed. It may be ascribed to the miserably poor condition of the people, and the degraded state of the female sex; for in a region where the aborigines have not yet learned to till the soil, and where the means of life are scanty, there will always be an inducement to check the growth of numbers by infanticide; and where women have to perform all the labour, and follow their husbands in long marches or campaigns, ministering to every want they may experience, the trouble of nursing an infant is often saved at the cost of the infant's life. Neglect also effects the same purpose.

The population, under these circumstances, has always been thin, and is apparently decreasing. Among 421 persons belonging to various tribes in Australia Felix, Eyre remarked that there were in the course of two years and a half only ten children reared. In other places one child to every six women was not an unusual average. This, however, is not all to be ascribed to infanticide. Many of the females abandon themselves so recklessly to vice that they lose all their natural powers, and become incapable of bearing offspring. Eyre found in other parts of Australia that the average of births was four to every woman. In New South Wales the proportion of women to men appears to be as two to three; while in the interior, Sturt calculated that female children outnumbered the male, while with adults the reverse was true. This indicates an awful spread of the practice of infanticide, which we cannot refuse to believe when we remember the facts which travellers of undeniable integrity have made known to us.

To suppose from this that in Australia the natural sentiments of humanity are unknown, would be extremely rash. On the contrary, we find very much that is beautiful in the character of its wild people, and are led to believe that civilization may go far towards elevating them from all their barbarous customs. Women are known to bear about their necks, as relics sacred to affection, the bones of their

children, whom they have mourned for years with a pure and deep sorrow. Men have loved and respected their wives; maidens have prized and guarded their virtue; but it is too true that these are exceptions, and that the character and the condition of the female sex in Australia is that of debasement and immorality.

With respect to the prostitute class of the colonial towns, to which allusion has been made, it will be noticed in another part of this inquiry, when we examine into the manners of English and other settlers abroad.

Of prostitutes as a class among the natives themselves, it is impossible to speak separately; for prostitution of that kind implies some advance towards the forms of regular society, and little of this appears yet to be made in that region. From the sketch we have given, however, a general idea may be gained of the state of women and the estimation of virtue among a race second only to the lowest tribes of Africa in barbarity and degradation*.

OF PROSTITUTION IN NEW ZEALAND.

IN the New Zealand group we find a race considerably elevated above the other inhabitants of Australasia, with a species of native civilization—a system of art, industry, and manners. Perhaps the savage of New Holland is one of the most miserable, and the New Zealander one of the most elevated, barbarians in the world. By this we do not mean that he has made any progress in refinement, or been subdued by the amiable amenities of life; but he is quick, intelligent, apt to learn, swift to imitate, and docile in the school of civilization. The Maories, in their original state, are low and brutal; but they are easily raised from that condition. They have exhibited a capacity for the reception of knowledge, and a desire to adopt what they are taught to admire—which encourage strong hopes of their reclamation. Among them, however, vice was, until recently, almost universal, and at the present

day it is so, with the exception of a few tribes brought directly under the influence of educated and moral European communities. The only class which has discarded the most systematic immorality is that which has reconciled itself to the Christian religion, or been persuaded to follow the manners of the white men. The unreclaimed tribes present a spectacle of licentiousness which distinguishes them even among barbarous nations.

They show, indeed, an advance in profligacy. Their immorality is upon a plan, and recognised in that unwritten social law which among barbarians remedies the want of a written code. It is not the beastly lust of the savage, who appears merely obedient to an animal instinct, against which there is no principle of morals or sentiment of decency to contend;—it is the appetite of the sensualist, deliberately gratified, and by means similar, in many respects, to those adopted among the lowest classes in Europe. We may, indeed, compare the Maori village, unsubjected to missionary influence, with some of the hamlets in our rural provinces, where moral education of every kind is equally an exile.

The New Zealanders have been divided into the descendants of two races, the one inferior to the other; and the Malay has been taken as the superior. Ethnologists may prove a difference between them, and trace it through their manners; but these distinctions of race are not sufficiently marked to require separate investigations. The social institutions of the islanders are very generally the same, with some unimportant variations among the several tribes. We are placed in this peculiar difficulty when inquiring into the manners of New Zealand—that they appear to have undergone considerable modification since, and in consequence of, the arrival of Europeans. The natives refer to this change themselves, and in some cases charge the whites with introducing various evils into their country. Undoubtedly this is as true of New Zealand as of every other portion of the globe whither men have carried from Christendom the vices as well as the advantages of civilization. But in speaking of European settlers, a broad distinction must be borne in mind. White is not more contrasted with black, than are the regular orderly colonies established under the authority of Great Britain with the irregular scattered settlements planted by whalers, runaway or released convicts, land speculators, and other adventurers before the formal hoisting of our flag. The

* See Sturt's Two Expeditions, and Sturt's Expedition to Central Australia; Westgarth's Australia Felix; Leichardt's Expeditions; Hodgson's Australian Settlements; Haydon's Australia Felix; Stoke's Discoveries; Angus' Savage Life and Scenes; Sir George Grey's Journals; Eyre's Expedition; Pridden's History; Earl, Mackenzie, Mitchell, Howitt, Mudie, Macconochie, Oxley, Henderson, Cunningham, with the other travellers and residents, almost innumerable, who have described the aborigines of Australia.

influence of the one has been to enlighten and to elevate, of the other to debase and demoralize, the native population. Gambling, drinking, and prostitution were encouraged or introduced by the one, Christianity, order, and morality are spreading through the exertions of the other; and it is, therefore, unjust to confound them in one general panegyric or condemnation. Nor shall we include all the unrecognised settlements in this description. Many of the hardy whalers and others have taken to themselves Maori wives, who, sober, thrifty, and industrious, submit without complaining to rough usage and hard work, and are animated by a deep affection for their husbands. Contented with a calico gown and blanket, an occasional pipe of tobacco, and a very frugal life, they cost little to support, and appear for the most part not only willing but cheerful.

The female sex throughout New Zealand is not in such complete subjection to the male as in New Holland. With the right they have acquired the power to resist any unnatural encroachment upon their liberties, though still in a state of comparative bondage. They are influential in society, and whenever this is the case they enjoy, more or less, remission of oppression. We find them declaiming at public meetings of the people, and fiercely denouncing the warriors who may be dishonourably averse to war, or have behaved ignominiously in the field. By influencing their friends and relatives they often secure to themselves revenge for an injury, and thus security against the same in future. In various other ways their position is defended against utter abasement. They are not regarded merely as subservient to the lust and indolence of the male sex. When dead they are buried with ceremony according to the husband's rank, and formal rites of mourning are observed for them. In public and in domestic affairs their opinions are consulted, and often their hands are obtained in marriage by the most humble supplication, or the most difficult course of persuasion, by the lover. All this is evidence of a higher state than that which is occupied by females either in Africa or New Holland.

Polygamy is permitted and practised by those who can afford it. In reality, however, the man has but one wife and a number of concubines, for though the second and third may be ceremoniously wedded to him, they are in subjection to the first, and his intercourse with them is frequently checked by her. She is paramount and all but supreme, though a man

of determination will sometimes divorce his first wife to punish her contumelious behaviour to his second.

It is customary for a man to marry two or more sisters, the eldest being recognised as the chief or head of the family. They all eat with the men, accompanying them, as well as their lovers and relations, before marriage, on their war expeditions or to their feasts. Betrothal takes place at a very early age—often conditionally before birth. Thus two brothers or two friends will agree that if their first children prove respectively a boy and a girl, they shall be married. When it is not settled so early, it is arranged during infancy, or at least childhood—for a girl of sixteen without an accepted lover is regarded as having outlived her attractions and all chance of an alliance. The betrothal is usually the occasion of a great feast, where wishes for the good success and welfare of the young couple are proclaimed by a company of friends. Three varieties of marriage formality are observed—differing as the girl is wanted to fill the place of first, second, third, or fourth wife. The first is a regular ceremony, the second less formal, and the last, which is merely conventional, is when a slave is raised from servitude to the marital embrace. The highest is that in which the priest pronounces a benediction, and a hope, not a prayer, for the prosperity of the married couple. The rest, which is the most approved and common, is for the man to conduct his betrothed to his hut, and she is thenceforward mistress of the place. Unless she be divorced, no one can take away her power, and no inferior wife can divide it. When they have entered the dwelling a party of friends surround it, make an attack, force their way, strip the newly-married pair nearly naked, plunder all they can find, and retire. By taking a woman to his house a man makes her his wife, or virtually, except in the case of the first, his concubine. When he merely desires to cohabit with one, without being formally united to her, he visits her habitation.

Though polygamy or concubinage has been practised in New Zealand from immemorial time, jealousy still burns among the wives as fiercely as in any Christian country where the institution is forbidden by the social law. It is the cause of bitter domestic feuds. The household, with a plurality of women, is rarely at peace. It is universally known to what an extent the jealousy of the Dutch women in Batavia carried them when their husbands indulged in the practice—common in Dutch

settlements—of keeping female slaves. They watched their opportunity, and when it occurred would carry a poor girl into the woods, strip her entirely naked, smear her person all over with honey, and leave her to be tortured by the attacks of insects and vermin. A similar spirit of ferocious jealousy is characteristic of the women in New Zealand. The inferior wives consequently lead a miserable life, subjected to the severest tyranny from the chief, who makes them her handmaids, and sometimes terrifies her husband from marital intercourse with them. She exposes them to perpetual danger by endeavouring to insinuate into his mind suspicions of their fidelity, and thus the household is rendered miserable. When a man takes a journey he is usually accompanied by one of his wives, or, if he goes alone, will bring one back with him. Hence arise bitter heart-burnings and quarrels. Occasionally they lead to the death of one among the disputants, and frequently to infanticide.

So furious are the passions of the women when their jealousy is excited against their younger rivals, that many of the chiefs in New Zealand fear to enjoy the privilege allowed them by their social law. When they resolve upon it, they often proceed with a caution very amusing to contemplate. More than one anecdote in illustration of this is related in the works of recent travellers. A man having a first wife of bad temper and faded beauty, whom he fears, nevertheless, to offend altogether, is attracted by some young girl of superior charms, and offers to take her home; she accepts, and the husband prepares to execute his design. It is often long before he acquires courage to inform his wife, and only by the most skilful mixture of persuasion, management, and threats, that she is ever brought to consent. Women captured in battle, however, may be made slaves, or taken at once to their captor's bed. Thus raised from actual slavery, their condition is little improved. The tyranny of the chief wife is exercised to oppress, insult, and irritate them. Should one of them prove pregnant, her mistress—especially if herself barren—will often exert the most abominable arts to ensure her miscarriage, that the husband may be disappointed of his child, and the concubine of his favour which would thence accrue to her.

Divorces, according to the testimony of most writers, are not unfrequent in New Zealand. Among the ordinary causes are, mere decline of conjugal affection, barrenness in the wife, and a multiplication of

concubines. A stepmother ill-treating the children, or a mother wantonly killing one of them, is liable to divorce. The latter is not an useless precaution, for jealous wives have been known in cold blood to murder an infant, merely to revenge themselves upon their husbands, or irritate them into divorce. A woman extravagantly squandering the common property, idling her time, playing the coquette, becoming suspected of infidelity, or refusing to admit a new wife into the house, is sometimes put away. This is effected by expelling her from the house. When it is she who seeks it, she flies to her relatives or friends. Should the husband be content with his loss, both are at liberty to marry; but if he desire to regain her, he seeks to coax her back, and, failing in that, employs force. She is compelled to submit unless her parents are powerful enough to defend her—for in New Zealand arms are the arbiters of law. When the desire to separate is mutual, it is effected by agreement, which is a complete release to both. If the husband insist on taking away the children, he may, but he is forbidden, on pain of severe punishment, from annoying his former wife any further.

There is among the New Zealanders a rite known as *Tapu*, and the person performing it is sacred against the touch of another. While in this condition no contact is allowed with any person or thing. There are, however, comparative forms of *Tapu*. Thus a woman, in the matter of sexual intercourse, is *tapu* to all but her husband, and adultery is severely punished. Formerly the irrevocable remedy was death, and this may still be inflicted; but jealousy is seldom strong in the New Zealand husband, who often contents himself with receiving a heavy fine from his enemy. The crime is always infamous, but not inexpiable. The husband occasionally, when his wife has been guilty, takes her out of the house, strips her, and exposes her entirely naked, then receiving her back with forgiveness. The paramour usually attempts to fly. If he be not put to death, he also is sometimes subjected to a similar disgrace. When a wife discovers any girl carrying on a secret and illicit connection with her husband, a favourite mode of revenge is, to strip and expose her in this manner. For, in New Zealand, libidinous as the conduct of the people may be, their outward behaviour is, on the whole, decorous. They indulge in few indecencies before a third person. The exposure of the person is one of the most terrible punishments which can be inflicted. A woman

has hanged herself on its being said that she has been seen naked. One girl at Karawanga, on the river Thames, charged with this offence, was hung up by the heels and ignominiously flogged before all the tribe. Shame drove her mad, and she shot herself. They are otherwise obscene, and the children are adepts in indecency and immorality. One strong characteristic of their rude attempts at art is the obscenity in their paintings and carvings. In those singular specimens which crowd the rocks of Depuch Island, on the coast of New Holland, not a trace of this grossness is visible.

One of the most melancholy features in the manners of this barbarous race, is the prevalence of infanticide. The Christian converts, as well as some of the natives who hold frequent intercourse with the more respectable Europeans, have abandoned it, as well as polygamy; but, with these exceptions, it is general throughout the thinly-scattered population of New Zealand. It almost always takes place immediately after birth, before the sentiment of maternal affection grows strong in the mother's breast. After keeping a child a little while they seldom, except under the influence of frenzy, destroy it. As they have said to travellers, they do not look on them, lest they should love them. The weakly or deformed are always slain. The victim is sometimes buried alive, sometimes killed by violent compression of its head. This practice has contributed greatly to keep the population down. It is openly and unblushingly pursued, the principal victims being the females. The chief reasons for it are usually—revenge in the woman against her husband's neglect, poverty, dread of shame, and superstition. One of the most common causes is the wife's belief that her husband cares no longer for his offspring. The priests, whose low cunning is as characteristic of the class in those islands as elsewhere, frequently demand a victim for an oblation of blood to the spirit of evil, and never fail to extort the sacrifice from some poor ignorant mother. Another injurious and unnatural practice is, that of checking or neutralizing the operations of nature by procuring abortion.

Tyrone Power, in his observations on the immorality prevalent in New Zealand, remarks that some of the young girls, betrothed from an early age, are *tapu*, and thus preserved chaste. He regrets that this superstition is not more influential, since it would check the system of almost universal and indiscriminate prostitution,

which prevails among those not subject to this rite. Except when the woman is *tapu*, her profligacy is neither punished nor censured. Fathers, mothers, and brothers will, without a blush, give, sell, or lend on hire, the persons of their female relatives. The women themselves willingly acknowledge the bargain, and Mr. Power declares the most modest of them will succumb to a liberal offer of money. Nor is anything else to be expected, in any general degree. The children are educated to obscenity and vice. Their intercourse is scarcely restrained, and the early age at which it takes place has proved physically injurious to the race. Even those who are betrothed in infancy and rendered *tapu* to each other, commence cohabitation before they have emerged, according to English ideas, from childhood. Except in the case of those couples thus pledged before they can make a choice of their own, the laws which in New Zealand regulate the intercourse of the sexes with regard to preparations for marriage, approach in spirit to our own. A man desiring to take as wife a woman who is bound by no betrothment has to court her, and sometimes does so with supplication. The girls exhibit great coyness of manner, and are particular in hiding their faces from the stranger's eye. When they bathe it is in a secluded spot; but they exercise all the arts which attract the opposite sex. When one or two suitors woo an independent woman, the choice is naturally given to the wealthiest; but should she decline to fix her preference on either, a desperate feud occurs, and she is won by force of arms. Sometimes a young girl is seized by two rivals, who pull on either side until her arms are loosened in the sockets, and one gives way.

Perhaps, under these circumstances, the system of betrothal is productive of useful results, since it prevents the feuds and conflicts which might otherwise spring from the rivalry of suitors. The girl thus bound must submit to marriage with the man, whatever may be her indifference or aversion to him. Occasionally, indeed, some more youthful, or otherwise attractive, lover gains her consent to an elopement. If caught, however, both of the culprits are severely whipped. Should the young suitor be of poor and mean condition, he runs the chance of being robbed and murdered for his audacity. When, on the contrary, a powerful chief is desirous of obtaining a maiden who is betrothed, he has little difficulty in effecting his object, for in New Zealand the liberty of the individual is proportionate to his strength. It

is a feudal system, where the strong may evade the regulations of the social law, and the weak must submit. Justice, however, to the missionaries in those islands requires us to add, that in the districts where their influence is strong, a beneficial change in this, as in other respects, has been produced upon the people. They acknowledge more readily the supremacy of law; they prefer a judicial tribunal to the trial of arms; they restrain their animal passions in obedience to the moral code which has been exhibited to them; and many old polygamists have put away all their wives but one, contented to live faithfully with her.

Among the heathen population chastity is not viewed in the same light as with us. It is not so much required from the *woman* as from the *wife*, from the *young girl* as from the *betrothed maiden*. In fact, it signifies little more than faithful conduct in marriage, not for the sake of honour or virtue, but for that of the husband. With such a social theory, we can expect no general refinement in morality. Indeed, the term is not translatable into the language of New Zealand. Modesty is a fashion, not a sentiment, with them. The woman who would retire from the stranger's gaze may, previous to marriage or betrothal, intrigue with any man without incurring an infamous reputation. Prostitution is not only a common but a recognised thing. Men care little to receive virgins into their huts as wives. Husbands have boasted that their wives had been the concubines of Europeans; and one declared to Polack that he was married to a woman who had regularly followed the calling of a prostitute among the crews of ships in the harbour. This he mentioned with no inconsiderable pride, as a proof of the beauty of the prize he had carried away.

Formerly many of the chiefs dwelling on the coast were known to derive a part of their revenue from the prostitution of young females. It was, indeed, converted into a regular trade, and to a great extent with the European ships visiting the group. The handsomest and plumpest women in the villages were chosen, and bartered for certain sums of money or articles of merchandise, some for a longer, some for a shorter period. The practice is now, if not abolished, at least held in great reprobation, as the following anecdote will show. It exhibits the depraved manners of the people in a striking light, and is an illustration of that want of affection between married people which has been remarked as a characteristic of the New Zealanders. A chief from

Wallatani, in the Bay of Plenty, went on an excursion to the Bay of Islands, and was accompanied by his wife and her sister. There he met a chief of the neighbourhood, who possessed some merchandise which he coveted. He at once offered to barter the chastity of his wife for the goods, and the proposal was accepted. The woman told her sister of the transaction, and she divulged the secret. So much reproach was brought upon the chief among his people, that he shot his wife's sister to punish her incontinent tongue.

Jerningham Wakefield describes the arrival of the whalers in port. He mentions as one of the most important transactions following this event, the providing of the company with "wives for the season." Some had their regular helpmates, but others were forced to hire women. Bargains were formally struck, and when a woman failed to give satisfaction, she was exchanged for another. She was at once the slave and the companion of her master. This is neither more nor less than a regular system of prostitution; but it is gradually going out of fashion, and is only carried on in a clandestine manner in the colonies properly so called. Indeed this is, unfortunately, one of the chief products of imperfect civilization—that vice, which before was open, is driven into the dark; it is not extirpated, but is concealed. A man offered his wife to the traveller Earl, and the woman was by no means loth to prostitute herself for a donation. Barbarians readily acquire the modes of vice practised by Europeans. In the criminal calendar of Wellington for 1846, we find one native convicted and punished for keeping a house of ill-fame.

Extraordinary as it may appear, prostitution in New Zealand has tended to cure one great evil. It has largely checked the practice of infanticide. For, as the female children were usually destroyed, it was on the supposition that, instead of being valuable, they would be burdensome to their parents. This continued to be the case until the discovery was made that by prostituting the young girls considerable profits might be made. It is to Europeans that the introduction of this idea is chiefly owing. The females were then, in many cases, carefully reared, and brought up to this dishonourable calling without reluctance. No difficulty was ever experienced from their resistance, as they would probably have become prostitutes of their own free will, had they not been directed to the occupation. Slavery, which has from the earliest time existed in New Zealand,

has supplied the materials of prostitution, female servants being consigned to it. When possessed of any attractions they are almost invariably debauched by their masters, and frequently suffer nameless punishments from the jealous head wife. Concubinage does not, as in some other countries, release a woman from servitude, but she enjoys a privilege which is denied to the chief wife—she may marry again after her master's death.

Formerly the general custom, however, was for a wife to hang, drown, strangle, or starve herself on the death of her husband. Her relatives often gave her a rope of flax, with which she retired to a neighbouring thicket and died. It was not a peremptory obligation, but custom viewed it as almost a sacred duty. Sometimes three of the wives destroyed themselves, but generally one victim sufficed. Self-immolation is now, indeed, becoming very rare; but it is still the practice for the widow, whether she loved her husband or not, to lament him with loud cries, and lacerate her flesh upon his tomb. Whenever she marries again a priest is consulted to predict whether she will survive the second husband or not. Occasionally we find instances of real attachment between man and wife, such as would sanctify any family hearth; while examples have occurred of women hanging themselves for sorrow, on the death of a betrothed lover.

These, however, are only indications that humanity is not in New Zealand universally debased below the brute condition. The general colour of the picture is dark. Women are degraded; men are profligate; virtue is unknown in its abstract sense; chastity is rare; and prostitution a characteristic of female society. Fathers, mothers, and brothers—usually the guardians of a young woman—prostitute her for gain, and the women themselves delight in this vice. There is, nevertheless, some amelioration observable in the manners of the people, produced by the influence of the English colonies. Those colonies themselves, however, are not free from the stain, as will be shown when we treat of communities of that description in general*.

OF PROSTITUTION IN THE ISLANDS OF THE PACIFIC.

AMONG the innumerable islands which are scattered over the surface of the Pacific,

* Tyrone Power's *Pen and Pencil Sketches*; Angas's *Savage Life and Scenes*; *Handbook of New Zealand*, by a Magistrate of the Colony; Dieffenbach's *Travels*; Brown on the *Aborigines*; Jerningham Wakefield; Earl's *Travels*, &c., &c.

we discover various phases of manners developed under different influences. In some of the lonely groups lying out of the usual course of trade or travel, communities exist whose social habits remain entirely pure—that is, unchanged by intercourse with foreigners. In others continual communication through a long period, with white men, has wholly changed the characteristic aspects of the people—given them a new religion, a new moral code, new ideas of decency and virtue, new pleasures, and new modes of life. The same process appears likely, at a future day, to obliterate the ancient system of things. In all the islands of this class, indeed, the reform of manners is not so thorough as the florid accounts of the missionaries would induce us to believe; but those pioneers of civilization have done enough, without assuming more than their due, to deserve the praise of all Christendom. To have restrained the fiercest passions of human nature among ignorant and wilful savages; to have converted base libidinous heathens into decent Christians; to have checked the practice of polygamy; and in many places to have extinguished the crime of infanticide;—these are achievements which entitle the missionaries to the applause and respect of Europe; but it is no disparagement of their labours to show, where it is true, that immense things yet remain to be performed before the islanders of the Pacific are raised to the ordinary level of civilized humanity.

The main family of the Pacific—the Society, the Friendly, the Sandwich, the Navigators', and the Marquesas Islands—present a state of society interesting and curious. Inhabiting one of the most beautiful regions on the face of the earth, with every natural advantage, the inhabitants of those groups were originally among the most degraded of mankind. Superior to the savage hordes of Africa and the wandering tribes of Australia, they are in physical and intellectual qualities inferior to the natives of New Zealand, though excelling them in simplicity and willingness to learn.

Tahiti may be considered the capital of Polynesia, as it is the head of its politics, trade, and general civilization. Before the settlement of the missionaries and the introduction of a new social scheme, its manners were barbarous and disgusting. The condition of the female sex corresponded to this order of things. It was humiliated to the last degree. Most of the men, by a sacred rite, were rendered too holy for any intercourse with the women

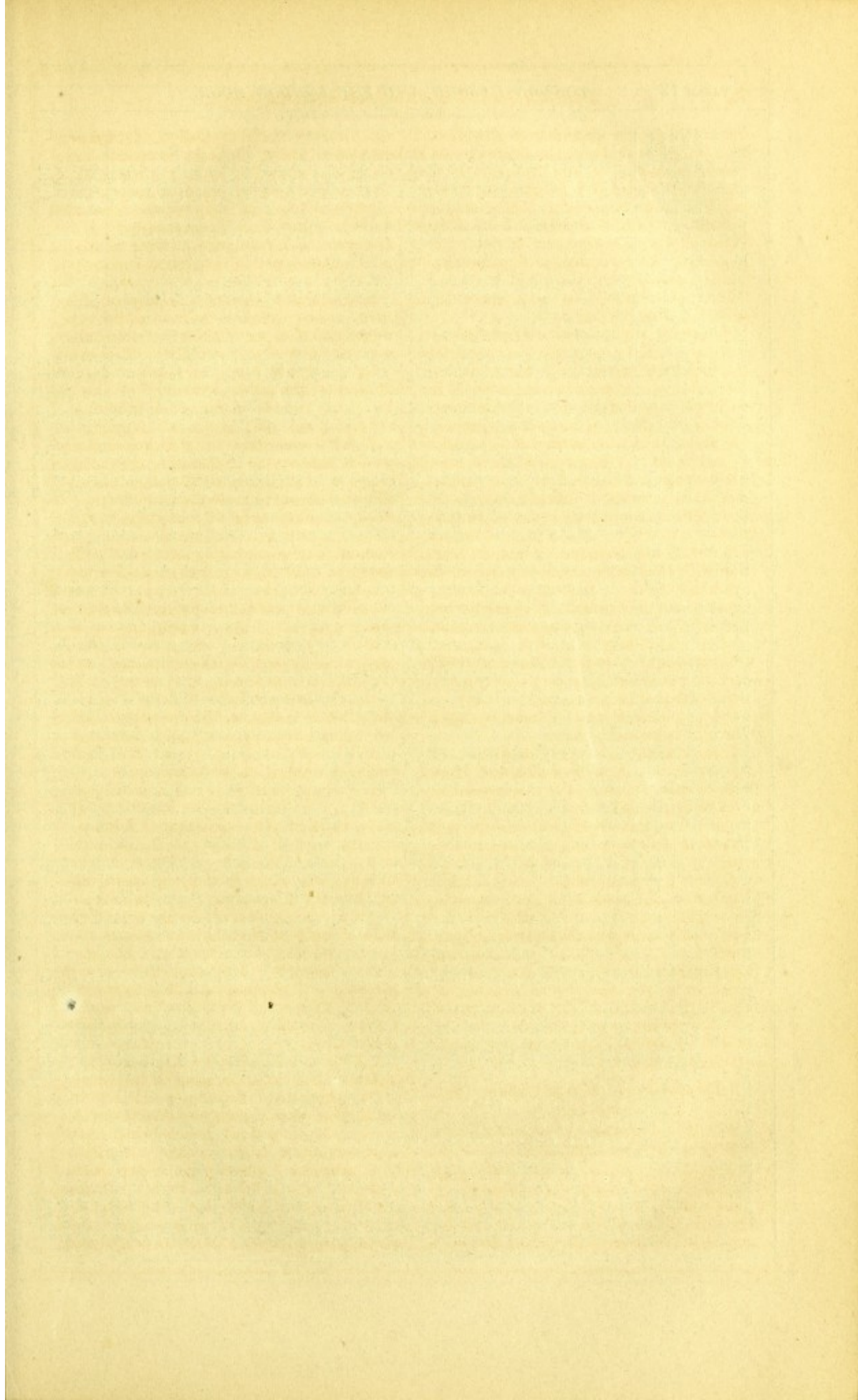


TABLE IX.

LONDON LABOUR AND THE LONDON POOR.

TABLE SHOWING THE CRIMINALITY OF THE DIFFERENT COUNTIES OF ENGLAND AND WALES WITH REGARD TO RAPE.

COUNTIES.	Average Population from 1831-50.	Total Number Committed for Rape.										Total for 10 Years.	Annual Average.	No. committed annually for Rape in every 10,000,000 Persons.	Proportion per Cent above and below the Aver. † denotes above, * below.
		1841.	1842.	1843.	1844.	1845.	1846.	1847.	1848.	1849.	1850.				
Bedford .	121,083	2	2	...	...	1	...	...	1	1	1	8	.8	66	*2.9
Berks .	194,763	1	1	1	3	...	...	...	3	1	2	12	1.2	62	*8.8
Bucks .	140,959	1	1	2	7	...	...	2	...	5	2	22	2.2	156	+129.4
Cambridge	180,747	1	...	...	...	1	2	2	1	1	2	10	1.0	55	*19.1
Chester .	395,919	1	9	7	6	...	7	1	11	2	6	50	5.0	126	+85.3
Cornwall	349,991	7	1	1	2	1	3	...	5	2	2	24	2.4	68	...
Cumberland	186,762	...	...	...	3	...	2	...	...	2	...	7	.7	37	*45.6
Derby .	250,249	...	...	5	2	...	2	1	...	1	...	12	1.2	48	*29.4
Devon .	554,738	1	1	5	1	1	5	4	4	...	5	27	2.7	49	*27.9
Dorset .	172,786	...	1	3	...	2	...	1	1	...	1	9	.9	52	*23.5
Durham .	368,787	2	2	8	5	1	9	7	4	5	4	47	4.7	127	+86.8
Essex .	332,363	2	10	2	12	1	4	2	4	2	2	42	4.2	126	+85.3
Gloucester	407,504	...	1	2	7	2	2	2	1	4	7	28	2.8	69	+1.5
Hereford	97,813	...	...	...	...	1	1	2	...	1	...	5	.5	51	*25.0
Hertford	168,178	...	6	...	5	2	3	1	4	2	...	24	2.4	143	+110.3
Hunts .	57,942	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	3	.3	52	*23.5
Kent .	585,249	1	10	7	8	1	1	1	1	2	3	35	3.5	60	*11.8
Lancaster	1,881,261	8	8	11	12	10	8	12	12	4	9	94	9.4	50	*26.5
Leicester	227,621	1	3	2	2	...	2	1	...	4	1	16	1.6	70	+2.9
Lincoln .	378,246	...	1	2	1	...	...	3	4	...	2	13	1.3	34	*50.0
Middlesex	1,740,814	9	13	11	8	12	12	15	15	11	9	115	11.5	66	*2.9
Monmouth	164,093	3	2	2	5	4	6	1	...	1	5	29	2.9	177	+145.6
Norfolk .	419,463	2	1	4	3	2	7	2	4	5	9	39	3.9	93	+36.8
Northampton	206,496	3	...	1	2	3	...	2	1	2	4	15	1.5	73	+7.4
Northumberland	284,777	1	...	6	3	...	1	...	...	3	...	16	1.6	56	*17.6
Nottingham	282,584	...	1	2	1	...	1	2	1	1	1	8	.8	28	*58.8
Oxford .	166,751	1	...	2	1	2	3	1	3	1	1	15	1.5	90	+32.4
Rutland .	23,711	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	2	.2	84	+23.5
Salop .	243,352	...	2	2	2	1	...	2	1	...	5	15	1.5	62	*8.8
Somerset	452,515	...	...	3	6	...	4	3	...	2	3	26	2.6	57	*16.2
Southampton	377,040	4	1	4	4	2	1	3	4	5	1	29	2.9	77	+13.2
Stafford .	579,686	6	4	8	4	5	10	8	6	17	13	81	8.1	140	+105.9
Suffolk .	325,336	1	3	2	...	2	3	2	2	3	2	20	2.0	61	*10.3
Surrey .	635,917	...	1	6	1	7	3	4	5	4	4	35	3.5	55	*19.1
Sussex .	320,944	5	4	2	...	3	2	...	...	1	...	17	1.7	53	*22.1

LONDON LABOUR AND THE LONDON POOR.

Westmorland . . .	57,494	...	3	6	...	2	2	...	4	...	1	2	4	23	70	+29
Wiltshire . . .	241,887	...	3	1	...	2	2	...	2	...	1	1	...	...	23	95	+397
Worcester . . .	244,574	...	1	1	...	4	2	...	8	...	1	...	...	3	24	98	+441
York . . .	1,686,461	...	5	12	...	3	2	...	17	...	7	14	...	15	102	60	+118	
North Wales . . .	396,161	...	3	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	2	...	2	12	30	+559
South Wales . . .	568,430	...	...	3	...	3	1	...	3	...	1	3	...	2	20	35	+485
Total for England and Wales . . .	16,918,458	78	118	127	127	86	139	97	124	121	137	1154	1154	68				

*** The proportionate number of persons perpetrating this crime has been calculated with reference to the entire population, instead of the male part of it only, as at the first glance might seem necessary, males only being capable of committing the above offence. But it was found, on examination, that the intensity of the criminality in the several counties in this respect was influenced by the relative number of females. Monmouth contains the greatest number of males in proportion to females; so that, were the male population alone considered, the criminality of that county in the above respect would be considerably decreased. But the fact of there being more rapes in Monmouth than elsewhere would appear to be owing to the very excess of males over females in that county; the average, therefore, has been calculated from the entire population.

THE CRIME OF RAPE COMPARED WITH THE RELATIVE NUMBER OF FEMALES TO MALES IN EACH COUNTY.

Counties above the Average.	Counties below the Average.	Percentage above and below the Average.	Counties in which the Number of Rapes is above the Average.	Counties in which the Number of Rapes is below the Average.	Percentage above and below the Average.	Counties in which the Number of Rapes is above the Average.	Counties in which the Number of Rapes is below the Average.	Percentage above and below the Average.
Monmouth . . .	Bedford . . .	177	156	177	156	177	156	177
Bucks.	Hertford . . .	143	143	143	143	143	143	143
Hertford . . .	Stafford . . .	140	140	140	140	140	140	140
Stafford . . .	Durham . . .	127	127	127	127	127	127	127
Durham . . .	Cheshire . . .	126	126	126	126	126	126	126
Cheshire . . .	Essex	98	98	98	98	98	98	98
Essex	York	95	95	95	95	95	95	95
York	Somerset . . .	93	93	93	93	93	93	93
Somerset . . .	Northumb. . .	56	56	56	56	56	56	56
Northumb. . .	Oxford	55	55	55	55	55	55	55
Oxford	Cambridge . . .	55	55	55	55	55	55	55
Cambridge . . .	Rutland	55	55	55	55	55	55	55
Rutland	Southamp. . . .	77	77	77	77	77	77	77
Southamp. . . .	Northamp. . . .	70	70	70	70	70	70	70
Northamp. . . .	Leicester	70	70	70	70	70	70	70
Leicester	Westmor. . . .	69	69	69	69	69	69	69
Westmor. . . .	Gloucester . . .	68	68	68	68	68	68	68
Gloucester . . .								

*** The rule appears to be, that the number of Rapes is the greatest in those counties where the number of Females is the least.

THE CRIME OF RAPE COMPARED WITH THE NUMBER OF ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN IN EACH COUNTY.

Counties above the Average.	Counties below the Average.	Percentage above and below the Average.	Counties in which the Number of Rapes is above the Average.	Counties in which the Number of Rapes is below the Average.	Percentage above and below the Average.	Counties in which the Number of Rapes is above the Average.	Counties in which the Number of Rapes is below the Average.	Percentage above and below the Average.
Monmouth . . .	Bedford . . .	177	156	177	156	177	156	177
Bucks.	Hertford . . .	143	143	143	143	143	143	143
Hertford . . .	Stafford . . .	140	140	140	140	140	140	140
Stafford . . .	Durham . . .	127	127	127	127	127	127	127
Durham . . .	Cheshire . . .	126	126	126	126	126	126	126
Cheshire . . .	Essex	98	98	98	98	98	98	98
Essex	York	95	95	95	95	95	95	95
York	Somerset . . .	93	93	93	93	93	93	93
Somerset . . .	Northumb. . .	56	56	56	56	56	56	56
Northumb. . .	Oxford	55	55	55	55	55	55	55
Oxford	Cambridge . . .	55	55	55	55	55	55	55
Cambridge . . .	Rutland	55	55	55	55	55	55	55
Rutland	Southamp. . . .	77	77	77	77	77	77	77
Southamp. . . .	Northamp. . . .	70	70	70	70	70	70	70
Northamp. . . .	Leicester	70	70	70	70	70	70	70
Leicester	Westmor. . . .	69	69	69	69	69	69	69
Westmor. . . .	Gloucester . . .	68	68	68	68	68	68	68
Gloucester . . .								

*** The rule appears to be, that the crime of Rape is (in the majority of cases) the least where the number of Illegitimate Children is the greatest.

MAP

SHOWING

THE NUMBER OF PERSONS COMMITTED FOR RAPE

IN EVERY 10,000,000 OF THE POPULATION.

IN THE SEVERAL COUNTIES OF

ENGLAND AND WALES.



**** The counties printed *black* are those in which the number committed for Rape is *above* the Average.**
The counties left *white* are those in which the number committed for Rape is *below* the Average.

The Average has been calculated for the ten years from 1841 to 1850.

The Average for all England and Wales is 68 in every 10,000,000 People.

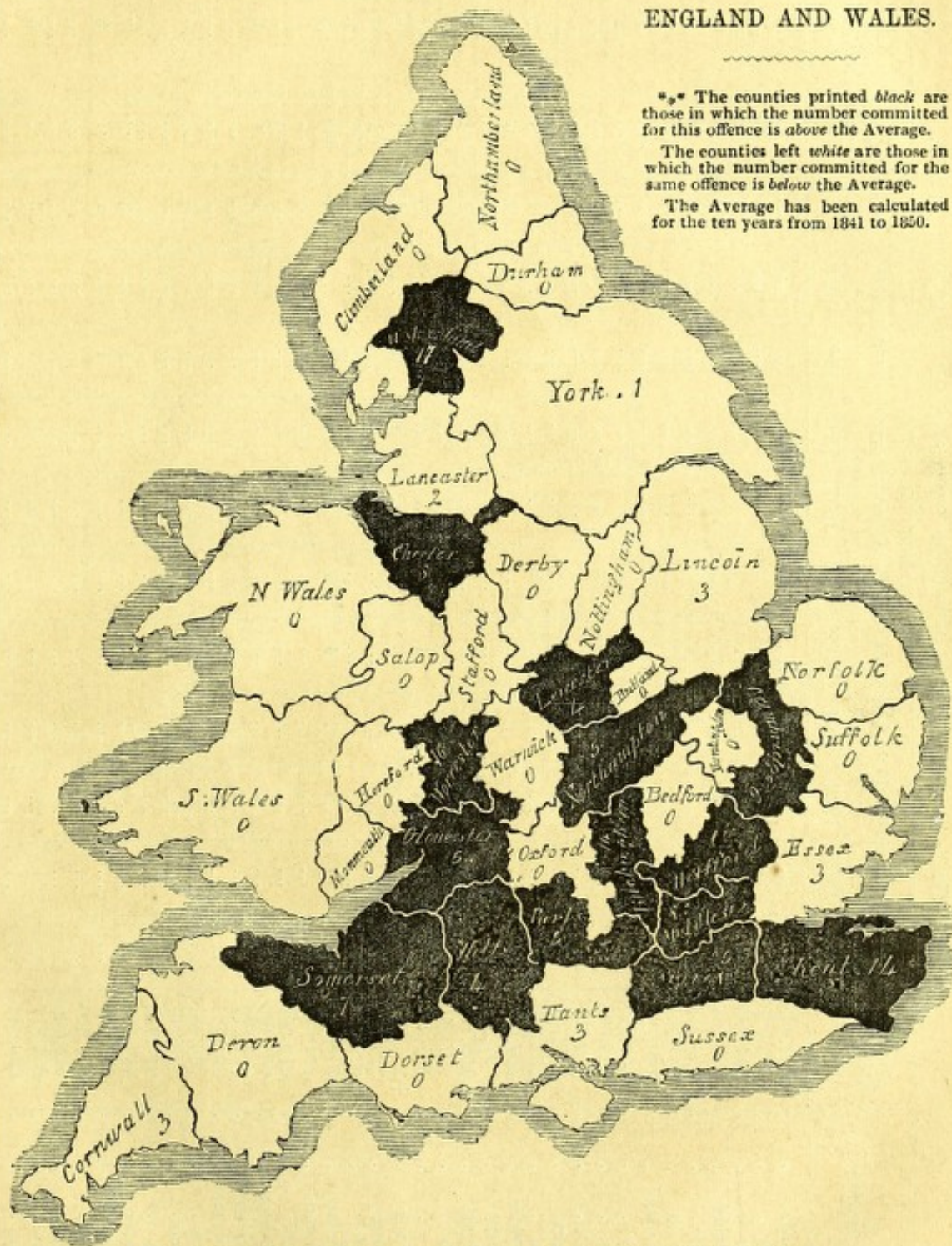
Monmouth (the highest)	171	"	"
Nottingham (the lowest)	28	"	"

Nottingham (the lowest)	28	"	"
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MAP

SHOWING THE NUMBER OF
PERSONS COMMITTED FOR CARNALLY ABUSING GIRLS
BETWEEN THE AGE OF TEN AND TWELVE YEARS
IN EVERY 10,000,000 OF THE POPULATION,
IN THE SEVERAL COUNTIES OF

ENGLAND AND WALES.



. The counties printed *black* are those in which the number committed for this offence is *above* the Average. The counties left *white* are those in which the number committed for the same offence is *below* the Average. The Average has been calculated for the ten years from 1841 to 1850.

The Average for all England and Wales is 3 in every 10,000,000 People.
Westmoreland (the highest) 17 " "

TABLE SHOWING THE CRIMINALITY OF THE DIFFERENT COUNTIES OF ENGLAND AND WALES WITH REGARD TO
CARNALLY ABUSING GIRLS BETWEEN THE AGE OF 10 AND 12 YEARS.

TABLE X.

LONDON LABOUR AND THE LONDON POOR.

COUNTIES.	Average Population from 1841-50.	Total number committed for carnally abusing girls between the age of 10 and 12 years.										Total for 10 Years.	Annual Average.	No. committed annually in every 10,000,000 Persons.	Proportion per Cent. above and below the Aver. † denotes above, * below.
		1841.	1842.	1843.	1844.	1845.	1846.	1847.	1848.	1849.	1850.				
Bedford.	121,083	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	+100-0
Berks.	194,763	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	+667
Bucks.	140,959	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	+3667
Cambridge	180,747	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	+100-0
Chester	395,919	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	+1667
Cornwall	349,991	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	+100-0
Cumberland	186,762	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	+100-0
Derby.	250,249	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	+100-0
Devon.	554,738	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	+100-0
Dorset.	172,736	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	+100-0
Durham	368,787	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	+100-0
Essex.	332,363	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	+100-0
Gloucester	407,504	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	+667
Hereford	97,813	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	+100-0
Hertford	168,178	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	+100-0
Hunts.	57,942	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	+3667
Kent.	585,249	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	+333
Lancaster	1,881,261	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	+333
Leicester	227,621	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	+1667
Lincoln	378,246	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	+100-0
Midlesex	1,740,814	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	+100-0
Monmouth	164,098	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	+100-0
Norfolk	419,463	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	+100-0
Northampton.	206,496	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	+667
Northumberland	284,777	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	+100-0
Nottingham	282,584	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	+100-0
Oxford.	166,751	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	+100-0
Rutland	23,711	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	+100-0
Salop.	248,352	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	+100-0
Somerset	452,515	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	+100-0
Southampton.	377,040	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	+100-0
Stafford.	579,686	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	+100-0
Suffolk.	325,336	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	+100-0
Surrey.	635,917	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	+667
Sussex.	320,944	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	+100-0

Warwick	444,558	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	+100-0
Westmorland	27,894	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	+4667
Wiltshire	244,577	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	+4667
York	1,030,401	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	+100-0
North Wales	598,401	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	+100-0
South Wales	598,401	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	+100-0
Total for England and Wales	10,018,408	4	5	7	8	6	5	5	9	8	5	5	5	...	...

COUNTY.	1881.	1882.	1883.	1884.	1885.	1886.	1887.	1888.	1889.	1890.	1891.	1892.	1893.	1894.	1895.	1896.	1897.	1898.	1899.	1900.
Westmorland.	57,494	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Wilts.	241,887	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Worcester.	244,574	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
York.	1,686,461	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
North Wales.	396,161	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
South Wales.	568,430	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total for England and Wales.	16,918,458	4	2	7	8	6	5	5	9	8	2	56	56	56	...	...	...	...	...	...

. The proportionate number of persons perpetrating the above crime has been calculated with reference to the *entire* population, instead of the *male part* of it *only*, as at the first glance might seem necessary, males only being capable of committing the above offence. But it was found, on examination, that the intensity of the criminality in the several communities in this respect was influenced by the relative number of females (see comparative table below) ; the average, therefore, has been calculated from the *entire* population.

LIST OF COUNTIES IN THE ORDER OF THEIR CRIMINALITY.

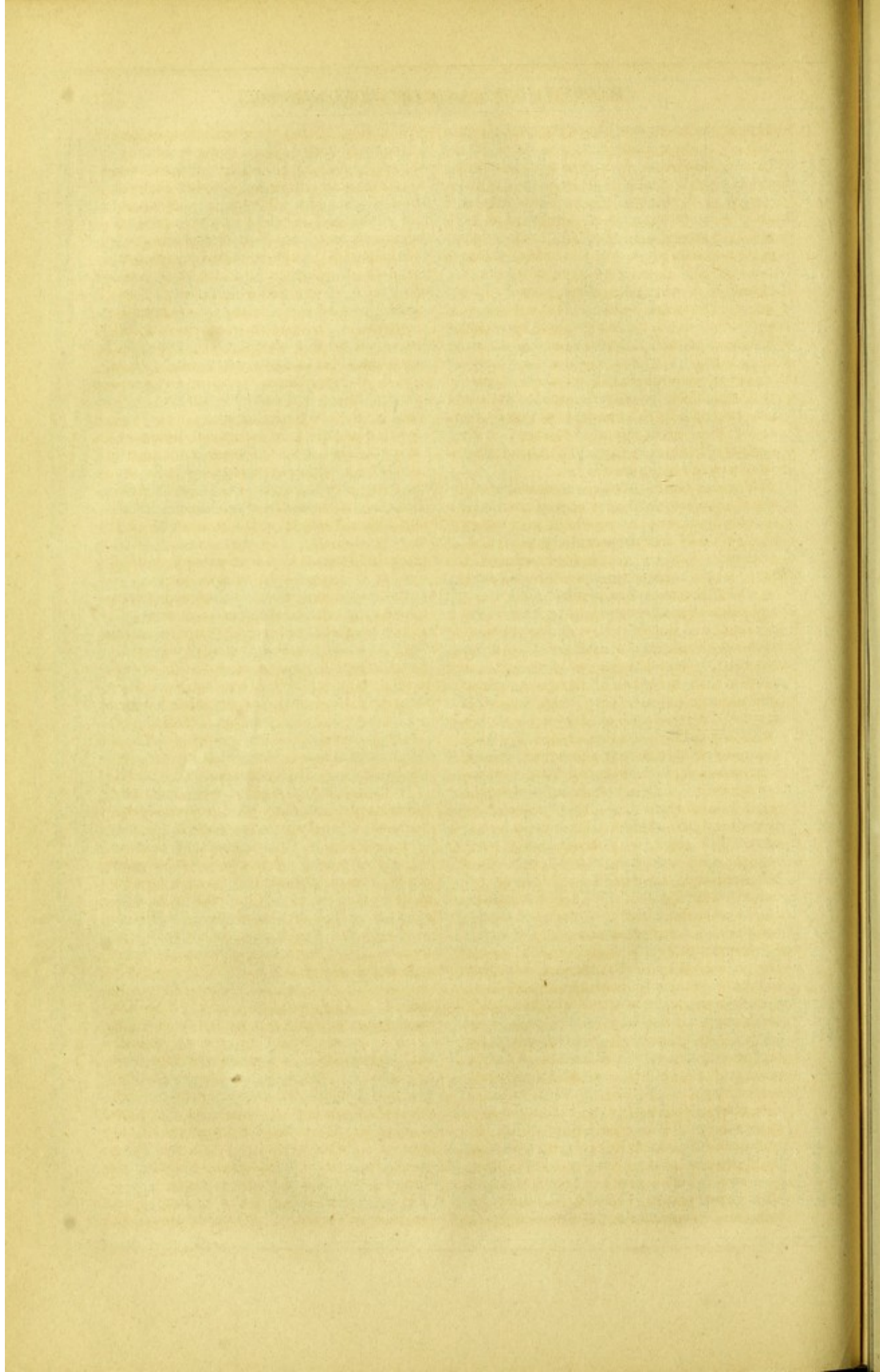
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THE CRIME OF CARNALLY ABUSING CHILDREN COMPARED WITH THE NUMBER OF FEMALES TO MALES IN EACH COUNTY.

Percentage above and below the Average. + denotes above, * below.	Percentage above and below the Average. + denotes above, * below.		In No. of Cases of Carnal Abuse.	In No. of Females to Males.	
	In No. of Cases of Carnal Abuse.	In No. of Females to Males.			
Counties in which the Car- nal Abuse of Children and the Number of Females to Males are both above the Ave- rage.	1667	186	Westmorland	14665	*38
	1333	157	Worcester...	4333	*10
	667	67	Bucks	1367	*19
	667	157	Kent	1367	*38
Counties in which the Carnal Abuse of Children and the No. of Females to Males are both below the Average.	1000	*29	Cambridge	1667	*38
	1000	*29	Hertford	1000	*29
	1000	*19	Berks	667	*38
	1000	*19	Northampton	667	*38
Counties in which the Carnal Abuse of Children is below and the No. of Females to Males above the Average.	1000	*36	Leicester	333	*10
	1000	*67	Wilts.	333	*19
	1000	*67	Norfolk	1000	†10
	1000	*57	Dorset	1000	†19
Counties in which the Carnal Abuse of Children is above and the No. of Females to Males below the Average.	1000	*19	Devon	1000	†57
	1000	*19	Bedford	1000	†29
	1000	*124	Cornwall	*	†19
	1000	*38			
Counties in which the Carnal Abuse of Children is above and the No. of Females to Males below the Average.	1000	*57	Hereford	1000	
	1000	*57	Durham	1000	
	1000	*23	Derby	1000	
	1000	*19	Cumberland	1000	
Counties in which the Carnal Abuse of Children is above and the No. of Females to Males below the Average.	667	*29	York	667	
	333	*38	Lancaster	333	
	*	*38	Southampton	*	
	*	*49	Lincoln	*	
Counties in which the Carnal Abuse of Children is above and the No. of Females to Males below the Average.	*	*38	Nottingham	*	
	*	*49	Leicester	*	

* * The rule appears to be, that the crime of Carnally Abusing is generally speaking the greatest in those Counties where the number of Females is the least.

*** The rule appears to be, that the crime of Carnally Abusing is (generally speaking) the *greatest* in those Counties where the number of Females is the *least*.



except such as was pleasant to their own lusts. It was similar to the *tapu* of the New Zealanders, but was not, as among them, common to all. It was an exclusive privilege of the males. In consequence of this, women lived in a condition of exile from all the pleasures of life. They never sat at meals with their husbands, dared not eat the flesh of pigs, of fowls, of certain fish, or touch the utensils used by the men. They never entered the houses of their "*tabooed*" lords, dwelling in separate habitations, which these might enter when they chose. Those of the royal blood, however, were excepted from the action of this law. They might mingle with the other sex, might inherit the throne, and enjoy the advantages of society. With almost all others, beggary, toil, and degradation was the universal lot.

Marriage under such circumstances could not be looked upon as a sacred tie, or even a dignified state. It was held to serve only the purposes of nature and the pleasures of the men. With all, indeed, except the rich, it was a mere unceremonious bargain, in which the woman was purchased, though the parents usually made a present to their son-in-law. Among the nobler orders of society there was a little more parade, though an equal absence of sanctity. A person with a beautiful daughter brought her to some chief, saying, "Here is a wife for you." If she pleased him he took her from her father's hands, placed her under the care of a confidential servant, and had her fattened, until old and plump enough for marriage. All her friends assembled with his at the temple, and proceeded to the altar. The bride, with a rope hanging about her neck, was accompanied by a man bearing a bunch of the fragrant fern. Prayers were muttered, and blessing invoked upon the union. Then the names of their ancestors were whispered, and at each one of the leaves was torn. The nearest kinsman of the woman next loosened the rope from about her neck, and delivered her over to the bridegroom, bidding him take her home. Presents of various kinds were made to the newly-married pair, but, with all this ceremony, the tie was merely one of convenience. Within a month the man might tire of his partner and wish to be rid of her. All he had to do was to desire her departure, saying, "It is enough—go away." She immediately left him, and almost invariably became a prostitute. This process might be repeated as often as he pleased. The caprice of the male sex thus threw numbers of the females into a necessity of supporting themselves by the

public hire of their persons. For, although polygamy existed, it was practised only by the rich, since the facility of divorce rendered it more convenient to take one wife, dwell with her a short time, and abandon her for another, than to be troubled or burdened with several at the same time. The wealthy, however, took numerous concubines—indulging in this luxury more than any of the other islanders. In all their customs and national characteristics, if we desire to view them in their original form, we must contemplate the people of those islands as they were twenty years ago. A great change is now apparent among them. The accounts, therefore, published at that period, though improved by later inquiries, afford us the information we are in search of. We are not surprised to find an indolent licentious people, as they were, when under no restraint, addicted to the most odious forms of vice. One natural result of their manner of life was infanticide. It was practised to a frightful extent, and was encouraged by a variety of causes. In the first place, poverty and idleness often induced parents to destroy their children—choosing to suffer that short pang of natural sorrow than the long struggles with starvation which awaited the indigent—even in those prolific islands. Next the common licentiousness produced innumerable bastards, which were generally killed. Thirdly, the social institutions of the country, with the division of classes, contributed to increase the prevalence of the custom—for the fruit of all unequal matches was cast aside. Superstition also aided it, for the priests demanded for their gods frequent oblations of infant blood. The missionary Williams was informed that, from the constant occurrence of wars, women, being abandoned by their husbands, slew their children, whom they knew not how to support. When a man married a girl of inferior rank, two, four, or six of her children were sacrificed before she could claim equality with him, and should she bear any more they were spared. Vanity, too, exercised its influence, for, as nursing impaired the beauty of the women, they sought to preserve their attractions by sparing themselves the labour. Perhaps, however, we should not lay it to the charge of vanity. The miserable women of these islands found in the flower of their persons the only chance of attachment or respect from their husbands. When this had faded, nothing could save them from neglect.

Whatever the cause, the extent of the practice was fearful. Three-fourths of the

children were destroyed, and sometimes in the most atrocious manner. A wet cloth placed on the infant's mouth, the hands clenched round its throat, or the earth heaped over it while alive in a grave, were among the most humane. Others broke the infant's joints, one by one, until it expired. This was usually the plan of the professional child-killers, of whom there was a class—male and female—though the parents often performed the office themselves. Before the establishment of Christianity, Williams declares he never conversed with a woman who had not destroyed one or two of her offspring. Many confessed to him, as well as to Wilmer, that they had killed, some three, some five, some nine, and one seventeen.

Connected with infanticide was one of the most extraordinary institutions ever established in a savage or a civilized country. This was the Areoi Society. It was at once the source of their greatest amusements and their greatest sorrow, and was strictly confined to the Society group, though indications of a similar thing have been discovered in the Ladrões. The delicacy of the missionary writers—in many instances extremely absurd—has induced them to neglect informing us in detail of the practices and regulations adopted by this society; but enough is known from them, and from less timid narrators, to allow of a tolerably full sketch.

From the traditions of the people it appears that the society was of very ancient date: they said there had been Areois as long as there had been men. Its origin is traced to two heroes—brothers, who, in consequence of some adventures with the gods, were deified, and made kings of the Areoi, which included all who would adhere to them as their lords in heaven. Living in celibacy themselves, they did not enjoin the same on their followers; but required that they should leave no descendants. Thus the great law of the Areois was that all their children should be slain. What the real origin of the institution was it is impossible to discover. This legend, however, indicates a part of its nature.

The Areois formed a body of privileged libertines, who spent their days travelling from province to province, from island to island, exhibiting a kind of licentious dramatic spectacle to the people, and everywhere indulging the grossest of their passions. The company located itself in a particular spot as its head-quarters, and at certain seasons departed on an excursion through the group. Great parade was

made on the occasion of their setting out. They bore with them portable temples for the worship of their tutelary gods, and, wherever they halted, performed their pantomimes for the amusement of the people. The priests and others—all classes and things—were ridiculed by them in their speeches, with entire impunity, and they were entertained by the chiefs with sumptuous feasts. There were, however, seven classes of the Areois, of which the first was select and small, while the seventh performed the lower and more laborious parts in their entertainments. Numbers of servants followed them to prepare their food and their dresses, and were distinguished by the name of Fanannan; these were not obliged to destroy their children.

Every Areoi had his own wife, who was sacred from attack. Improper conduct towards her was severely punished, sometimes by death. Towards the wives of other persons, however, no respect was shown; for after one of their vile and obscene spectacles, the members of the fraternity would rush abroad, and commit every kind of excess among the humble people. At their grand feasts, to which the privileged orders only were admitted, numbers of handsome girls were introduced, who prostituted themselves for small gifts to any member of the association.

The practice of destroying all their children, which was compulsory among the Areois, licensed them to every kind of excess. The moment a child was born its life was extinguished—either strangled, stabbed with a sharp bamboo, or crushed under the foot. The professional executioner waited by the woman's couch, and, immediately the infant came into the world, seized it, hurried it away, and in an instant flung it dead into some neighbouring thicket, or a pit prepared beforehand.

Infanticide was by no means confined to the Areois; it was an universal practice. Generally the sacrifice took place immediately after the birth; for, with the exception of those children demanded by the priests to offer in the temple, it was seldom that an infant allowed to live half an hour was destroyed. Whenever the execution was performed, it was previously resolved upon. The females were killed oftener than the males, and thus sprang up a great disproportion between the sexes, which was evidently owing to this and their often unnatural customs, as, since their abolition, the sexes are nearly equal.

Adultery was sometimes punished with death, but not under the public law. It

was optional with the husband to pursue the criminal, or content himself with procuring another wife. A strange state of manners is exhibited by the account we have of the early missionaries arriving in Tahiti. The King Pomare came down to meet them with his wife Idia. This woman, though married to the prince, remaining on friendly terms with him, offering him advice, and influencing his actions by her counsel, was then cohabiting with one of her own servants, who had for some time been her paramour. The King, meanwhile, had taken his wife's youngest sister as a concubine; but she had deserted him for a more youthful lover, whereupon he contented himself with a girl belonging to the poorer class. Women, indeed, and men of the royal blood, were above the law.

Abandoned wives, and girls who could find no husbands, usually became prostitutes, as distinguished from those who pursued a profligate life from sheer sensuality. They hired themselves out to the young men whom the monopoly of women by the rich constrained to be contented with such companions. We have no information whether they were subject to any especial regulations; what the terms of contract were between them and their temporary cohabitants; how they supported themselves in old age; or, indeed, of anything concerning them, except the general nature of their calling. A large class of these prostitutes dwelt near the ports and anchoring grounds, deriving their means of subsistence from open or clandestine intercourse with the sailors, who willingly paid them with little articles of ornament or utility from Europe.

One of the missionaries of the first company desired to marry a Tahiti woman. His brethren, however, strongly objected to the act; first, because she was a heathen, second, because she was a prostitute. There could not be then found on the island, as they declared themselves on belief, a single undebauched girl above twelve years of age; therefore, in accordance with the Scripture prohibition against marrying a "heathen harlot," they forbade him forming the connection. Nevertheless he persisted, took the prostitute as wife, and is supposed to have been murdered with her connivance.

Inconstancy among wives, and profligacy among unmarried women, was then a characteristic almost universal in Tahiti. The wide-spread practice of procuring abortion concealed many of the intrigues which took place, and the last crime which began visibly to decrease was that of adultery.

Nor could this be a matter of wonder. The education of the people was in a school of licentiousness. The most effective lessons in obscenity were afforded by the priests in the temples, and children of tender years indulged in acts of indescribable depravity. Thus in few parts of the world could be discovered a more corrupt system of manners, a more complete absence of morals, than in Tahiti.

Under the influence of the missionaries a great and beneficial change was produced. French priests have now in a measure superseded them; but even their exertions have not been able to neutralize the good effects of the new code of morals introduced by the English friends of civilization.

As to the actual amount, however, of the good which has been effected, the accounts are contradictory. From the missionaries themselves we learn that Christianity has been firmly established; that the female sex has been elevated to an honourable position; that the Christian rite of marriage is now generally observed; that infanticide is wholly abolished; and that the manners of the people have become comparatively pure. The picture, indeed, drawn by these artists, is vivid and full of charms. We cannot, however, accept it without reserve; for such writers have in many parts of the world been too eager to ring their peals of triumph over the appearance of reform, without inquiring into its substantial and durable nature.

Other accounts insist on the truth of a totally different view. A recent author, a merchant, many years resident in Tahiti, describes the result of missionary labour as a mere skinning over of the corruption which exists. "Even now," he says, speaking of that island, "a people more ready to abandon themselves to sensuality cannot be found under the canopy of heaven." And further, in noticing the state of the youthful population, he asserts, "It is a rare thing for a woman to preserve her chastity until the age of puberty." Delicacy, he proceeds to tell us, is a thing unknown. There is hardly a man who would not wink at his wife's prostitution, or even abet it, to support himself. The same system of corrupt manners is general throughout the islands. The missionaries, by making adultery and fornication offences punishable by fines—so many dollars each—have set up a species of licence for immorality. The penalty is either eluded or laughed at. Sometimes the woman's paramour pays the penalty, and continues

with her. The morals of the people, therefore, have not been radically reformed. Public decency is observed, but private manners are disgusting. The Tahitians have thus learned hypocrisy, for they now practise secretly what was formerly a recognised custom. The men are jealous of their own race, but will bargain for their wives with Europeans. One was asked the reason of this distinction. He instantly made answer, that when a white man took one of their wives he made her a present, passed on his way, and thought no more of her; but it was very different with their own people, for they would be continually hovering about the woman. The legal penalty for adultery by a single man is a fine of ten hogs to the husband. If it is committed by a married man he pays the ten hogs, while his paramour pays his wife another ten to compensate her for the injury she has suffered; thus the bargain is equal. Divorce is optional on either hand. For prostitution, or fornication of any kind, the missionaries enacted a fine. In a climate, however, where the girl ripens into puberty at the age of eight or nine, this becomes a licence, and immorality is very slightly checked. The depopulation of the group, which is still going on, is mainly owing, says the same author, to physical privations acting on moral depravity; for indigence is the lot of the people, and licentiousness now, as formerly, their besetting sin.

We believe this to be an unfair account of the state of things now existing in Tahiti. The writer* is possessed of a strong prejudice against the missionaries, and we are inclined to apply to him, with some modification, the observations of Commodore Wilkes, commander of the recent American exploring expedition in reference to that island. He tells us there is a class of traders who defame the missionaries, as well as a profligate class who hate them, because they forbid intoxicating liquors, have abolished lascivious dances, and prevent women going on board ship to prostitute themselves. One charge against the missionaries is, however, proved: they are guilty of a misjudging zeal amounting to fanaticism, forbidding the women to wear chaplets of flowers, because it is a sinful vanity; such a restriction is worse than ridiculous. The Commodore, however, whom we accept as a judicious and a trustworthy authority, already shows that much good has been effected. The population is now almost

stationary—the births and deaths among all ages and both sexes were in 1839 naturally proportionate; Christian marriage is established as the national custom, and polygamy abolished; if infanticide be ever practised, it is as a secret crime; and as for immorality, though by no means extirpated, it has been considerably reduced. "Licentiousness," says Wilkes, "does still exist among them, but the foreign residents and visitors are in a great degree the cause of its continuance, and an unbridled intercourse with them serves to perpetuate it. Severe laws have been enacted, but they cannot be put in force in cases where one of the parties is a foreigner." He proceeds to deny that the island is conspicuous in this respect, and believes it would show advantageously in contrast with many countries usually styled civilized.

In the distant Sandwich group a similar system of manners existed before the abolition of idolatry in 1819. There was, however, one singular custom: children bore the rank of their mother, not their father, probably from the reason assigned by other savage races for different laws, that the parentage was never certain. Polygamy was practised, but if the king had a daughter by a noble wife she succeeded to the throne, though he should have numerous sons by the others; in fact, they were no more than concubines, though their offspring were not invariably destroyed, unless the mothers belonged to the humbler class of people; all the king's illegitimate children, however, were immediately killed. Adultery was punished with death; but intrigues were frequent, and infanticide was practised to a terrible extent. Since the enactment of the laws restraining sexual intercourse, the crime has become comparatively rare, and the progress of depopulation has been arrested.

We must, however, first view the people as they were before these reforms occurred: there was little check upon the intercourse of the sexes, except with regard to married women; the young girls being abandoned almost entirely to a dissolute mode of life, the marriage contract was a loose tie, easily broken, without anything of a sacred or even honourable character. Husbands continually abandoned their wives, who invariably destroyed the children thus left to them in their virtual widowhood, and took to prostitution as a means of life. The practice of procuring abortion was also resorted to, even more than infanticide, and women were sometimes killed by the operation; nevertheless, bastard children are sometimes reared, and the language of

* *Rovings in the Pacific*, by a Merchant long Resident in Tahiti, 1851.

the islanders supplies a delicate designation for one of this brood: it is called "one that comes."

Although the condition of the female sex was degraded, and although the women were for the most part subjected to the will of the chiefs, a few remained to be wedded among the poor, and to follow their own inclinations in the choice of partners. The word "courting" is used among them, or at least a synonymous term, signifying, literally, "we must be crept to." This indicates some elevation in their social intercourse, but appears to have been a recent introduction. When a man wished to marry a girl, some previous intimacy was supposed. According to their former customs he goes to her, and offers her a present. If she was willing to receive him, the gift was accepted; if not, he went his way. The parents were then consulted. When they consented he at once took home his bride, and all was consummated. When they refused he either abandoned his suit or persuaded his lover to elope with him; or, if possessed of sufficient property and power, forces her away. When once settled in union the wives were usually faithful, though previously they indulged in the utmost profligacy without any check.

The infanticide of the Sandwich Islands presented details still more horrible than the worst of those described in connection with Tahiti. Children six or seven years old, who so far had been carefully nursed, were sometimes sacrificed when their parents became desperate or indolent. An American traveller relates an affecting incident of a man who desired to be rid of his child, while the mother endeavoured to save it. Long altercations took place between them, until the father one day, to put an end to the debate, seized his little son, threw him over his knees, and with a single blow broke his back. The circumstance was related to the king, with a demand for punishment upon the offender. "Whose child was it?" he asked. They answered, "His own." "Then that is nothing," he said, "to you or to me." Usually the office was performed by female child-stranglers, who made it their profession. In a country where marriage, especially among the rich, was simply a compact for temporary or permanent cohabitation, abundance of employment was naturally afforded to those people. The chiefs, it is true, married in the temple, but the addition of ceremonies added not a whit of sanctity or durability to the bond. The first Christian wedding took place in Oahu in 1822, and the rite has since that period

been established by law. The edict of 1819, indeed, proclaimed a revolution in the social system of the group. But it is not easy to reform the manners of a whole people. It is a slight task to publish laws, but difficult to enforce them, especially when they assail the most deeply-rooted prejudices, the sentiments, the passions, the religions, and the pleasures, of a numerous community. Idolatry, infanticide, polygamy, concubinage, and prostitution were all prohibited by the declaration of 1819, but are still practised, though in secret, but by no means so extensively as in former times. The financial laws check infanticide. If a man has four children, he is exempt from labour taxes to the king and to his landlord; if five, from the poll-tax also; if six, from all taxes whatsoever. Indeed, the condition of the females has been considerably raised, so that, instead of being the slaves, they are now, at least in some degree, the companions of the men.

Of the actual state of the sex, and the characteristic of manners in the Sandwich group, a fair sketch may be gathered from the facts scattered through the large work of Commodore Wilkes; he went through many districts, and examined minutely the progress of the people under the new code. In one district of Dahu, a small island in the group, no instance of infanticide had occurred (1840) during ten years; the law against the illicit intercourse of the sexes had not tended to increase the practice, and the population, which had been almost swept away, was recovering. In the valley of Halalea the population had been decreasing at the rate of one per cent. for nine years. In 1837, it was 3024—1609 males, 1415 females; and in 1840, 2935—1563 males, 1372 females. The general licentiousness of manners, causing barrenness in the women, with the practice of infanticide and abortion, prevented any increase. In Waiaulea the population of 2640 decreased by 225 in four years; and instances were known of women having six, seven, or even ten children, in as many years, without rearing one of them; the bastards were almost always destroyed, but the new law operated very beneficially to check the intercourse of the sexes; and only one case was known of a woman destroying her child, through fear of the penalty attaching to fornication. It appears probable, however, that the regulation compelling all unmarried women, found pregnant, to work on the public roads, must encourage many unnatural practices; in Hawaii itself, the principal island, where large numbers of men and women formerly lived in promis-

cuous intercourse—as one woman common to several men—great improvement is visible, and public manners have undergone much change; licentiousness, notwithstanding, is still a prominent characteristic of the people. These observations may be applied generally to the whole of the Sandwich group.

Of the Tonga or Friendly Islands no description equals in completeness, and none exceeds in general accuracy, that by *Mariner*, compiled by John Martin. According to him, the female sex was not degraded there, old persons of both sexes being entitled to equal reverence; women in particular were respected as such, considered to form part of the world's means of happiness, and protected by that law of manly honour which prohibits the strong from maltreating the weak. There were many regulations respecting rank which do not belong to this inquiry; but others of the same kind must be alluded to. The young girl, betrothed or set apart to be the wife or concubine of a noble, acquired on that account a certain position in the community. The rich women occupied themselves with various forms of elegant industry, not as professions, but accomplishments; while others made a trade of it.

The chastity of the Tonga people should be measured, in Mr. Martin's opinion, rather by their own than by others' ideas of that virtue. Among them it was held the positive duty of a married woman to be faithful to her husband. By married woman was meant one who cohabited with a man, lived under his roof and protection, and ruled an establishment of his. Her marriage was frequently independent of her own will, she being betrothed by her parents, while very young, to some chief or other person. About a third were thus disposed of, the rest marrying by their own consent. She must remain with her husband whether she pleased or not, until he chose to divorce her.

About two-thirds of the females were married, and of these about half continued with their husbands until death; that is, about a third remained married till either they or their partners died. Of the others two-thirds were married, and were soon divorced, marrying again two, three, or four times; a few never contracted any marriage at all; and a third were generally unmarried. Girls below puberty were not taken into this account.

During *Mariner's* residence of four years in the islands, where he enjoyed privileges of social intercourse which no native was allowed, he made numerous inquiries, and

was led to believe that infidelity among the married women was very rare. He remembered only three successful instances of planned intrigue, with one other which he suspected. Great chiefs might kill their wives taken in adultery, while inferior men beat them. They were under the surveillance of female servants, who continually watched their proceedings. Independently of this also, he considered them inclined to conjugal virtue.

A man desiring to divorce his wife, had to do no more than bid her go, when she became perfect mistress of herself, and often married again in a few days. Others remained single, admitting a man into their houses occasionally, or lived as the mistress of various men from time to time—that is to say, became wandering libertines or prostitutes. Unmarried women might have intercourse with whom they pleased without opprobrium, but they were not easily won. Gross prostitution was unknown among them. The conduct of the men was very different. It was thought no reproach, as a married man, to hold intercourse with other females; but the practice was not general. It was checked by the jealousy of the wife. Single men were extremely free in their conduct; but seldom made attempts on married women. Rape occasionally happened. Captives taken in war had, as a thing of course, to submit, and incurred no dishonour through it. Few of the young men would refuse to seduce an unmarried girl of their own nation, had they the opportunity. Nevertheless, in comparison with the islanders in the surrounding sea, they were rather a chaste than a libertine people.

Commodore Wilkes declares himself glad to confirm the account in "*Mariner's Tonga Islands*" as an "admirable and accurate description." The women are said to be virtuous, and the general state of morals superior far to that of Tahiti. The venereal disease is much less extensively prevalent.

In the Marquesas the curious social phenomenon of polyandry exists—several men cohabiting with one woman. This is in consequence of the preponderance of the male over the female sex. A young girl may become attached to a youth, and live with him for a short time. A man may then become attached to her, and transfer her, with her lover, to his house, where he supports them both. Infanticide is unknown, but procuring abortion not uncommon. The marriage tie, though a mere private compact signified by an exchange of presents, is, in spite of

polyandry, distinct, binding, and enduring—the parties abiding by the agreement they have made, until another formal agreement to dissolve it. In other parts of the Pacific the contrary system is carried out to an extravagant extent. In the Isle of Rotumah the land is divided into various estates, the property of certain chiefs. Each of these lords of the soil has absolute control over all the women in his district, and not one can marry without his consent. Should he not desire her for himself he allows her to contract the engagement, on receiving a present from the bridegroom. Gifts are exchanged on either side, bowls of cava are drunk, and the ceremony is over. The wife, in this island, has singular power. She may, a few days after the marriage, desire her husband to leave her. He does so for three or four months, and then returns to spend two or three days in her society. She may then request him again to quit the house; and this is repeated until she consents to live with him permanently. Occasionally, when all the preliminaries of the match are arranged, the girl will suddenly revoke her resolution, and refuse to leave her parents' house. The man may be equally desirous of leaving her at home, and in this case she is henceforward a privileged libertine, and usually lives well upon the gains of prostitution. But if, previously to the contract, she lose her virginity, the punishment is death, which is also inflicted for adultery.

A similar system with respect to the chief's authority prevails in the Feejee group. All the young girls in his district are at his mercy; he may take them all as concubines if he pleases. When they are allowed to marry they become slaves, living in complete subjection to their husbands, who flog them at will. They are denied the privilege of entering a temple, and are bought, sold, and exchanged, like cattle. Inclined as they are to licentiousness, they have certain ideas of modesty, and wear a girdle round the loins; any girl seen without this covering is put to death.

In the wild isles of the Kingsmill group in the Western Pacific, polygamy prevails; but more consideration is paid to the female sex than in any other part of that great insular region. All the hard labour is performed by the men; the women pursuing only those occupations which are truly domestic and feminine. Men, indeed, beat their wives, but in a similar manner to the lower classes here. If she be vigorous or bold enough, she returns blow for blow, and there is no appeal for him against her retaliation. Chastity is

scarcely esteemed a virtue, nor is it considered essential by a man requiring a wife. After marriage, however, continence is strictly required. The adulteress is either put to death or expelled; but, in spite of these punishments, offences of this class are not uncommon. They are encouraged by the laws which forbid the younger brothers of a chief, who are not holders of land, from marriage; for it may be laid down as an axiom that all restrictions upon lawful intercourse with women multiply illicit connections. The adulteress and the prostitute in the Kingsmill Isles, as elsewhere, form the resources of those to whom celibacy is enjoined.

A wife is not bought, but the parents of both contribute to the household stock of the newly-married pair. It would be indecent in the young man to inquire of the girl's father what is the amount of her dowry. The marriage ceremony is only a feast, which is continued during three days. Children are sometimes betrothed during infancy, and in this case no marriage ceremony is required: as soon as they are sufficiently old they are sent to live together. When this is not the case, the young man makes an offer first to the girl, and, if accepted, next to her parents; but usually carries her off if they do not consent.

On the neighbouring isle of Maluni all the women who are married have been betrothed during childhood; the rest, without exception, being prostitutes, living with the single men, and receiving payment from them.

This is, as usual, in consequence of the rich men having so many wives that only a few women are left to live in common with the poorer sort. Infanticide is not practised, but abortion is continually procured. A woman has seldom more than two, and never more than three children. After the third is born she invariably calls in the aid of a woman to prevent another birth. This is not attended with any shame, but is, on the contrary, considered prudent; with the unmarried females it is invariable.

In the Samoan or Navigators' group women now enjoy equal privileges with the men, and no indiscriminate intercourse of the sexes is permitted. Polygamy has been very much checked, but is generally regretted. The people say, with a simplicity which takes away its profanity from the expression, "Why should God be so unreasonable as to require them to give up all their wives for his convenience?" Among the unconverted tribes it still

prevails as formerly. Girls are betrothed early, and tabooed until marriage, which preserves the general chastity. Infanticide never occurs. Adultery is severely punished, and seldom committed; the marriage ceremony is only a trifling form of exchanging presents. The power of divorce may be exercised by the husband under certain circumstances, but not by the wife. Altogether their morals are of a superior order; and their libertine disposition exercises itself chiefly in the performance of lascivious dances. Everywhere, however, in these seas, except where the power of the missionaries is supreme, the whaling ships, on arriving at a port, attract numbers of prostitutes, who offer themselves to the sailors at various prices. When Coulter made his voyage, not many years ago, the vessel was assailed at the Kingsmill Islands by dozens of these women, who came, some attended by their fathers, mothers, or brothers, to entice the sailors. Some of them were very beautiful, and nearly naked. When he was in bed, in a house on shore, several young girls came in with scarcely any clothing, and asked him to choose a companion, or "wife." In other places hundreds of prostitutes swarmed down to the beach, performing the most obscene antics. It was so when La Perouse visited the region; it is so now. It was remarked by Cook, and it was remarked by the most recent voyager.

To pass up and down through that prodigious wilderness of sea, visiting each group in succession, and noticing the peculiar manners of all the various insular communities which there exist, would exceed the limits of an ordinary work. Nor would it continue to interest the reader; for there is an unavoidable monotony in the subject, when extended too greatly in reference to one region. What we have described will show that, among the innumerable islands of the Pacific, the original condition of women, before the partial establishment of Christianity, was pitifully degraded, and that the labours of the missionaries have been fruitful in good results. Wherever Christianity has been received, much outward improvement, at least, is visible. And there is something in this. When crime is perpetrated in secret, it is so because it is dangerous or disgraceful; and in proportion as it is either the one or the other the inducement to it will diminish. There is an immense field open in the Pacific; but the exertions of future missionaries may be encouraged by contemplating the good

results which have sprung from the labours of those who have gone before them*.

OF PROSTITUTION AMONG THE NORTH-AMERICAN INDIANS.

VARIOUS as are the phases of civilization in different parts of the earth, no race is more peculiar than the North American Indian. It is alone. It stands apart from the rest of the human family. It resembles no other. In manners, customs, laws, ideas, and religion, the nation occupies its own ground, related by no tie with any of the innumerable tribes of the human family inhabiting the remaining divisions of the world. It has, indeed, exercised the ingenuity of ethnographical philosophers to trace among the North American Indians an identity of social institutions with the people of ancient Israel; but the comparison appears forced except in a few particulars, which seem rather matters of accident, and by no means the prominent characteristics of the Red or the Jewish race.

Until the complete establishment of a civilized society in North America, and before the settlement of peace, our knowledge of the Indian race was most imperfect. We depended on the relations of certain imaginative travellers, who wrote not so much to inform as to startle the reader—a practice not altogether abandoned at the present day. Carver, indeed, with a few others, brought home honest accounts of what he saw, but was not always careful to separate that from what he heard; and thus, even his picture is strangely coloured in some of its details. Later and more scrupulous travellers, however, have investigated the manners of the Indian race, and our acquaintance with it is gradually becoming familiar. Catlin and the various historians have added to our knowledge; so that a clear outline, at least of their social institutions, may be drawn. There are three classes of

* See Stuart's Voyage to the South Seas; Walpole's Four Years in the Pacific; Ellis's Tour through Hawaii; Ellis's Polynesian Researches; Herman Melville's Omoo and Typee; Progress of the Gospel in Polynesia; Montgomery's Narrative of Bennett and Tyerman's Voyage; Williams's Missionary Enterprise; Mariner's Tonga Islands; Wilkes's United States Exploring Expedition; Three Years in the Pacific, by Ruschenberger; Rovings in the Pacific, by a Merchant; Sir George Simpson's Voyage round the World; Coulter's Travels in South America; and Coulter's Voyage in the Pacific.

writers on the subject:—those who paint the red man as poetry incarnate; those who describe him as a vile and drunken barbarian; and those who have the sense to discriminate between the Indian of the seaport town corrupted in the dram-shop, and the Indian of the woods, displaying the original characteristics of his race. It is from such authorities we shall draw our view of the condition of women and the state of morals among them.

A race divided into several nations, and subdivided into innumerable tribes, might be supposed to present a similar diversity of manners. Not so, however. The social institutions of the North-American Indian are generally uniform, though of course there are many varieties of detail in their habits and customs. Yet these are neither so numerous nor so striking as to render it impossible to sketch the whole in a general view.

The Indian loves society. He is never found wandering alone. He is attached also to the company of women. Priding himself, however, on his stoicism, he never, at any period of his history, condescended to voluptuousness. His sense of manly pride prevented him from becoming immodest or indecent. This feeling at the same time inspired him with the idea that everything except the hunt and the war-path was below the dignity of man. The sentiments, therefore, which saved the female sex from becoming the mere food of lust, consigned it to an inferior position. The Indian women formed the labouring class. Such a result was inevitable. The warrior would only follow the chase or fight. There was labour to be performed. No men were to be employed for hire. Whatever, therefore, was to be done must be done by the females. The wife is, consequently, her husband's slave. She plants the maize, tobacco, beans, and running vines; she drives the blackbird from the corn, prepares the store of wild fruits for winter, tears up the weeds, gathers the harvest, pounds the grain, dries the buffalo meat, brings home the game, carries wood, draws water, spreads the repast, attends on her husband, aids in canoe building, and bears the poles of the wigwam from place to place. Among the trading communities she is especially valuable,—joining in the hunt, preparing the skins and fur, and filling the wigwam with the riches of the prairie, which the men exchange for the means of a luxurious life. When the hunter kills game he leaves it under a tree, perhaps many miles from the "smokes" of his tribe, returns home, and sends his wife to fetch

it. Making garments of skins, sewing them with sinews and thorns; weaving mats and baskets; embroidering with shells, feathers, and grass; preparing drugs and administering medicine; and building huts—are among the other offices of the sex. To educate them for this life of industry, the girls are trained by the severe discipline of toils; taught to undergo fatigue, to be obedient, and to suffer without complaining.

Considered as the slaves of the men, it is natural to find a plurality of wives allowed by the Indian social law; accordingly from Florida to the St. Lawrence polygamy is permitted, though some tribes further north have not adopted the practice. Elsewhere also, in other directions, more than one woman is taken into the chief's wigwam. They are his servants, and he counts them as we count our horses and cattle; some of the great Mandan warriors have seven or eight; indeed, among all the communities which Catlin had an opportunity of visiting, polygamy was allowed, and it was no uncommon thing for him to find six, eight, ten, twelve, or even fourteen wives in the same lodge. The practice is of an antiquity too remote to fix, and is considered not only as necessary, but as honourable and just; they are servants, and a man's wealth is partly measured by this standard. This is one of the man's inducements to follow the custom, though it cannot be denied that some of these stoic warriors delight in a harem from the same motives as the Turk or the Hindu. It is allowed, we say, to all, but is principally confined to the great chiefs and medicine men, the others being too humble or too poor to obtain girls from their fathers: there are, indeed, few instances in which an ordinary man has more than one squaw, and it might be supposed that his wigwam was most peaceful; but it is not so. The jealousy of the Indian women is not of the same kind as with Europeans; it is watchful of strangers, not of regular wives, and six or seven of these dwell in great harmony under the same roof. So well established is this usage among them, that civilization meets more resistance in attempting to break it down, than in any other of its efforts; indeed, in overthrowing polygamy among the North-American Indians, or the remnant which is left of them, we shall overthrow their whole social economy and change their national character, and this it will be long before we are able to do. Probably the custom will continue as long as the race exists, and be only extinguished with it. Instances, indeed, have occurred, in

which an Indian has sworn obedience to our social law, but many examples also are known of a return to the old habit. Sir George Simpson relates an anecdote of one who came into the settled parts, learned to read and write, adopted the principle of monogamy, and, returning among his countrymen, sought to persuade them to follow the same practice, and acquire the same accomplishments. They held long arguments with him upon the subject, debated gravely, and, in the end, instead of being converted by him, won him back to their ancient institution. He took a great number of wives, forswore books, and alluded no more to his designs of social reform. Some shame, however, possessed his mind, so that, when some Europeans were in the village, he kept in his wigwam and would not see them.

A chief named Five Crows, of the Cayux tribe, offered also to renounce polygamy, but it was from impulse only, and not from the discovery of any social principle. He had five wives, and great wealth in horses, cattle, and slaves. Falling in love, however, with a young Christian girl, the daughter of a gentleman in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, he dismissed his old companions, and with great parade and confidence presented himself, made the proposal, but, to his infinite astonishment as well as mortification, was rejected; in a transport of spite, he immediately married one of his own slave girls. Generally, however, the American Indians are far less susceptible of the sentiment of love, still less of sensuality, than natives of Asiatic blood, and women among them are usually viewed with indifference; instances of the contrary occur and will be alluded to.

Whether polygamists or otherwise, the American Indians universally recognise the marriage contract. There is no such thing among them as a tribe practising promiscuous intercourse; the reports of such are idle tales. Such a community would become extinct, in the inevitable course of nature. The circumstances of the contract vary, however, in different parts, and among different societies. In fertile districts polygamy is more common; in barren tracts most of the men of all classes have only one wife. In some communities the man takes his squaw for life, and only divorces her for a recognised cause; in others, no more than a temporary union is expected. Everywhere, however, the condition of the sex is humiliating, if not miserable, and marriage is no more than the conjunction of a master with his servant. Thus the noblest insti-

tution of society is perverted into a form of slavery. That polygamy is practised cannot, nevertheless, be lamented in a social view. The frequency of wars among the American Indians, in their original state, caused a disproportion of the sexes, which allowed many of the men to take several wives, without preventing all from having one. Had this custom not been prevalent, one alternative only would have remained to the superfluous women—they would have become common prostitutes.

The conditions and forms of the marriage contract are various only in the inferior details—the general tenour of them being that a man procures a woman from her father as a purchase, and acquires in her a property over which he has the control of a master. Some restrictions, however, are laid upon the intercourse of the sexes. Marriage cannot be contracted among any of the tribes which originally dwelt east of the Mississippi, or indeed anywhere between kindred of a certain degree. The Iroquois warrior may choose a partner from the same tribe, but not the same cabin, or group of wigwams. For it is to be recollected that, among the tribes, especially of the Algonquin race, the whole family, or clan of several families, dwell together, bearing a common designation. One of that nation must look for a wife beyond those who bear the same token or family symbol. The Cherokee would marry at once a mother and her daughter, but never a woman of his own immediate kindred. The Indians of the Red River frequently take two or more sisters to wife at once.

The manners of the Algonquin race are generally similar. The young man desiring a wife offers a gift—or, if he be poor, his friends do it for him—to the girl's father. If this be accepted, the marriage is complete. He goes to dwell in the woman's house for a year, surrendering the gains of one hunting season to her family, and then taking her away to a wigwam of his own.

The contract is, with all the other tribes, usually made with the girl's father; she is virtually bought and sold. In many cases she is never consulted at all, and the whole is a mere mercenary transaction. Instances do occur, also, where the parties approach each other, express mutual affection, make arrangements, and swear vows, sacred and inviolable as vows can be; but the marriage is never consummated without payment to the bride's father. In the interior of Oregon the permission of the chief is

first asked, then the approval of the parents, then the assent of the girl; but if she object, her decision is conclusive. If she consent, the man gives from one to five horses to her father; they have a feast, and the ceremony is complete. Espousals often take place during infancy, but neither is absolutely bound by this engagement. The influence of the parents is, however, so powerful, that their will is seldom or never resisted; so that a bargain is often concluded, and a price paid; while the girl is a child. Occasionally the female courts the male—that is, proposes to become his squaw, and promises to be faithful, good-tempered, and obedient, if he will take her to his hut. He seldom refuses, for polygamy is permitted, and a husband may in this region put away his wife when he pleases. He usually allows each to have a separate fire.

The missionaries in Oregon have had some success, and have displayed more prudence than some of their brethren of the same profession in the island of Tahiti. Men who had a plurality of wives were required, on their conversion, to maintain them; while those who had only one were forbidden to take more.

On the Red River, when a young man desires a girl as wife, he addresses her father, and, if accepted by him, dwells in his wigwam for a year—as among the Algonquins—and then takes her home. This is only observed with the first; he adds to the number, if he is wealthy, as fast as he can. Few of the women are thus left single, and scarcely any common prostitutes are found. Some will occasionally bear children before marriage; and the zeal of the missionary West was displayed in somewhat of a fanatical spirit by his refusing to baptize a child not born in formal wedlock. We may, however, forgive this eccentric spirit for the motive which created it; and must admit that, as Sir George Simpson bears witness, the Indians of Oregon are vastly reformed, and chiefly by missionary influence.

Among the curious customs preceding marriage in other parts of North America, is that of the lover going at midnight into the tent of the woman he desires, and, lighting a splinter of wood, holding it to her face. If she wake and leave the torch burning, it is a sign for him to be gone; if she blow it, he is accepted, and we are told that this frequently leads to immoral intercourse. Catlin knew a young chief of the Mandans on the Upper Missouri, who took four wives in one day, paying for each a horse or two. They were from twelve to

fifteen years old, and sat happily in his wigwam, perfectly contented to dwell under his commands. He was applauded for the act. This extreme youth in the bride is common among the tribes; children pass from infancy to womanhood by a single bound—we are assured, on good testimony, that mothers twelve years of age are not unfrequent. The youths are led by precept and example to adopt marriage; celibacy beyond the age of puberty being very rare, especially in those communities which have come into familiar contact with Europeans. It appears indeed that this plan is resorted to by the men to secure virgins as their wives, for among few barbarous nations is the chastity of unmarried woman safe very long after she has reached a marriageable age. To have no husband is esteemed by the females a misfortune and a disgrace, while to have no wife entails great discomfort on a man.

It has already been shown that, when married, the woman becomes her husband's servitor; that she is, in many cases, the humiliated drudge, in all, the humble attendant on her master; that she waits on him in submissive silence while he eats, and approaches him with the deference due from an inferior to a superior being. Those who infer, however, from these circumstances that the sentiments of conjugal, filial, and parental affection are unknown to the Indian race, think erroneously of them. Strong and tender attachments continually spring up between the sexes. The lover sings of the girl he has chosen, and takes her home with the delight of gratified affection. The husband, too, when he devotes upon his wife all the labours of the wigwam, is no more conscious that he is using her harshly than she is that she occupies an unnatural position. Ideas and sentiments are often no more than things of habit, and with the Indian chief strong love is not inconsistent with his walking in lordly indolence along the forest path while she is bearing the heavy wigwam poles behind. Heckewelder relates a singular instance of indulgence, which, it must be confessed, is rare among the barbarians of North America. There was a scarcity in the district inhabited by a certain tribe, and an Indian woman, being sick, expressed a strong desire for a mess of Indian corn. Her husband having been told that a trader at Lower Sandarsky had a little, set off on horseback for that place, a hundred miles distant, gave his steed in exchange for a hatful of grain, returned home on foot, and gratified his wife by the treat he had thus procured. It is seldom that the most po-

lished society presents a similar instance of kindness. Many pictures of domestic happiness are exhibited among the Indians. The Blackfeet, Sancee, and Blood Indians, reckon it among their chief desires that their wives may live long and look young. Smoke sometimes rises for forty years from the same hearth, with one couple presiding over it. On the other hand, the husband's infidelity or harshness sometimes drives his wife to suicide, for the woman has no protector. The life of hardship they lead soon strips them of all their personal beauty, when they are entirely consigned to toil. In spite of this, they are well fed, healthy, and robust, unlike the women of Australia who are stinted in food, and often deformed or crippled by the severity of their labour. Nature has been very indulgent to them. Scarcely any have more than five, and few more than three children. Easy travail takes away one affliction from their lot. The pains of delivery are seldom prolonged for more than a quarter of an hour, and she who groans under the acutest pang is prophesied, with a taunt, to be the mother of cowards. Death, however, occasionally ensues. The Indian mother loves her children dearly, never trusting it to a hireling nurse—which indeed could not be found; for no woman would put away her own infant to suckle another's. Bearing the cradle on her back she performs her daily task, and if she die the nursling is laid in her grave. One curious and beautiful custom is that of carrying the cradle of a dead nursling child for a whole year, and all are familiar with the story of the Canadian mother bedewing the grave of her child with milk from her bosom. Infanticide is a rare and secret crime, not by any means to be enumerated among the characteristics of their manners.

Marriage among the North-American Indians is contracted for the happiness and comfort of the man. He is bound to live with his wife only so long as these are enjoyed. Adultery, indolence, intemperance, and sterility are among the causes of divorce. It takes place without formality by simple separation or desertion; and where there are no children is very easy. Their offspring forms their most powerful bond; for, where the mother is discarded, the unwritten law of the red man allows her to keep the children whom she has borne or nursed. The husband detecting his wife in adultery may cut off her nose, or take off part of her scalp. He sometimes kills her with her paramour at once; and the only blame attached to him on the occasion is, de-

scending from his dignity to feel so strongly the loss of one woman, when another may easily be procured to supply her place.

The idea of chastity as a positive virtue is but feebly developed among them. With the men, indeed, it is a Spartan quality, as opposed to effeminacy; otherwise, the promiscuous sleeping of whole families in the same chamber, with various other circumstances, would tend much to immorality. Nevertheless, among some tribes, as that of the Mandans, the women are delicate and modest; and in the wigwams of the respectable families virtue is as cherished, and as unapproachable, as anywhere in the world. Generally the Indians are decent, and, with the exception of those customs which form the basis of their manners, and result directly from their national character, might be won over without difficulty to the amenities of civilized life. Many of the squaws, of course, in North America, as elsewhere, are immodest, and seek occasion to engage in an intrigue. With the unmarried girls the same is the case. A bastard child may be born without entailing great shame upon its mother, though the seducer is greatly despised; but such an occurrence is rare, not altogether, however, because the females are too chaste, but because they are too cautious, and employ means to procure abortion. This practice is sometimes resorted to by the squaws, though discountenanced by the men, except when they are on the march, or hotly pressed by an enemy.

From a notice of their punishments in Hunter's narrative of his captivity, it would appear that the last act of depravity is not unknown among the Indians. Adultery, he tells us, where not perpetrated by the husband's consent, is punishable with divorce. We might doubt the testimony of this writer, but that Wilkes found Indians in the far north, within the range of the Hudson's Bay territories, who would gamble away their wives, and prostitute them for money. These men he believed to be degraded from their original condition, but various authors speak of a similar practice. Carver relates that, among the Manedowessis, it was a custom when a young woman could not get a husband, for her to assemble all the chief warriors of the tribe in a spacious wigwam, to give them a feast, and then, retiring behind a screen, to prostitute herself to each in succession. This gained her great applause, and always insured her a husband. It was, however, nearly obsolete

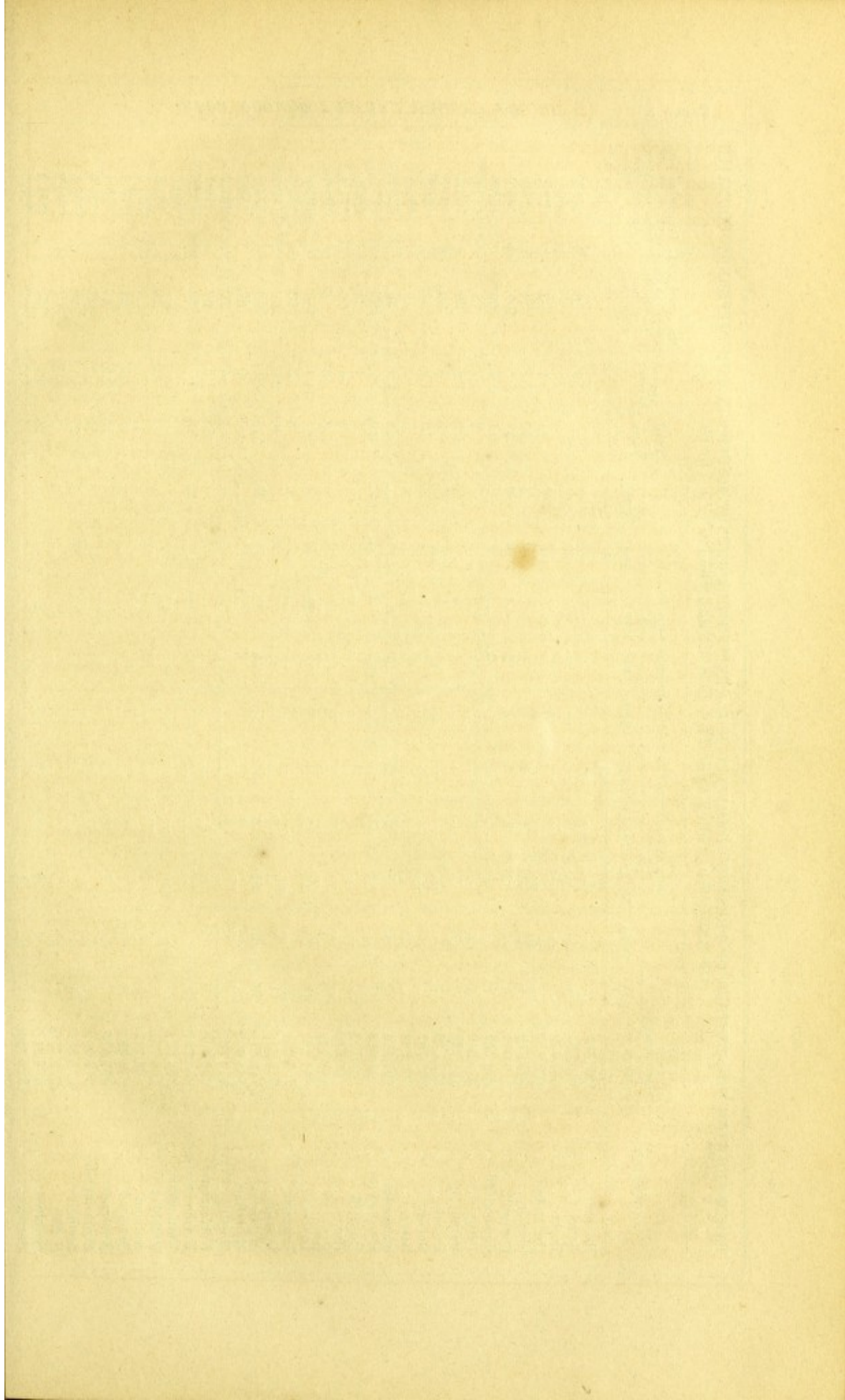


TABLE XI

LONDON LABOUR AND THE LONDON POOR.

TABLE SHOWING THE NUMBER OF PERSONS COMMITTED FOR KEEPING DISORDERLY HOUSES IN THE DIFFERENT COUNTIES OF ENGLAND AND WALES FOR THE UNDERMENTIONED YEARS.

COUNTIES.	Average Population from 1841-50.	Number Committed for keeping Disorderly Houses.									Total for 10 Years.	Annual Average.	No. committed annually in every 10,000,000 of the Population.	Proportion per Cent above and below the Aver. † denotes above, * „ below.
		1841.	1842.	1843.	1844.	1845.	1846.	1847.	1848.	1849.					1850.
Bedford .	121,083	..	4	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	9	46	*100·0
Berks .	194,763	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9	..	*41·8
Bucks .	140,959	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	22	*100·0
Cambridge	180,747	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	83	*72·2
Chester .	395,919	4	12	3	4	2	1	1	1	2	3	3·3	109	+5·1
Cornwall	349,991	4	3	7	1	2	6	5	4	4	2	3·8	59	+38·0
Cumberland	186,762	7	1	1	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	11	8	*25·3
Derby .	250,249	..	3	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	29	*89·9
Devon .	554,738	..	3	..	..	..	..	4	4	1	1	16	29	*63·3
Dorset .	172,736	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	5	52	*63·3
Durham .	368,787	..	3	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	14	19	6	*34·2
Essex .	332,363	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	59	*92·4
Gloucester	407,504	5	9	1	5	2	..	..	..	..	..	24	24	*25·3
Hereford	97,813	3	..	2	2	4	..	1	2	..	..	10	102	+29·1
Hertford	168,178	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	24	*69·6
Hunts .	57,942	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	1	1	4	70	*11·4
Kent .	585,249	..	1	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	3	5	*93·7
Lancaster	1,881,261	85	55	45	27	24	16	14	32	42	4	344	183	+131·6
Leicester .	227,621	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	1	..	3	13	*83·5
Lincoln .	378,246	1	3	2	2	..	7	1	7	3	..	26	69	*12·7
Middlesex	1,740,814	36	67	31	114	37	31	51	42	79	27	515	296	+274·7
Monmouth	164,093	..	..	..	2	1	1	2	..	..	..	6	37	*53·2
Norfolk .	419,463	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	1	1	4	10	*87·3
Northampton	206,496	8	5	2	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	18	87	+10·1
Northumberland	284,777	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	13	15	53	*32·9
Nottingham	282,584	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100·0
Oxford .	166,751	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	2	12	*84·8
Rutland .	23,711	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100·0
Salop .	243,352	2	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	21	*73·4
Somerset	452,515	7	..	1	5	2	1	..	..	1	1	18	40	*49·4
Southampton	377,040	..	..	..	1	2	..	1	..	..	8	12	32	*59·5
Stafford .	579,686	1	2	..	1	2	..	1	4	5	2	17	29	*63·3
Suffolk .	325,336	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	1	3	*96·2
Surrey .	635,917	..	1	15	3	2	3	..	..	..	..	24	38	*51·9
Sussex .	320,944	2	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	9	*88·6

MAP

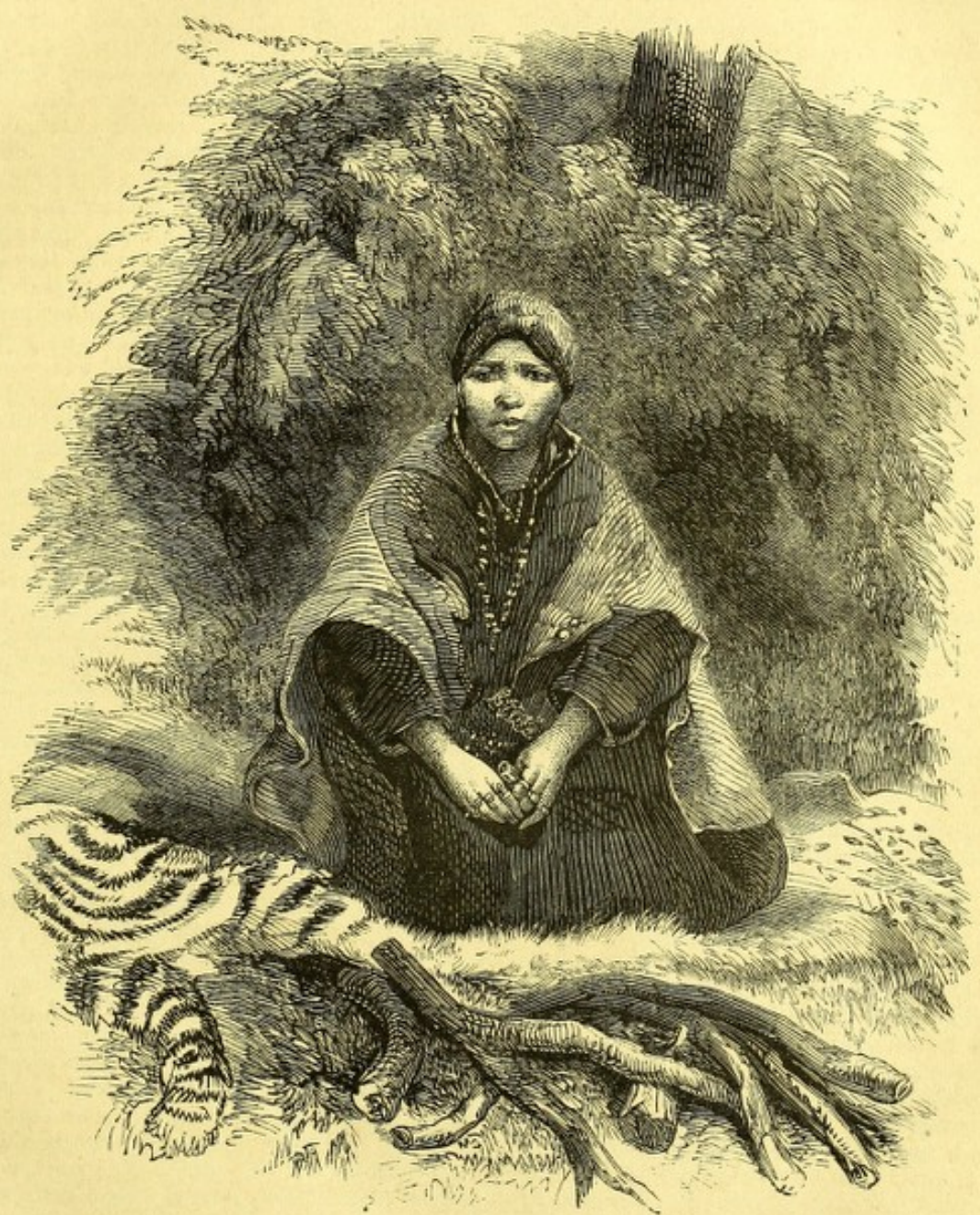
SHOWING THE NUMBER OF
PERSONS COMMITTED FOR KEEPING DISORDERLY HOUSES
IN EVERY 10,000,000 OF THE POPULATION,
IN THE SEVERAL COUNTIES OF

ENGLAND AND WALES.

*** The counties printed *black* are those in which the number of persons committed for keeping disorderly houses is *above* the Average.
The counties left *white* are those in which the number of persons committed for keeping disorderly houses is *below* the Average.
The Average is calculated for 10 years.
The counties having no number affixed to them are those in which there have been no committals for the above offence during the last 10 years.

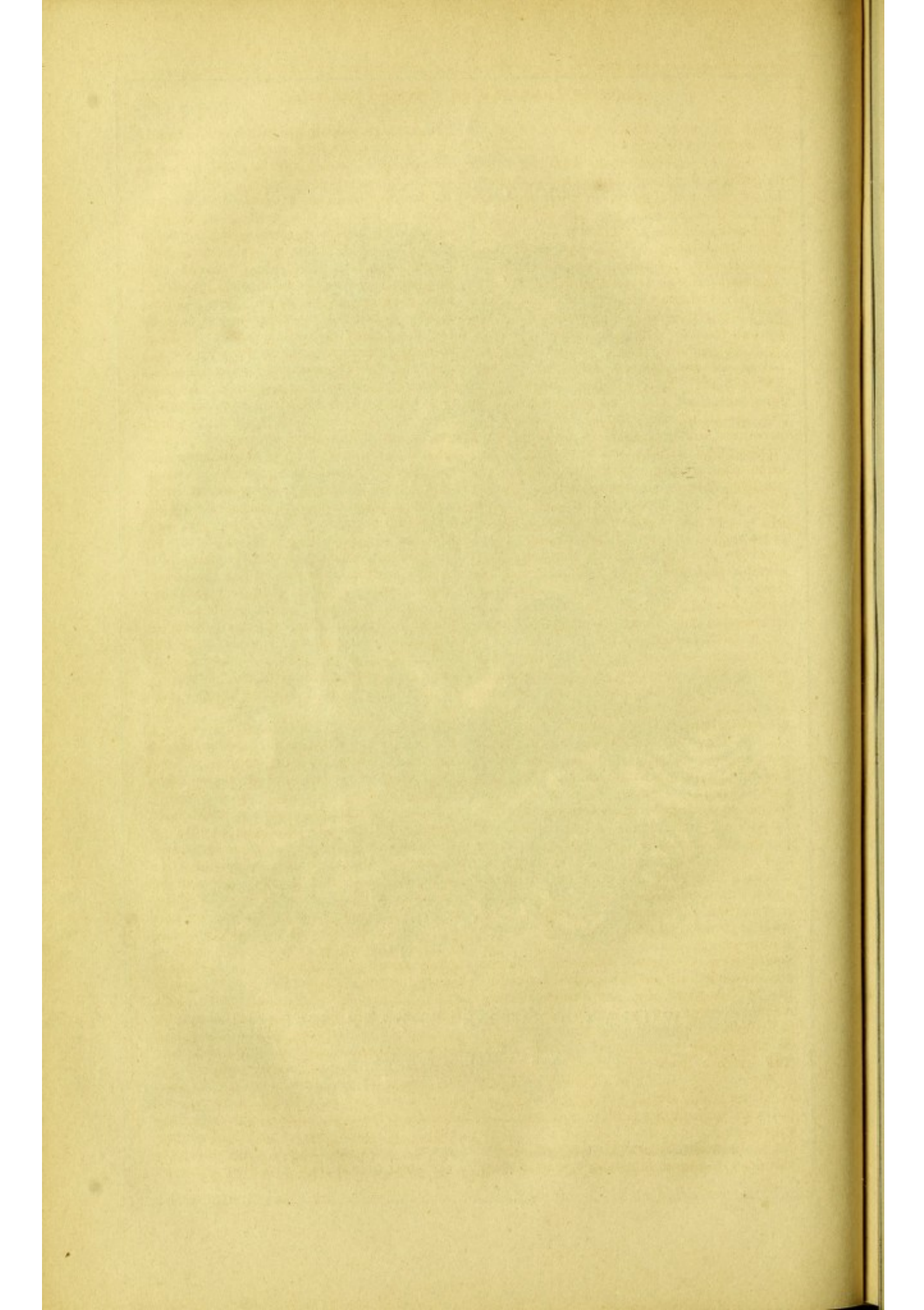


The Average for England and Wales is 79 in every 10,000,000 of the Population.
" Middlesex (the highest) is 296 " "



WOMAN OF THE BOSJES RACE.

[From a Daguerreotype by BEARD.]



when he wrote, and appears now to be altogether extinct.

Many of the Europeans dwelling on the Red River were accustomed to take concubines during the period of their residence there. The Indians, who are civilized, as it is called, in the provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Canada, have thus learned also the worst vices of Europe. Maclean, a very recent writer, declares that the Christianized tribes in the Hudson's Bay territories have been deteriorated by intercourse with the whites, become drunken, sensual, and depraved. The venereal disease commits frightful ravages among them. Most of their diseases arise from excess of one kind or another. He says that the men employed by the Company are chiefly reconciled to their hard employment and poor remuneration by the immorality of the women, of whom large numbers follow the occupation of prostitutes, and sell themselves for the vilest price. On the north-west coast, chastity is scarcely even a name; indeed, there is no word in the language of the people to express that idea. The sea tribes are, indeed, in all cases, the most licentious; which appears to justify the remark, that intercourse with a strange unsettled population has demoralized them.

At some parts of the coast where the trading ships touch for supplies, hundreds of women come down, and, by an indecent display of their persons, endeavour to obtain permission to go on board. When Sir George Simpson arrived at one of these ports a man asked for the captain's wife, and offered his own in exchange. In that part of the country the tyranny over the female sex is even more severe than in the interior. When a man takes a wife, he purchases her as his perpetual property; and if they separate, whether from an offence of hers or his, she must never marry again. She usually takes to clandestine prostitution as a means of living. But such instances as the foregoing are not confined to the coast. In the interior the traveller may observe, wherever a large concourse of Indians is assembled, a number of beautiful and voluptuous-looking women continually mixing in the throng, and throwing their glances upon strangers, or the single young men of the tribe. The Indians have now been removed to a territory beyond the Mississippi; and it is probable their corruption will rapidly increase in proportion to their congregation.

One peculiar feature of the system, introduced of course since Europeans visited

the country, remains to be noticed. Many of the white traders, among the tribes of the Upper Missouri, find it good policy to connect themselves by marriage with powerful families, and they procure then the most beautiful girls of the noblest tribes, who aspire with delight to such a station, which usually elevates them above their servile occupations to a life of indolence, ease, and pleasure. These engagements, however, are scarcely marriages—at least in the European sense of the term—ceremonies of any kind being seldom performed. A large price in Indian estimation is paid for the girl, and she is transferred at once to the trader's house; with equal facility he may annul the contract, leaving his companion to be candidate for another mate, for which her father is not sorry, as he may procure an additional horse again in exchange for her: this is no more than a system of virtual prostitution, in which the woman is hired out as a temporary companion, merely for the pecuniary gain. The trader may procure the handsomest girl in the tribe for two horses; for a gun with a supply of powder and ball; for five or six pounds of beads; for a couple of gallons of whiskey; or a handful of awls. Such is the price at which the Indian chief will prostitute his daughter. Occasionally, it must be added, the couple thus united live together permanently as man and wife, the possibility of which is, indeed, almost always supposed.

The Indians of New Caledonia, though not belonging to the same stock with the red race of North America, may be noticed here: they are extremely profligate; the venereal disease is common among them; and the blessing of a healthy climate is rendered nugatory by the intemperance of the people. Among them, nevertheless, women are held in more estimation than among the red tribes, for the men are not possessed by that sense of lordly dignity which disdains at once to become sensual, and to share the labours of the inferior sex. Women assist in the councils, and those of high rank are even admitted to the feasts. During the fishing season each sex is equally employed, and so in all their other tasks. Lewdness could not be carried to greater excess than it is among them: both men and women are addicted to the vilest crimes; they abandon themselves in youth to the indulgence of their most unbridled lust, and the country owes its rapid decrease of population to the universal depravity of the people. No man marries until his animal appetite is satiated upon the voluntary prostitutes who abound, and then his wife,

if dissatisfied with the restraints of matrimony, may refuse to dwell with him; the union is consequently broken by mutual consent, for a certain time or for ever. Meanwhile they addict themselves to their former pleasures, but the woman is nominally prohibited, by law, under pain of death, from cohabiting with any man during this period of separation from her husband; he seldom cares, however, to enforce his right, and she seldom fails to break the law. Polygamy is allowed, but only one woman is actually a wife—the rest are mere concubines; the chief one may be supplanted by a new favourite, when the old one yields without a murmur, though occasionally a woman of violent passions will destroy herself.

To illustrate the general subject of the condition of women among the North-American Indians, we may notice an incident described by the observant traveller Catlin. When, among the Sioux, he proposed to paint the portrait of a woman, his condescension was regarded by the warriors of the community first as incredible and then as ridiculous. It appeared marvellous that he should think of conferring on the females the same honour he had conferred on the medicine men and braves; those whom he selected were laughed at by hundreds of others who were, nevertheless, jealous of the distinction. The men who had been painted said that if the artist was going to paint women and children the sooner he destroyed their portraits the better; the women had never taken scalps, never done anything but make fires and dress, with other occupations equally servile: at length, he explained that the portraits of the men were wanted to show the chiefs of the white nation who were great and worthy among the Sioux nation, while the women were only wanted to show how they looked and how they dressed: by this means he attained his object. Mr. Catlin considers that, on the whole, the Old World has no superior morality or virtue to hold up as an example to the American Indian races. The degradation of the women, however, is denied by none, though a woman of superior courage or contrivance sometimes places herself above the degrading laws which depress the rest of her sex. Thus one whom Catlin saw joined boldly in a dance—though females are only allowed to join in a few of these—played off great feats before the warriors, and for her audacity no less than for her skill was greeted with thundering peals of applause, besides a pile of gifts*.

* See Bancroft's History of the United States;

OF PROSTITUTION AMONG THE INDIANS OF SOUTH AMERICA.

THE plan and purpose of this inquiry will by this time have become obvious to every reader. It is to afford a comparative view of the state of manners throughout the world, with reference to public morals, the condition and the character of the female sex. We have chosen to treat of the barbarians in a separate division of the inquiry, and for this reason have left a large portion of Africa, and by far the greatest portion of North America, for future pages. With respect to South America, its various states will be classed among those half-barbarous communities, which we shall take as the link between the savage and the civilized portions of the globe; for, in spite of the dreams in which some romantic travellers have indulged, Lima is only fit to be compared with Algiers, and Brazil with Morocco. Leaving, therefore, these half-caste societies, as we shall next turn to them in a separate notice, we may briefly treat of the Indian race which still, though in numbers awfully reduced, clings to its native soil in South America.

A very brief description will suffice. Remembering the difference of character between the Indian of the North and the Indian of the South, we may, in most respects, apply our last notices to the present subject. The barbarians with whom we have now to deal are not possessed by that rigid masculine vanity which inspires them with a contempt not only of the female sex, but of the pleasures they furnish to men of more sensual temperaments and more effeminate mould. They have less pride, but not more manliness than the Indians of the Red Race. There is no comparison, in point of mental and moral character, between the savage of the Brazilian forest and the stately Huron or Iroquois, or the warrior of the Algonquin race.

Two classes of Indians exist in South America. Catlin's Eight Years' Travels; Carver's Travels in North America; Wilkes's United States' Exploring Expedition; Mackenzie's Memoirs, Official and Personal; West's Residence in the Red River Colony; West's Mission to the Indians of New Brunswick; Hunter's Memoirs of his Captivity; Drake's Book of the Indians; Halkett's Historical Notes; Buchanan's Sketches of History; Sir James Alexander's Acadie; Maclean's Twenty-Five Years' Service in Hudson's Bay; Sir George Simpson's Voyage round the World; Robertson's History of America; Robertson's History of Missions to the Indians; Cleveland's Voyages and Enterprises.

America—the pure native, and the breed corrupted by intercourse with Europeans, half-castes, and the rest of that variety of colours which have been produced between the white and the original tenant of the soil. The first is now an exceedingly small family, and some accounts have represented it as eminent for virtue and simplicity. We know that romantic pictures have been drawn of the golden days when Montezuma reigned in the Valley of Mexico, and gave laws to the free population of the country; but sober research has dissipated the idea that he was the governor of a civilized and polished nation. Superior, indeed, the Mexicans were to the savages who occupied so large a portion of the New World, but they were deficient in many of the arts, and gross in many of the manners which assist in comparing the standard of a people's progress. This much has been ascertained, though it is little. At the present day, the great characteristics of the barbarian state are strongly exhibited in this as in other parts of South America. The miserable remnant of the Indian race grows yearly more debased, learning little from its European preceptors except profligacy and the coarsest arts of vice. Throughout the region women are degraded. The men generally sleep and lounge, or occupy themselves with easy tasks, but more from indolence than pride, while the women perform the labours of the house and of the field. Such is almost the universal practice of Indian manners in South America. Instances of the contrary, indeed, there are. King found among the Chedirione tribes of the Argentine Republic, a primitive state of society, no less innocent than simple. The women were modest, the men kind to them, and labour was justly shared. All property was in common, and the members of the community lived in perfect brotherhood. This, however, is only one cheerful spot upon the surface of South-American manners. In the Central Region the females are degraded, and chastity a rare virtue. Women may bear children before marriage without shame, and the intercourse of the sexes is unrestrained.

Among the Indians of Brazil a curious system of manners existed before the establishment of European power, and many traces of it still exist. No man might marry until he had killed an enemy. When a girl reached the age of puberty her hair was cut off, her back tattooed, and she wore a necklace of the teeth of wild beasts until her hair grew again. Bands of cotton were fastened about her waist

and the fleshy parts of her arms, to signify her maidenhood. It was said that if any but a pure virgin wore these emblems, the evil spirit would bear her away; but the national belief was not sufficiently strong to render this a defence of chastity, for it was lost without reproach or fear, and incontinence was regarded as no offence. Sleeping in crowds, in large common dormitories produced a pernicious effect on the people, destroyed all ideas of decency, and caused universal lewdness. When a man tired of his wife, he put her away and took another; indeed, as many as he pleased. Although unrestrained polygamy was allowed, the first wife, however, continued to enjoy some privileges, as having a separate berth to sleep in, and a separate plot of ground to cultivate for her own use. Nevertheless she was bitterly jealous of those who supplanted her, and frequently, when altogether neglected by her husband, abandoned herself altogether to vice, and became a clandestine prostitute to any of the young men who would flatter or pay her for the favour.

Being regarded, more or less, as property, a man's wives formed part of his estate, and were bequeathed on his death to his brother or nearest kinsman. The women thus procured were seldom treated with any delicacy or consideration, yet they found sources of happiness, and were often lively and gay to the last degree. When utterly miserable the female sex does not delight to clothe itself in gaudy attire, or adorn itself with sparkling trinkets, as in Brazil, where masculine vanity ran so high that it declared certain ornaments to be the exclusive privilege of men.

In the neighbouring regions there was some variety among the different tribes. The Tyrinambas used their women fairly, though they somewhat overloaded them with employment. They were, however, generally happy, and were principally employed in spinning and weaving—for the industrial arts had reached that stage among them. They also cultivated the ground. On this subject a curious and not unpoetical idea prevailed among some of the Indians of South America. It was, that as females only bore children, so the grain planted by their hands would fructify in a more plentiful increase than that sown by men. Female porters, also, formed a considerable class.

In Paraguay the wars that spread havoc among the miserable people gave rise to a flagitious custom, which destroyed the population more rapidly than pestilence or

the sword. No woman ever reared more than one child. The difficulty of subsistence was one cause which induced this custom. The practice of producing abortion was adopted in preference to infanticide, since it inflicted a less violent shock on the natural feelings of the woman. Remonstrated with upon the horror of the crime, one mother replied that an infant was a great incumbrance, that parturition took away from the grace of the figure, rendering her less attractive to the men, and moreover that abortion was easier than delivery. The manner of procuring it was singular. The woman lay down on her back, and was beaten by two aged crones till the result was certain. Many died in consequence of this barbarous process, while others contracted a disease which afflicted them through life. Men and women were equally debauched. Their gregarious habits afforded unlimited opportunities for intrigue, and husbands cared little to whom their wives prostituted themselves, though they regarded them as absolute property, branding them on the thigh or bosom with a hot iron as they did their horses. One peculiar custom obtained among them—the married spoke in a dialect different from that employed by the unmarried people.

Contrasted with this community was the Abifrone, a tribe inhabiting the same region, more long-lived, healthy, and numerous, because they were temperate and chaste. Morality was characteristic of them, and prudence also. The men seldom or never married before the age of thirty, or the women before that of twenty, and were usually continent before contracting that engagement. A wife was purchased from her parents, and was entirely at their disposal, unless bold enough to run away. There was some poetry in the rite of marriage. If the suit was accepted, eight maidens carried a canopy of fine tissue over the bride, who walked in silence, and with downcast eyes, to her husband's tent. There he received her with signs of love; she then returned, bearing the few domestic articles necessary to their simple mode of life, and her new master dwelt in her father's house with her until she had borne a child, or he had sufficiently proved his affection towards her. Women were obliged to suckle their children for three years, and forbidden to hold connubial intercourse during that period. This induced the practice of procuring abortion, for the wife feared her husband would forget and abandon her after the long interval. Depopulation was

thus caused. Infanticide, also, was practised, but the boys were selected as victims rather than the girls, who were valuable to their parents. The intercourse of the sexes before marriage was rigidly watched; the maidens were educated in habits of industry, and taught to prize their virtue. When the missionaries came among them preaching against polygamy and divorce, the women of this tribe were eager listeners.

Transferring our attention to another part of the South-American Continent, we find among the Sambos of the Mosquito Shore some curious customs. They are not of the Indian race, but closely allied with them in their social habits: when a man commits adultery the injured husband shoots a beeve, takes a horse, or carries off something of value, no matter to whom it may belong, and the proprietor must obtain restitution from the adulterer. Polygamy is practised among them, but one wife is superior to the rest; they marry very young; the Indians of the same country have a plurality of wives, but each must have a separate hut; if the husband makes a present to one, he must make one of equal value to each of the others, and he must spend his time with them equally, week by week.

In Venezuela, among the native tribes, marriage is frequently dispensed with altogether, and cohabitation takes place for a temporary period, or permanently, as the sentiments of the man may incline. This is the case even among the Christianized people, but no blame can be attached to them, poor as they are; for the priests, grasping everywhere, charge such high fees, that marriage is a privilege of the rich.

The same characteristics prevail all over South America, in Chili, Peru, Mexico, and among the Araucanian tribes: the men idle, the women labour; and the national idea is, that one sex is born to command, the other to obey. The Araucanians carry this principle to excess, and do not allow their wives to eat until they are satisfied. When a man desires to have a girl as his wife, he proposes for her to the father; if the father consent, the girl, without being informed of the bargain, is sent out on some pretended errand, when she is seized by her purchaser and carried home to his tent or hut. There a feast is prepared; their friends assemble; her price is paid in horses, cattle, or money, and the ceremony is concluded by a debauch. Immorality among them is rather secret than recognised; in Peru it is affirmed that, among the native Indians, instances of

infidelity between man and wife are very rare, for where polygamy is sanctioned and regulated by law, it is by no means inconsistent with chastity.

In New Andalusia the men and women go all but naked, wearing only slight girdles, and appearing strangers to the sentiment of decency. The condition of the female sex is that of privation and labour; yet, though overwhelmed with toil, they appear happier, because naturally more buoyant of heart than the squaws of North America. Even among the Indians on the banks of the Xingu, where the lordly husband lies all day in a hammock, and requires literally to be fed by his faithful wife, the women sing, dance, and seem to enjoy their lives most heartily. So, throughout the whole region, humiliation and slavery form their lot, but their spirit yields willingly to the yoke, which consequently does not pain them.

The regular prostitute class of South America belongs to the half-civilized communities, and will be noticed in our reference to them*.

OF PROSTITUTION IN THE CITIES OF SOUTH AMERICA.

WHEN we visit the semi-civilized communities of South America, instead of the barbarian tribes still running wild in its deserts of forest, the state of morals we discover presents a contrast by no means favourable to the half-educated States, where a hybrid compromise seems to have been made between refinement and barbarism. The general characteristic of South-American society is profligacy. Almost every city on that continent is demoralized and debauched; Brazil, Mexico, Peru, Chili, all present features very similar, and differing only in the inferior details. Professional prostitutes, indiscriminate in their companionship, form only a small part of the system. Immorality takes many other

forms. This, however, we learn only from the general terms in which traveller after traveller has described those regions, especially the cities. Absolute information we have none, except with respect to the station occupied by women, and their moral demeanour in society. Statistics are entirely wanting. All writers seem by mutual consent to have avoided our subject, and left us to conjecture the extent and character of prostitution in Mexico, Rio Janeiro, Lima, and the various other cities of South America.

In Mexico, the women of the upper or idle classes are described as elegant, polished, and fascinating, perfectly easy in society, and attached above all things to the gaieties of life. Their morals appear to be similar to those of the female sex in the older cities of Spain—that is, there are many profligates among them; but a large number are well-conducted, virtuous women, not very timid in society, but not immodest. Among the lower classes the average of Spain may also be adopted—if we may ground an opinion on the vague accounts we receive from travellers.

In Lima, society is far more profligate. The women are superior to the men in little more than affection for their children; in other respects their general conduct is loose. They are devoured with that passion for intrigue—not amounting in many cases to actual adultery—which has been a famous trait in the manners of that country in Europe whence South America has derived all its impress of civilization. One remark which is true of Lima, applies also to the other cities. The veil, which in some countries is worn as the guard of virtue, is here the screen of vice. It is inviolable. The woman so draped may pass her own husband unrecognised, so that she can play truant as she pleases. Two or three females of good station often pay visits at the houses of strange men, without being known. Men sometimes take up with their own wives in the streets, or at some place of public entertainment, or on the alameda, or city promenade, without being aware who their companions are.

The state of manners indicated by frequent allusions to these facts is far from pure. We have also a few other glimpses into the society of Mexico and Lima. In the former there were, in 1842, 491 persons—312 men, and 179 women—committed to prison for “prostitution, adultery, bigamy, sodomy, and incest;” besides 65 men, and 21 women, for “rape and incontinence.” So far for the capital of Mexico.

* Short and general as this sketch is, the facts it contains, or is based upon, are drawn from Dunlop's Travels in Central America; Captain Basil Hall's Journal; King's Twenty-Four Years in the Argentine Republic; Robertson's Letters on Paraguay; Robertson's Letters on South America; Stephenson's Incident of Travel in Central America; Norman's Rambles in Yucatan; Waterton's Wanderings in South America; Southey's History of Brazil; Young's Residence on the Mosquito Shore; Gardiner's Travels in Brazil; Hawkshaw's Reminiscences; Stephenson's Historical and Descriptive Narrative; Humboldt's Personal Narrative; Prince Adalbert's Travels; Macgregor's Progress of America.

In Lima, the chief city of Peru, the number of illegitimate children annually born is about 860; and of new-born infants exposed and found dead, 460. Two-thirds of the former, and four-fifths of the latter, belong to the coloured population—which is, indeed, in a proportionate majority. A dead child is picked up without any sensation being excited among the inhabitants of the locality in which it is found. Frequently it is cast away unburied. Ischudi has seen these little carcasses dragged about by vultures, in the public streets.

The white creoles are noted for sensuality, as well as a brutal want of sentiment towards their offspring. The dances in which they indulge are some of them of indescribable obscenity, and the whole population is addicted to demoralizing pleasures. In Lima, however, though delicate modest women are rare, actual adultery is not often committed by that sex. The men seem to obey the exhortation of Cato, who encouraged prostitutes, while he abhorred unfaithful wives—"Courage, my friends; go and see the girls, but do not corrupt the married women." Concubinage is more common, or rather, perhaps, more public than in Europe, and the father is usually very fond and careful of his natural children. Where marriage is contracted, it is, all over the Continent, fulfilled at an early age. In Brazil the neglect of this institution and the profligate intercourse of the sexes have diminished the population to an immense extent. In Rio Janeiro, however, we are told that the manners of the people have much improved since they have become more republican in their manners and ideas. The women there are shy and retired, but ignorance and awkwardness more than modesty may be assigned as the cause. While slavery was a public institution, which the government desired to abolish, the only restriction in the intercourse of the sexes was among the slaves. Procreation among them was as far as possible prevented; the women and the men in Janeiro were locked up at night in separate apartments, and carefully watched during the day.

In Chili, also, a reform of manners has commenced since the reduction of the military power, which is proverbially demoralizing. The higher classes of females have a character for modesty and virtue, but the men generally indulge themselves in vicious pleasures to a very considerable extent. It is, perhaps, in Brazil that society is most corrupt, for there the common decencies of life are, among the inferior

orders, grossly disregarded. Matheson, the traveller, slept in the same room with a young married couple; girls are sold as concubines, and children are hired out by their mothers to prostitution. The youth of that sex bathe, while very young, entirely naked, and afterwards with scarcely any clothing, before the public eye, so that altogether the manners of the people are wanting in decency.

Travellers agree in assigning as one chief cause of this general demoralization, the profligate conduct of the Roman Catholic clergy; their lives are, in many cases—and of course there are many exceptions also—exceedingly scandalous. Numbers of them, bound by their vows to celibacy, live with concubines, and are not even faithful or constant to them. Where the priests have such influence, and indulge in such practices, we may expect to find a low state of morals. That this is the case in the cities of the South America most travellers agree in declaring; but unfortunately their notices are only vague generalities, and we have no positive information as to the extent and character of prostitution in those cities*.

OF PROSTITUTION IN THE WEST INDIES.

A VERY slight notice of the West Indies will suffice, until we arrive at that division of our inquiry which includes the half-civilized communities, and the colonial societies related to Great Britain. Of the barbarous race scarcely a vestige remains, and of the negro population a general view is all that is required, except with reference to the prostitution carried on under the encouragement of the European settlers, which we shall hereafter describe. When Columbus first visited the beautiful islands of the West Indian group, he found two classes of people inhabiting them—the savage and cannibal Caribs, who delighted in war, and preyed upon the weaker and more effeminate tribes; and the comparatively innocent and simple communities, whose unwarlike habits rendered them victims to their more powerful neighbours. The characteristics of these distinct populations were strongly illustrated in their

* Macgregor's Progress of America; Kidder's Residence in Brazil; Walpole's Four Years in the Pacific; Ruschenberger's Three Years in the Pacific; Rovings in the Pacific, by a Merchant; Mayer's Mexico as it is; Matheson's Travels in Brazil; Wilkes's Exploring Expedition; Caldcleugh's Travels in South America; Robertson's Letters on South America.

treatment of women. The mild and peaceful islanders admitted the female sex to a participation in the delights and enjoyments of life, allowed their women to mingle with them in the dance, to inherit power, to wear what ornaments they fancied; and shared, indeed, with them all the opportunities of happiness which belonged to their savage condition. Among the cannibal Caribs, on the other hand, a different fashion prevailed. The handsomest and youngest of female captives taken in war were preserved as slaves and companions, while their other prisoners were devoured. The lot of these exiles, however, was little superior to that of the Carib women themselves. The nation was low and barbarous, and accordingly treated its women with harshness and indignity. Proud of their superior power and courage, the men looked down on the females as on an inferior sex, whose degradation was natural and just. Although a wife was awarded as the prize of valour, she was regarded as property acquired. She was her husband's slave. All the drudgery of his habitation fell on her. She bore his implements for war or for the chase. She carried home the game he had killed; and never sat down to a meal with him, or even dared to eat in his presence. She approached him with abject humility, and if she ever complained of ill usage, it was at the peril of her life. Nevertheless, the child born of this slave was loved and tended with wonderful care. This description, however, must apply to the weaker race of women, not to those Amazons described by Columbus, who, well-trained to war, rivalled in power of muscle and vigour of limb the bull-stranglers of Sparta.

These, however—the original inhabitants of the West-Indian Islands—have disappeared, and been succeeded by another race or compound of races, among which the Negroes only claim our notice at present. Among the blacks of Antigua, as an example of the rest, immorality is a characteristic which may be traced to the institution of slavery. Infanticide is frequently practised by them, especially since the Emancipation Act was passed. The reason of this circumstance, which at first seems strange, is very clear. Under the institution of slavery, negroes were not allowed to marry, or, at least, their marriages were never held as binding before the law. They therefore cohabited, and their unions lasted usually only so long as the caprice of affection, or the heat of a criminal appetite existed. Women, therefore, con-

tinually had five, six, seven, eight, or nine children by various fathers, and no disgrace was attached to the fact. A new system was introduced by the abolition of the slave system. The sentiments of shame and modesty have been cultivated in their minds; and the idea of female virtue has at least been awakened, so that they often seek to escape the consequences of an illicit amour by destroying the offspring.

One of the demoralizing effects of slavery was the encouragement of a species of concubinage. Rewards, indeed, were held out by some masters to such of the negroes as lived faithfully with a single partner; but the prevalence of vice was all but universal. A permanent engagement between a man and a woman was seldom formed. Two females frequently lived with one man, and of these one was considered his wife and the other his mistress.

When the negroes were emancipated, in 1834, many of them were anxious to be legally married. Numbers had been already united in wedlock by the missionary preachers; yet, though complete in its character, and regarded as a sacred tie, this act was not held as binding by the law, and many of the emancipated negroes, putting away the partners of their compulsory servitude, took new companions to their homes.

The offence of bigamy was not uncommon among them, and still continues to be so. It is prohibited under a severe enactment, but many devices are adopted to elude the law. Concubinage is less openly practised than formerly, but the tie of marriage is by no means generally respected. Chastity is indifferently regarded; and where the men do not prize it in women, women will be at little pains to preserve it for the men. Women are sometimes married who have been living in concubinage with several persons, and become the mothers of numerous children.

The condition of the free female negroes is by no means so degraded as in the original country of the blacks. Women enjoy an independent existence, and live as they please, though many of them labour. Their character is not distinguished by morality. Decency was entirely obliterated from their ideas, and they are only beginning to recover it. Women who were daily stripped and exposed to receive a whipping from the hands of men, could not be expected long to retain the sense of feminine shame; and this process, acting upon one generation after another, has left its impress on the

character of the negro population. Human nature, also, was outraged by the gross tyranny of the planters. The intercourse of the sexes was regulated, not with a view to the morals of the negroes, but to the propagation of the species. They were coupled like beasts, to increase the number of slaves on the estate. In consequence of this the degradation of the negro population was so complete that, after it was emancipated, a woman considered it more honourable to become the mistress of a white, than the wife of a black man. In all the islands, indeed, this vile system was carried on. In St. Lucia, however, the intercourse was almost unrestrained, and consequently became in a degree promiscuous; for moral law there was none. The St. Lucia negro, in fact, is, even at this day, averse to matrimony, and inclined to support concubines, to none of whom is he faithful, even for an interval of time. Yet he is thoroughly attached to his children. It has been observed, that if any improvement in the morality of the island has taken place, it is more in the tone than in the temper, in the appearance than in the reality. Infanticide is never practised, or only as a rare and secret crime. It is prevented, however, not by moral restraint, but by the motherly feelings of the women—by the absence of reproach on bastardy, and the facility for rearing children.

In Santa Cruz the same low condition of manners is observable in the negro population; though in Jamaica the negroes are generally married, and are, on the whole, faithful to the engagement. This, however, is the result of the Emancipation Act. Previously to that mighty social reform, marriage, or a connubial contract of any kind, was rare; and the intercourse of the sexes was loose, profligate, and lewd. The men lived either with several concubines at once, or replaced one by another, as their inclination prompted. When the missionaries endeavoured to change this state of things, any couples which submitted to their teaching were sure to be ridiculed and jeered by the servile and demoralized populace. When slavery was abolished, so far had the corruption of manners proceeded, that numbers of the women, in the delirium of their new liberty, abandoned themselves to their vicious appetites, and became common prostitutes.

The example of Europeans has not by any means displayed to the negroes any instruction in morality; on the contrary, it has, to a great extent, encouraged their

vices. This we shall show in a future division of the subject. We therefore leave at present the other islands which form the plantation colonies of England and Spain: we shall hereafter visit the native community which has recently made itself ridiculous by enacting the forms of an empire—we allude to Hayti, or St. Domingo. The brief notice we have given is intended to apply to the rude black population, but not in respect of its relation to the white communities*.

OF PROSTITUTION IN JAVA.

IN the island of Java, which is perhaps the most fertile and beautiful country in the world, a curious system of manners now prevails. Hindoos have been succeeded by Mohammedans, and these by Dutch: each of the conquering races has impressed some characteristic trait on the population, and, unfortunately, the stamp of vice is more easily set than any other. The character and condition of the female sex in Java indicate the whole state of manners there. The men are somewhat cold towards the women, a fact which some learned Theban has ascribed to their feeding more on vegetable than on animal substances, but they are neither cruel nor negligent towards them. The institution of marriage is universally known, if not universally practised or generally respected. The lot of women may be described as peculiarly fortunate; in general they are not ill-used at all, and when, as among some of the more opulent, they are secluded, they are rather withdrawn from the indiscriminate gaze of the people, than shut up in lonely secrecy, for they are by no means watched with that exaggerated jealousy which in some parts of the East renders the husband a continual spy on the actions of his wife. Though the man pays a price for his bride, he does not therefore disdain or abuse her.

The condition of the sex in Java is, indeed, an exception to the habitual custom of Asiatics. The women eat with the men, associate with them in all the offices and pleasures of life, and live on terms of mutual equality.

* Capadose's *Sixteen Years in the West Indies*; Antigua and the Antiguans; Breen's *Historical Account of St. Lucia*; Gurney's *Winter in the West Indies*; Bidwell's *West Indies as they Are*; Stewart's *State of Jamaica*; Lloyd's *Letters from the West Indies*; Bayley's *Four Years' Residence*; Southey's *History of the West Indies*; Washington Irving's *Life and Voyages of Columbus*; Baird's *Impressions of the West Indies*, &c.

Many queens have, in different States, occupied the throne. The sex is nowhere in the island, as a rule, treated with coarseness, violence, or neglect. They are industrious, and hard-working, but they labour more through desire of praise than through fear of chastisement, and are admitted to the performance of many honourable tasks. Among the wealthier classes men sometimes act tyrannically in their households; but this must be taken as the characteristic not of the race, but of individuals. Those who seclude their wives do so only from the common eye; English gentlemen have often been introduced into the most private chambers of the harem, while the wives and daughters of the greatest chiefs have appeared at the entertainments given by the European residents in Batavia, Sumarang, and other cities, where they conduct themselves usually with modesty and good grace.

Polygamy and concubinage are tolerated, that is, they are practised among the nobility of Java, who do not allow public opinion to interfere with the gratification of their desires; both of these customs are looked upon, however, rather as vicious luxuries, than as established social institutions; yet, however limited their extent, they never fail to degrade the position and to vitiate the character of the female sex. Some circumstances in the feelings of the people prevent either practice from being generally adopted, and the evil is thus, in its moral influence, mitigated. The first wife is always mistress of the household, and the others are little more than her hand-maids, who contribute to her husband's gratification, but never share his rank or his wealth. No man of station will give his daughter as a second or third wife, unless to a chief of far higher nobility than himself; the inferior wives or concubines are therefore of an inferior class. Thus the artificial distinctions of classes vitiate the public morals, for a woman considers it dishonourable, not to prostitute herself, but to prostitute herself to a poor man of humble birth.

When we say that polygamy and concubinage are not general in Java, the reader must by no means infer a high state of manners to exist there. On the contrary, Java is the most immoral country in insular Asia. The woman who would be ashamed to become the second wife of a chief might not be ashamed to commit adultery with him; in general terms, both sexes are extremely profligate and depraved, though the poets and historians of the island boast of chastity as the dis-

tinguishing ornament of their women; because a married female shrieks when a strange man attempts to kiss her before her attendants and a large mixed company, they hold up their sex in Java as the standard of feminine purity and virtue.

In most islands of the Indian Archipelago, divorces are not easy to be obtained; but in Java the total separation of married people may be procured with the utmost freedom and facility. It is a privilege in which the women indulge themselves to a most wanton degree, and often so much as to fall little short of prostitution. A wife may turn away her husband by paying him a certain sum of money; he is not, indeed, absolutely bound to accept this, but usually does so, in conformity with the established opinion of society, that it is disreputable to live with a woman on such terms. Women often change their partners three or four times before they are thirty years of age; some have been seen boasting of a twelfth husband. In Java the means of subsistence abound, and are easy to be procured as well by females as by men; one sex is, therefore, in a great measure, independent of the other; women find no difficulty in living without husbands. They are not, consequently, forced to remain in a state of bondage through fear of being drifted destitute upon the world; but, unfortunately for the theories of our new female reformers, the sex in Java, though thus enfranchised, is proverbially dissolute and libertine.

This, nevertheless, in reality is no argument for those who attempt to show that the female sex, enjoying perfect liberty, makes use of its freedom to indulge in vicious pleasures. The women of Java are dissolute, not because they are free of control, but because the whole society of the island is profligate. Among the wealthier classes, especially, the utmost immorality prevails with respect to the intercourse of the sexes. In the great native towns the population is debauched to the last degree. Intrigues among the married women continually occur; and females of high rank have intercourse with paramours, to the knowledge, and almost before the faces, of their husbands. The men are tame and servile, often not daring to revenge their honour or assert the conjugal right, and they are by no means inspired with that fiery spirit of jealousy which among many Asiatics renders a wife sacred from all but her husband's eye. Females of respectable rank are often the subject of conversation. An inquiry after a man's family is held by no means in-

sulting, but rather as a conventional act of courtesy.

Flagrant instances of the loose character of Javan manners have come to the notice of travellers. Before the island was absolutely conquered by the Dutch, one of its great princes, being desirous of purchasing the favour of the people, gave many public feasts and entertainments, at which the wives and daughters of the chiefs attended. He seduced one of his guests, a married woman, and was in the habit of passing the night with her, while her husband was engaged with his duty on the public guard. One morning, by chance, the chief returned home earlier than usual, and detected them together. He had, however, discovered the rank of the paramour, and discreetly coughed, that the prince might have an opportunity to escape. He then went into the chamber, and severely flogged his guilty wife. She fled, and complained to the king of the treatment she had received. He being in the critical position of making good his claim to a crown, dared not exercise the usual prerogative of a throne; but called for the man he had injured, made him many rich gifts, and offered him, as compensation, the handsomest woman in his own household. The husband accepted the peace-offerings, and was content to take back his adulterous wife. The relation of a subject to his prince must, at least when developed in this manner, be most unnatural.

Women in Java are usually married very young, though not before the age of puberty, which is speedily reached. The reason assigned by writers for this haste is, that their chastity is no longer safe after they have reached womanhood. Men wait for two or three years after that period, during which they may indulge in unbounded profligacy. At eighteen or twenty a girl is looked upon as verging towards the wane of life, and becomes a suspected character. No age, however, excludes a woman from the chance of a match; but scarcely any are unmarried after 22. Widows at 50 often procure husbands; for men at that period of life usually choose wives equal in years to themselves, and sometimes older.

The preliminary arrangements are made by the parents on both sides; for no intercourse could previously take place between the young people themselves without being, and often justly, the occasion of scandal. They are looked upon, as the natives themselves express it, as mere puppets in the performance. There are

three kinds of connection. The first is when the rank of the parties is equal, or when the man is superior to the woman. The second is when the bride is above her husband, who is taken into the house, and adopted into the family, by his father-in-law. The third is a species of concubinage, without any rites whatever, and confirmed by the simple fact of recognised cohabitation. In such cases, as no formality is required to conclude, so none is necessary to dissolve the contract, which is, therefore, no more than a species of prostitution, for the changes of companions are extremely frequent.

In the other two, the ceremonies are similar. The young people are, in all cases, betrothed for a longer or a shorter period before their union—from one month to several years. The father of the youth, having made for his son what he considers a suitable choice, proceeds to the parents of the girl, and proposes for an alliance. If they accept the suit, a betrothal is ratified by some trifling present to the bride. Visits are made, that the intended nuptials may be publicly known. At the third stage in the progress of the transaction the price is arranged, and varies according to the rank and circumstances of the families. Sometimes it is plainly called the *purchase money*; sometimes the act of sale is covered by a more delicate term—the *deposit*. It is usually considered, however, as a settlement or provision for the bride.

The only Mohammedan feature in the whole ceremony is the exchange of vows in a mosque. This is followed by many ritual observances, more of etiquette than religion, and great parade is affected. At length the married people eat rice from one vessel, to typify their common fortune; but in some places the bride washes her husband's feet, as an acknowledgment of her subjection to him, or else he treads upon a raw egg, and she wipes his foot.

Though, as we have said, polygamy and concubinage are not generally practised, partly because too expensive, partly from a feeling against them—some of the rich chiefs indulge in them to an extravagant degree, and glory in a train of 60 children. The wives, however, as already noticed, can easily release themselves when their married state is deteriorated into real or fancied bondage. The fact of their early marriage, without knowing their future husband, or consenting to the union, causes a great number of divorces. A widow may marry again after three months and ten days have elapsed since her husband's death.

Though the intercourse of the sexes is so free that vicious inclinations may be indulged without difficulty or peril, the Javans support a large class of women—prostitutes by profession. Adultery is not considered a very heinous crime, but rather an offence against the husband's property and honour, yet it is attended sometimes with danger, and often with disagreeable results. The vocation of the trading prostitute is not, therefore, taken away. She unites in Java, as in India, the profession of a dancer with her infamous calling.

There is a large class of these dancers in the island. The people are passionately fond of this amusement, but no respectable woman will join in it. The sultans, indeed, used to have some of their most beautiful concubines trained to dance, and they were privileged in the performance of certain figures; but, otherwise, all its professors are prostitutes. Nevertheless, a Javan chief of high rank is not ashamed to be seen before a large mixed assembly tripping with one of these women.

The dancers may be found in all parts of Java, but chiefly in the north-west, towards the capital. They figure at most of the public and private entertainments. Their conduct is so dissolute that the words dancer and prostitute are, in the Javan language, synonymous; yet, on account of the wealth they often amass, petty chiefs occasionally marry them. In such cases they usually, after a few years, become tired of their quiet secluded life, divorce their husbands, and resume their old calling. The dress in which they appear to dance is very immodest, exposing almost the whole bosom, and the attitudes they assume are licentious in a high degree. Nevertheless, they seldom descend to the obscene and degrading postures practised by some of the Bayaderes in India.

The Europeans in Java have not certainly, up to a late period, at least, set to their native subjects an example of pure manners. The Dutch merchant had usually a Javan female at the head of his household, who served him as a mistress as well. Indeed, the marriage ceremony is seldom insisted on by the women; while, among the lower classes, simple cohabitation is the usual method in which the sexes are related. Yet they are by no means so gross and sensual as the wealthier sort of people. Altogether, however, the island is remarkable for the profligacy of its inhabitants. In every city prostitutes abound; and about the roads in their vicinity women may be seen straying,

ready for hire. They mostly, as we have said, assume also the profession of dancers, and this, in a manner, covers the profligacy of those who employ them at their houses*.

OF PROSTITUTION IN SUMATRA.

THE population of this extensive island is divided into several tribes, slightly differing in their manners and modes of life. The Rejangs, who may be supposed to represent its original habits, are still rude barbarians. With them, as with many people of the East, the scrupulous attention to external show is by no means accompanied by a similar spirit within. They drape their women from chin to foot, and dread lest a virgin should expose any part of her person; yet modesty is not at all a characteristic of the dwellers in villages and towns, to whom this description refers. Those who live in the rural communities, and are more easy in their costume, distinguish themselves by their decency and decorum. In this is exhibited a curious fact, which may be discovered in many parts of the world.

The civilization, if such it may be called, of Sumatra, is of a peculiar character. Its people are in that stage of their progress when great importance is ascribed to the multiplied formulas of etiquette. Ritual is with them more essential than principle—of which, indeed, they know little. It is wonderful to examine the intricate details of the Sumatran marriage contract. Nearly all the litigation in the country springs from that perplexing cause. Men in a barbarous state appear to be under the influence of some law which forces them into extremes. They must be at one pole or another. Either they dispense altogether with ceremonial usages, and satisfy themselves with obeying the simple dictates of nature, under plain rules for their own convenience, or they divide the sexes by a maze of convention, which prescribes a form for the most trivial occasions of life. True refinement appears to be in the medium; but this is a question still to be resolved. In some districts of Sumatra, Europeans, wearied with the endless legal quarrels arising from these complicated transactions, have prevailed on the people to simplify their code of marriage, and the result has proved beneficial.

* Raffles's History of Java; Crawford's Indian Archipelago; Stavorinus's Voyages; Earl's Eastern Seas, &c.

Some have supposed that the system of procuring wives by purchase, which renders marriage difficult to the poor, has retarded the growth of population. Others, however, assert, and with much appearance of reason, that in Sumatra at least the contrary is true. Children being considered as property, and daughters being especially valuable for the price they command, powerful incentives to matrimony exist. The purchase-money obtained for the girls supplies wives for the sons, and in few islands are instances of celibacy more rare. It is certain, however, that the fostering, or rendering obligatory, thrifty habits on the young, has a tendency to check population, though it may be only so far as to keep it on a level with the means of subsistence. Various European countries illustrate that truth. In Sumatra, also, we have a wealthy region thinly and badly peopled; but misgovernment, war, and barbarism may be assigned as the chief causes. Besides, it is said the women are naturally unprolific; that they cease to bear children at an early age; that ignorance of the medical art causes thousands to perish of endemic complaints.

There are three modes of forming a marriage contract. The first is that, when one man pays to another a certain sum of money in exchange for his daughter, who becomes a virtual slave. There is usually, however, a certain amount—about five dollars—held back, and, so long as this remains unpaid, friendship is supposed to exist between the families, and the girl's parents have a right to complain if she be ill-treated. If the husband wound her he is liable to a fine, and in other ways his absolute command is curtailed. When, however, on the occasion of a violent quarrel, the sum is paid, the bond of relationship is broken, and the woman is entirely in her master's power. The regulations in regard to money are numerous and intricate; but need not be explained in detail. They give occasion, however, as we have said, to endless law-suits, which are bequeathed by one generation to another.

In other cases the marriage contract is an affair of barter. One virgin is given for another, and a man who has not one of his own sometimes borrows a girl, engaging to replace or pay for her when required. A man having a son and a daughter, may give the latter in exchange for a wife to the former. A brother may barter his sister for a wife, or procure a cousin instead. If, however, she be under age, a certain allowance is made until she becomes marriageable.

Another method is practised when a parent desires to get rid of a daughter suffering from some infirmity or defect. He sells her altogether without any reserve, and she has fewer privileges than other classes of wives.

Sometimes a girl evades these laws by an elopement, and a match is formed upon mutual affection. If the fugitive couple are overtaken on the road, they may be separated; but when once they have taken sanctuary, and the man declares his willingness to comply with all the necessary forms, his wife is safely secured to him.

Many persons have assigned to whole nations, in various parts of the world, a Jewish origin, partly because the custom prevails with them of a man marrying his brother's widow. The Sumatrans, in this case, belong to them also, for the same rule is enforced by them; but if there be no brother surviving, the woman is taken by her husband's nearest male relation—the father excepted. If any of her purchase-money remains unpaid, her new master is answerable for it.

When, under this system, adultery is committed—which is not frequently the case—the husband usually passes it over, or inflicts revenge with his own hand. It is seldom such an offence is brought before the law. When a man desires to divorce his wife thus married to him, he may claim back her purchase-money, with the exception of twenty-five dollars, as she is supposed, by cohabitation with him, to have diminished in value to that amount. If, having taken a woman, he be unable to pay the whole price, though repeatedly dunned for it, the girl's parents may sue for a divorce, but they must restore all they have received. The old ceremony consisted merely in cutting a rattan cane in two, in the presence of the disunited couple, their friends, and the chiefs of the province. The woman is expected to take to her husband's house effects to the value of ten dollars. If she take more, he is chargeable to the amount. Thus the whole transaction is carried on upon mercenary grounds.

The second kind of marriage, is when a virgin's father chooses for her husband some young man whom he adopts into his family, making a feast on the occasion and receiving what we may term a premium of twenty dollars. The young man is thenceforward a property in his father-in-law's family. They are answerable for the debts he may incur; but all he has and all he earns belong to them; he is liable to be divorced when they please, and to be

turned away destitute. Under certain circumstances he may redeem himself from this bondage, but pecuniary considerations are so entangled with the whole agreement that infinite confusion is the result. Several generations are sometimes bound in this manner before the contract can be legally broken by the fulfilment of all the required conditions.

The Malays of Sumalda have generally adopted the third kind of marriage, which is called *the free*. It is a more honourable compact, in which the families approach each other on the natural level of equality. A small sum is paid to the girl's parents, usually about twelve dollars, and an agreement is drawn up, that all property shall be common between husband and wife, and that, when divorce takes place by mutual consent, all shall be fairly divided. If the man only presses a separation, he gives half his effects, and loses the twelve dollars; if the woman, she then loses her right to any but her female paraphernalia. This description of contract, which is productive of most just dealing and felicity, has been adopted in many parts of the island.

The actual ceremony of marriage, though fenced about with so many ceremonial observances, is extremely simple. An entertainment is given, the couple join their hands, and some one pronounces them man and wife.

Where the female sex is a material for sale, little of what we term courtship can be expected. The manners of the country are opposed to it; strict separation is enforced between the youth of different sexes; and when a man pays the full price for a bride, he considers himself entitled to her without any manner of persuasion or solicitation to herself. Nevertheless, traces of gallantry—using that word in its proper, not its ridiculous sense—may be observed in the manners of the people. A degree of respect is shown to women, which may be favourably contrasted with the conduct of some polished nations. On the few occasions on which the young people meet, such as festivals and public gatherings in the village hall, they dance and sing, and behave with much delicacy; mutual attachments often spring out of such association, and the parents frequently promote the desire of union thus arising. In most countries, indeed, the barbarism of the law is mitigated in its influence by the universal operation of the natural human sentiments; it is no less true than strange, that mankind are usually better, not only than their rulers, but than their laws. The festivals are enlivened by dances and songs;

the dances have been described as licentious and grotesque, but Marsden, the philosophical historian of Sumalda, only remarks that the figures displayed at English balls are often more immodest and absurd. The songs are usually extempore, and always turn on the subject of love.

The existence or flourishing of any sentiment among a people with whom marriage is a commercial transaction, and who allow a plurality of wives, may be considered incredible; but as, in the first instance, Nature often asserts herself and the law is accommodated to her will, so, in the second, the nature of things prevents any general extension of the practice. Polygamy is permitted; but only a few chiefs have more than one companion. The general indigence of the people is one cause of this, for the perpetual weight of necessity is more powerful than the irregular impulse of animal passion. To be a second wife is also considered by many below the dignity of a reputable person. A man sometimes prefers a divorce for his daughter when he hears that her husband is about to take another wife. In the contract which stipulates for a division of property, polygamy is impossible, for this obvious reason, that the wife must have half the husband's effects, which more than one, of course, could not do. The origin of polygamy in Sumalda and other parts of Asia has been traced by various ingenious writers to different causes; but being, as it is, the indulgence which is a privilege of wealth, it appears to have grown up with the whole system of manners; no natural reason seems to exist for it. The proportion of the sexes is nearly equal, and all the theories grounded on a different assumption fall to pieces. Wherever polygamy exists, women are purchased, and where they are thus viewed as property, wealthy men will surely distinguish themselves from their neighbours by a plurality of wives; and this happens in Rajpooratan, where the women are far less numerous than the men, as well as in other countries where they out-number them to an equal extent.

In the country parts of Sumatra, chastity, says Marsden, exists more than among any other people with which he was acquainted. The same characteristic appears to distinguish them at the present day. Interest, as well as decency, renders the parents anxious to preserve the virtue of their daughters. The price of a virgin is so far above that of a woman who has been defiled, that the girls are jealously watched, lest their value deteriorate in this respect. But the truth of the Oriental

idea is sometimes illustrated—that girls should marry as soon as they are marriageable, or they soon cease to be chaste. In Sumatra they remain single for some time after that period, and occasionally lose their chastity in consequence. In such cases the seducer, if discovered, may be forced to marry the girl, and pay her price, or make good the diminution he has occasioned in her value.

Regular prostitution is little known, except in the towns. There, especially in the bazaars, women following that calling may be found mixed up with the concourse of sailors and others who support them. In the seaports especially, where the population is not only floating, but mixed from various nations, there is a great deal of profligacy, and troops of professional prostitutes ply the streets for hire. Europeans, however, who represent the general manners of the island from the experience of short visits to the maritime cities, convey a false impression of the people. The Sumatran is, as a rule, contented to marry and be faithful to his wife. This proceeds, however, it would seem, rather from some peculiar tone of temperament, than from any principles of morality; for their ideas on this subject are, at any rate, widely different from ours. Incest they hold as an offence; but except it occurs within the first degree it is regarded rather as an infraction of the conventional, than the natural law. It is sometimes punished by a fine; but sometimes also the marriage is confirmed, and the parties remain together.

The chiefs of the cannibal nations of Batta have sometimes several concubines. A man once stole a woman of this kind—the favourite of her master—and was punished by being cut to pieces, roasted, and devoured. Among the people of Bulu China, on the east coast, a man may have four wives, and as many concubines as possible. Some of the chiefs possess one of these companions in each town or village of their country. Adultery is punished by death to both criminals.

The general treatment of the sex in Sumatra is of an average character. They are not absolutely degraded, nor do they enjoy an elevated position. The poorer classes labour, and all are subject to the men; but on the whole they are far superior to Java, and, in a considerable degree, to many other Eastern countries*.

* Marsden's Sumatra; Anderson's Mission to the East Coast; Crawford's Indian Archipelago; Journal of the Indian Archipelago.

OF BORNEO.

THE splendid achievements in the cause of civilization which Sir James Brooke has performed, have directed an extraordinary attention to the immense island of Borneo. Like the rest of the Indian Archipelago, it is, nevertheless, little known to the English reader—no complete accounts having been yet published. Sir James Brooke, however, with Captain Keppel, Captain Mundy, Mr. Hugh Low, and others, have thrown a new light on the country, and enabled us to discern many striking features in the social system of the races which inhabit it. The uniformity of manners observable in Celebes does not exist in Borneo. The inhabitants of Borneo, for the most part, remain in an inferior stage of the barbarian state. There are, however, among them many varieties of the social law. Some are the purest savages, wandering unclothed in the depths of the forests, and subsisting alone on the spontaneous gifts of nature. Others cultivate the soil, dwell in comfortable villages, and traffic with their neighbours. The river communities are far more advanced than those who live far from the means of water-carriage; and the inhabitants of the maritime towns are more educated, and also more profligate, than any. They have been depraved by that bloody and destructive system of piracy, which was, until recently, the curse of the Archipelago; but when Sir James Brooke's policy has been maturely developed, we may expect to see vast ameliorations in their manners.

The state of morals among the Sea Dyaks, or dwellers on the coast, is low, even in comparison with the average of other Asiatic races. There is no social law to govern the intercourse of the youths of both sexes before marriage. Even the authority of parents is not recognised to any extent. The Dyak girl is supposed capable of selecting a husband for herself; and before she is betrothed to a man she may cohabit, without disgrace, with any other with whom she may please to associate. The women appear to make liberal use of this privilege. Loose as their conduct is, however, before marriage, they are subject afterwards to a more stringent code. As a man is only allowed one wife, he requires strict fidelity in her, and if she break faith with him, she is punished by a severe beating and a heavy fine. On his part, moreover, he must be continent, for the penalty is the same for either sex. Cases of adultery are not frequent in times of peace, though during war more licence

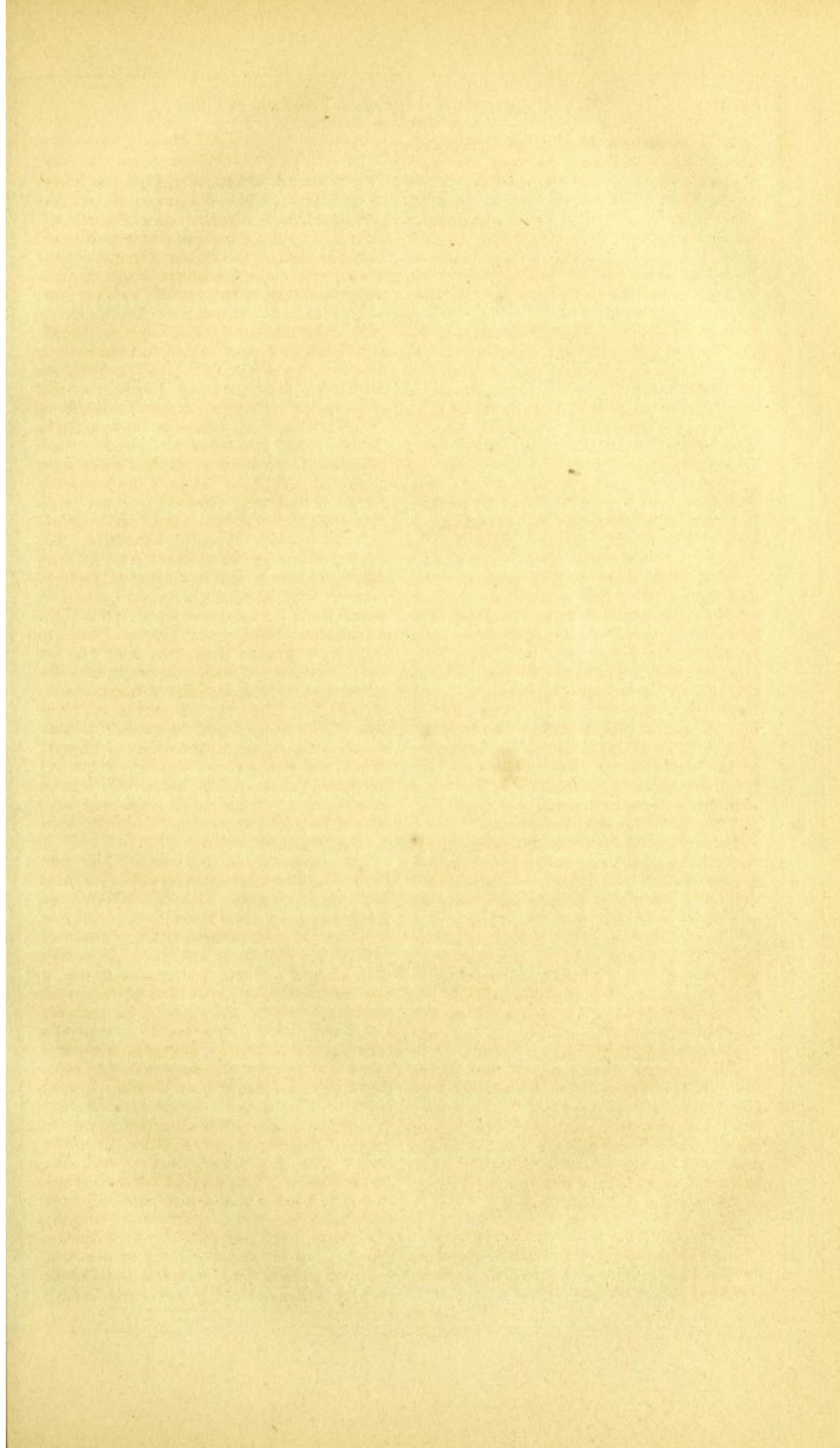


TABLE XII.

LONDON LABOUR AND THE LONDON POOR.

TABLE SHOWING THE CRIMINALITY OF THE DIFFERENT COUNTIES OF ENGLAND AND WALES WITH REGARD TO THE CONCEALMENT OF THE BIRTHS OF INFANTS.

COUNTIES.	Average Yearly No. of Illegitimate Births.	Average										Total for 10 Years.	Annual Average.	No. committed for concealments in every 10,000 Illegitimate Births.	Proportion per Cent. above and below the Aver. † denotes above, * below.
		1841.	1842.	1843.	1844.	1845.	1846.	1847.	1848.	1849.	1850.				
Bedford . . .	336	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	2	.2	6	*64.7
Berks . . .	461	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	3	...	10	1.0	22	+29.5
Bucks . . .	315	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	.3	10	*41.2
Cambridge . . .	423	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	.7	17	.....
Chester . . .	1128	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	16	1.6	54	*17.6
Cornwall . . .	534	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	16	1.6	30	+76.9
Cumberland . . .	639	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	.5	8	*52.9
Derby . . .	656	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8	.8	12	*29.4
Devon . . .	818	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	23	2.3	28	+64.8
Dorset . . .	342	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	1.0	29	+70.6
Durham . . .	824	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	19	1.9	23	+35.3
Essex . . .	621	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	16	1.6	26	+53.0
Gloucester . . .	788	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	22	2.2	28	+64.8
Hereford . . .	274	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	.7	26	+53.0
Hertford . . .	388	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	.5	13	*23.5
Hunts . . .	98	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*100.0
Kent . . .	998	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	22	2.2	22	+29.5
Lancaster . . .	5672	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	50	5.0	9	*47.1
Leicester . . .	583	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	11	1.1	19	+11.8
Lincoln . . .	820	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	23	2.3	28	+64.8
Middlesex . . .	2200	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	54	5.4	25	+47.1
Monmouth . . .	269	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8	.8	30	+76.9
Norfolk . . .	1374	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	21	2.1	15	*11.8
Northampton . . .	416	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	9	.9	22	+29.5
Northumberland . . .	685	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	.5	7	*58.8
Nottingham . . .	808	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	.4	5	*70.6
Oxford . . .	396	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	.1	3	*82.4
Rutland . . .	40	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*100.0
Salop . . .	640	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	19	1.9	14	*17.6
Somerset . . .	847	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	16	1.6	19	+11.8
Southampton . . .	703	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	26	2.6	37	+117.7
Stafford . . .	1341	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	23	2.3	17	.....
Suffolk . . .	895	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	20	2.0	22	+29.5
Surrey . . .	903	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	35	3.5	39	+129.5
Sussex . . .	662	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	16	1.6	24	+41.2
Warwick . . .	831	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	11	1.1	13	*23.5
Westmorland . . .	156	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	.4	26	+53.0
Wiltshire . . .	506	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	9	.9	18	+41.1
Worcester . . .	679	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	17	1.7	25	+47.1

LONDON LABOUR AND THE LONDON POOR.

York	4155	3	3	3	5	3	4	4	10	5	7	5	49	4.9	12	*29.4
North Wales	847	...	...	...	2	2	...	1	...	1	2	1	9	9	11	*35.3
South Wales	1308	2	1	1	2	1	2	2	2	...	3	4	19	1.9	15	*11.8
Total for England and Wales	37,410	51	49	66	87	53	78	65	60	75	66	65.0	17			

THE ATTEMPTS AT CONCEALING THE BIRTHS OF INFANTS AND ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS COMPARED.

Counties above the Average.	In No. of Cases of Concealing Births.	Percentage above and below the Average.	Counties below the Average.	In No. of Cases of Concealing Births.	Percentage above and below the Average.	Counties in which the Number of cases of Concealing Births is above the Average and the Number of Illegitimate Births below it.	In No. of Cases of Concealing Births.	Percentage above and below the Average.	Counties in which the Number of cases of Concealing Births is below the Average and the Number of Illegitimate Births above it.	In No. of Cases of Concealing Births.	Percentage above and below the Average.
Surrey	39	...	Cambridge	17	...	Surrey	129.5	...	Counties in which the No. of cases of Concealing Births is below the Average and the No. of Illegitimate Births above it.	129.5	...
Southern	37	...	Stafford	17	...	Southern	117.7	...	Oxford	82.4	...
Cornwall	30	...	North Wales	15	...	Cornwall	76.9	...	Nottingham	70.6	...
Monmouth	30	...	South Wales	15	...	Monmouth	70.9	...	Bedford	64.7	...
Dorset	29	...	Cheshire	14	...	Dorset	70.5	...	Northumberland	58.8	...
Devon	28	...	Salop	14	...	Devon	70.5	...	Cumberland	52.9	...
Gloucester	28	...	Hertford	13	...	Gloucester	64.8	...	Lancaster	47.1	...
Lincoln	26	...	Derby	12	...	Lincoln	64.8	...	Bucks	29.5	...
Essex	26	...	Warwick	12	...	Essex	64.8	...	North Wales	35.3	...
Westmorland	25	...	Oxford	11	...	Westmorland	64.8	...	York	29.4	...
Middlesex	25	...	Hunts	10	...	Middlesex	64.8	...	Derby	29.4	...
Worcester	25	...	Rutland	9	...	Worcester	64.8	...	Hertford	23.5	...
Durham	24	...	Cumberland	8	...	Durham	64.8	...	Salop	17.6	...
Kent	22	...	Northumberland	7	...	Kent	64.8	...	Chester	17.6	...
Northampton	22	...	Bedford	6	...	Northampton	64.8	...	South Wales	11.8	...
Suffolk	22	...	Nottingham	5	...	Suffolk	64.8	...	Norfolk	11.8	...
Somerset	19	...	Oxford	3	...	Somerset	64.8	...	Stafford	11.8	...
Wilts	18	...	Hunts	0	...	Wilts	64.8	...	The Average for the whole of the above Counties is	...	...
			Rutland	0	...		64.8	...	(The Number of cases of Concealing Births is 12 in every 10,000 Illegitimate Births, and the Number of Illegitimate Births 79 in every 1000 Births.)	...	...
							64.8	...			

Average for England and Wales 17

MAP

SHOWING THE NUMBER OF CASES OF

CONCEALING THE BIRTHS OF INFANTS

IN EVERY 10,000 ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS.

IN EACH COUNTY OF

ENGLAND & WALES.



*** The counties printed *black* are those in which the number of cases is *above* the Average.

The counties left *white* are those in which the number of cases is *below* the Average.

The Average is taken for the last ten years.

The Average for all England and Wales is 17 in every 10,000 illegitimate births.

"	"	Surrey (the highest)	39	"	"
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"	"	Huntingdon and Rutland (the lowest)	0	"	"
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MAP

SHOWING THE NUMBER OF PROVED CASES OF
ATTEMPTING TO PROCURE THE MISCARRIAGE OF WOMEN
IN EVERY 10,000 ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS,
IN THE SEVERAL COUNTIES OF
ENGLAND AND WALES.

*** The counties printed *black* are those in which the cases are *above* the Average.
The counties left *white* are those in which the number of cases is *below* the Average.
The Average is calculated for ten years.



The Average for England and Wales is 1 in every 10,000 illegitimate births.

"	"	Sussex (the highest)	6	"	"
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TABLE XIII.

LONDON LABOUR AND THE LONDON POOR.

TABLE SHOWING THE CRIMINALITY OF THE DIFFERENT COUNTIES OF ENGLAND AND WALES, WITH REGARD TO THE ATTEMPTS TO PROCURE THE MISCARRIAGE OF WOMEN.

COUNTRIES.	Average Yearly No. of Illegitimate Births.	Total number committed for attempting to procure the miscarriage of women.								Total for 10 Years.	Annual Average.	No. committed annually in every 10,000 Illegitimate Births.	Proportion per Cent. above and below the Aver. + denotes above, * below.
		1841.	1842.	1843.	1844.	1845.	1846.	1847.	1848.	1849.	1850.		
Belford	336	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100-0
Berks	461	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100-0
Bucks	315	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100-0
Cambridge	433	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100-0
Chester	1198	..	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	+200-0
Cornwall	534	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	+300-0
Cumberland	639	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100-0
Derby	636	..	..	2	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	+200-0
Devon	818	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	+300-0
Dorset	342	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100-0
Durham	824	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100-0
Essex	621	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100-0
Gloucester	798	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100-0
Hereford	274	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	.....
Hertford	338	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100-0
Hunts	98	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	+200-0
Kent	993	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100-0
Lancaster	5672	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*400-0
Leicester	563	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	.....
Lincoln	820	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100-0
Middlesex	2200	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100-0
Monmouth	269	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100-0
Norfolk	1374	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100-0
Northampton	416	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	.....
Northumberland	685	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	+300-0
Nottingham	198	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100-0
Oxford	396	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100-0
Rutland	40	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100-0
Salop	640	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100-0
Somerset	847	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100-0
Southampton	703	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100-0
Stafford	1341	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100-0
Suffolk	385	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100-0
Surrey	963	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100-0
Sussex	622	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100-0
Warwick	831	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100-0
Westmorland	156	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100-0
Wills	506	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100-0
Worcester	679	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100-0
York	4155	2	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100-0
North Wales	847	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100-0
South Wales	1300	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	*20-0
Total for England and Wales	37,410	3	5	13	6	1	4	3	3	3	44	44	1

LONDON LABOUR AND THE LONDON POOR.

THE ATTEMPTS TO PROCURE THE MISCARRIAGE OF WOMEN AND ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS COMPARED.

Counties in which the Attempts at Miscarriage and the Number of Illegitimate Births are both above the Average.	Percentage above and below the Average. * denotes above, * below.	Counties in which the Attempts at Miscarriage are above the Average, and the Number of Illegitimate Births are below it.	Percentage above and below the Average. * denotes above, * below.	Counties in which the Attempts at Miscarriage are below the Average, and the Number of Illegitimate Births are above it.	Percentage above and below the Average. * denotes above, * below.
Sussex	+15	Northampton ..	+104	Bedford	+149
Leicester	+17-9	Devon	+253	Bucks	+44
Nottingham ..	+35-3	Warwick	+164	Cumberland ..	+61-2
Cheshire	+32-3	Cornwall	+258	Hereford	+49-2
Derby	+20-0	The Average for the whole of the above Counties is ..	+200-0	Oxford	+134
Hertford	+7-4			Salop	+47-7
Berks	+17-9			Westmorland ..	+29-8
The Average for the whole of the above Counties is ..	+200-0			Wills	+30
(The Number of cases of Attempts at Miscarriage is 4 in every 10,000 Illegitimate Births, and Number of Illegitimate Births 81 in every 1000 Births.)				North Wales ..	+18-4
				Lancaster	+149
				Norfolk	+567
				South Wales ..	+7-4
				Suffolk	+26-8
				Northumb.	+89
				Stafford	+30
				York	+60
				The Average for the whole of the above Counties is ..	+40-0
				(The Number of cases of Attempts at Miscarriage is 4 in every 10,000 Illegitimate Births, and Number of Illegitimate Births 54 in every 1000 Births.)	

THE CONCEALMENT OF THE BIRTHS OF INFANTS AND THE ATTEMPTS TO PROCURE THE MISCARRIAGE OF WOMEN COMPARED.

Counties in which the Attempts at Miscarriage and the Number of Illegitimate Births are both above the Average.	Percentage above and below the Average. * denotes above, * below.	Counties in which the Attempts at Miscarriage are above the Average, and the Number of Illegitimate Births are below it.	Percentage above and below the Average. * denotes above, * below.	Counties in which the Attempts at Miscarriage are below the Average, and the Number of Illegitimate Births are above it.	Percentage above and below the Average. * denotes above, * below.
Sussex	+129-5	Surrey	+100-0	Bedford	+149
Leicester	+117-7	Southampton ..	+100-0	Bucks	+44
Nottingham ..	+76-9	Monmouth	+100-0	Cumberland ..	+61-2
Cheshire	+70-6	Dorset	+100-0	Hereford	+49-2
Derby	+64-8	Gloucester	+100-0	Oxford	+134
Hertford	+64-8	Lincoln	+100-0	Salop	+47-7
Berks	+53-0	Essex	+100-0	Westmorland ..	+29-8
The Average for the whole of the above Counties is ..	+53-0	Westmorland ..	+100-0	Wills	+30
(The Number of cases of Attempts at Miscarriage is 24, and of Attempts at Illegitimate Births 10,000 in every 10,000 Illegitimate Births.)		Middlesex	+47-1	North Wales ..	+18-4
		Worcester	+35-3	Lancaster	+149
		Durham	+29-5	Norfolk	+567
		Kent	+11-3	South Wales ..	+7-4
		Suffolk	+4-1	Suffolk	+26-8
		Somerset	+100-0	Northumb.	+89
		Wills	+100-0	Stafford	+30
		The Average for the whole of the above Counties is ..	+53-0	York	+60
		(The Number of cases of Attempts at Miscarriage is 26, and Attempts at Illegitimate Births 10,000 in every 10,000 Illegitimate Births.)		The Average for the whole of the above Counties is ..	+40-0
				(The Number of cases of Attempts at Miscarriage is 12, and Attempts at Illegitimate Births 3 in every 10,000 Illegitimate Births.)	

THE CONCEALMENT OF THE BIRTHS OF INFANTS AND THE ATTEMPTS TO PROCURE THE MISCARRIAGE OF WOMEN COMPARED.

Counties in which the Attempts at Miscarriage and the Number of Illegitimate Births are both above the Average.	Percentage above and below the Average. * denotes above, * below.	Counties in which the Attempts at Miscarriage are above the Average, and the Number of Illegitimate Births are below it.	Percentage above and below the Average. * denotes above, * below.	Counties in which the Attempts at Miscarriage are below the Average, and the Number of Illegitimate Births are above it.	Percentage above and below the Average. * denotes above, * below.
Sussex	+129-5	Surrey	+100-0	Bedford	+149
Leicester	+117-7	Southampton ..	+100-0	Bucks	+44
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Cheshire	+70-6	Dorset	+100-0	Hereford	+49-2
Derby	+64-8	Gloucester	+100-0	Oxford	+134
Hertford	+64-8	Lincoln	+100-0	Salop	+47-7
Berks	+53-0	Essex	+100-0	Westmorland ..	+29-8
The Average for the whole of the above Counties is ..	+53-0	Westmorland ..	+100-0	Wills	+30
(The Number of cases of Attempts at Miscarriage is 24, and of Attempts at Illegitimate Births 10,000 in every 10,000 Illegitimate Births.)		Middlesex	+47-1	North Wales ..	+18-4
		Worcester	+35-3	Lancaster	+149
		Durham	+29-5	Norfolk	+567
		Kent	+11-3	South Wales ..	+7-4
		Suffolk	+4-1	Suffolk	+26-8
		Somerset	+100-0	Northumb.	+89
		Wills	+100-0	Stafford	+30
		The Average for the whole of the above Counties is ..	+53-0	York	+60
		(The Number of cases of Attempts at Miscarriage is 26, and Attempts at Illegitimate Births 10,000 in every 10,000 Illegitimate Births.)		The Average for the whole of the above Counties is ..	+40-0
				(The Number of cases of Attempts at Miscarriage is 12, and Attempts at Illegitimate Births 3 in every 10,000 Illegitimate Births.)	

LIST OF COUNTIES, IN THE ORDER OF THEIR CRIMINALITY WITH REGARD TO ATTEMPTING TO PROCURE THE MISCARRIAGE OF WOMEN, AS SHOWN BY THE NUMBER COMMITTED FOR THIS OFFENCE IN EVERY 10,000 ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS.

Counties above the Average.	Counties below the Average.
Sussex	6
Leicester	5
Northampton ..	5
Devon	4
Nottingham ..	4
Warwick	4
Cornwall	4
Cheshire	3
Derby	3
Hertford	3
Berks	2
Cambridge	0
Cumberland ..	0
Dorset	0
Durham	0
Essex	0
Hereford	0
Hunts	0
Kent	0
Monmouth	0
Oxford	0
Northumb.	0
Rutland	0
Salop	0
Somerset	0
Southamp.	0
Surrey	0
Westmor.	0
Wills	0
Worcester	0
N. Wales	0

Average for England and Wales 1



is allowed. The Dyak women seldom engage in intrigues with Malays or other foreigners.

From their long intercourse with the Malays, who are all Mohammedans, the Dyaks might have been expected to borrow such of their customs as encourage the savage in the gratification of his animal appetites, and would enable him to live in lordly indolence on the labour of his wives. Monogamy, however, still prevails with all the tribes.

The ceremony of marriage—if such it can be called—is simple to the last degree with all except a few communities, who practise some particular rites. The consent of the woman is necessary to the match, which is made without the intervention of the parents, who, after the mutual willingness of the young people has been expressed, cannot refuse their sanction. The bride and bridegroom meet, a feast is given, and the transaction is concluded.

There are certain restrictions on the immoral intercourse of the young people, to which we have alluded. If a girl becomes pregnant, the father of her child must marry her. Such an occurrence often precedes a match. Men and women live with each other on trial, and if no signs of offspring appear, the acquaintance is discontinued. Constancy during such an intercourse is not rigidly required. Mr. Hugh Low was assured that, in some communities, the laxity of manners was carried so far, that when a chief was travelling from place to place, hospitality required that at every village he should be furnished with a girl as his companion while he rested. Such a practice is general among the Kyans who inhabit a large part of the interior of Borneo. The fear of not becoming the father of a family—a misfortune greatly dreaded by the Dyaks—is supposed to encourage the loose intercourse of the unmarried people, since, as we have said, a man always marries the woman by whom he has a child.

Among the Dyaks who dwell on the hills in the interior, a higher morality prevails. The licentious intercourse of the unmarried people is not permitted. The young and single men are obliged to sleep apart in a separate building, and the girls are carefully kept from them. Marriage is contracted at a very early age, and adultery is almost unknown. Polygamy is not allowed; but some of the chiefs indulge in a second wife or concubine—an infringement of the law which is held in great reprobation, though it cannot be prevented. The degrees of consanguinity within which

marriage is prohibited extend beyond cousins. One man shocked the public feeling of his tribe by marrying his granddaughter—his wife and the girl's mother, his own child, being still alive. The people affirmed that ruin and darkness had covered the face of the sun ever since the day when that incestuous union took place. Nevertheless, as they adhere almost constantly to the practice of marrying within their own tribe, the whole commonwealth comes, in the course of time, to be united by distant ties of blood, which has been assigned as a cause for the cases of insanity not uncommon among them. This may be true, since it is a fact that many royal families, constrained to perpetual intermarriage, have dwindled into a race of imbeciles in consequence. The women put faith in medicines to render them fruitful; but they never resort to the custom of procuring abortion adopted by the Malay prostitutes on the coast. These women eat large quantities of honey, largely mixed with hot spices, which produces the desired result. It is said that among the people of the south numerous public prostitutes are to be found, though this is on the equivocal authority of a German missionary, whose testimony is much to be suspected. No word for prostitution appears to exist in the Dyak language. Among the Malays such women are numerous.

The Sibnouan females present a fair average of the manners prevailing with the various divisions of that singular race. Their women are not concealed, nor are they shy before strangers. They will bathe naked in the presence of men; yet many of the decencies of life are observed. Though the unmarried people sleep promiscuously in a common room, married couples have separate chambers. The labour of the household, with all the drudgery, is allotted to the females; they grind rice, carry burdens, fetch water, catch fish, and till the fields, but are far from occupying the degraded condition of the wives of the North-American Indians; their situation may, indeed, be compared to that of women in the humblest classes in England. They eat with the men, and take part in their concerns as well as their festivals. This is an agricultural and fishing tribe.

Among the Kayans a *naked woman* cannot under any circumstances be killed, or a woman with child.

Among the Mohammedan Malays, as we have said, there is more civilization and corruption of manners in another form. They are polygamists, indulge in concubines, encourage prostitutes, and some-

times treat their wives with great tyranny. An English physician lately received a message from one of the wives of a chief—celebrated for fostering privacy—desiring a secret interview with him at a secluded spot in the jungle. He went with the high belief that the woman was enamoured of his good looks. He met her, found her young and pretty, but with an air of firmness and dignity which showed that it was no frivolous purpose which had led her to take so dangerous a step. She complained of her miserable life, of the despotism under which she suffered, declared she would endure it no longer, and requested the doctor to furnish her with a small dose of arsenic to poison, not herself, but her husband. Of course he refused, and the poor creature went away sorely disappointed.

The rich Malays allow their wives to keep female slaves for their service. The position of these captives is, under any circumstances, unenviable; should, however, one of them, by her personal qualities, excite the jealousy of her mistress, her case is miserable, until she can procure another

owner. Sometimes the slaves are used as concubines, when by law they become free, though they seldom avail themselves of their liberty, preferring to be supported by their old masters, while prostituting themselves to others. The wealthy chiefs spend large sums in the purchase of concubines. The marriage ceremony is performed according to the ritual of the Koran, but is often neglected.

The prostitutes who congregate in the seaport towns have not been particularly described. They appear to be divided into classes: those who cohabit temporarily with the Malays, are paid a certain price, and exchange their residence; those who prostitute themselves indiscriminately to all comers; and those who are supported by the sailors, and profligate Chinese, who invariably create such a class wherever they settle. Of their numbers we have no account, nor of their modes of life; but it is certain they exist in considerable numbers.*

* Brooke, Keppel, Mundy, Belcher, Low, &c.

PROSTITUTION AMONG THE SEMI-CIVILIZED NATIONS.

INTRODUCTION.

SURVEYING the social aspects of the globe, we discover an immense range occupied by races partially civilized, which connect the barbarian with the polished communities. Some of these, perhaps, are placed below European nations rather because they differ from, than because they are inferior to them.

The influence of every great religion is powerful in various divisions of the vast range. Buddha and Bramah have their millions of worshippers in China, India, and the intervening regions. The prophet is followed by whole nations in eastern Europe, Asia, and Africa. Christianity has numerous adherents on the plains of Syria, Palestine, and the countries of Asia Minor. An equal variety of institutions prevails among these half-educated races. British policy in India; paternal despotism in China; republican simplicity in Arabia, Celebes, and Afghanistan; religious tyranny in the empire of the Porte; and patriarchal freedom among the nomades of Asia Minor, exercise different influences on this mighty and mixed population. In some we find a singular purity of manners, as among the Bedouins of Arabia; with others, morals

are more gross than among the worst savages; but in all there is a perceptible contrast between the civilized states of Europe on the one hand, and the barbarian countries of Africa, Australasia, and the Pacific on the other.

The position of the female sex among half-civilized races, as among all others, may be taken as a standard to measure their progress. It differs, in some remarkable particulars, from that occupied by women in purely savage or highly-civilized communities. In the one, where any regulations exist they are rude and coarse, and only obeyed where their action is constant, which it seldom is. In the other, men fear blame more than the law, and manners perform what legislation is unable to accomplish. In most of the countries of which we are now treating, government endeavours to rule with parental discipline the minutest concerns of life, to affix a penalty to every fault, to adjust with nicety the slightest relations of individuals with individuals, to guard morals by police and suppress profligacy by imperative decrees. So it is in China, so in Japan, and so in a less degree in the dominions of every Asiatic prince. In Egypt Mohammed Ali attempted, by one stroke of his pen, to blot out the stain of

prostitution. He banished the old professors of that class, and new ones were created from the remainder of the population. In Persia a royal decree forbade prostitution, and men immediately prostituted the right of marriage to evade the law. In China the Emperors have, from time to time, fulminated proclamations against all profligate persons; but they have flung their invectives into the void, and no impression has been produced. The coarse and awkward efforts of a barbarian despot's will never produce any better result. The Draconic decree is promulgated and the offences it is intended to suppress continue to be perpetrated as before. A distinction must be drawn, however, between those communities in which severe laws are enacted to produce, and those in which they are inspired by, public morality. In the one case they are worthless, because they are in hostility to the prevailing system; in the other they are the signification, because they are the embodiment, of the national feeling. They may be symptoms, but they can never be causes, of virtuous manners.

The view of the half-civilized nations, which is here presented, includes sketches of India, of Afghanistan, Kashmir, the Hindu-Chinese races, China, Japan, Celebes, Ceylon, Persia, Egypt, the Barbary States, Syria, Palestine, Asia Minor, Arabia, and Turkey. In all of them polygamy exists, though to a very small extent in Ceylon. It will be seen that the popular ideas on this subject are somewhat exaggerated. Most persons unaccustomed to read or reflect, imagine that throughout the East all men have their harems filled with wives, who are beautiful prisoners, immured in perpetual seclusion, slaves to the will of their lord, and never allowed to move unless guarded by a fierce black eunuch, or a duenna still more dark and angry. It is left for those who are accustomed to peruse the accounts of voracious travellers, to know that polygamy, though allowed to almost all, is practically a privilege only of the rich, and not indulged in even by the majority of these. The general notions, also, of female seclusion are extravagant. Women in Turkey enjoy far more liberty than is usually imagined. So do they even in China, though very wealthy husbands, especially among the Hindus, shut up their wives and never allow a stranger's glance to fall upon their countenances. This excessive jealousy is not always disagreeable to the objects of it; indeed, in the harem where three or four wives are congregated, the youngest and most beautiful sometimes makes it her chief

triumph over her mortified rivals, that she is watched, guarded, shaded even from the light, and immured beyond the sound of a man's voice, while they are far less religiously secluded. Thus the sex, influenced during ages by a peculiar system of manners, accommodates itself to them, invariably sinking or rising to the level assigned it by the civilization of the period.

Throughout the world the numerical disparity of the sexes is nowhere such as to induce the belief that polygamy is natural to certain countries. It is practised in many where the females are less numerous than the males, in consequence of infanticide. Everywhere, when extensively prevalent, it produces injurious results, diminishing the fecundity of women, and by no means preventing men from encouraging a class of professional prostitutes. There is, indeed, in this idea, something debasing to the female sex. That men should multiply their wives that they may not be induced to visit harlots, appears to degrade the institution of marriage, which was not intended for the satisfaction of sensual appetites, but for the continuation of the human species. Polygamy is opposed to increase, and thus appears unnatural; still more revolting to our ideas of civilization is the custom of polyandry, or one wife with many husbands. It obtains in some regions of the Himalaya, among the Nairs of Malabar, and in the Cingalese kingdom of Kandy. Nowhere else do we find more than a trace of it, and it is singular to find a practice so utterly repugnant to the general sense of Orientals, prevailing close to the region in which men are most jealous and women most carefully guarded. In Hindustan some men will not divorce a wife whom they thoroughly dislike, because they will not allow her to be unveiled by a stranger; yet among the neighbouring Hindu-Chinese nations, a man will frequently prostitute his wife for gain. On the southern coast, and in Ceylon, eight men will live with one wife. This proves that institutions have no geographical distribution. Both kinds of polygamy are equally opposed to the natural increase of population.

Where nobler qualities distinguish the men of any race, we still find, as we ascend the scale of civilization, that women rise with them. In Afghanistan, in Celebes, and among the Bedouins of Arabia, the male sex is distinguished for its upright, dignified, and manly character. Chastity in women is prized, and because it is prized it is preserved. Where, on the contrary, the husband desires his wife may be faithful to him, not that she may be virtuous, but that he may

not be 'robbed or wronged, it frequently occurs that she only keeps her vow until she has an opportunity to break it. On the whole, however, female chastity among the Hindus and Mohammedans is more general than from some popular accounts might be inferred. With the mixed races—hybrid in blood, manners, and religion—an inferior state of morality prevails.

With respect to actual prostitution the region which is most free from it is the desert country of Arabia. It flourishes most, perhaps, in India and China. The flower boats of the Pearl River, the temples of the Deccan, the kiosks of Barbary, the Ghawazee villages of Egypt, the dancing houses of Java, and the tea-gardens of Japan, were all originally consecrated to vice, which nowhere flourishes more rankly than in those countries where despotism has paralyzed the virtuous energies of men.

Almost everywhere the prostitute class, among Eastern nations, has addicted itself to other pursuits—to music and the dance—to inflame the lust which it designs itself to satisfy. In many countries also the prostitutes have been allied to the priesthood. Thus in India they have formed a sacred class; in the cities of Arabia they are encouraged by the Moolahs to frequent places of worship; elsewhere they have flourished under the auspices of government, which has placed them under the charge of inspectors and derived profit from their degradation. In such countries they carry on their profession more openly, and are more openly encouraged, than in others where their occupation is clandestine.

Some of the nations included in this division of the subject appear to have reached the last stage of their native civilization. Among these is China: her further progress will not be influenced by internal causes, but will be regulated by contact with a superior race. In India the process has already begun, and in the condition of women, and consequently, also, in their national character, the change is becoming apparent. Widow-burning is already a thing of the past; the blot of infanticide will soon be obliterated from the face of society; the prejudice which prevented the second marriage of women, and drove thousands to suicide or prostitution, is gradually yielding before reason; the barriers of caste are being broken down, and more natural relations restored to society. Women in India are the chief degradation to the sacred class of Brahmins, in whom were combined the fanaticism of idolatrous priests and the pride of nobles.

Thus the contact of English with Oriental civilization, gentle as it has been, is leading to the subjugation of the latter before the more humane and liberal principles of the former. But it is singular to find that much more difficulty is experienced in modifying the social institutions of half-educated, than in changing those of barbarous races. With the one they are based on habit, with the other on prejudice; and the pride of a little learning induces the one to cling to them, while the simplicity of the savage allows him easily to yield.

The sentiment of chastity is nowhere discovered pure except among very simple and unsophisticated, or very refined and polished nations. It is found in the Bedouin encampments of Arabia, it is found in the pastoral communities of Afghanistan, and it is found among the wandering shepherds of Asia Minor; but amid the barbaric millions of China, with their innumerable maxims of virtue, the true sentiment is very rare. So also is that of love, which belongs also to the infancy and to the maturity of nations, for in the intervening stages it becomes mingled with an alloy of interest, sensuality, or superstition.

Prostitution, however, belongs to all ages and to every nation. But it assumes various forms in the different classes of mankind: it is loose and scattered among the barbarous tribes not yet settled under the forms of regular society; it is systematized and acknowledged among the half-barbarous races; it is adopted as a sacred institution in regions where the object of the priesthood is, to enslave the souls of men through their senses; it is encouraged in States where the desire of government is to absorb the people in the pursuit of animal gratification, and thus distract their attention from public affairs; it is submitted to a strict, though awkward discipline in countries where the rulers desire to mimic the social code of civilized commonwealths; and as society progresses, though it becomes distinct and conspicuous, it exchanges the highway for the bye-street, the day for the night, withdraws from other classes of the people, and becomes a despised sisterhood, cut off from intercourse with the moral classes of women.

Various stages of this process may have been remarked in the view of the condition and character of women, and the extent and state of the prostitute system in barbarous countries. We now enter on the half-educated communities which occupy the greater part of the world's surface, and these will lead in the communities of Europe, to which they are linked, on the one hand

by Turkey, and on the other by the inhospitable deserts of Siberia.

OF CELEBES.

IN a region so vast as the Indian Archipelago it would be useless to dwell separately upon every island, especially as many characteristics are common to most of them. We have taken Java and Sumatra as representing the Sunda group, and we shall take Celebes as the head of a family of isles, with Borneo as another. Incidental notices of any peculiarities in the lesser isles will suffice.

Celebes, in its political and social state, is far in advance of the other countries in insular Asia. It enjoys in many of its States a considerable degree of civilization. The idea of freedom, so rare among barbarous races, is recognised in its political system, and representative institutions have actually developed themselves into a republican form of government. Where such progress has been made in the art of civil polity, we may look with confidence for a superior social scheme, and this we actually find. It should be premised that the Indian Archipelago is peopled by two races—the brown, or Malay; and the black, or Ethiopian. The former is the more powerful, intelligent, and polished, and has therefore become the conquering race. It has subdued the Negro hordes of the various islands, and is now paramount in all the great native States. In Java, Sumatra, and Celebes, it has entirely displaced the original possessors of the soil, who dwell only in scattered communities, defended from annihilation by forests and hills, which serve in some degree to balance that native valour which has made the Malays an imperial nation, subdued in their turn by the more powerful race from Europe.

In the states of Celebes women are not excluded from their share in the public business of the commonwealth, though their influence is usually indirect. They rule their own households, give counsel to the men on all important occasions, and even, when the monarchy is elective, are frequently raised to the throne. They eat with their husbands, and from the same dish, only using the left side. They appear mixed with the other sex at public festivals, and, when intrusted with authority, preside over the councils, and are vigorous in the exercise of their prerogative. Nor is peace the only era of their reign. They have sometimes presented themselves in

the field, and animated the warriors to battle by applauding the courageous and upbraiding the timid.

In the State of Wajo, which is, perhaps, the most advanced in the island, one check upon civilization exists, and that is the extravagant pride of birth. The spirit, if not the actual institution of caste, exists, and is productive of the usual evils attending an artificial division of classes. A woman of pure descent dare not mingle her blood with that of an inferior, though a man may ally himself with a girl of humbler station. The offspring of such a connection, however, carry with them an appellation denoting their imperfect parentage.

Polygamy is universally permitted among the Bugis of Celebes; but certain restrictions, unknown in other Mohammedan countries, attach to the privilege. Two wives seldom inhabit the same house, and for three or four to do so is an extremely rare circumstance. Usually each has a separate dwelling, and in this private establishment she generally supports herself, with occasional assistance from her husband. The men can easily procure a divorce, and when the consent is mutual nothing remains but to separate as quickly as possible. If the woman only, however, desire to be set free, she must produce some reasonable ground of complaint, for the mere neglect of conjugal duties is not considered a sufficient cause. Many years pass sometimes without any intercourse taking place between man and wife. Nevertheless, though many of them indulge in polygamy, concubinage, or the keeping of female slaves for sensual purposes, is rarely practised. Many of the rajahs, however, take women of inferior rank to be their companions until they marry a woman of equal birth, when their old partners are divorced.

In Wajo, the marriage state, though characterised by these extraordinary customs, is decently preserved, and more honourable than with any other Eastern nation. So equal, indeed, is the proportion of the sexes, that not only is the throne, or rather president's chair, given to them, but also the great offices of state. Four out of six of the great councillors are sometimes women. They ride about, transact business, and visit even foreigners as they please, and enjoy every advantage. Their manners are easy and self-possessed, though too listless and slow to be fascinating to an European. Their morals, as well as those of the men, are far superior to that of any other race in Eastern or Western Asia, and prostitution is all but unknown.

Far from modest, in the English sense of the term, they are yet very chaste; and, though they maintain little reserve in their conduct towards strangers, never exhibit the inclination to be indecent or licentious. Even the dancing girls, though of loose virtue, dress with the utmost modesty, but their performances are occasionally lascivious.

Throughout the beautiful and interesting island of Celebes the same state of things prevails, and wherever the women are most free, they are least licentious. The intercourse of the sexes is unrestrained; the youth meet without hindrance; and chastity is guarded more by the sense of honour and by the pride of virtue, than by the jealousy of husbands or the rigid surveillance of parents. On the whole, therefore, the condition of the sex in Celebes is elevated. That women are there perverted in some of their manners, and that they do not approach that exalted state which was accorded to them in the Attic states of Greece, is true, because the people are barbarians. It is necessary always, in considering the state and character of women in any country, to hold in view the state and character of the men also. We are to apply no unvarying standard to measure the condition of one sex, for it is only by viewing it relatively to the other that we can arrive at a sound conclusion. The Bugis of Celebes are among the most manly, enterprising, and virtuous nations of Asia; and their women are proportionably free, chaste, and happy*.

OF PROSTITUTION IN PERSIA.

In Persia the Oriental idea of the female sex is completely developed. Women are there the property of men and their enjoyment of life is circumscribed to suit the pleasure of their masters; among the wandering tribes, indeed, they go unveiled, and breathe the air of partial freedom; but among the fixed inhabitants of cities and villages, their lot is one of seclusion and servitude. Subservient as they are to the will and caprice of the supreme sex, the estimation in which they are held is extremely low. The lower classes consider them, indeed, valuable in proportion to the amount of household labour they perform; the higher classes look on them as the means of sensual gratification. We find, it is true, in Persian romance and poetry, eulogiums on the beauty of their women, and songs of devotion to them; but they are the objects

of barter, and are consequently in a despised condition.

There is actually no station assigned to women in Persia; they are recognised only as ministers to the wants or pleasures of the male sex. They are what their husbands choose to make them. Instances occur where a favourite wife or concubine is ruler of the house, or a mother exercises strong influence over her son, but these are rare examples; women, in total seclusion, are submissive slaves. The wives of the Shah, especially, vegetate within the walls of a splendid prison; occasionally one of them is permitted to walk abroad, but then all must fly from the route she takes, and no one dare look upon her on pain of death. She is paraded in stately procession, and eunuchs run in front to clear the way, firing guns loaded with ball to frighten any bold adventurer who may be reckless enough to remain on the line of the cortege. This isolation of the sex pervades all the wealthier orders of Persian society; even brothers are not allowed to see their sisters after a certain age.

Polygamy is practised in Persia. The palace especially has a crowded harem; numbers of female officers and attendants wait on the Shah. The wives and concubines are arranged with the most rigid regard to the rules of precedence; none but those of the highest rank and most distinguished favour dare sit down in the presence of their royal lord; over all the rest the strictest discipline is preserved. The king is said sometimes to have a thousand women in his palace, and much skill is required to preserve decorum among them; some he has given away to his principal officers. The chief of them lives in splendour, wearing garments so thickly embroidered with pearls that they impede her movements; but the others are subject to much rigour, especially under the savage eunuchs whose favourite mode of chastising the female slaves is to strike them on the mouth with the heel of a slipper. However, large numbers of them lead a pleasant, while all enjoy an indolent life, lounging for hours in the warm bath, whence they emerge, with enervated frames, to spend an equal time in the coquetry of the toilette. All the arts which vanity can devise are exhausted to render their persons attractive to the Shah, whose favours are courted as much as his displeasure is feared. In the one case, the fortunate woman is elevated, for a brief period at least, to the very ideal of her hopes, while, in the other, she may be fastened in a sack and hurled from the top of a lofty tower.

* Brooke's Journals; Mundy; Keppel's Voyage of the Dido; Crawford's Archipelago.

The Persians generally believe themselves entitled to unlimited indulgence in the delights of the harem. Their religious law confines them to four wives, but they may have as many concubines or other female companions as they can support. The priests are expected to be the most chaste, but are usually the most licentious; it is remarked as an extraordinary circumstance of one celebrated spiritual leader, that it was affirmed that he never had connection with any other woman than his four legitimate wives.

A Persian is permitted, as well by the enactments of the law as by common usage, to take a female, not within the prohibited degrees of affinity, in three different ways: he may marry, he may purchase, or he may hire her. Persons are frequently betrothed during infancy; but the engagement is not considered binding unless contracted by both the actual parents. The girl, indeed, may, even under these circumstances, refuse her consent, but this privilege is rather nominal than real. If she resolutely refuse, she may be taken back to the recesses of her parent's harem, and there chastened until she chooses to submit; and it is not long before she is whipped into compliance. The nuptial ceremony must be witnessed by at least two men, or one man and two women. An officer of the law attends to attest the contract. The written document is delivered to the wife, who carefully preserves it, for it is the deed that entitles her to the amount of her dowry, which is part of her provision in case of being left a widow, and her sole dependence in case of being divorced. Her right in this respect is strictly guarded by law, and by her male friends, and it is one of which the women of Persia are extremely jealous. The marriage festival is usually very expensive, for the reputation of the husband is supposed to be measured by the splendour of his nuptials.

Though a man may, when he pleases, put away his wife, the expense and scandal attending such a proceeding make it rare. It seldom occurs, indeed, except among the poorer classes, who do not so rigidly seclude their females; among the wealthier and prouder, a man would be ashamed to expose a woman, with whom he had once associated, to be seen by others, unless in the case, of course, of a common woman. Divorce never takes place on account of adultery, which is punished with death. Bad temper and extravagance on the woman's side, and neglect or cruel usage on the husband's, may be urged by either as reasons for separation. If the husband sues for a divorce, he pays

back the dowry he received with his bride; if the wife commences the proceeding, she loses her claim. In this, as in all other respects, the male sex has the advantage. A man who desires to be relieved of a disagreeable partner, sometimes uses her so cruelly that she is compelled to open the suit, by which means he gets rid of her, but keeps her money.

The Persian may have as many female slaves as he desires or is able to maintain. They earn no advantage of position by becoming his concubines instead of the sweepers of his house. They are still in slavery, and may at any time be sold again if they displease their masters. A woman so cast off is in a bad position, for she must then sink into worse degradation than before. Mohammedan jealousy, however, serves, in some respects, as a kind of protection for the woman; for a man, having once cohabited with her, will seldom allow her to fall into the hands of any other.

One very extraordinary custom prevails in Persia, and seems now peculiar to that country, though it is said to have existed in Arabia at the time of the prophet's appearance there. Mohammed tolerated it; but his successor, Omar, abolished it, as a species of legal prostitution injurious to the morals of the people. All the Turks and others, therefore, who hold his precepts in veneration, abhor and condemn the practice, but it still obtains. It is that of hiring a companion. A man and a woman agree to cohabit for a certain period—some for a few days, others for 99 years. In the one case it is simply an act of prostitution; in the other it is morally equivalent to marriage, though the woman acquires no right to property of any kind, except the price of her hire. This sum is agreed upon at the first compact; and though the man may discard his companion when he pleases, he must pay her the whole amount promised. If both are willing, the arrangement may be renewed at the expiration of the term, which is generally short. This kind of intercourse usually takes place among persons of very unequal stations. The women are generally of a low class, and are, for the most part, a peculiar sort of prostitutes, if prostitution mean the hiring out of a woman's person for money. The children springing from such a union are supported by the father. In one circumstance the custom differs from the ordinary prostitution of other countries. When a man has parted from a woman of this class, she is forbidden to form any new connection until a suffi-

cient time has elapsed to prove whether or not she is pregnant from the last. This precaution is to hinder the chance of a man's being burdened with the support of a child of which he is not actually the father.

The characteristics of women in Persia agree with this picture of their treatment. They are degraded down to the level of their condition. Leaving a few exceptions out of sight, we find the rich and idle vain, sensual, and absorbed by animal desires; the poorer classes, licentious and intriguing.

The peculiar customs of the country cause strange occurrences to take place. A man is sometimes deceived into marrying the wrong woman, under cover of the inviolable drapery which veils her face. He is usually content to stow her away in his harem, and solace himself with a concubine, or the company of prostitutes; for though he may hold that his own wife and daughter would be polluted by the eye of a strange man, and though he may be able to fill his harem with beautiful slaves, the Persian voluptuary is not content. He must associate with the more brilliant and lively beauties, who are ready to receive him in various retired houses of the city. These houses are generally in obscure places, dull and uninviting on the outside, but fitted up in the interior with much elegance and luxury.

Formerly there was a numerous class of public dancing girls in Persia, and the beauty of their persons, and the melody of their voices, were celebrated by the most famous poets of the country. They were wealthy and popular, continuing to figure prominently at the entertainments of the people until the family of Futteh Ali Khan rose to the throne; they were then discouraged by a monarch who crowded his harim with a thousand women, and, in the midst of this multitude of concubines, issued edicts for the suppression of immorality. The dancing girls were prohibited from approaching the court, and compelled to seek a livelihood in the distant provinces of the empire. It is not to be denied that considerable reform has taken place in the manners of the people; but profligacy is still a marked characteristic of the cities in Persia.

Under the Sefi dynasty morals reached the last stage of depravity. The royal treasury was filled with the proceeds of immorality. Public brothels were licensed and became extremely numerous. A large revenue was drawn from them. In Ispahan alone no less than 30,000 prostitutes paid

an annual sum to government. The governors of provinces and cities also granted the same privileges for sums of money, and there was scarcely a town of any size in Persia which had not at least one large brothel, crowded with inmates. The prostitutes were all licensed, and known by the appellation of *cahbeha*, or *the worthless*. An old traveller, whose authority is accepted by the best writers, describes the system then prevailing; it displays the corruption of manners in the open and systematic character of profligacy. As soon as the merchants' shops were closed in the cities the brothels were opened; the prostitutes then issued into the streets, dispersed themselves, and repaired to particular localities. There they sat down in rows, closely veiled; behind each company stood an old woman holding an extinguished candle in her hand. When any man approached with a sign that he desired to make a bargain, this harridan lit her taper, and led him down the line of women, removing the veil of each in her turn until he made his choice. The girl was then dispatched with him, under the guidance of a slave, to the house, which usually stood close by the way-side. All payments were made to the old woman or "*mother*" of the company.

Under the reigning family this open system has been checked, and prostitution, not being licensed, is a more secret system. Nevertheless, there abound in the cities of Persia numerous brothels, to which the men proceed after dark, and where they are entertained as they desire; numbers of women are always ready to hire themselves out to any who desire to associate with them.

The females of the wandering tribes are far more virtuous than those of the cities; they are also more happy and free, for if they share the labours of the men, they share also their pleasures and hopes; far from being secluded, they are allowed to converse even with strangers, and grace the hospitality of the tents with modest but polite attention. The men seldom have more than one wife, and abhor the practice of hiring women, though their priests have made attempts to introduce it among them. Still, even the women of these tribes are below their proper condition, and the men as they become wealthier become more corrupt; when, also, they sojourn for a while in the cities, they speedily contribute to the general profligacy, and often exceed the regular inhabitants in vice. Among those, however, in the nomade state, rape and adultery are rare, and when committed the woman suffers a cruel death at the hands of

her nearest kindred. In the cities females are seldom publicly executed, but are put to death in private, or given as slaves to men of infamous occupation*.

OF PROSTITUTION AMONG THE AFGHANS.

WOMEN in Afghanistan are sold to the men. A marriage is a commercial transaction. The practice is recognised by the Moslem law, and is here, as in most parts of Asia, universally adopted. The price varies, of course, according to the condition of the bridegroom or his friends. Females, consequently, are in some measure regarded as property. They are in absolute subjection to the other sex. A husband may at any time, from mere caprice, and without assigning any reason, divorce his wife; but a woman cannot, unless she have good grounds, and sue for the separation before a magistrate. Even this is seldom done. When a widow marries, the friends of her first husband may claim the price that was originally paid for her; but usually the brother of the deceased inherits this property, and any one else usurping his privilege becomes a mortal enemy. However, the widow is not forced to take a new partner against her will. Indeed, if she have children with claims upon her care, it is considered more respectable to lead a single life.

In the lower regions of India, on the warm plains, we find marriage contracts fulfilled at a very early age. In the colder climate of Kabul they are left to a later period in life—men being wedded at twenty, women at about fifteen years of age. The time varies, however, with different classes. Among the poor, with whom the price of a wife is not easily to be amassed, the men often remain unmarried until forty, and the women till twenty-five. On the other hand, the rich frequently take brides of twelve to bridegrooms of fifteen, or even earlier, before either of them has attained puberty. Those living in towns and in Western Afghanistan marry earlier than those dwelling in the pastoral districts and in the eastern parts. These often wait until twenty-five, until the chin is thoroughly covered with beard, and the man is in all respects mature. The Ghiljies are still more prudent in this respect. In most parts of the country, nevertheless, the date

of marriage is determined by the individual's ability to purchase a wife, provide a home, and support a family. Usually men form alliances within the blood of their own tribe; but many Afghans take also Tadjik and Persian women. It is not considered disreputable to take a wife from those nations; but it is held below the dignity of the Durani race to bestow a wife on a stranger, and this, consequently, is seldom or never done.

The intercourse of the sexes is regulated by various circumstances, many of them accidental. In the crowded towns, where the men have little opportunity of converse with the women, matches are generally made with views of family policy, and contracted through the agency of a go-between. When a man has fixed on any particular girl to be his wife, he sends some female relation or neighbour to see her and report to him upon her qualifications. If the account be satisfactory, the same agent ascertains from the girl's mother whether her family are favourable to the match; should all this prove well, arrangements are made for a public proposal. On an appointed day the suitor's father goes with a party of male relations to the young woman's father, while a similar deputation of females waits on her mother, and the offer is made in customary form. Various presents are also sent, the dowry is settled, a feast is prepared, and the betrothal takes place. Some time after, when both man and woman have mutually, by free consent, signed the articles of agreement—which stipulate for a provision for the wife in case of divorce—the union is completed at a festival, and the bride is delivered, on payment of her price, at the dwelling of her future master.

In the country, formalities very similar take place; but, as women there go unveiled, and the intercourse of the sexes is less restricted, the marriage generally originates in a personal attachment between the wedded pair, and the negotiations are only matters of etiquette. An enterprising lover may also obtain his mistress, without gaining the consent of her parents, by tearing away her veil, cutting off a lock of her hair, or throwing a large white cloth over her, and declaring her to be his lawful and affianced wife. After this no other suitor would propose for her, and she is usually bestowed on the bold lover, though he cannot escape paying some price for his wife. Such expedients are, therefore, seldom resorted to. When a man desires a girl for whom he cannot pay, and who reciprocates his affection, the common plan is to elope. This is,

* Malcolm's History of Persia; Javler's Three Years in Persia; Kotzebue's Embassy to Persia; Brydges' Narrative of the Embassy; Morier's Second Journey in Persia; Ker Porter's Travels; Stocqueler's Pilgrimage.

indeed, considered by her family as an outrage equivalent to the murder of one of its members, and pursued with equally rancorous revenge, but the possession of the wife is at least secured. The fugitive couple take refuge in the territories of some other tribe, and find the hospitable protection which is accorded by the Afghans to every guest, and still more to every suppliant.

Among the Eusufzies different customs prevail. A man never sees his bride until the marriage rites are completed. The Beduranis, also, maintain great reserve between the youth and the girl betrothed one to another. Sometimes a man goes to the house of his future father-in-law, and labours, as Jacob laboured for Rachael, without being allowed to see his destined wife until the day for the ceremony has arrived. With many of the Afghan tribes a similar rule is nominally laid down, but a secret intercourse is countenanced between the bridegroom and future bride. It is called *Naumzud bauzee*, or the sport of the betrothed. The young man steals by night to the house of his affianced, pretending to conceal his presence altogether from the knowledge of the men, who would affect to consider it a great scandal. He is favoured by the girl's mother, who privately conducts him to an interior apartment, where he is left alone with his beloved until the approach of morning. He is allowed the freest intercourse with her, he may converse with her as he pleases, he may kiss her, and indulge in all other innocent freedoms; but the young people are under the strongest cautions and prohibitions to refrain from anticipating the nuptial night. "Nature, however," says Mountstuart Elphinstone, "is too strong for such injunctions, and the marriage begins with all the difficulty and interest of an illicit amour." Cases have not unfrequently occurred in which the bride has been delivered of two or three children before being formally received into her husband's house. This, however, is regarded as extremely scandalous, and seldom happens among the more respectable Afghans. However, the custom of *Naumzud bauzee* prevails with men of the highest rank, and the king himself sometimes enjoys its midnight pleasures.

Though polygamy is allowed by the Mohammedan laws, it is too expensive to be practised by the bulk of the people. The legal number of wives is four; but many of the rich exceed this, and maintain a crowd of concubines besides. Two wives and two female slaves form a liberal establishment for a man of the middle class;

while the poor are obliged to be content with one companion.

The social condition of the female sex in Afghanistan is low, as it must be in all countries where women are bought and sold. The wives of the rich, indeed, secluded in the recesses of the harem, are allowed to enjoy all the comforts and luxuries within reach of their husband's wealth. This, however, is more to please the man, than indulge the women, though many husbands really love their wives, and are influenced to a considerable degree by their desires. In general, however, it is to enjoy the pride of having a beautiful wife in his *zenana*, with all the appliances of opulence to render her gracious and dainty.

Among the poorer classes the women perform the drudgery of the house and carry water. Those of the most barbarous tribes share the labours of the field; but nowhere are they employed as in India, where there is scarcely any difference between the toils of the sexes. A man by the Mohammedan law is allowed to chastise his wife by beating. Custom, however, is more chivalrous and merciful than the written code, and lays it down as disgraceful for a man to avail himself of this privilege of his sex.

Though many women of the higher ranks learn to read, and exhibit considerable talents for literature, it is reckoned immodest for a female to write, as that accomplishment might be made use of to intrigue by correspondence with a lover.

Many families have all their household affairs, and many even their general customs, controlled by women. These sometimes correspond for their sons. It is usually the mother who enjoys this influence, but the wives also frequently rise to ascendancy; and all the advantages conferred on him by the Mohammedan law frequently fail to save a man from sinking to a secondary position in his own house. All domestic amusements indulged in by men are, among the lower and more estimable orders, shared by the women.

In towns, these envelope themselves in an ample white wrapper, like the Arab burnouse, which covers them to the feet, and altogether conceals their figure. A network in the hood, spread over the face, enables them to see, while their features are invisible to others. When on horseback, those of the upper classes wear large white cotton wrappers on their legs, which completely hides the shape of the limb. Frequently, also, they travel in hampers, large enough to allow of their reclining,

which are strung like paniers over a camel's back, and covered with a case of broad cloth. They are hot almost to suffocation during the sultry season. Females are allowed to go about seated in this manner, and form a large proportion in the crowds which throng the public ways. Scrupulously concealed as their features are, they are thus subject to little restraint; and, compared with their sex in the neighbouring regions, though they do not occupy an honourable, they are by no means in an unhappy position.

In the rural districts they are still more free, and go without a veil. Walking through the village or the camp, they are subject to no other restraint than the universal opinion that it is indecent to associate with the other sex. Should a strange man approach, they immediately cover their faces. At home, they seldom enter the public room of their house if an Afghan with whom they are not intimate is there. With Armenians, Persians, and Hindoos, indeed, they do not hold this reserve; for they consider them as of no importance; and the pride of her race is, in these cases, a sufficient guardian to the woman's virtue. When their husbands are from home, also, they receive guests, and entertain them with all the liberal courtesy required by the sacred laws of hospitality.

But the modesty and chastity of the country women, especially of those belonging to the simple shepherd tribes, has been remarked and admired by almost every traveller. "There are no common prostitutes," says Mountstuart Elphinstone, "except in the towns, and very few even there, especially in the west, which is the colder region; it is considered very disreputable to frequent their company." In Afghanistan, however, as in all other parts of the East, and in many states of antiquity, the imperfect education of the women is a cause of profligacy among the men. The wives and concubines who fill a rich man's harem are usually ignorant, insipid, and unacquainted even with the forms of conversation. The prostitutes, on the other hand, are generally well versed in the science of the world, polished in their manners, practised in the arts of seduction, and afford amusement of such interest and variety that men, with four wives and numerous female slaves at their command, frequently seek the society of these accomplished women.

An able and judicious writer has observed that, as far as he recollected, he saw among no people in the East, except

the Afghans, any traces of the sentiment which we call love, that is, according to European ideas. There, however, it not only exists, but is extremely prevalent. One sign of this is exhibited in the numerous elopements, which are always attended with peril, and are risked through love. It is common also for a man in humble circumstances to pledge his faith to a particular girl, and then start off to some remote town, or even to Lower India, where, by industry or trade, he might acquire wealth enough to purchase her from her friends. One traveller met at Poonah a young man who had contracted one of these engagements. He had formed an attachment with the daughter of a Mullah, who reciprocated his affection. Her father gave his consent willingly to the marriage; but said that his daughter's honour would suffer if she did not bring as large a price as the other women of her family. The young people were much afflicted, for the man owned only one horse. However, his mistress gave him a needle used for applying antimony to the eye, and with this pledge of her affection he was confidently working to accumulate the fortune which was required to purchase her. These romantic amours are most common among the country people, especially where the women are partially secluded—accessible enough to be admired, but withdrawn enough to excite the lover's attachment by some difficulty. Among the higher orders such unions are less frequent, though with them also they occasionally occur. It was an affair of love between a chief of the Turkolais and a Khan of the Euzufzies that gave rise to a bloody war which lasted many years. Many of the songs and tales sung and told among the Afghans have love for their plot and spirit, and that passion is expressed in the most glowing and flowery language. Such a trait in a nation's manners is highly favourable, and, joined with many others, renders the Afghan one of the most admirable races of the East.

An exceptional feature in the manners of that region is exhibited by the Moolah Zukkee, a sect of infidel pedants, who are more unprincipled, dissolute, and profligate than any other class in the country. They resemble in their conduct the Arcois of the South Sea Islands, doubt the truth of a future state, are sceptical as to the existence of a God, and have released themselves from every fear of hell. They have taken full advantage of this, and indulge in the vilest lusts without check or shame. This is the more extraordinary as the Afghans

are represented, on the whole, as a devout and pious people.

The inhabitants of Afghanistan are divided into the stationary and wandering population—the dwellers in tents, and the dwellers in houses. It is a curious fact that the dwellers in tents, who live chiefly to the west, are the more chaste and moral. It is among these, however, that the intercourse of the sexes is confined less by law than by public opinion. Men and women dance together, but in modest measures.

The slaves we have alluded to are divided into the home-born and the foreign. The beautiful girls are purchased for the harims of the rich; the others are sold as menials, or attendants on the rich women. The habit of buying concubines is unfortunately becoming more common. Intercourse with the voluptuaries of Persia has seduced them into many Persian vices. Naturally they are, perhaps, one of the least voluptuous nations in Asia; but their manners are becoming visibly corrupted, and this decay of their ancient simplicity is felt and regretted by themselves. Corps of prostitutes and harims full of concubines will do the work of the sword among them, and their spirit of independence, which never yielded even before English bayonets, will evaporate, if they long continue to decline in their morals and manners. Luxury has subdued more great nations than the sword.

In the Vizeeree country, to the north of the Sherauni district, one very extraordinary custom prevails; it is quite peculiar to that tribe; the women have the right of choosing their husbands. When a woman has fixed on any man whom she desires to marry, she sends the drummer of the camp to pin a handkerchief on his cap, with a pin which she has previously used to fasten up her hair. The drummer goes on his mission, cautiously watches his opportunity, and executes the feat in public, naming the woman. The man is obliged immediately to take her as his wife, if he can pay her price to her father*.

OF PROSTITUTION IN KASHMIR.

In Kashmir we find the Hindu system of manners considerably modified by various circumstances. The people are not oppressed by that rigid code of etiquette, which in India isolates every caste and almost every family. Naturally addicted to pleasure, they find much of their enjoy-

ment in the society of the female sex, and from the earliest times have been celebrated for their love of singers and dancers. Formerly, when the valley was more populous and flourishing than at present, its capital city was the scene of eternal revel, in which morals stood little in the way of those gratifications to which the sensual ideas of the richer orders inclined them. Now, under a vile and monstrous despotism, the inhabitants relieve themselves from a continual struggle with misfortune by indulging in gross vices. Formerly they were corrupted by luxury; now they decay through misery, and drown the sense of hopeless poverty in the gratification of their animal passions.

The situation of the female sex in Kashmir differs from that occupied by them among the Hindus of Bengal. They are far more free, and appear more licentious. The women of this delightful and romantic valley have long been celebrated for their grace and beauty. Their renown extended on the one side as far as the plains of Central Asia, and on the other beyond the borders of the Ganges. They were formerly much sought after by the Mogul nobility of Delhi, to whom they bore strong and handsome sons; and even after that monarchy had declined from its original opulence and power, its luxurious kings solaced themselves in their humiliation by concubines and dancing girls from Kashmir. Nor has the beauty which in those early ages attracted to the women of this country the admiration of all the East, faded in any degree. They are still described as the flowers of Oriental grace—not so slender as the Hindus of Bengal, but more full, round, voluptuous, and fascinating. Since few except those belonging to the very highest classes wear a veil, travellers have enjoyed abundant opportunities of observing the characteristics of the sex. The face is of a dark complexion, richly flushed with pink; the eyes are large, almond-shaped, and overflowing with a peculiar liquid brilliance; the features are regular, harmonious, and fine; while the person, as we have said, is plump and round, though the limbs are often models of grace. Such is the portrait we are led to draw by the accounts of the best writers. They agree, however, in adding, that among all, except the dancers, singers, and prostitutes, with probably those few women who are shut up in harems, art has done nothing to aid nature. The eyes, unsurpassed for brightness, with full orbs, and long black lashes, shine often from a dirty face, expressing a mind flooded with sensual desires, and utterly unadorned by

* See Elphinstone's *Kabul*; Vignes' *Visit to Ghuzni*; Burnes' *Kabul*.

education or accomplishments. Among the poorer classes, especially, filth, poverty, and degradation render many of the women repulsive, in spite of their natural beauty. It is remarkable that the inhabitants of the boats on the lakes possess among them the handsomest women in the valley.

The customs of marriage, courtship, and the general habits of the women, resemble so closely what have already been described in treating of India, that we need not enter into any particular account of them. The life of the woman belonging to a chief of high rank is a monotonous seclusion. She sits, enveloped in full wrappings of shawls and robes, amid all the luxury and brilliance of an Oriental harem, with every appliance of ease and comfort, but not the liberty which the humbler orders enjoy. Wives of all classes, indeed, are subject to their husbands, but those of the nobles are most under control. They often experience in its full bitterness the curse of slavery under a capricious despot. The authority of the man is absolute.

Mikran Singh, a chief of the valley, was a few years ago, during the reign of the Maharaja Runjit Singh, guilty of a horrible act, which illustrates in a striking manner the condition of women in that country. His wife happened to be in the Punjab, and, while there, was accused by some enemies of a criminal intrigue. She was sent to her husband in Kashmir. Her son flung his dagger at the feet of Mikran Singh, and threw himself at his knees, begging mercy for his mother. The man promised to forgive her; but, as soon as occasion offered, ordered her to be forced into a bath the temperature of which was rapidly increased with the purpose of suffocating her. She was tenacious of life, and struggled long with her tortures, filling the palace with shrill and piercing shrieks. Many people fled from the neighbourhood that they might not listen to these fearful cries. At length, to put an end to this horrid scene, the husband sent his wife a bowl of poison, which she drank and immediately died.

Women of the middle and lower classes affect no concealment, and never wear a veil. They experience less caprice from their husbands, and are perhaps more free than females in Hindustan formerly were. Widows have long been released from the disgusting obligation of burning at the funeral pyre of their husbands. The custom, indeed, was at no time very prevalent in the valley, and since the decree of abolition, published by Aurungzebe in 1669, it has never been revived. Women

in Kashmir bear a fair proportion to the men, and are proverbially fruitful. The depopulation of the country is owing to no natural causes, but to the rapacious despotism under which it suffers. British government would soon, without a doubt, restore it to its ancient flourishing condition, as well as reform its manners.

Travellers in Kashmir always remark the dancing girls, for which it was formerly renowned. The village of Changus, near the ancient city of Achibul, was at one time celebrated for a colony of them. They excelled, in singing, dancing, and other accomplishments, all the other girls of the valley. When Vigne visited it some years ago, the village had fallen to decay, and its famous beauties had disappeared. Old men, however, remembered and spoke of them with regret. One, whose name was Lyli, still lived in the recollection of many. A few dancers of another class remained, but were inferior in their natural charms and arts to those of the city, and were obliged to be content with engagements in the humbler or country districts.

These women may be divided into classes. Among the highest we might find some that are virtuous and even modest, as we may among singers and actresses in Europe. Others frequent entertainments at the houses of rich men and public festivals, receiving large sums for their attendance, and occasionally consent to prostitute their persons for a valuable gift. Others are regular professional harlots, indiscriminately prostituting themselves to any who desire their society. Many of these are widows, who are forbidden to marry again, and are devoted to the service of some god, whose temple and priests they enrich by the gains of their disreputable calling.

The Watul or Gipsy tribe of Kashmir is remarkable for the loveliness of its females. Living in tents or temporary huts, these Gipsies pass from spot to spot; and many of their handsomest girls are sold as slaves to furnish the harems of the rich, or enter the train of some company of dancing girls. These are bred and taught to please the taste of the voluptuary, to sing licentious songs in an amorous tone, to dance in voluptuous measures, to dress in a peculiar style, and to seduce by the very expression of their countenances. Formerly many of these women amassed large sums in their various callings; but now that the prosperity of the valley has decreased, the youngest and most beautiful seek their fortunes in the cities of Agra and Delhi; which, though decaying, still retain traces of the imperial luxury and profligacy which

once rendered them the splendid capitals of the East.

The bands of dancing girls are usually attended by divers hideous duennas and men, whose conspicuous ugliness makes the loveliness of the women appear more complete through contrast. Baron Hugel, whose ideas are purely German, did not find his sense of the beautiful satisfied by the women, and especially the public women, of Kashmir; but every other traveller, from Bernier to Vigne, expatiates upon the subject. The Baron does not, in other respects, inspire us with the idea that he is an authority on such a question.

The Nach girls are under the surveillance of the Government—which licenses their prostitution—and lead in general a miserable life. They are actual slaves, cannot sing or dance without permission from their overseer, and must yield up to him the most considerable part of their profits. Some of them still ask large sums, especially from strangers. One troop demanded from our German author a hundred rupees for an evening's performance.

The education of a superior Nach girl should commence when she is no more than five years old. Nine years, it is said, are required to perfect them in song and dance. They dress usually in trowsers of rich-coloured silk, loosely furled round the limb, fitting tight at the ankle, and confined round the waist by a girdle and tassels, which hang down to the knee. Over these is draped a tunic of white muslin, reaching half-way down the leg; but when dancing they wear a full flowing garment of soft light tissue of various colours, intermixed with gold. Some have been seen with ornaments on their persons to the value of 10,000 or 12,000 rupees. Some, also, with all these adornments, neglect to be clean, and omit perfume from among the graces of their toilette. Their songs are often full of sentiment and fancy, finely expressed, and accompanied by pleasing music. Their dances are not chaste or modest; but neither are they obscene or gross.

Among the poorer orders exist a swarm of prostitutes, frequenting low houses in the cities or boats on the lakes; but of their modes of life we have no account. Probably the manners of prostitutes differ little throughout the world. It is certain that they are largely patronised by the more demoralised part of the population. The traveller Moorcroft, who gave gratuitous advice to the poor of Serinaghur, had at one time nearly 7000 patients on his list. Of these a very large number

were suffering from loathsome diseases, induced by the grossest and most persevering profligacy. Altogether the manners of Kashmir appear very corrupt*.

OF PROSTITUTION IN INDIA.

WE shall have to view the Hindus under two aspects—as they were under their former oppressors, and as they are under the administration of the Company. The change of rule has wrought, and is working, a change in the manners and institutions of the people perfectly wonderful to contemplate. Climate and position have much to do with national characteristics, but government has more. India under the English no more resembles India under the Mogul, than the England of the nineteenth century resembles the England of the Hep-tarchy. A beneficent revolution in her fortune has occurred, which is developing an extraordinary reform in the customs and ideas of her native race. Consequently a distinction must be observed between the old and the new state of things. It will be necessary, also, to distinguish those provinces which are absolutely under our sway from those which are independent, or only related to us by subsidiary alliances. A strong contrast is exhibited by these different communities, which, as far as the welfare of the people is concerned, differ as much from each other as the slave states of western Africa differ from the population of Cape Colony. In the one a wise and beneficent government is administered for the happiness of the people; in the other, an imbecile yet savage tyranny makes them look with jealousy on their more fortunate neighbours. This is an important consideration, and by no means irrelevant to our subject, for it illustrates the influence of laws and institutions upon the manners and morals of a nation.

The state of women among the Hindus is not elevated, and as long as their ancient teachers of religion are revered, such must be the case. The female sex is held absolutely dependent on the male, and, as among the Chinese, the father before marriage, the husband afterwards, and the son in widowhood, are the natural protectors assigned by the sacred law. Nothing is to be done by a woman of her purely independent will. She must reverence her lord, and approach him with humble re-

* Vigne's Travels in Kashmir; Hugel's Travels in Kashmir; Moorcroft's Travels in the Himalayan Provinces; Forster's Travels from Bengal to England; Hamilton's East India Gazetteer; Bernier's Travels in the Empire of the Mogul.

TABLE XIV.

LONDON LABOUR AND THE LONDON POOR.

TABLE SHOWING THE CRIMINALITY OF THE DIFFERENT COUNTIES OF ENGLAND AND WALES, WITH REGARD TO ASSAULTS WITH INTENT TO RAVISH AND CARNALLY ABUSE.

COUNTIES.	Average Population 1841-50.	Total Number Committed for Assaults, with Intent to Ravish and Carnally Abuse.										No. Committed annually in every 1,000,000.	Percentage above and below the Average. * denotes above, † below.
		1841	1842	1843	1844	1845	1846	1847	1848	1849	1850		
Bedford	121,003	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	50	*39.3
Berks	194,763	1	1	4	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	67	*19.2
Bucks	140,569	3	1	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	72	†10.3
Cambridge	180,747	7	5	2	3	7	5	4	3	5	3	77	*7.2
Chester	385,919	2	3	1	4	2	2	2	3	4	2	116	†39.8
Cornwall	349,991	1	1	2	2	2	3	2	3	4	3	66	*20.5
Cumberland	186,762	2	3	2	2	2	3	1	1	1	1	80	*3.6
Derby	250,249	3	2	3	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	48	*42.2
Devon	554,738	1	3	2	3	3	5	7	1	3	3	63	*24.7
Dorset	172,736	1	3	2	3	3	4	3	1	1	1	75	*9.6
Durham	368,767	1	3	7	1	1	3	3	1	4	3	71	*14.5
Essex	332,363	2	6	1	3	3	3	5	3	2	2	84	†1.2
Gloucester	407,504	1	2	4	4	1	2	3	4	6	5	91	†9.6
Hertford	37,813	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	4	1	1	82	*1.2
Hunts	163,178	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	2	1	78	*6.0
Kent	57,942	1	8	8	9	7	5	5	5	1	1	52	*37.4
Lancaster	585,249	13	19	21	21	26	15	15	15	11	6	106	†27.7
Leicester	227,621	2	5	4	4	1	6	3	4	4	3	87	†4.8
Lincoln	378,246	2	6	2	6	3	4	3	1	4	3	101	†21.7
Middlesex	1,740,814	14	10	10	11	9	12	6	20	8	11	80	*3.6
Monmouth	164,053	1	1	2	4	4	2	2	1	1	1	64	*22.9
Norfolk	419,453	3	3	7	7	7	7	7	1	3	5	104	†25.3
Northampton	206,436	1	1	3	2	3	2	3	3	5	1	119	†43.4
Northumberland	214,777	1	1	4	3	1	3	3	1	1	1	102	†22.9
Nottingham	292,384	1	4	1	3	1	2	2	3	1	2	56	*32.5
Oxford	166,751	1	4	1	2	1	2	2	3	1	2	36	*46.6
Rutland	23,711	1	3	5	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	102	†29.9
Salop	243,352	1	3	5	6	7	6	5	2	4	2	42	*49.4
Somerset	452,515	5	7	7	6	7	6	5	2	4	2	53	*30.1
Southampton	577,040	2	3	7	7	7	7	7	1	7	3	115	†38.6
Stafford	579,086	4	7	11	4	2	5	7	3	4	1	106	†27.7
Suffolk	325,336	1	1	1	3	2	4	4	3	4	1	101	†21.7
Surrey	635,917	2	5	2	10	2	4	5	4	2	2	56	*32.5
Sussex	320,944	1	7	1	2	3	4	2	4	7	4	60	*27.7
Warwick	444,558	1	3	4	2	3	5	3	5	3	3	109	†20.5
Westmorland	57,494	1	3	3	3	1	1	1	2	1	1	92	†10.8
Wills	241,897	3	3	5	4	2	4	3	4	3	4	87	†4.8
Worcester	244,574	16	14	15	16	12	19	16	6	8	14	116	†39.8
York	1,686,461	5	5	2	2	1	3	7	5	1	4	139	†67.5
North Wales	286,161	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	81	*2.4
South Wales	563,430	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	31	*2.4
Total for England and Wales	16,918,453	118	141	158	167	123	164	131	133	112	122	83	*60.2

LIST OF COUNTIES, IN THE ORDER OF THEIR CRIMINALITY WITH REGARD TO ASSAULTS WITH INTENT TO RAVISH AND CARNALLY ABUSE, AS SHOWN BY THE NUMBER COMMITTED FOR THIS OFFENCE IN EVERY 1,000,000 OF THE POPULATION.

Counties above the Average.

Counties below the Average.

Worcester	139	Hereford	82
Norfolk	119	York	81
Chester	116	North Wales	81
Wills	116	Lincoln	80
Somerset	115	Cumberland	80
Kent	106	Hertford	73
Southampton	106	Cambridge	77
Monmouth	104	Dorset	75
Northampton	102	Durham	71
Oxford	102	Berks	67
Stafford	101	Cornwall	65
Leicester	101	Middlesex	64
Sussex	100	Devon	63
Warwick	92	Surrey	60
Bucks	92	Salop	58
Gloucester	91	Suffolk	56
Lancaster	87	Northumberland	56
Westmorland	87	Hunts	52
Essex	84	Bedford	50
		Derby	43
		Rutland	42
		Nottingham	36
		South Wales	33

Average for England and Wales 83

MAP

SHOWING THE NUMBER OF PERSONS COMMITTED FOR
 ASSAULTS, WITH INTENT TO RAVISH AND CARNALLY ABUSE,
 IN EVERY 1,000,000 OF THE POPULATION,
 IN THE SEVERAL COUNTIES OF

ENGLAND & WALES.



*** The counties printed black are those in which the number committed for this offence is above the Average.

The counties left white are those in which the number committed for the same offence is below the Average.

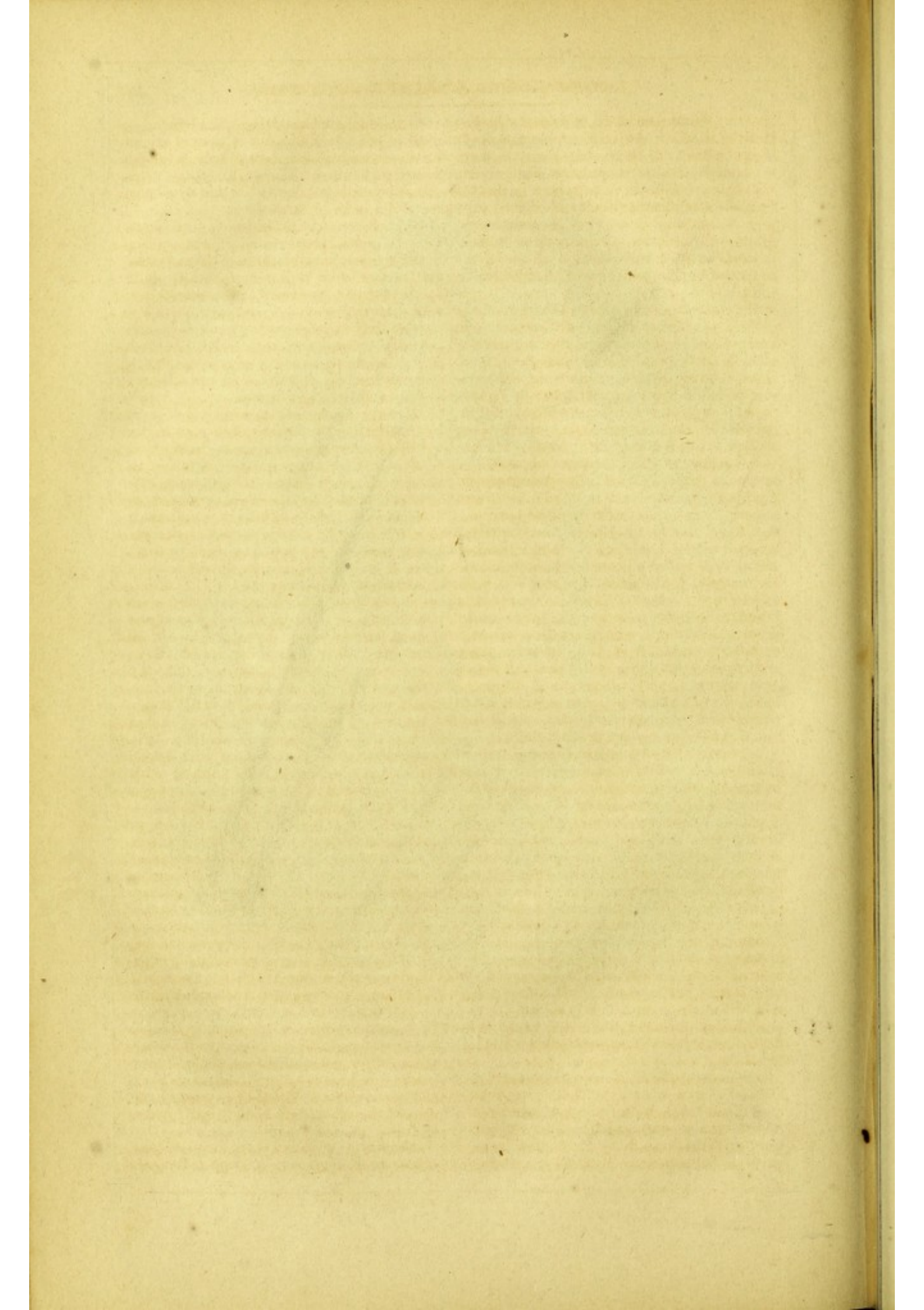
The Average has been calculated for the ten years, from 1841 to 1850.

The Average for all England and Wales is 83 in every 1,000,000 people.
 " " Worcester (the highest) 139 " "
 " " South Wales (the lowest) 33 " "



WOMAN OF THE SACS, OR "SAU-KIES" TRIBE OF AMERICAN
INDIANS.

[Copied, by permission, from a Portrait taken by MR. CATLIN, during his residence among the Red Indians.]



spect. She is bound to him while he desires it, whatever his conduct may be, and, if she rebel, is to be chastised with a rope or cane on the back part of her person, "and not on a noble part by any means."

Writers with a particular theory to support frequently quote the institutes of Menu, to show that a contempt of women is inculcated, and hard usage of them encouraged by the precepts of that singular code.

Indolence, vanity, irascible humours, evil dispositions, and lasciviousness, are enumerated as the vices which are declared natural to them. "A woman is chaste, when there is neither place, time, nor person, to afford her an opportunity to be immoral," says the "Hetopadara," which is quoted in application to the whole sex, though it applies only as Professor Wilson—the great authority on this subject—observes, to that class of idle, intemperate, profligate females, to be found in every society. Passages undoubtedly occur in the laws and in satirical compositions levelled at the whole sex; but the Hindus themselves usually describe them as amiable, modest, gentle, chaste, full of wit, and excelling in every grace. They are allowed to inherit property; they are permitted under certain circumstances to exercise power, though by indirect means; and they certainly exert great influence over the men. In no state of ancient times, except the polished republics of Greece and Rome, were women held in so much esteem as among the Hindus.

Debarred as they are from the advantages of education, not allowed to eat with their husbands, and forbidden from mixing in society, the Hindu women, of course, are degraded below their just position; but it is not true that they are abject slaves, or are generally treated with barbarity. Among the more wild and barbarous tribes, as well as the more ignorant classes in all parts of India, men frequently beat their wives; but, from the few revelations of the Zenana which have been made, it would appear that its inmates are generally treated with considerable deference and attention. The contact of Mohammedan with Hindu manners has certainly, however, had an effect on the latter, which has depreciated the rank and estimation of the female sex.

Nowhere, indeed, where polygamy is allowed, can women hold their true position. In India, however, though permitted, it was not encouraged by the religious law, and sanctioned in particular cases only, as barrenness, inconstancy, aversion,

or some other similar cause. The wife, also, must be consulted, and her consent obtained to the second match. She still held the principal rank in the family, for the new comer could not take her place while she remained in the household.

In various parts of India, different customs of marriage prevail. There are, indeed, four prescribed forms—all honourable, and various only in detail. A fifth is, when the bridegroom, contrary to the sacred law, traffics for a girl. Another is, when a captive, left helpless in a man's power, is forced to become the companion of his bed. And a last is, when a girl is ravished, when surprised asleep, and taken off or deluded to the house of a new master.

Marriage is viewed as a religious duty by the Hindus. A few are exempted, under special circumstances, from the fulfilment of this sacred obligation. The rules of law enacted with respect to it apply chiefly to affairs of caste, with which we have here little to do. It is forbidden to purchase a wife for money, except under particular conditions; but the young girls have little share in their own destiny, being usually betrothed while very young. The father has the disposal of them until three years after the age of puberty, when it is reckoned disgraceful for her to be single, and then she may choose a partner for herself. Few, however, will marry a maiden so old. In Bahar the girl, betrothed while an infant, is not permitted to enter her husband's house until mature, when she is conducted thither with as much ceremony as the circumstances of the family will allow. In Bengal the couple are pledged with many rites and a profusion of expense. The bride is taken to her husband's house, remains there a little while, and then goes home for a short period, but the whole is consummated as soon after ten years of age as practicable. The timid effeminate Bengalee appears of a sensual character, and regards his wife as little more than the instrument of his pleasure. A better state of things is now beginning to prevail there, in consequence of the efforts made by the Company; but under the old system, not one female in twenty thousand was allowed to acquire the least particle of learning. The natives excuse or justify this fact,—first, by the prohibition against educating girls which are contained in their sacred books; and secondly, by declaring that many women would, did they possess those means of intrigue, run riot in profligacy and vice.

The birth of a daughter being throughout the East, and especially in Bengal,

regarded as less auspicious than that of a son, indicates a low position of the sex. From that moment her parents are solicitous to settle her, so that she is often in infancy pledged for life. The character of the bridegroom is of little consequence. Matches, consequently, often prove unhappy, especially where the jealousy or despotism of the husband forces the woman to live in seclusion, and mainly within the private recesses of the zenana. This, however, is not the general custom, women being allowed to appear at festivals and jubilees. Even the wives of respectable Hindus frequently quit the interior apartments set aside for them, and go to bathe in the waters of the Ganges or some other holy stream. The poorer, of course, who assign a share of labour to their wives, cannot seclude them if they would, for the expense of confinement is not inconsiderable.

The wife waits on her husband, and is treated with very partial confidence. In the lower ranks she is employed to prepare cow-dung for fuel, to fetch water, to make purchases in the markets, and perform the drudgery of the house, though this is no more than is done by the poorer classes in Europe. The rich woman adorns herself, curls her hair, listens to the gossip of her slaves, and indulges in what amusements may be within her reach. It may be imagined that the child or wife, uneducated and without a gleam of light in her mind, amuses herself by a thousand trivial devices. The home is thus not unhappy, unless the husband be naturally harsh, or the house be ruled by a tyrannical mother-in-law, which is often the case. Matches founded upon a mutual attachment are very rare, but by no means unknown. The romances of the Hindus are in many cases founded on them. The general plan, however, is for the parties to be betrothed in childhood.

When they perform the ceremonies of marriage they are complete strangers to each other; yet Hindu wives are, on the whole, faithful. When the husband finds himself united to a woman who is hateful to him, he neglects her altogether, and takes another or a concubine, though this is against the ancient law. In many things, however, the practice of this nation, especially among the ruder classes, is opposed to that extraordinary sacred code. However, if he have no children, he adopts this plan of ensuring them, and frequently conceals the facts for a long time from his wife. Polygamy causes great troubles in the Bengalee households. A man is not allowed by law to take a new partner after fifty,

but this regulation is observed by few. These customs, together with the facility of divorce—a privilege from which the female sex is excluded—contribute to the demoralization of society. A man calling his wife *mother*, by that act renounces her, and is thenceforward free from the tie. A barren wife may be superseded in the eighth year; she whose children are all dead in the birth; she who bears only daughters, in the eleventh; while she who is of an unkind disposition may be divorced without delay. The whole code, composed by the priestly order, is unjust to the sex.

Of the general character of the female sex in Hindustan very exaggerated ideas commonly prevail. It is represented as corrupted throughout by the obscenity and indecency of the public religion and the institutions framed by priests. It is true the Hindu Pantheon is a representation of the lowest vices, and that the manners of the people are by no means delicate; yet the respectable class of women appear chaste, orderly, modest, and decorous. The fair muscular race of Afghanistan has indeed been depicted in favourable contrast to the dark and slim race of Bengal, but this need suppose no characteristic depravity in the latter, for the hardy mountaineers are celebrated for their contempt of sensual pleasures. Other parts of India exhibit their peculiar features. Among the rude Mughls of Arracan—a hunting and fishing, as well as cultivating, and formerly a predatory tribe—when a man wants money he pawns his wife for a certain sum, or transfers her altogether. In the southern parts of the Peninsula and the Mysore, manners are more licentious, and women are more debased. There polygamy has always been practised by the powerful and wealthy whose means enabled them to enjoy indulgences discouraged by the precepts of the ancient law. Buchanan, travelling towards the close of the eighteenth century, found about 80 concubines secluded in the palace of Tippoo Sultan, at Seringapatam. These were attended by more than 500 handmaids. The same traveller made a diligent inquiry into the manners of the various communities he visited. Among the Teliga Divangas, followers of Siva, a man was allowed to take many wives, but not to hurt them, or divorce them, except for adultery. It was once the practice for the widow to bury herself alive with the body of her husband.

The Shaynagas of Canara were not allowed to take a second wife unless the first had died, or had no children. The Corannas permitted polygamy, and girls

were purchased for money. Adultery was punished by a beating or by a divorce, in which case the guilty wife might marry whom she pleased. The Panchalaru had similar laws, and so indeed had many other tribes. One of the most general rules was that a woman could not be divorced except for faithless conduct. Widows were sometimes destroyed. Among the Bherid and many others, marriage was contracted, under obligation, before the age of puberty. If a girl remained single beyond that age, no credit was given to her virginity; she was declared incapable of marriage, and usually took resource in prostitution.

The severe laws against violating the law of chastity have not, in India, been formed so much for the protection of morals, as for preserving the boundaries of castes. Women are severely punished for holding intercourse with a man of superior caste; that is, if the intrigue be discovered, for there is no doubt that such intrigues frequently occur.

Among the Woddas the laws of marriage were by no means so stringent as among many other tribes visited by Buchanan. Women abounded. Every man had as many wives as he pleased. They all laboured for him; and if one was lazy she was divorced, though left free to marry again; she also might leave him if hardly treated, but could not contract a new engagement without his consent.

The Carruburru permitted adulteresses to live with any man who would keep them, provided their husbands did not immediately desire revenge. They were despised, but not altogether cast out from the communion of social life. The children of concubines enjoyed equal rights with those of real wives. That they were a gross people is proved by the fact that adultery was sometimes winked at in an industrious woman, too valuable as a servant to lose. The more refined idea, however, which prevailed among them of not allowing a girl to marry until naturally marriageable, was looked upon by members of the higher castes as a beastly depravity.

Among the Rajpoots women are not degraded; they hold a higher position. Ladies of rank are, indeed, secluded, but more from ideas of dignity and etiquette than sentiments of jealousy or the habit of despotism. There is an air of chivalry in some of their customs. A woman of high station, threatened with danger, sometimes sent to any youth whom she might admire the present of a bracelet. He was

then called her "bracelet-bound brother," and was expected to defend her under all circumstances, even at the hazard of his life.

Men, it has been remarked, make the laws—women make the manners—of a country. In Rajasthan, the few women reared exercised great influence on the actions, habitudes, and tastes of the men. The Rajpoot consults his wife on every important occasion; and, much as we are given to lament the condition of these women, it is by no means so debased as many writers would persuade us to imagine. Marriage contracts which often, as among the Jews, took place at the well, where the young girls assembled to draw water and converse, were, in frequent instances, the commencement of a happy life. The precepts of Menu have been quoted to show the contempt of the sex inculcated by the sacred books. His censures on a class, however, have been taken as his description of all womankind—but falsely; for the Rajpoot proverbs on this subject are derived from those famous institutes. The mouth of a woman, we find there, is constantly pure. Her name should be chosen graceful and euphonous, resembling a word of benediction. When they are honoured, the gods are pleased; when they are dishonoured, the gods are offended. The language of another sage was full of rich, and, perhaps, exaggerated sentiment. "Strike not, even with a blossom, a wife guilty of a hundred faults." The religious maxims laid down for married couples is equally elevated. "Let mutual fidelity continue until death." Intermarriage is prohibited in the same clan, or even tribe, though the patronymic may have been lost for centuries. Eight hundred years had divided the two branches of one famous house, yet an alliance between them was prohibited as incestuous.

Pregnant women and maidens are in Rajpootana treated with great tenderness and respect. Many women in this country can read and write. They cannot govern actually; but indirectly as regents, several of them have equalled in vigour and tyranny any of the masculine tyrants for which Asia is so celebrated. Polygamy has caused many troubles in the country; and at a remote period in its history we discover an instance of polyandrisim.

One of the modified systems we have alluded to exists in Sindh and the Indian provinces of Beluchistan. Little gifted by nature, the Beluchi women are the servants of their husbands, and labour while their lords are feasting or sleeping.

Nevertheless, when, under the destructive tyranny of the Amirs, a foray was about to be undertaken, or any danger averted, the females of the village were taken into consultation, and strongly influenced the councils of the men. A strong resemblance was discovered by Pottinger between the moral and social institutions of the Beluchis, especially in reference to marriage, and those of the Jews.

A woman's husband dying, his brother is bound to marry her, and his children are heirs of the deceased. A similar enactment is to be found in the law as set forth in Deuteronomy. In cases of adultery, full expiation and atonement must be made, or both criminals put to death. The regulations with respect to divorce are very similar. The resemblance between Indian manners and those of the Jews was, as early as 1704, noticed by an anonymous French writer, who drew up a curious parallel in support of his theory.

The Muzmi, or hill tribes of Nepaul, who are not Hindus, follow the customs of Upper Thibet in most things, except polyandris, or the plurality of husbands. Their women enjoy considerable privileges. The females of the Brahmin and India class in Central India, also, possess great influence over their husbands. If married to men of any consequence, they have a right to a separate provision, and an estate of their own. They enjoy much liberty, seldom wear a veil, give entertainments, and expend much money in jewels and clothes. In the families of the great Sindia and Holkar they wielded no mean degree of power, which they seldom exerted in the cause of peace. Their education is not by any means so limited as that of their sex in Bengal. Generally, among the Mohammedans of India, the women of high rank are somewhat secluded, though not severely restrained; but those of the lower classes, sharing as they do the labours and the pleasures of their husbands, are neither watched nor immured. Whether they are harshly used or not depends very much, as in England, on the individual character of the husband. No description will apply universally to the conduct of any race. In Bengal there were, under native rule, many female zemindars, or village revenue administrators, who were, however, subject to the influence, but not to the authority, of the male members of their family. Among the tribes of the Rajamahall Hills, on the western borders of that province, fewer restrictions still are in practice. They are not Hindus of caste, and therefore more free to obey their natural inclinations. One of

their most prominent distinctions is the permission for widows to marry again. Their morality is tolerably good. When a man sees his son inclined to the company of prostitutes, he asks him if he desires to be married. If he replies in the affirmative, a neighbour is sent—unless a choice have been already made—to find a suitable girl. Both parties must agree to the match, though the girls, being wedded very young, seldom oppose their parents' will. The young man's father makes a present to the father of the bride; a marriage dinner is provided, the newly-joined couple eat off the same leaf, their hands are joined, they are exhorted not to quarrel, and the youth then takes home his wife.

One of the most remarkable and celebrated institutions of the Hindus was that of suttee, or the burning of the widow with her husband's body. The shastres, or sacred books, are full of recommendations to perform this terrible sacrifice, and promise ineffable bliss to the voluntary victim. This custom of female immolation, which distinguished especially Rajpoot manners, had its origin, according to the priests, in the example of a holy personage, who, to avenge an insult, consumed herself before an assemblage of the gods. Custom gave it sanction, as religion offered it a reward. The institution of castes, however, and the perpetual separation enjoined upon them, appear to have been the real origin of the custom. In a few instances a man might marry a woman of inferior order, but in no case could she descend. Polygamy being practised, men continually left numerous young widows, who, being forbidden under the pain of damnation, to contract a second engagement, had to choose between infamy, misery, and the funeral pile. It is said that 15,000 victims formerly perished annually in Bengal. When we remember that 60 sometimes died on one pyre, we can believe that a large number were thus destroyed; but the calculation alluded to appears, nevertheless, extravagant. It is unnecessary here to enter largely on the subject, which is familiar to every general reader. Happily the horrible practice is now effectually abolished throughout the British dominions—one among the innumerable blessings achieved for that region by the Company's administration. The contrast between the native states and the English provinces is remarkable, if for this alone. At the death of Runjit Singh a largesacrifice of women was made for his funeral, but now that the Punjab is annexed, no more will be permitted.

In Central India the custom prevailed most when the Rajpoots were in the height of their power, their influence, and their pride. The suttees were then very frequent, as is attested, among other evidences, by the number of monuments still remaining, with representations of the ceremony, which were erected in memory of the devoted wives. The Mohammedans, when they were supreme, endeavoured, as far as possible, to check the practice. The Mahrattas, by a judicious neglect and indifference, which neither encouraged by approval nor provoked by prohibition, which they were unable to enforce, rendered it very rare. When Sir John Malcolm wrote, about 1820, there had not been, as far as it was possible to know, throughout Central India, more than three or four instances annually during the last twenty years. These instances were confined to particular communities of Rajpoots and Brahmins, while no examples occurred, as under the princes of Jeydpoor, Jaidpoor, and Ondepoor, of women being forcibly dragged to the pile and thrust, an unwilling sacrifice, into the flames. Some of the greatest fanatics had entirely abandoned the custom for several generations. Where it continued most generally to be preserved was where the priests denounced the terrors of heavenly vengeance against those who dared to allow one precept of the sacred code to be set aside. These hereditary nobles of India obstructed the social reform of the country with all the bigotry usual to such a class. There was no duty, said the law, which a woman could honourably fulfil, after her husband's death, except casting herself in the same fire with him.

Formerly the horrors of the practice, in its details, could not be exaggerated, though writers occasionally enlarged upon the general results. Children of eight or ten years of age have devoted themselves sometimes, through fear of the harsh usage they experienced from their relatives. Women of 85 have been plunged into the blazing pile; and maidens not married, but only betrothed, have been made a sacrifice with the ashes of their intended husbands. In Ripa, if one wife consented to burn, all the rest were compelled to follow her example. Fearful scenes have on these occasions been witnessed by travellers. A miserable wretch, escaping twice from the pyre, has clung to their feet, imploring them to defend her, until, naked, with the flesh burned off many parts of her person, she has been finally flung upon the burning heap. Young children, bound

together, have been laid struggling by the body, and appeared to be dead from fear before the wood was kindled. Among the Yogeas, the wife sometimes buried herself alive with the corpse of her husband. In 1803 it was computed that 430 suttees took place within 30 miles of Calcutta—in 1804 between 200 and 300. What "Aborigines' Protection Society" can regret the revolution which has given India into the hands of England?

The painful subject of infanticide is next forced upon our contemplation. Formerly it prevailed to a great extent in India, though the exertions of the Company have now all but extirpated it from the British dominions. Various circumstances contributed in Rajpootana to encourage the destruction of female children. The Rajpoot must marry a woman of pure blood, beyond the utmost degree of affinity to him. To find partners for their daughters was, therefore, a difficult undertaking for the haughty nobility of Rajast'han. Besides, the stupendous extravagance of the nobles at their wedding feasts—which the pride of caste compelled—rendered such contracts an overwhelming expense. The majority of the female infants were therefore slain. In cases where a community was threatened with danger from an enemy, all the children, and, indeed, all the women, were slaughtered lest they should fall into strange hands. Custom sanctioned, but neither traditionary law nor religion allowed, infanticide, of which the ancient dwellers on the banks of the Indus gave an early example. It was the custom among them, says Ferishta, when a female child was born, to carry it to the market-place. There the parent, holding a knife in one hand and his infant in the other, demanded whether any one wanted a wife. If no one came forward to claim the child as a future bride, it was sacrificed. This caused a large numerical superiority of men. Such a birth was among the Rajpoots an occasion of sorrow. Its destruction was a melancholy event. Families were accustomed to boast of the suttees to which they had contributed the victims, but none ever recurred with pride to the children which had thus been slain. The choice, however, was for the girl to die, or live with a prospect of dishonour, which could not be endured by the proud people of Rajast'han. Wilkinson asserted in 1833, that the number of infants annually murdered in Malwa and Rajpootana was 20,000. In 1840 the population of Cutch was 12,000, but there were not 500 women. In 1843 a folio of more than 400 pages was

presented to Parliament, full of correspondence on this subject. In many of the states, it appeared, the Rajahs were induced to offer portions to women when marrying, in order to check infanticide. In Kattewar great efforts were made, and parents were rewarded for preserving their female children. Pride of caste, the expense of marriage feasts, and poverty, were the general causes, besides a desire to conceal the fruit of illicit intrigues. In some villages there were only 12 girls to 79 boys under twelve years of age. In one hamlet of 20 people not one female was living. It is probable, nevertheless, that much exaggeration has been put forward on this subject, especially in reference to Rajpootana, as the seclusion of the females there rendered it impossible accurately to know the number of births. Undoubtedly, however, it was practised to a great extent; but by means of funds, for the reward and encouragement of those parents who reared all their children, as well as by the gradual introduction of laws, a mighty reform has been effected in India. In Odessa and the east of Bengal children were formerly sacrificed to the goddess Gunga, and for this purpose cast into the sacred river. In most countries infanticide has been chiefly the resort of the poor, but in parts of India it was the practice of the rich, being caused by pride rather than indigence. In Bengal, however, the peasantry were occasionally guilty of this device to rid themselves of a burden. A mother would sometimes expose her infant to be starved or devoured, and visit the place after three days had passed. If the child were still living—a very rare case—she took it home and nursed it.

Another unnatural crime was that of procuring abortion, which is still practised, though in a clandestine manner, since it is a breach of the law. It was formerly very prevalent. Ward was assured by a pundit, a professor, that in Bengal 100,000 children were thus destroyed in the womb every month. This was a startling exaggeration, but there is no doubt the offence was of frequent occurrence.

Whether the Hindus and other inhabitants of India are remarkable for their chasteness or immorality is a question much disputed. Unfortunately, men with a favourite theory to support, have been so extravagant in their assertions on either side that it is difficult, or even impossible, to form a just opinion on the subject. Many have represented the Hindus as a sensual, lascivious, profligate race; but we have the weighty testimony of Professor

Wilson to the contrary. There is no doubt that the manners of the people have undergone a remarkable improvement since the establishment of British rule. The original institutions of the people were opposed to morality. The prohibition against the marriage of widows was a direct encouragement to prostitution. Many enlightened Hindus long ago recognised the demoralizing influence of this law, and exerted themselves to abolish it. A wealthy native in Calcutta once offered a dowry of 10,000 rupees to any woman who would brave the ancient prejudices of her race, and marry a second husband. A claim was soon made for the liberal donation. A learned Brahmin of Nagpoor, high in rank and opulence, wrote against the law. Among one tribe, the Bunyas, it was long ago abolished; not, however, from a moral persuasion of its injustice, but under the pressure of circumstances. Even then, however, in Bhopal, the hereditary dignitaries of the priestly order, naturally attached to ancient prejudices, sought to re-establish the prohibition. There were very few exceptions of this kind among all the millions of the Hindu race. Even the Mohammedans, with the precept and example of their own prophet to encourage them, held the marriage of a widow disgraceful. Temporary reform took place at Delhi, but the old custom was, until recently, supreme. The moral evils were that it led to depravity of conduct on the part of the widow, caused a frightful amount of infanticide and abortion, and induced these women by their practice to corrupt all others with whom they came in contact. Female children being married so early, hundreds and thousands were left widows before they had ripened into puberty. The crowded house—containing men of all shades of consanguinity, grandfathers, fathers-in-law, uncles, brothers-in-law, and cousins, all dwelling with the young widow in the inclosure of the family mansion—led to illicit and incestuous connections being continually formed. Pregnancies were removed by abortion. The Bombay code took cognisance of this, and punished it severely. When a woman was known to be pregnant she was narrowly watched, and if the father could be found he was compelled to support his child.

A boy might be betrothed to a child. If she died he was free from the engagement; but if he died she was condemned to remain a maiden widow, and subject to the humiliating laws attached to that condition. It is easy to imagine the demoralizing effects of such an institution. Under

the old system the hardships and indignities imposed on the widow made her prefer suttee, or the sacrifice by fire, or else a retreat in a brothel. Another corrupting custom is that of early marriages. Men seldom have sentiments of affection for any woman, or, if at all, it is for some fascinating dancing girl, for their wives are chosen while too young to feel or excite the passion of love. They therefore—and the Brahmins in particular—resorted to the company of the prostitutes, who are all dedicated, more or less, to the service of some temple.

All the dancing women and musicians of Southern India formerly belonged to the Corinlar, a low caste, of which the respectable members, however, disdain connection with them.

They thus formed a separate order, and a certain number were attached to every temple of any consequence, receiving very small allowances. They were mostly prostitutes, at least to the Brahmins. Those attached to the edifices of great sanctity were entirely reserved for these priestly sensualists, who would have dismissed any one connecting herself with a Christian, a Mussulman, or a person of inferior caste. The others hired themselves out indiscriminately, and were greatly sought after. Their accomplishments seduced the men. The respectable women, ignorant, insipid, and tasteless, were neglected for the more attractive prostitutes. Under the rule of the Mohammedans, who were much addicted to this class of pleasures, the Brahmins did not dare enforce their exclusive privileges, but afterwards resumed their sway with great energy. A set of dancers was usually hired out at prices varying from twelve shillings to six pounds sterling. They performed at private entertainments as well as public festivals. Each troop was under a chief. When one became old she was turned away without provision, unless she had a handsome daughter following the same occupation, and in this case was usually treated by the girl with liberality and affection. Buchanan tells us that all he saw were of very ordinary appearance, inelegant in their dress, and dirty in their person. Many had the itch, and some were vilely diseased.

In the temples of Tulava, near Mangalore, a curious custom prevailed. Any woman of the four pure castes who was tired of her husband, or as a widow was weary of chastity, or as a maiden, of celibacy, went to the sacred building and ate some of the rice offered to the idol. She was then publicly questioned as to the cause of

her resolution, and allowed the option of living within or without the precincts of the temple. If she chose the former, she got a daily allowance of food and annually a piece of cloth. She swept the holy building, fanned the image of the god, and confined her prostitution to the Brahmins. Usually some priestly officer of the revenue appropriated one of these women to himself, paying her a small fee or sum, and would flog her, in the most insulting manner, if she cohabited with any other man while under his care. Part of the daughters were given away in marriage, and part followed their mother's calling.

The Brahminy women who chose to live outside of the temple might cohabit with any men they pleased, but were obliged to pay a sixteenth part of their profits to the Brahmins. They were an infamous class. This system still obtains, though in a modified degree. In other parts of the region it prevails more or less. In Sindh every town of importance has a troop of dancing girls. No entertainment is complete without them. Under the native government this vice was largely encouraged. The girls swallowed spirits to stimulate their zeal. They are, many of them, very handsome, and are all prostitutes. To show the system of manners prevailing before the British conquest, it may be remarked that numbers of these women accumulated great fortunes, and that the voices of a band of prostitutes were louder than all other sounds at the Durbars of the debauched Amirs. In consequence of this the people of Sindh were hideously demoralized. Intrigues were carried on to an extraordinary extent in private life, and women generally were very lax. An evident reform is already perceptible.

Among the Hindus immorality is not a distinguishing characteristic, though many men of high grade pass their nights with dancers and prostitutes. In the temples of the south lascivious ceremonies still occur, but in Hindustan Proper such scenes are not often enacted. This decency of public manners appears of recent introduction, which is indeed a reasonable supposition, for the people have now aims in life, which they never enjoyed in security under their former rulers. It was for the interest of the princes that their subjects should be indolent and sensual. It is for the interest of the new government that they should be industrious and moral. Great efforts have been made with this object, and much good has resulted.

Towards the close of the last century an official report was made by Mr. Grant, and

addressed to the Court of Directors. It was the result of an inquiry instituted into the morals of British India. India and Bengal were especially held in view. Much laxity of morals in private life then prevailed, and he believed that many intrigues were altogether concealed, while many that were discovered were hushed up. Receptacles for women of infamous character everywhere abounded, and were licensed. The prostitutes had a place in society, making a principal figure at all the entertainments of the great. They were admitted even into the zenanas to exhibit their dances. Lord Cornwallis, soon after his arrival in Bengal, was invited by the Nawab to one of these entertainments, but refused to go. The frightful punishments against adultery appeared enacted far more to protect the sanctity of caste than public or private virtue. A man committing the crime was threatened with the embraces, after death, of an iron figure of a woman made red hot. Connection, however, with prostitutes and dancing girls was permitted by the written law.

If that account was correct—and it is corroborated by many others—an immense amelioration must have taken place. The Hindus are now generally chaste, and the profligacy of their large cities does not exceed that of large cities in Europe. In Benares, in 1800, out of a population of 180,000, there were 1500 regular prostitutes, besides 264 Nach or dancing girls. They were all of the *Sudra*, which is a very low caste. In Dacca there were, out of a population of 35,238 Mohammedans and 31,429 Hindus, 234 Mohammedan and 539 Hindu prostitutes.

At Hurdwar it was one of the duties of the female pilgrims to the sacred stream to bathe stark naked before hundreds of men, which does not indicate any great modesty.

The better order of Nach girls are of the highest grace and fascination, with much personal charm, which they begin to lose at 20 years of age. They mostly dress in very modest attire, and many are decent in their manners.

The Gipsies of India, many of whom are Thugs, have numbers of handsome women in their camps, whom they send out as prostitutes to gain money, or seduce the traveller from his road.

It is said that many of the Europeans scattered over India encourage immorality, taking temporary companions. A large class of half-caste children has been certainly growing up in the country, whose mothers are not all the children of white men.

The institution of slavery in Malwa was principally confined to women. Almost all the prostitutes were of this class. They were purchased when children by the heads of companies, who trained them for the calling, and lived upon the gains of their prostitution. The system is even at present nearly similar, the girls being bargained away by their parents into virtual servitude. Many of the wealthy Brahmins, with from 50 to 200 slaves, employed them all day in the menial labours of the establishment, and at night dispersed them to separate dwellings, where they were permitted to prostitute themselves as they pleased. A large proportion of the profits, however, which accrued from this vile traffic formed the share of the master, who also claimed as slaves the children which might spring from this vile intercourse. The female slaves and dancing girls could not marry, and were often harshly used. Society was disorganized by the vast bastard breed produced by this system.

The Europeans at Madras, a few years ago, did not consider their liaisons with the native women so immoral as they would have been considered in England. The concubines were generally girls from the lower ranks, purchased from their mothers. Their conduct usually depends on the treatment they receive. Many of them become exceedingly faithful and attached, being bitterly jealous of any other native women interfering with their master's affections, but never complaining of being superseded by an English wife. They are often, however, extravagant gamblers, and involve their "lovers" in heavy debts.

An Indian mother will sometimes dedicate her female child to prostitution at the temple; and those who are not appropriated by the Brahmins may go with any one, though the money must be paid into a general fund for the support of the establishment.

Some of the ceremonies performed in the temples of the south, by the worshippers of the female deities, were simply orgies of the impurest kind. When a man desired to be initiated into these rites, he went with a priest, after various preliminary rites, to some house, taking nine females (one a Brahmin) and nine men—one woman for himself, and another for his sacerdotal preceptor. All being seated, numerous ceremonies were performed until twelve o'clock at night, when they gratified their inflamed passions in the most libidinous manner. The women, of course, were prostitutes by habit or profession. Men

and women danced naked before thousands of spectators at the worship of the goddess Doorga. The impurities originated usually with the priests. Many of the Brahmins persuaded their disciples to allow them to gratify their lust upon their young wives, declaring it was a meritorious sacrifice. At the temple of Juggernaut, during the great festivals, a number of females were paid to dance and sing before the god daily. These were all prostitutes. They lived in separate houses, not in the temple.

The daughters of Brahmins, until eight years old, were declared by the religious code to be objects of worship, as forms of goddesses. Horrid orgies took place at the devotions paid them. Other women might be chosen as objects of adoration. A man must select from a particular class—his own wife or a prostitute: she must be stripped naked while the ceremony is performed, and this is done in a manner too revolting to describe. The clothes of the prostitutes hired to dance before the idols are so thin that they may almost be said to have been naked. Thus the immorality of the Hindoos, as far as it extended, was encouraged by their religion.

In another way some classes of Brahmins contributed to demoralize the people. A man of this profession would marry from three to 120 wives, in different parts of the country. Many, indeed, earned a living in this manner; for as often as they visited any woman, her father was obliged to make a present. Some go once after their marriage, and never go again; while others visit their wives once in three or four years. Some of the more respectable Brahmins never hold sexual intercourse with any of their wives, who dwell at home, but treat them with great respect. These neglected women often take to prostitution. The brothels of Calcutta and other large cities are crowded with such cast-off mistresses of the Brahmins. They procure abortion when pregnant. In the city of Bombay a whole quarter is inhabited chiefly by prostitutes. Riding in the environs, the European resident is frequently assailed by men, or sometimes boys, who inquire by signs or words, whether he desires a companion; should he assent, the woman is privately brought to his house in a close palanquin, or he is taken to a regular place of resort, in one of these vehicles, which are contrived for secrecy.

Among the Nairs, on the coast of Malabar, the institution of marriage has never been strictly or completely introduced.

Polyandry is practised. A woman receives four or five brothers as her husbands, and a slipper left at the door is a signal that she is engaged with one of them. The mother is thus the only parent known, and the children inherit the property of the family in equal divisions. In some cases the Nairs marry a particular woman, who never leaves her mother's home, but has intercourse with any men she pleases, subject to the sacred law of caste. In the mountain community of Tibet the same custom prevails. It is to be regretted that our information on this subject is not more explicit and full.

The venereal disease is known in most parts of Hindustan. Some, with little reason, suppose it was carried there after the discovery of America. Had it been so, its introduction would probably have been noticed in history or by some tradition. It is not, indeed, called by any Sanscrit word, but is known by a Persian name*.

OF PROSTITUTION IN CEYLON.

In Ceylon the influence of Christianity, accompanied by the moral law of England, is working a reform in the manners of large classes among the people. Under the original institutions of the Singhalese, they never licensed public prostitution; and whatever effect the Buddhist religion produced, it produced in the cause of virtue. The temples were never made brothels; but the character of the people is naturally sensual, and the capital vices of society widely prevail among them. The Buddhist code, indeed, abounds with precepts inculcating not only chastity, but rigid conti-

* Hamilton's East India Gazetteer; Buchanan's Journey in the Mysore, &c.; Bishop Heber's Journal; Hamilton's Description of Hindustan; British Friend of India Magazine; Asiatic Researches; Hugh Murray's Account of India; *Conformité des Coutumes des Indes Orientales avec celles des Juifs*; Tod's Travels in Western India; Tod's Annals of Rajasthan; Launcelot Wilkinson's Second Marriage of Widows in India; Papers presented to Parliament in 1803, on Infanticide; Grant's Observations on Society and Morals among our Asiatic Subjects; Davidson's Travels in Upper India; Mayne's Continental India; Campbell's British India; Hough's Christianity in India; Abbé Dubois' Letters on the Hindus; Malcolm's Memoir on Central India; Bevan's Thirty Years in India; Crawford's Researches concerning India; Hoffmeister's Travels in India; Ward's Account of the Hindus; Mill's History of British India, Notes by Wilson; Ferishta's Mohammedan History; Thornton's History; Penhoen's Empire Anglaise; Xavier; Raymond; Jaseigny; L'Inde.

nence. Profligacy, however, among the men, and want of chastity among the women, are general characteristics of all classes, from the highest to the humblest caste. To this day the disregard of virtue is a crying sin of the women, even of those who profess Christianity. Murders often occur from the jealousy of husbands or lovers detecting their wives or mistresses with a paramour.

In Ceylon, as in continental India, the division of castes is by the ancient and sacred law absolute, though custom sometimes infringes the enactments of the holy code. Marriage from a higher into a lower caste is peremptorily forbidden; though occasionally it is tolerated, but never approved, between a man of honourable and a woman of inferior rank. If a female of noble blood engage in a criminal intrigue with a plebeian, his life has on many occasions been sacrificed to wash out the stain, and formerly hers was also required to obliterate the disgrace. A recent and striking instance of this kind came to the knowledge of Mr. Charles Sirr. The daughter of a high-caste Kandian, enjoying the liberty which in Ceylon is allowed to women of all grades, became attached to a young man of lower caste, and entreated her parent's consent to the match, begging them to excuse her for her affection's sake, and declaring she could not live unless permitted to fulfil the design on which her heart was set. They refused, and, though the petition was again and again renewed, remained obdurate in their denial. The girl was some time after found to have sacrificed her honour to the man whom she loved, but dared not wed. He was all the while willing and desirous to marry her, and would have married her then, but her parents were inexorable. To preserve the honour of the family, the father slew his daughter with his own hand. The English authorities at once arrested the murderer, brought him to trial, and condemned him to death. He resolutely asserted his right to do as he pleased with the girl, protesting against any judicial interference of the English with his family arrangements. He was, nevertheless, executed, as a warning; and several of these examples have had a most salutary influence in restraining the passions of the natives in various parts of the island. It was undoubtedly the man's sense of honour that impelled him to murder his daughter; and she was thus the victim of caste prejudices, which in Ceylon are so rigid that a man could not force his slave to marry into a rank below him, whether free-born or otherwise.

In Ceylon, as in most other parts of Asia, marriages are contracted at a very early age. A man, by the law, "attains his majority" when sixteen years old, and thenceforward is released from paternal control; all engagements, however, which he may form previous to that time, without the consent of his friends in authority, are null and void. A girl, as soon as she is marriageable according to nature, is marriageable according to law; and her parents, or, if she be an orphan, her nearest kindred, give a feast—grand or humble, according to their means—when she is introduced to a number of unmarried male friends. If she be handsome or rich, a crowd of suitors is sure to be attracted. Free as women are in Ceylon after their marriage, they are rarely consulted beforehand on the choice of a partner. That is settled for the girl. To this custom much of the immorality prevalent in the island, as well as in all parts of the East, may without a doubt be ascribed. Where the sexes are not free to form what lawful unions they please, it may be taken as an axiom that they will have recourse to irregular intrigues.

When the feast is given at which a young girl is introduced as marriageable—a custom very similar in form and object to that which obtains in our own country—numerous young unmarried men of the same caste are invited to the house. In a short time after, a relative or friend of any young man who may desire to take the maiden as his wife, calls upon her family, and insinuates that a rumour of the intended union is flying abroad. If this be denied, quietly or otherwise, the match-maker loses no time in withdrawing; but if it is answered in a jocular bantering strain, he takes his leave, with many compliments, to announce his reception to the father of the bridegroom. This personage, after a day or two, makes his call, inquires into the amount of the marriage dowry, and carries the negotiation a few steps further. Mutual visits are exchanged, and all arrangements made, with great precision. The mother of the young man, with several other matrons, take the girl into an inner room, where she is stripped, and her person examined, to see that it is free from any corporal defect, from ulcers, and from any cutaneous disease. Should this investigation prove satisfactory, numerous formalities succeed, and an auspicious day is fixed upon for the wedding. This takes place with much ceremony, the stars being in all things consulted. Should the bridegroom's horoscope refuse to agree with

that of the bride, his younger brother may wed her for him by a species of proxy. The whole is a tedious succession of formal observances, not so much the ordinance of religion as the details of an ancient ritual etiquette. This is the Buddhaical custom; but it is immensely expensive, and cannot be followed by the very poor classes. It is also forbidden to people of extremely low caste, even though they should be wealthy enough to afford, or sufficiently improvident to risk it. Among the humble and indigent the marriage is confirmed by the mutual consent of the parents and the young couple passing a night together.

One of the most remarkable features in the social aspect of Ceylon is the institution of polyandry, which among the Kandians is permitted and practised to a great extent. A Kandian matron of high caste is sometimes the wife of eight brothers. The custom is justified upon various grounds. Sirr expressed to a Kandian chief of no mean rank his abhorrence of this revolting practice. The man was surprised at these sentiments, and replied that on the contrary it was an excellent custom. Among the rich it prevented litigation; it saved property from minute subdivision; it concentrated family influence. Among the poor it was absolutely necessary, for several brothers could not each maintain a separate wife, or bear the expense of a whole family, which jointly they could easily do. The offspring of these strange unions call all the brothers alike their fathers, though preference is given to the eldest, and are equal heirs to the family property; should litigation, however, arise concerning the inheritance, they often all claim the senior brother as a parent, and the Kandian laws recognise this claim.

Although, when a plurality of husbands is adopted, they are usually brothers, a man may, with the woman's consent, bring home another, who enjoys all the marital rights, and is called an associated husband. In fact, the first may, subject to his wife's pleasure, bring home as many strangers as he pleases, and the children inherit their property equally. It is rare, however, to meet one of these associated husbands among the Kandians of higher and purer caste, though two or more brothers continually marry the same woman. This revolting custom is now confined to the province of Kandy, though some writers assert that it was formerly prevalent throughout the maritime districts. In these, however, monogamy is at present practised, except by the Mohammedans,

who are polygamists. Statements to the contrary have been laid before us; but Sirr positively asserts that he never saw a Kandian or Singhalese who had acknowledged himself to have more than a single wife. The Muslims, though long settled in the island, preserve their peculiar characteristics, their religion, habits, and manners, which they have not communicated to the rest of the population.

There are two kinds of marriage in Kandy, the one called "Bema," the other "Deega." In the first of these the husband goes to live at his wife's residence, and the woman shares with her brothers the family inheritance. He, however, who is married after this fashion, enjoys little respect from his bride's relations; and if he gives offence to her father, or the head of the household, may be at once ejected from the abode. In reference to this precarious and doubtful lodgement there is an ancient proverb still popular in Kandy. It says that a man wedded according to the Bema process should only take to his bride's dwelling four articles of property—a pair of sandals to protect his feet, a palm-leaf to shield his head from the fiery rays of the sun, a walking staff to support him if he be sick, and a lantern to illuminate his path should he chance to be ejected during darkness. He may thus be prepared to depart at any hour of the day or night.

Deega, the other kind of marriage, is that in which the wife passes from underneath the parental roof to dwell in her husband's own house. In this case she relinquishes all claim to a share in her family inheritance, but acquires a contingent right to some of her husband's property. The man's authority is, under this form of contract, far greater than under that of Bema. He cannot be divorced without his own consent, while, in the other case, separation, as we have seen, is a summary process, entirely depending on the caprice of the woman or her family. In a country where the female population is considerably less numerous than the male, and where women generally enjoy much freedom, a certain degree of indulgence will always be granted to the fickle quality in their character. In Ceylon this liberty in the one sex involves a certain kind of slavery in the other. Women frequently seek for divorces upon the most frivolous and trifling pretexts, and as these are too easily attainable by the simple return of the marriage gifts, they continually occur. Should a child be born within nine months from the day of the final separation, the husband is bound to maintain it for the first three years of its

life, after which it is considered sufficiently old to be taken from its mother. If, however, while under the marriage pledge, the woman defiles herself by adultery, the husband, if with his own eyes he was the witness of her infidelity, might with his own hands, under the native law, take away the life of her paramour. Notwithstanding this terrible privilege, it is asserted with consistency by many authorities that, in all parts of Ceylon, from the highest to the lowest caste, the want of conjugal faith in the married, and chastity in the unmarried people, is frightful to consider. When a man puts away his wife for adulterous intrigue, he may disinherit her and the whole of her offspring, notwithstanding that he may feel and acknowledge them all to be his own children. When, however, he seeks a divorce from caprice, he renounces all claim to his wife's inheritance or actual property, and must divide with her whatever may have been jointly accumulated during the period of their cohabitation. The men of Ceylon do not always, however, exercise their privileges. They are generally very indulgent husbands. Many of them, indeed, are uxorious to an offensive extreme, and forgive offences which, by most persons, are held unpardonable. A short time since a Kandian applied to the British judicial authorities to compel the return to him and his children of an unfaithful wife, who had deserted her home for that of a paramour. The husband pleaded his love for her, implored her for her children's sake to come back, and promised to forgive her offence; but she turned away from him, and coolly asked the judge if he could force her to return. He answered that unfortunately he could not, but advised her to return to the home of her lawful partner, who was ready to forgive and embrace her. She disregarded equally the entreaties of the one and the exhortation of the other, and returned to her paramour, whom she shortly afterwards deserted for another.

The numerous instances of this kind which happen in the island have encouraged a swarm of satirical effusions upon the faithlessness of the female sex; but if the women were also poets, they might echo every note of the song. In illustration of the estimate formed of them, we may quote a few lines translated from the original by Sirr. They apply to the fraudulent disposition of women, and have become proverbial among the people.

"I've seen the adumbra tree in flower, white
plumage on the crow,
And fishes' footsteps on the deep have
traced through ebb and flow.

If man it is who thus asserts, his words you
may believe;

But all that woman says distrust—she speaks
but to deceive."

The adumbra is a species of fig-tree, and the natives assert that no mortal has ever seen its bloom.

Under the native kings the Singhalese were forbidden to contract marriage with any one of nearer affinity than the second cousin; such an union was incestuous, and severely punished. Under the English government, however, many of these old restrictions have been modified. Among the Christian population, on the other hand—Catholic as well as Protestant—many traces of their old idolatry are still distinctly visible in the ceremony of marriage.

The Buddhist law allows to every man, whatever his grade, only one wife; but the ancient Kandian princes, of course, broke this law and took as many wives or concubines as they pleased.

We have alluded to the numerical difference between the sexes. The population of Ceylon is about 1,500,000, and the males exceed the females by nearly a tenth. In 1814 it was 476,000; there were 20,000 more males than females. In 1835 there was a population of 646,000 males, and 584,000 females. At both these periods the disparity was greatest in the poorest places. In the fishing villages, where wholesome food abounded, there were more females than males. The same circumstance is true at the present day. Some writers attribute this to a gracious provision of Nature, which checks the increase of the people; but Nature makes no provision against unnatural things, and starvation is a monstrous thing in a fertile country. We may with more safety assign as a cause the open or secret infanticide, which, under the old laws, was common. Female children, except the first born, born under a malignant star, were sure to be sacrificed. It was hardly considered an offence; but being, under the British rule, denounced as murder, has been gradually abolished. The easier means of life, which in Ceylon and throughout the rest of our Asiatic dominions are afforded to the people under English sway, take away the incentive of poverty to crime. The population has enormously increased, an unfailing sign of good government, if misery does not increase with it.

The social position of the Singhalese women is not so degraded as in many other parts of the East; the poor labouring hard, but as partners rather than as slaves. This superior condition does not, unhappily, elevate their moral character, for it is un-

accompanied by other essential circumstances. Profligacy, we have said, is widely prevalent in Ceylon; yet prostitution, at least of the avowed and public kind, is not so. Under the Kandian dynasty it was peremptorily forbidden; a common harlot had her hair and ears cut off and was whipped naked. If, however, we accept the general definition of the word prostitution as any obscene traffic in a woman's person, we shall find much of it clandestinely practised. The women are skilful in procuring abortion, and thus rid themselves of the consequences which follow their intrigues. Of course, in the sea-port towns prostitution exists, but we have no account of it. It is fair, however, to notice the opinions of Sir Emerson Tennent, that the morals of the people in these and in all other parts of the islands are rapidly improving, and that marriage is *becoming* a more sacred tie*.

OF PROSTITUTION IN CHINA.

IN the immense empire of China, the civilization of which has been cast in a mould fashioned by despotism, a general uniformity of manners is prevalent. Singular as many of its customs are, they vary very little in the different provinces, for although the population be composed of a mixture of races, the iron discipline of the government forces all to bend to one universal fashion. The differences which are remarked between the practice of the people in one district, and those of another, spring only from the nature of circumstances. It is more easy, therefore, to take an outline view of this vast empire, than it is to sketch many smaller countries, where the uniformity of manners is not so absolute.

China affords a wide and interesting field for our inquiry. Were our information complete, there is perhaps no state in the world with reference to which so curious an account might be written as China, with its prostitution system. Unfortunately, however, the negligence or prudery of travellers has allowed the subject to be passed over. We know that a remarkable system of this kind does exist, that prostitutes abound in the cities of the Celestial Empire, and that they form a distinct order; we know something of the classes from which

they are taken, how they are procured, in what their education consists, where and in what manner they live, and how and by whom they are encouraged. But this information is to be derived, not from any full account by an intelligent and observing inquirer, but from isolated facts scattered through a hundred books which require to be connected, and then only form a rough and incomplete view of the subject. Statistics we have positively none, though ample opportunities must be afforded travellers for arriving at something near the truth in such cities as Canton. However, from what knowledge we possess it is evident the social economy of the Chinese with respect to prostitution presents clear points of analogy with our own.

In conformity with the plan of this inquiry, we proceed first to ascertain the general condition of the female sex in China. Abundant information has been supplied us on this subject, as well by the written laws, and by the literature of the country, as by the travellers who have visited and described it.

As in all Asiatic, indeed in all barbarous, countries, women in China are counted inferior to men. The high example of Confucius taught the people—though their own character inclined them before, and was reflected from him—that the female sex was created for the convenience of the male. The great philosopher spoke of women and slaves as belonging to the same class, and complained that they were equally difficult to govern. That ten daughters are not equal in value to one son is a proverb which strongly expresses the Chinese sentiment upon this point, and the whole of their manners is pervaded by the same spirit. Feminine virtue, indeed, is severely guarded by the law, but not for its own sake. The well-being of the state, and the interest of the male sex, are sought to be protected by the rigorous enactments on the subject of chastity; but the morality, like the charity of that nation, is contained principally in its codes, essays, and poems, for in practice they are among the most demoralised on the earth.

The spirit of the Salic law might naturally be looked for in the political code of such a state. It is so. The throne can be occupied only by a man. An illegitimate son is held in more respect than a legitimate daughter. The constitution provides that if the principal wife fail to bear male children, the son of the next shall succeed, and if she be barren also, of the next, and so on, according to their seniority, the son of each has a contingent claim to the sovereignty.

* Sirr's Ceylon and the Singhalese; Pridham's History of Ceylon; Forbes' Eleven Years in Ceylon; Davy's Interior of Ceylon; Campbell's Excursions in Ceylon; Knox's Captivity in Ceylon; Knighton's History of Ceylon; Tennent's Christianity in Ceylon.

Thus in the most important department of their public economy the national sentiment is manifested. We may now examine the laws which regulate the intercourse of the sexes, and then inquire into the actual state of manners. It will be useful to remember the truth, which has already been stated, that no language is so full of moral axioms and honourable sentiments as the Chinese, while no nation is more flagitious in its practice.

The government of China, styled paternal because it rules with the rod, regulates the minutest actions of a man's career. He is governed in everything—in the temple, in the street, at his own table, in all the relations of life. The law of marriage, for instance, is full, rigid, and explicit. The young persons about to be wedded know little or nothing of the transaction.

Parental authority is supreme, and alliances are contracted in which the man and wife do not see each others' faces until they occupy the same habitation and are mutually pledged for life. Match-making in China is a profession followed by old women, who earn what we may term a commission upon the sales they effect. When a union between two families is intended, its particulars must be fully explained on either side, so that no deceit shall be practised. The engagement is then drawn and the amount of presents determined, for in all countries where women hold this position, marriage is more or less a mercantile transaction. When once the contract is made, it is irrevocable. If the friends of the girl repent and desire to break the match, the man among them who had authority to give her away is liable to receive fifty strokes of the bamboo, and the marriage must proceed. Whatever other engagements have been entered into are null and punishable, and the original bridegroom has in all cases a decisive claim. If he, on the other hand, or the friend who represents and controls him, desire to dissolve the compact, giving a marriage present to another woman, he is chastised with fifty blows, and compelled to fulfil the terms of his first engagement, while his second favourite is at liberty to marry as she pleases. If either of the parties is incontinent after the ceremony of betrothal, the crime is considered as adultery, and so punished. But if any deceit be practised, and either family represent the person about to marry under a false description, they become liable to severe penalties, and on the part of the man most strictly.

The husband, finding that a girl had been palmed off on him by fraud, is permitted

to release himself from the tie. Such incidents, nevertheless, do occasionally occur. One of rather an amusing nature is alluded to by several writers. A young man who had been promised in marriage the youngest daughter of a large family was startled when, after the ceremony was complete, he unveiled his bride, to find the eldest sister, very ugly and deeply pitted with the small pox. The law would have allowed him to escape from such an union, but he submitted, and soon afterwards consoled himself with a handsome concubine.

Although the girl, when once betrothed, is absolutely bound to the husband selected for her, he dare not, under pain of the bastinado, force her away before the specified time. On the other hand, her friends must not, under similar penalties, detain her after that time. Thus the law regulates the whole transaction, and the parents dispose as they will of their children. Occasionally, however, a young man, not yet emancipated from paternal authority, contracts a marriage according to his own inclination, and if the rites have actually been performed, it cannot be dissolved; but if he be only betrothed, and his parents have in the meanwhile agreed upon an alliance for him, he must relinquish his own design and obey their choice.

Polygamy is allowed in China, but under certain regulations. The first wife is usually chosen from a family equal in rank and riches to that of the husband, and is affianced with as much splendour and ceremony as the parties can afford. She acquires all the rights which belong to the chief wife in any Asiatic country. The man may then take as many as he pleases, who are inferior in rank to the first, but equal to each other. The term inferior wife is more applicable than that of concubine, as there is a form of espousal, and their children have a contingent claim to the inheritance. The practice, however, brings no honour, if it brings no positive shame, though now sanctioned by long habit. Originally it appears to have been condemned by the stricter moralists, and it has been observed that the Chinese term to describe this kind of companion is, curiously enough, compounded of the words *crime* and *woman*. It is a derogatory position, and such as only the poor and humble will consent to occupy. One of the national sayings, and the feeling with many of the women, is, that it is more honourable to be a poor man's wife than the concubine of an emperor. A man cannot, under the penalty of a hundred blows, degrade his first wife to this position, or raise an infe-

rior wife to hers—no such act is valid before the law.

None but the rich can afford, and none but the loose and luxurious will practise, polygamy except when the first wife fails to bear a son. Unless some such reason exists, the opinion of moralists is against it. Men with too many wives lose the Emperor's confidence, since he accuses them of being absorbed in domestic concerns. In this case it is usual to take an inferior wife, who is purchased from the lower ranks for a sum of money, that an heir may be born to the house. The situation of these poor creatures is aggravated or softened according to the disposition of their chief, for they are virtually her servants, and are not allowed even to eat in her presence. They receive no elevation by her decease, but are for ever the mere slaves of their master's lust. At the same time their inferior position, and therefore inferior consequence, gains them some agreeable privileges. The principal wife is not allowed to indulge in conversation or any free intercourse with strangers—a pleasure which is sometimes enjoyed with little restraint by the others, as well as by the female domestics. Not much jealousy appears to be entertained by these women, who are easily to be procured. Their sons receive half as much patrimony as the sons of the mistress of the household.

The social laws of China inculcate the good treatment of wives; but the main solicitude of the legislator has been with respect to the fixity of the law, and the rights of the male or supreme sex. Leaving her parents' home, the girl is transferred into bondage. Some men, however, go to the house of their bride's father, which is contrary to the established form; but when once received across the threshold as a son-in-law, he cannot be ejected, and leaves only when he is inclined.

A man may not marry within a certain period of his chief wife's death; but if he takes a woman who has already been his concubine, the punishment is two degrees milder. So also with widows, who cannot be forced by their friends to make any new engagement at all, but are protected by the law. Women left in this position have a powerful dissuasive against a fresh union, in the entire independence which they enjoy, and which they could enjoy under no other circumstances.

With respect to the laws relating to consanguinity, the Chinese system is particularly rigid. The prohibited limits lie very widely apart. In this a change appears to have been effected under the Manchus, for

among the traces of ancient manners which become visible at a remoter period, revealed only, however, by the twilight of tradition, a profligate state of public morals is indicated. We find parents giving both their daughters in marriage to one man, while the intercourse of the sexes was all but entirely unrestrained. The strictness of the modern law is attended with some inconvenient results, for in China the number of family names is very small, while it enacted that all marriages between persons of the same family names are not only null and void, but punishable by blows and a fine. All such contracts between individuals previously related by marriage within four degrees, are denounced as incestuous. A man may not marry his father's or his mother's sister-in-law, his father's or mother's aunt's daughter, his son-in-law's or daughter-in-law's sister, his grandson's wife's sister, his mother's brother's or sister's daughter, or any blood relations whatever, to any degree, however remote. Such offences are punished with the bamboo. Death by strangling is enacted against one who marries a brother's widow, while with a grandfather's or father's wife it is more particularly infamous, and the criminal suffers the extreme disgrace of decapitation.

These regulations apply to the first wife, similar offences with regard to the inferior being visited with penalties two degrees less severe. Not only, however, are the degrees of consanguinity strictly defined, but the union of classes is under restriction. An officer of government within the third order marrying into a family under his jurisdiction, or in which legal proceedings are under his investigation, is subject to heavy punishment. The family of the girl, if they voluntarily aid him, incur the chastisement also; but if they have submitted under fear of his authority, they are exempt. To marry an absconded female, flying from justice, is prohibited. To take forcibly as a wife a freeman's daughter, subjects the offender to death by strangulation. An officer of government, or the son of any high functionary with hereditary honours, who takes as his first or inferior wife a female comedian or musician, or any member of a disreputable class, is punished by sixty strokes of the bamboo. An equal punishment is inflicted on any priest who marries at all; and, in addition to this, he is expelled his order. If he delude a woman under false pretences, he incurs the penalty of the worst incest. Slaves and free persons are forbidden to intermarry. Any person, conniving at, or neglecting to

denounce, such illegal contracts, are criminals before the law.

The union after the betrothal must be completed; but it may also be broken. Seven causes, according to the law, justify a man in repudiating his first wife. These are—barrenness, lasciviousness, disregard of her husband's parents, talkativeness, thievish propensities, an envious suspicious temper, and inveterate infirmity. If, however, any of the three legal reasons against divorce can be proved by the woman, she cannot be put away—first, that she has mourned three years for her husband's family; second, that the family has become rich after having been poor before and at the time of marriage; third, her having no father or mother living to receive her. She is thus protected, in some measure, from her husband's caprice. If she commit adultery, however, he dare not retain, but must dismiss her. If she abscond against his will, she may be severely flogged; if she commit bigamy, she is strangled. When a man leaves his home, his wife must remain in it three years before she can sue for a divorce, and then give notice of her intention before a public tribunal. It is forbidden, under peremptory enactments, to harbour a fugitive wife or female servant.

A man finding his wife in the act of adultery may kill her with her paramour, provided he does it immediately, but only on that condition. If the guilty wife adds to her crime by intriguing against her husband's life, she dies by a slow and painful execution. If even the adulterer slay her husband without her knowledge, she is strangled. The privilege of putting a wife to death is not allowed for any inferior offence. To strike a husband, is punishable by a hundred blows and divorce; to disable him, with strangulation. In all these circumstances the inferior wife is punished one degree more severely. Thus offences against them are less harshly, and offences by them more rigidly, chastised. In addition to these legal visitations the bamboo is at hand to preserve discipline among the women.

One of the laws of China exhibits a peculiar feature of depravity in the people. It is enacted, that whoever lends his wife or daughter upon hire is to be severely punished, and any one falsely bargaining away his wife or his sister is to be similarly dealt with. All persons consenting to the transaction share the penalty. Nor is this an obsolete enactment against an unknown crime. Instances do not unfrequently occur of poor men selling their wives as

concubines to their wealthier neighbours. Others prostitute them for gain; but these instances of profligacy usually occur in the large and crowded cities. Sometimes the woman consents, but sometimes also opposes the infamous design.

In 1832 a woman was condemned to strangulation for killing her husband by accident, while resisting an adulterer whom he had introduced for her to prostitute herself to him. These incidents occur only in the lowest class. Some men are as jealous as Turks, and maintain eunuchs to guard their wives.

Under this system many restrictions are imposed on the women of China. They form no part of what is called society, enjoying little companionship, even with persons of their own sex. Those of the better class are instructed in embroidering and other graceful but useless accomplishments. They are seldom educated to any extent, though some instances have occurred of learned women and elegant poetesses, who have been praised and admired throughout the country. Fond of gay clothes, of gaudy furniture, and brilliant decoration, they love nothing so much as display; and though assuming a demure and timid air, cannot be highly praised on this account, for their bashfulness is, in such cases, more apparent than real. Still they are generally described as faithful partners. Religious services are performed for them in the temple, to which women are admitted. The wives of the poorer sort labour in the fields, and perform all the drudgery of the house, an occupation which is held as suited to their nature. "Let my daughter sweep your house" is the expression made use of in offering a wife. It should be mentioned, however, to relieve the darkness of this picture, that husbands often present offerings at the temples, with prayers to the gods for the recovery of their sick wives. The idea may indeed suggest itself, that this is with a view to economy, as girls are costly purchases; but no man is the greater philosopher for asserting that a whole nation exists without the commonest sentiments of human nature. Indeed, many instances occur even in China of husbands and wives living as dear friends together, especially when polygamy has not been adopted in the dwelling. The obedience to old habits is not to be confounded with characteristic harshness in the individual; nor does it seem impossible, when we examine the variety of manners in the world, to believe in a strong and tender attachment between a man and the woman whom, in adherence

TABLE XV.

LONDON LABOUR AND THE LONDON POOR.

TABLE SHOWING THE CRIMINALITY OF THE DIFFERENT COUNTIES OF ENGLAND AND WALES WITH REGARD TO BIGAMY.

COUNTIES.	Average Marriages for 10 years, from 1839-48.	Total Number committed for Bigamy.										Annual Average for 10 Years.	No. committed annually in every 100,000 Marriages.	Percentage above and below the Average. * denotes above, * below.
		1841	1842	1843	1844	1845	1846	1847	1848	1849	1850			
Bedford	925	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	32	* 45.8
Berks	1,294	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	54	* 8.5
Bucks	960	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	22	* 100.0
Cambridge	1,392	4	7	11	6	2	2	12	6	9	8	67	259	* 62.7
Chester	2,580	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	13	8	* 36.4
Cornwall	2,447	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	125	* 11.2
Cumberland	1,036	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	33	* 44.1
Derby	1,835	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	14	32	* 45.8
Devon	4,339	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	9	* 34.8
Dorset	1,174	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	97	* 64.4
Durham	2,985	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	28	28	* 52.5
Essex	2,114	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	14	40	* 32.2
Gloucester	3,459	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	63	* 6.8
Hereford	634	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	44	* 100.0
Hertford	983	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	52	* 25.4
Hunts	452	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	21	124	* 110.2
Kent	4,047	2	6	3	2	2	3	2	1	1	1	21	6	* 89.8
Lancaster	17,034	13	11	35	19	20	27	29	19	19	20	212	51	* 13.6
Leicester	1,730	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	65	* 10.2
Lincoln	2,765	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	73	* 32.2
Middlesex	15,795	8	8	10	9	16	9	12	10	9	11	102	39	* 33.9
Monmouth	1,291	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	12	6	* 89.8
Norfolk	3,021	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	34	* 42.4
Northampton	1,557	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	24	* 100.0
Northumberland	2,047	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	31	* 47.5
Nottingham	2,064	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	29	* 50.9
Oxford	1,153	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	17	* 71.2
Rutland	158	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	45	* 22.0
Salop	1,500	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	8	* 86.4
Somerset	3,113	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	83	* 40.7
Southampton	2,894	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	19	* 67.8
Stafford	4,146	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	62	* 5.1
Suffolk	2,369	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	51	* 13.6
Surrey	5,187	2	7	5	2	3	3	4	4	5	4	43	12	* 79.7
Sussex	2,134	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	43	* 27.1
Warwick	3,947	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	59	* 47.5
Westmorland	3,300	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	17	* 71.2
Wiltshire	1,618	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	17	* 71.2
Worcester	2,769	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	17	* 71.2
York	13,332	3	6	6	8	4	9	7	14	9	13	79	31	* 47.5
North Wales	2,582	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	17	* 71.2
South Wales	4,076	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	17	* 71.2
Total for England and Wales	130,670	50	65	107	69	62	82	84	83	83	82	772	59	Average for England and Wales

LIST OF COUNTIES, IN THE ORDER OF THEIR CRIMINALITY WITH REGARD TO BIGAMY, AS SHOWN BY THE NUMBER COMMITTED FOR THIS OFFENCE IN EVERY 100,000 MARRIAGES.

Counties above the Average.		Counties below the Average.	
Chester	259	York	59
Cumberland	125	Berks	54
Lancaster	124	Kent	52
Durham	97	Lincoln	51
Surrey	83	Westmorland	51
Monmouth	78	Stafford	46
Middlesex	65	Hunts	44
Hereford	63	Worcester	43
Warwick	62	Gloucester	40
		Norfolk	39
		Northumberland	34
		Derby	33
		Devon	32
		Bedford	32
		North Wales	31
		Salop	31
		Somerset	29
		Essex	28
		Nottingham	24
		Cambridge	22
		Sussex	19
		South Wales	17
		Southampton	17
		Wiltshire	12
		Dorset	9
		Cornwall	8
		Suffolk	8
		Leicester	6
		Northampton	6
		Bucks	0
		Hertford	0
		Oxford	0
		Rutland	0

Average for England and Wales 59

MAP

SHOWING THE NUMBER OF PERSONS COMMITTED FOR

BIGAMY

IN EVERY 100,000 MARRIAGES.

IN THE SEVERAL COUNTIES OF

ENGLAND AND WALES.



*** The counties printed *black* are those in which the number committed for this offence is *above* the average.

The counties left *white* are those in which the number committed for the same offence is *below* the average.

The average is calculated for the ten years, from 1841 to 1850,

The average for all England and Wales is 59 in every 100,000 Marriages.

"	"	Chester (the highest)	259
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21

MAP
 SHOWING THE NUMBER OF PERSONS COMMITTED FOR
ABDUCTION
 IN EVERY 10,000,000 OF THE MALE POPULATION,
 IN THE SEVERAL COUNTIES OF
ENGLAND AND WALES.

*** The counties printed *black* are those in which the number committed for this offence is *above* the average.
 The counties left *white* are those in which the number committed for the same offence is *below* the average.
 The average is calculated for the ten years, from 1841 to 1850.



The Average for all England and Wales is 3 in every 10,000,000 of the Male Population.
 " " Nottingham and Bucks (the highest) 14 each " "

TABLE XVI.

LONDON LABOUR AND THE LONDON POOR.

TABLE SHOWING THE CRIMINALITY OF THE DIFFERENT COUNTIES OF ENGLAND AND WALES WITH REGARD TO ABDUCTION.

COUNTIES.	Average Male Population 1841-50.	Total Number committed for Abduction.										Annual Average.	No. committed annually in every 10,000,000 Males.	Percentage above and below the Average. + denotes above, * below.
		1841	1842	1843	1844	1845	1846	1847	1848	1849	1850			
Bedford	59,372	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10	*100.0
Berks	97,635	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	14	+233.3
Bucks	69,226	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	11	+306.7
Cambridge	89,762	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	+255.7
Chester	193,728	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100.0
Cornwall	163,854	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100.0
Cumberland	91,159	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100.0
Derby	124,224	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100.0
Devon	293,055	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100.0
Dorset	62,998	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100.0
Durham	183,966	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100.0
Essex	195,255	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100.0
Gloucester	192,900	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100.0
Hertford	48,985	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100.0
Hertford	83,264	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100.0
Hunts	29,761	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100.0
Kent	291,219	1	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	*100.0
Lancaster	917,922	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8	+165.7
Leicester	111,629	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100.0
Lincoln	189,763	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100.0
Middlesex	815,107	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	2	*33.3
Monmouth	85,564	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100.0
Norfolk	992,311	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100.0
Northampton	102,853	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100.0
Northumberland	139,028	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	+133.3
Nottingham	136,413	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	14	+393.7
Oxford	83,280	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100.0
Rutland	11,937	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100.0
Salop	121,316	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100.0
Somerset	216,177	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100.0
Southampton	196,651	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100.0
Stafford	294,130	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100.0
Suffolk	149,561	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	10	+233.3
Surrey	363,683	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100.0
Sussex	157,915	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100.0
Warwick	217,569	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100.0
Westmorland	29,680	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100.0
Wiltshire	119,538	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100.0
Worcester	119,008	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100.0
York	435,816	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100.0
North Wales	198,064	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100.0
South Wales	279,919	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100.0
Total for England and Wales	8,270,087	3	7	..	4	..	1	2	2	..	4	23	23	3

LIST OF COUNTIES, IN THE ORDER OF THEIR CRIMINALITY WITH REGARD TO ABDUCTION, AS SHOWN BY THE NUMBER COMMITTED FOR THIS OFFENCE IN EVERY 10,000,000 OF THE MALE POPULATION.

Countries above the Average.	Countries below the Average.
Nottingham 14	Kent 3
Bucks 14	Middlesex 2
Cambridge 11	Bedford 0
Stafford 10	Chester 0
Becks 10	Cornwall 0
Warwick 9	Cumberland 0
Lancaster 8	Derby 0
Northumberland 7	Devon 0
Surrey 7	Dorset 0
	Durham 0
	Essex 0
	Gloucester 0
	Hertford 0
	Hunts 0
	Leicester 0
	Lincoln 0
	Monmouth 0
	Norfolk 0
	Northampton 0
	Oxford 0
	Rutland 0
	Salop 0
	Somerset 0
	Southampton 0
	Suffolk 0
	Sussex 0
	Westmorland 0
	Wiltshire 0
	Worcester 0
	York 0
	North Wales 0
	South Wales 0

Average for England and Wales 3

to ancient usage, he would not allow to eat at the same table with himself. A privilege belongs to the female sex here which it enjoys in no other barbarian country. A strong authority is recognised in the widow over her son. She is acknowledged to have the right to be supported by him, and it is a proverbial saying, that "a woman is thrice dependent—before marriage on her father, after marriage on her husband, when a widow on her son."

From this view of the condition of women, and the regulations of marriage, we proceed to an important part of the subject—the infanticide for which China has been so infamously celebrated. It is impossible to conceive a more contradictory confusion of statements, than we have seen put forward with reference to this question. Weighing the various authorities, however, we are inclined to adopt a moderate view, rejecting the extravagant pictures of one, and the broad denials of the other set of writers. Infanticide, it cannot be disputed, is practised in the country, and to a considerable extent; but it is, and always will be impossible, to acquire the exact statistics, or even an approximation to the precise truth.

Two causes appear to have operated in encouraging this practice—the poverty of the lower classes, and the severity of the law with respect to the illicit intercourse of the sexes. The former is the principal cause. There is a strong maternal feeling in the woman's breast, and children are only destroyed when the indigence of the parents allows no hope of rearing them well. It is invariably the female child which is, under these circumstances, slain; for the son can always, after a few years, earn his livelihood, and be an assistance, instead of a burden, to the family. The birth of a female child is regarded as a calamity, and brings mourning into the house. One of the national proverbs expresses this fact in a striking manner, exhibiting also the inferior estimation in which that sex is viewed. It says, that to a female infant a common tile may be given as a toy, while to a male a gem should be presented.

When it is determined to destroy the offspring thus born under the roof of poverty, a choice of method is open. It may be drowned in warm water; its throat may be pinched; it may be stifled by a wet cloth tied over its mouth; it may be choked by grains of rice. Another plan is to carry the child, immediately after its birth, and bury it alive. Captain Collins, of the *Plover* sloop-of-war, relates that some of his company, while visiting the coast of China,

saw a boat full of men and women, with four infants. They landed and dug two pits, in which they were about to inter their living but feeble victims, when they were disturbed. They then made off rapidly, and passed round a headland, beyond which they, no doubt, accomplished their purpose without interruption. When the missionary Smith was in the suburbs of Canton, in 1844, he was presented by a native with a work written by a mandarin, and published gratuitously at the expense of government, to discourage the practice of infanticide. When questioned upon the actual prevalence of the custom, the native said that, taking a circle with a radius of ten miles from the spot they then occupied, the number of infanticides within the space thus included would not exceed five hundred in a year. It was confined to the very poor, and originated in the difficulty of rearing and providing for their female offspring. The rich never encouraged, and the poor were ashamed, of the practice. He knew men who had drowned their daughters, but would not confess the act, speaking of their children as though they had died of disease. In Fokien province, on the contrary, infanticides were numerous. At a place called Kea-King-Chow, about five days' journey from Canton, there were computed to be 500 or 600 cases in a month. The comparative immunity of Canton from the contagion of this crime was the government foundling-hospital established there. About 500 female children, born of parents in poverty and want, were annually received, to have temporary provision and sustenance. From time to time, the more wealthy merchants and gentry visit the institution to select some of the children, whom they take home to educate as concubines or servants. The hospital has accommodation for at least 1000 infants, each of which is usually removed after three months, either to the house of some voluntary guardian, or to wet nurses in other districts. This is the only important institution of the kind in the province. Infanticide is still, even by the most favourable accounts, lamentably prevalent. The foundling-hospitals, of which there is one in every great town, do certainly oppose a check to the practice. That at Shanghai receives annually about 200 infants.

The villagers in the neighbourhood of Amoy confessed that female infanticide was generally practised among them, and their statements were expressed in a manner which left no doubt that they considered it an innocent and proper expedient for lightening the evils of poverty. Two out

of every four, they said, were destroyed; but rich people, who could afford to bring them up never resorted to, because they never needed, such a means of relief. Some killed three, four, or even five out of six; it depended entirely on the circumstances of the individual. The object was effected immediately after the infant's birth. If sons, however, were born in alternate succession, it was regarded as an omen of happy fortune for the parents, and the daughters were spared. None of the villagers denied to any of their questioners the generality of the custom, but few would confess personally to the actual fact. In some districts one-half was reported as the average destruction of the female population, and in the cities some declared the crime was equally prevalent, though we may take this as the exaggeration which always attends the loose statements of ignorant men, who, having little idea of figures, are required to furnish a number, and speak at random.

Infanticide, however, is not wholly confined to the poor. It is occasionally resorted to by the rich to conceal their illicit amours. In 1838 a proclamation against it was published, but the general perpetration of the crime rendered its repression impossible, with such machinery as the Emperor has at his command. Abeel calculated that throughout a large district, the average was 39 per cent. of the female children. It is evident, however, from all these facts, that under an improved government, the crime might be altogether extinguished, not by severe enactments or vigilant police, but by rendering infanticide unnecessary in the eyes of the people.

The second cause which induces parents to destroy their children is the stringency of the law against the illicit intercourse of unmarried people; its provisions are equally characteristic and severe. To render its enforcement easier, the separation of the sexes is rigidly insisted upon. Not only are servants, but even brothers and sisters, prohibited from mixing except under regulation. Intercourse by mutual consent is punished with 70 blows, while with married people the penalty varies from 80 to 100. Violation of a female, wedded or single, is punished by strangulation. An assault, with intent to ravish, by 100 strokes of the bambu and perpetual banishment to a remote spot. Intercourse with children under twelve years of age is treated as rape. Should a child be born from one of these unlawful intrigues, its support devolves on the father; but if the transaction be thus far concealed, this evidence of it is usually

sunk in the river, or flung out by the wayside. An unmarried woman found pregnant is severely punished, whether her accomplice can be discovered or not. The illicit intercourse of slaves with their masters' wives or daughters is punished with death; while officers of government, civil and military, and the sons of those who hold hereditary rank, if found indulging in criminal intrigues with females under their jurisdiction, are subjected to unmerciful castigation with the stick.

One grace is accorded to the weaker sex in China. No woman is committed to prison, except in capital cases, or cases of adultery. In all others they remain, if married, in the custody of their husbands; if single, in that of their friends. No woman quick with child can be flogged, tortured, or executed, until a hundred days after her delivery.

Women, however, of the poorer orders, whose friends do not care, or are unable, to be responsible for them, are lodged under the care of female wardens, and in reference to this we may instance a curious fact illustrative of prison discipline in China. In 1805 one of the great officers of government made a report to the Emperor, that three female warders of the prison were in the habit of engaging with traders in an illicit and disgraceful intercourse with female servants, and hiring out the female prisoners, not yet sentenced or waiting for discharge, to gain money for them by prostitution.

Sensual as the Chinese are, the punishable breach of the moral law—the intercourse of unmarried persons—is checked by the system of early marriages. Children are often betrothed in the cradle. Men seldom pass the age of twenty, or girls that of fifteen, in celibacy. The Parsees, however, of all ages, are notorious for their abandoned mode of life.

Prostitution, however, prevails to a prodigious extent. There is throughout the country a regular traffic in females. "Seduction and adultery," says Williams, "are comparatively unfrequent; but brothels and their inmates occur everywhere on land and water. One danger attending young girls going alone is, that they will be stolen for incarceration in these gates of hell."

This is in allusion to a very extraordinary system prevalent in the great cities of China. In 1832 it was calculated there were between 8000 and 10,000 prostitutes having abodes in and about Canton. Of these the greater portion had been stolen while children, and compelled to

adopt that course of life. Dressed gaily, taught to affect happiness, and trained in seductive manners, they were examples of their class in Europe. Many young girls were carried away, forcibly violated, and then consigned to a brothel.

Hundreds of kidnappers, chiefly women, swarmed in the city, gaining a livelihood by the traffic in young girls and children. Nor was this the only way in which such places were supplied. In times of general scarcity or individual want, parents have been seen leading their own daughters through the streets and offering them for sale. The selling of children, says Conyngham, one of the most recent visitors to Canton, is an every-day occurrence, and is on the whole a check upon infanticide. The little victims are seen constantly passing on their way to the habitations of their purchasers gaily dressed out as though for some great ceremony or happy festival. Of these, indeed, some are disposed of as concubines, but many also are deliberately sold to be brought up as prostitutes. It is looked upon as a simple mercantile transaction, the children being transferred at once to the brothels, whence they are hired out for the profit of their masters. Some of those who are deserted or exposed to perish are reserved by the agents for these places; but the principal supply is brought by kidnappers. Proclamation after proclamation has been issued to complain of them, but with little effect. The system appears rather on the increase than otherwise.

The children thus purchased or picked up in the streets are educated with care, taught to play on various kinds of instruments, to dance, to sing, to perform in comedies or pantomimes, and to excel in many graceful accomplishments, which render them agreeable. They are often richly clothed, and adorned in such a way as to render them most attractive to the *roués* of Canton and Peking.

They do not often compress their feet, as it is a hindrance to their movements, but may be seen in the streets occasionally—though not often—with painted faces, looking boldly at the strangers who pass along. Of the houses they frequent we have no particular description; but they probably resemble much similar places of resort in civilized countries. A peculiar feature of China, however, is displayed in the floating brothels, which are the chief habitations of the prostitutes. Licentious as the native of that empire is in the general turn of his ideas, he makes a public display of his indulgence in those pleasures which in

Europe men affect, at least, to conceal from general view. The floating brothels of the Pearl River are moored in conspicuous situations, and distinguished from the other boats by the superior style of their structure and decorations. The surface of the stream, indeed, is studded with beautiful junks, which are the first objects to attract the traveller's eye as he approaches the provincial city of Canton. Comparatively few of the women parade the streets, except when they form part of a public procession, so that there is at least in the heart of the town an appearance of morality.

Many of these brothel junks are called Flower Boats, and are resorted to by numbers of the class. They form, indeed, whole streets in the floating city on the Pearl River, which is one of the most remarkable features of Canton. The prostitutes themselves, like all women of the same sisterhood, lead a life of reckless extravagance—plunging while they can into all the exciting pleasures which are offered by their particular mode of life, careless of the future, and eagerly snatching at anything which may release them from the change of dulness or time for reflection. Diseases are very prevalent among them, and cause much havoc among the men who frequent their boats or houses. They endeavour to cure themselves by means of drugs and medicinal draughts, and by this means concentrate the malady upon some secret vital part, whence it shoots through the frame, but does not manifest itself until the victim is all but destroyed. With the exception of an unusual paleness and a heated appearance in the eyes, the prostitutes do not wear the aspect of disease; but they, indeed, paint themselves inordinately to mask the ravages of time or the maladies which afflict them.

The prostitutes of Canton are usually congregated in companies or troops, each of which is under the government of a man who is answerable for their conduct—if they rob, or disturb the peace, or commit any gross offence against decency, or perpetrate any other offence. National delicacy, however, has little to do with the prohibitions which restrain them from entering certain parts of the city, and forbid young men of rank and influence to hold intercourse with them. The brothel junks, of lofty build, brightly painted, and glittering with gaudy variegated flags, float in squadrons on the water, are seen and known by all, and are resorted to by numbers of the citizens. Persons pass to and from them without an attempt at disguise or conceal-

ment. Rich men, on festive occasions, make up a party of pleasure, embark in a gaily-decorated boat, send to one of the prostitute junks, engage as many of the women as they please, and spend the day in amusement with them. It is openly done, and no disgrace attaches to it. The junks themselves are fitted up in the interior—according to the class of prostitutes inhabiting them—with all the appurtenances of luxury, and on board them is a perpetual gala. It would be interesting to know how many of these boats are known to float on the Pearl River, with the average number of prostitutes in each.

But this is not the only, or the most offensive form which prostitution assumes in China. An incident which occurred at Shensee a few years ago illustrates another system, which is clandestine, though apparently carried on to a considerable extent. A young widow resided there with her mother-in-law, supporting herself and her companion by the wages of prostitution. At length her occupation failed her; she was deserted by her associates, and could procure no more rice or money by the pursuit of her vicious calling. The elder woman, however, would not hear of these excuses, ordered her daughter-in-law to obtain her usual supplies from the man she had last cohabited with, and on her declaring her inability, began to flog her. The prostitute defended herself, and at last, taking up a sickle, struck her relative dead. She was seized, tried, and condemned to be cut in pieces for the crime; but as her mother-in-law had been guilty of an illegal act in forcing her to prostitute herself, the sentence was changed to decapitation.

It is to be regretted that our sources of information on this subject are not more copious. Travellers have had opportunities of communicating more, but have refrained from doing so. We wait for a separate and full account of prostitution in China*.

* Staunton, Tee Tsing Leu Lee, *Code of Criminal Law*; Davis, *the Chinese*; Gutzlaff's *China Opened*; Fortune's *Wanderings in the North of China*; Smith's *Visits to the Consular Cities of China*; Montgomery Martin's *China*; Forbes's *Five Years in China*; Williams's *Survey of the Chinese Empire*; Tradescant Lay's *Chinese as they Are*; Morrison's *View of China*; Meadow's *Desultory Notes on China*; The *Chinese Repository*; Hugh Murray's *Description of China*; Thornton's *History of China*; Abel's *Residence in China*; Cunyngham's *Recollections of Service*; Abel's *Embassy to China*; Medhurst's *State of China*; Auguste Harpman, *Revue des Deux Mondes*; Langdon's *China*; De Guignes, *Voyage à Peking*.

OF PROSTITUTION IN JAPAN.

AMONG the innumerable islands scattered over the southern and eastern oceans there are none more curious in their social aspects than Japan. We find there a kind of native civilization, influenced indeed by former intercourse with Europeans, but now complete within itself, and isolated from all other systems in the world. The mountainous, rocky, and arid country, has been fertilized from the centre to the sea by the persevering industry of a hardy race; they found it poor, and they have made it one of the richest agricultural regions in the globe. This fact serves to illustrate the national character.

The Japanese, upon whose institutions much light has been thrown by the learned and laborious researches of Mr. Thomas Rundall, of the Hakluyt Society, may be described as a punctilious, haughty, vindictive, and licentious people; but there is nothing vulgar in their composition. Truth is held in reverence, hospitality is viewed as sacred, and the bonds of friendship are regarded with extraordinary earnestness. St. Francis Xavier, the apostle of the Indies, declared "the Japans" to be the delight of his heart. There is, perhaps, more to admire than to love in their character. They are certainly elevated far above many of the nations who surround them, as well in the arts as in the amenities of life. Virtue is a recognised principle, and this indicates a phase of true civilization.

The character of the male is reflected by the female sex. Intelligent and agreeable in their manners, affectionate in their family relations, and faithful to their marriage vows, the women of Japan breathe all the pride of virtue. The man who attempts the honour of a matron sometimes encounters death in his adventure.

In illustration of this characteristic, Mr. Rundall relates an interesting anecdote. A noble, going on a journey, left his wife at home, and another man of rank made infamous proposals to her. Her scorn and indignation only inflamed him to his purpose, which he effected in spite of her denial. When her husband returned she received him with much reserve, and when he asked why, bade him wait until the morrow, when a grand feast was to be given. Among the guests was the noble who had wronged her. They sat down on the terraced roof of the house, and the festival began. After the repast the woman rose, declared the injury she had

suffered, and passionately entreated to be slain, as a creature unfit to live. The guests, the husband foremost, besought her to be calm; they strove to impress her with the idea that she had done no wrong, that she was an innocent victim, though the author of the outrage merited no less punishment than death. She thanked them all kindly; she wept on her husband's shoulder—she kissed him affectionately—then, suddenly escaping from his embraces, rushed precipitately to the edge of the terrace, and cast herself over the parapet. In the confusion that ensued, the author of the mischief, still unsuspected, for the hapless creature had not indicated the offender, made his way down the stairs. When the rest of the party arrived he was found weltering in his blood by the corpse of his victim. He had expiated his crime by committing suicide in the national manner, by slashing himself across the abdomen with two slashes in the form of a cross."

The condition of women in Japan varies with different classes. Those of high rank have a separate suite of rooms assigned to them, beyond which they are seldom seen. Among the middle and lower orders they enjoy more liberty, though they are careful to seclude themselves, and are distinguished in general by extraordinary reserve. Men pay them a polite respect not common among semi-barbarians, as the Japanese will continue to be until they are forced to acknowledge the duty of intercourse with the rest of mankind.

The marriage laws of Japan are curious, and vary in different classes. Among the wealthy they are occasions of extravagant parade and long ceremonies, in which the minutest detail is regulated by a peremptory law. A full description of all the marriage ceremonial would fill a small volume. A man can only take one wife; he is united to her in the temple. In addition, however, he may take as many concubines as he chooses, who are not degraded by their position. He may separate from a woman when he pleases; but one who is known to have done so must pay a large sum for the daughter of any other person whom he may desire to have. Marriages are seldom contracted before the age of fifteen. The courtship and betrothal are conducted with much formality; but sufficient opportunity is allowed to the youth of the two sexes to become acquainted each with the other.

The Japanese are not so jealous as many other Asiatics: "Indeed," says Captain Golovnin, "they are not more so than,

considering the frailty of the sex, is reasonable." Nevertheless, a man may put his wife to death for whispering to a stranger; while adultery is always capitally punished, sometimes by the hand of the injured husband.

In the northern parts, it is said, that in the beginning of the seventeenth century a curious custom prevailed. When a woman was convicted of infidelity, her head was shaved. Her paramour was exposed to an equally disgraceful, but more whimsical penalty. The friends of his victim, whenever they met him, might strip him naked, and deprive him of his property. But the modesty with which youth are inspired from the cradle tends much to protect female virtue. The intercourse of the sexes, it will thus be seen, is regulated by very natural laws; the condition of the sex is somewhat high. Its virtues are prized by the men, and consequently are generally faithfully preserved.

We have said, however, that the men of Japan are licentious; since, therefore, the wives and daughters of the respectable classes are difficult to corrupt, a numerous sisterhood of prostitutes is rendered necessary. Accordingly we find them from the earliest period associating with every rank of men. In one of William Adams's letters, published under the editorship of Mr. Rundall, we find the king coming on board our countryman's vessel, bringing with him a number of female comedians. These formed large companies, and travelled from place to place, with a great store of apparel for the several parts they played. They belonged to one man, who set a price upon their intercourse with others, above which he dared not charge under pain of death. It was left to his own discretion to set a value on a girl at first; but afterwards he could not raise, though he might abate his charge. All bargains were made with him, and the woman must go whither she was directed. Men of the highest rank, when travelling through the islands, and resting at houses of entertainment, sent, without shame, for companies of these prostitutes; but the pander was never received by them, however wealthy he might be; after death he was also consigned to infamy. Bridled with a rope of straw, he was dragged in the clothes he died in through the streets into the fields, and there cast upon a dung-hill for dogs and fowls to devour.

In Koempfer's account of the city of Nangasaki we find a curious description of the prostitute system. The part of the town inhabited by these women was called "the bawdy-house quarter," and consisted

of two streets, with the handsomest houses in Japan, situated on a rising hill. At these places the poor people of the town sold their handsome daughters while very young, that is, from ten to twenty years of age. Every bawd kept as many as she was able in one house; some had seven, others 30, who were commodiously lodged, taught to dance, sing, play on musical instruments, and write letters. The elder ones taught the younger, who in return waited on them; the most docile and accomplished were most sumptuously treated. The price of these women was regulated by law; and one wretched creature, having passed through all the degrees of degradation, occupied a small room near the door, where she acted as watch all night, and sold herself for a miserable coin. Others were set to this task as a punishment for ill behaviour. The infamy of this vile profession attached justly, not so much to the unhappy women themselves, as to their parents who educated them to it. Many, as they grew up, changed their mode of life, and were received again among the reputable and chaste. Generally well educated and politely bred, they often procured husbands, and passed from a life of daily prostitution to one of unswerving fidelity. The pander and the tanner of leather occupied the same position in society; which shows that the prejudice of class, rather than the abhorrence of an infamous calling, ruled the Japanese.

The historian classes the temples and brothels together, and not without justice. Prostitution was greatly encouraged by the priests. In their public spectacles, representing the adventures of gods and goddesses, young prostitutes, richly attired, were engaged to act. Their performances resembled those of the European ballet—dress, gesture, and action expressing that which in a drama language would represent.

Such was the prostitute system in the great cities; throughout the country a similar system prevailed. The houses of entertainment lining the main highways, with the tea-booths of the villages, were frequented by innumerable girls. These usually spent the morning in painting and dressing themselves, and about noon made their appearance standing before the door of the house, or sitting on benches, whence, with smiling face and coy address, they solicited the passengers. In some places their chattering and laughter were heard above all other sounds; two villages, called Akasaki and Goy, were celebrated on this account, all the houses being brothels,

each containing from three to seven prostitutes. The Japanese seldom passed one of these "great storehouses of whores" without holding intercourse with some of these women. Kœmpfer asserts, in contradiction to Caras, who married a native, that there was in his time scarcely one house of entertainment in the islands which was not a brothel. When one inn had too many customers, it borrowed some girls from a neighbour who had some to spare. This profligate system is said, in the Japanese traditions, to have taken its rise at a remote period, during the reign of a certain martial emperor. That monarch, who was perpetually marching his armies to and fro, feared lest his soldiers should become weary of separation from their wives; he therefore licensed public and private brothels, which multiplied to such an extent that Japan came to be known as "the bawdy-house of China." This was in allusion to a period when prostitution was made in that empire an unlawful calling, and suppressed by severe laws. The people, deprived of the resources they had formerly enjoyed at home, made Japan the place of resort; so that its prostitution system flourished far and wide.

These accounts appear extravagant, and doubtless are so in some degree; all writers, however, coincide in describing the prostitution system of Japan as very extensive and flagitious. The French historian, Charlevoix, repeats the statement of Kœmpfer. We have before us extracts from the autograph "diary of occurants" written by Captain Richard Cock, who was chief of the English factory at Firando, from the year 1613 to 1623. There are many passages corroborative of the representations we have given. Of these some examples follow, which are also interesting as illustrations of Japanese manners.

"A.D. 1616, Sept. 8th (at Edo).—We dined or rather supped at a merchant's house called Neyem Dono, where he provided caboques, or women players, who danced and sung; and when we returned home he sent every of them to lie with them that would have them all night.

"October 24 (at Yuenda, between Edo and Firando).—We went to bed, and paid 3500 gins; and to the servants, 300 gins; and to the children, 200 gins, or about 200%. This extraordinary charge was for that we had extraordinary good cheer, being brought hither by a merchant of Edo, our friend, called Neyemon Edo, and every one a wench sent to him that would have her. I gave one of them an ichebo, but would not have her company.

"1617-18, January 27th (at Firando).—Skiezazon Dono set the masts of his junk this day, and made a feast in Japan fashion. 29th. Skiezazon Dono and his consorts had the feast of Baccus for their junk this day, dancing through the streets with caboques or women players, and entered into an English house in that order, most of their heads being heavier than their heels, that they could not find their way home without leading.

"March 29th (at Firando).—The kyng and the rest of the noblemen came to dyner (at the English house), and, as they said, were entertained to their own content, and had the dancing beares or caboques to fill their wine; Nifon Catanges, with a blind fiddler to sing, ditto.

"July 11th.—There came a company of players, or caboques, with apes and babons, sent from the tono, or king, to play at our house.

"December 6th (at Meaco).—Our host, Meaco's brother-in-law, invited us to dyner to a place of pleasure without the city, where the dancing girls or caboques were with a great feast; and there came an antick dance of satyrs or wild men of other Japons, until whom I gave 1000 gins (about 10s.), and a bar of plate to the good man of the house, value about 1*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.* So the dancing girls were sent home after us."

As not altogether inapplicable to the subject, the following passage, which shows how the courtezans of Japan proceed towards such as would cheat them, may be cited: "The caboques took Tane, an interpreter, prisoner, for fifteen tares (about 3*l.* 15*s.*) he owed them for livery, and, not having to pay, set his body for sale, no one having the money for him."

It would appear that in obtaining possession of a female of this class by clandestine means tragical consequences may ensue; while, if done fairly, considerable expense may be involved. Mr. Wickham, one of the English factors stationed at Mesco, writing on the 15th of April, 1616, to his chief, Captain Cock, gives an account of a soldier of high reputation who ran away with a prostitute, and, fearing she would be reclaimed, was seized with a fit of frenzy, during which he first cut the throat of the girl, and afterwards ripped himself up. The writer then communicates a piece of news:—"Micaonacamo, the nobelman that gave me my cattan or sword, hath carried away a caboque, and hath payed her master 10,000 tares (2500*l.*). I would I had the money, and it makes no matter who hath the woman." Replying

to this communication, Captain Cock quaintly observes on one point, "Yf some will be so foolish as to cut their bellies for love (or rather lust) of whores, the worst end of the staff will be their owne;" and on the other point he agrees with his correspondent that he "had rather have the money than the ware."

Vice of a more brutal kind is systematically practised by many of the Japanese nobility, as well as by the meanest orders; and houses are kept for this purpose similar to those inhabited by prostitutes.

Some parents apprentice out their daughters for a term of years to this abominable profession, and the girls then return to honourable life. The houses they frequent continually resound with music. At Jeddo, a later traveller was informed there was one brothel, or rather temple of prostitution, where 600 women were maintained. Notwithstanding this number, young men were nightly refused admittance, from the over-crowded state of the rooms. Passing through the streets of the brothel quarter Golovnin saw groups of girls standing about the doors; some of them were in the bloom of youth, and so handsome that they appeared fascinating even to the European eye.

Thus the system of professional prostitution flourishes more in Japan than in any other part of insular Asia; yet the women of other classes appear to hold a higher position, and to enjoy more respect from the men. It is remarked, however, by all writers, that the profligacy of the female sex is confined to those who are so by profession; but the male is generally licentious throughout the empire.

OF PROSTITUTION IN THE ULTRA-GANGETIC NATIONS.

IN this division we include what are commonly called the Hindu-Chinese nations, or the inhabitants of that immense tract lying between Hindustan and China. Geography makes several sections of them, and they present, it is true, some variety in laws, customs, and degrees of progress. But these are not more distinct than may be observed in every large country, whether called by one name or many. The same physical type is marked upon them all; and, speaking in general terms, their manners are uniform.

In one respect they are all similar. The condition of women is extremely low. A curious phenomenon is observable in relation to this subject. The Buddhists of the ultra-Gangetic countries, uninfluenced by the jealous spirit of the Hindu and Mo-

hammedan codes, allow to the female sex great liberty; yet assign it less respect than it enjoys either in Hindustan or China, to both of which they are inferior in civilization. The freedom thus conceded to women fails to elevate them. They are held in contempt, they are taught to abase themselves in their own minds, and they employ their licence in degrading themselves still further. In few parts of the world is the effect of Asiatic despotism more plainly visible than in the countries lying between Hindustan and China. The peculiar system of government renders every one the king's serf. The men labour for the benefit of their master, having no opportunity to profit themselves by their own industry. Their support, therefore, naturally devolves on the women, who in Cochin China especially, plough, sow, reap, fell wood, build, and perform all the offices which civilization assigns to the abler sex.

The marriage contract is a mere bargain. A man buys his wife from her parents. The first is usually the chief, but he may have as many others as he chooses to purchase. A simple agreement before witnesses seals the union. The band thus easily formed is as easily dissolved. In Cochin China a pair of chopsticks or a porcupine quill is broken in two before a third person, and the divorce is complete. When only one desires a separation it is more difficult, but the law allows a man to sell his inferior wives.

The unmarried women of this region are proverbially and almost universally unchaste. They may prostitute themselves without incurring infamy or losing the chance of marriage. A father may yield his daughter to a visitor whom he desires specially to honour, or he may hire her out for a period to a stranger who may reside for a short time in his neighbourhood. The girl has no power to resist the consummation of this transaction, though she cannot be married without her own consent.

The wife, however, is considered sacred, but rather as the property of her husband than for the sake of virtue. A man's harem cannot be invaded, even by the king himself. This, at least, is the theory of the law; but absolutism never respects the high principles of a code which opposes its desires. Adultery is punished in Siam with a fine, in Cochin China with death. In Birmah, executions are very rare among females. "The sword," they say, "was not made for women." In all parts of the region, however, the bamboo is in requisition to discipline the women; and husbands

are sometimes seen to fling their wives down in the open street, lay them on their faces, and flog them with a rattan.

It will thus be seen that, lying between two regions, in each of which a form of civilization has been introduced, the ultra-Gangetic, or Hindu-Chinese nations, differ from them both. Since no unmarried woman is required to be chaste, professional prostitutes do not form so large a class as might be expected. They do exist, however, and in considerable numbers. In Siam a common prostitute is incapable of giving evidence before a country justice, but this is by no means on account of her immorality. It is from other prejudices. The same disability attaches to braziers and blacksmiths*.

OF PROSTITUTION IN EGYPT.

EGYPT, as the seat of a civilization among the most ancient and remarkable that have flourished on the earth, calls for particular attention. The inquiries of the curious have in all ages been directed as well to its people as to its monuments. It has, indeed, been the subject of infinite investigation. Travellers innumerable have explored its beautiful valley; year after year adds to their number, and countless reports have been made to us of the ruins, the antiquities, the resources, the condition, the scenery, and the manners of Egypt. In all, consequently, except statistics, our knowledge is very considerable, though the inexhaustible interest of that celebrated country still leaves an open field for the romantic traveller. The dry hot climate is supposed to influence the character of the people. A remarkable system of politics also modifies the national features, so that we examine our subject, in reference to Egypt, with peculiar curiosity.

The population of Egypt is various, being composed of the four Mohammedan sects, of the Copts, the Greeks, the Armenians, Maronites, and Levantines. The mass, however, is formed of Arabs, while the general plan of manners has originated, in a great measure, from the spirit of the prophets' civil and religious code. Of the system with respect to the female sex this is more especially true; but the history of manners before Mohammed's age is too incomplete for us to know precisely how

* Craufurd's Embassy to Siam; Craufurd's Embassy to Avar; Tomkin's Journals and Letters; Finlayson's Mission; White's Journey; Latham's Natural History of the Varieties of Man.

much was originated, and how much was adopted by him. Had his scheme opposed itself wholly to the previous habits of the East, it would never have been so universally or so readily accepted. It is one characteristic of Asiatic countries that women exercise less influence on manners than in Europe. The laws made by men would, in fact, isolate them within a sphere of their own; but agencies which are irresistible counteract this effort. The tendency of social legislation is to shut them out from a share in the government of society; but the tendency of nature is in the contrary direction.

The women of Egypt are naturally adapted for the position in which they are placed—unless we suppose that long discipline has subdued them to the level of their condition. They display every attraction for Mohammedans, with few of the characteristics which fascinate an European. In youth many of them are possessed of every charm—the bosom richly developed, the whole form gracefully rounded, the face full of bloom, and the eyes overflowing with brilliance; but all these beauties speedily fade, and nowhere is old age so unsightly. The figure approaches maturity at the ninth or tenth year, and at fifteen or sixteen has reached the perfection of the Oriental ideal. With rare exceptions they have passed the flower of their lives at 24, and in this short-lived loveliness we may find one cause of polygamy and frequent divorce, among a people with whom women are the mere unspiritual ministers to the senses of man. The Mohammedan peoples even his heaven with feminine creations destined for his animal gratification. When, therefore, we find religion itself thus impregnated with a gross element, we can only expect to find the female sex regarded in a degrading point of view. The opinion prevails with some Muslims, that Paradise has no place reserved for women; but this is by no means the universal idea among them.

Though by their tame spirits and submissive humility the women of Egypt appear moulded to suit the system in which they move, their character has not, on the whole, been entirely vitiated by the process. Modesty and virtue are frequent ornaments of the harem, and distinguish the sex throughout the valley. Even among the lower or labouring orders, though the maidens may sometimes be seen bathing in the Nile, or hurrying from hovel to hovel naked, and at all times with a light and scanty garment, a demure and retiring demeanour is

general. Chastity is a very prevalent virtue, except in the cities, where a crowded population is immersed in that profligacy surely bred by despotism. With respect to their modesty, travellers appear to have been led astray by their prejudices. Many of them appear to carry among the necessities for their journey an English measure of propriety, which they invariably apply to all nations with which they come in contact. Thus the remark is commonly made, that women in Egypt hide their faces in obedience to habit, but care not what other part of the person they expose. Consequently, it is inferred they are devoid of modesty. But this by no means follows. Custom, which is one of the most powerful among the laws which regulate society, has taught them that to display the features is disgraceful, but has made no regulation for more than that. Unless, therefore, we accept the doctrine of innate ideas—which meets a refutation in every quarter of the globe—we must not cite the women of Egypt before the tribunal of our own opinions, and condemn them on that charge. On the contrary, we must confess that they are naturally a virtuous race, though the influences of their government are sufficiently injurious. Any, indeed, but an excellent people would long ago have been irredeemably depraved.

There are, in Egypt, only two classes of females—those whose opulence allows them to be wholly indolent, and whose life is entirely dreamed away in the luxury of the harem; and those to whom poverty gives freedom, with the obligation of labour. To see the wife of a bey, to examine her tastes, her conduct, her private pleasures, and daily occupations, you have the beau ideal of a voluptuous woman literally cradled in one long childhood, with all the ease, the indulgence, and the trifling of infancy. Enter the habitation of a fellah or artizan, and the hardship of the man's lot is exceeded by that of his wife. She has to do all that he can do; but if he be personally kind, her situation is morally superior to that of the petted toy nursed on the cushions of the harem. The same weakness, however, is paramount over both. The indolent lady satisfies herself with rich Eastern silks and shawls, and gems of fine water; while the poor drudge of the field adds to her toil, and stints herself in food, to purchase decorations for her person.

The polygamy which is practised in Egypt has, more than in many other countries, tended to the degradation of the female sex. It seems to be encouraged in

some degree by the rigid separation of the sexes before marriage. A man takes with less scruple a wife whom he has never seen when he knows that if she disappoint him he may take another. The law allows four wives, with an unrestricted number of concubines. The Prophet, his companions, and the most devout of his descendants, so indulged themselves; but the idea is vulgar which supposes that Mohammed introduced the practice. On the contrary, he found it universal, and was the first to put a check upon it. Some of the higher moralists contend, "that as four wives are sufficient for one man, so are four concubines; but few of the rich men who can afford to keep more allow themselves to be influenced by this opinion.

The Muslim lawgiver was wiser than the priestly legislators of India; for he insulted nature with less peremptory prohibitions against the union of sects. A Mohammedan may marry a Jewish or a Christian woman, when he feels excessive love for her, or cannot procure a wife of the true faith; but she does not inherit his property or impart her religion to her offspring. The children of a Jewish woman, if they are not educated to the Mohammedan, must embrace the Christian creed, which is considered better than their own. In this we find a privilege reserved by the male sex to itself, for a woman of the Prophet's faith dare not marry an infidel, unless compelled so to do by actual force. This has given rise to many apostasies, which form the subject of numerous romances.

The degrees of consanguinity within which marriage is prohibited are strictly marked. A man may not marry his mother or any other relative in a direct ascending line; his daughter or any descendant; his sister, or half-sister; his aunt, his niece, or his foster-mother. The Hanafee code enacts that a man shall not take as his wife any woman from whose breast he has received a single drop of milk; but E. Shafæee allows it unless he has been suckled by her five times within the course of the first two years. Nature, in this respect, is the principal guardian of the law, for as women in Egypt age very quickly, the men endeavour to obtain more youthful brides. A man may not marry the mother, or daughter of his wife, or his father's or his son's wife; his wives must not be sisters, or his own unemancipated slaves—if he already have a free wife. Those women whom the Muslim is forbidden to marry it is lawful for him to see, but no others except his own wives or female servants.

The marriage engagement is merely a civil transaction. The man and woman having declared in the presence of two witnesses their mutual willingness, and part of the dowry being paid, their union is legal. The bride usually signifies her consent through a deputy. If, however, she be under the age of puberty, her assent is not necessary, and she is in the hands of her friends. A boy may also be thus disposed of; but he may divorce his wife if he be not contented with her. Usually, if rich, he neglects the first, and takes a second by way of solace after his disappointment.

In one feature of its manners, modern Egypt resembles the States of ancient Greece. The character of a bachelor is ridiculous, if not disreputable. As soon as a youth has attained a proper age, with sufficient means, his friends advise him to marry. His mother, or a professional match-maker, is usually left to choose the bride. When a girl has been fixed upon with his approval, some one goes to her father to effect an arrangement. The price is fixed, with the amount of dowry, and the future ceremonials depend on the resources of the two families. Sometimes a profusion of rites is insisted upon; sometimes the simplest agreement is all that is required, for the law exacts nothing but the plain convention we have before described. The giving of a dowry is, however, indispensable. With all who can afford it, also, the sanction of religion and the witness of the law add solemnity to the occasion. The rich choose it as an opportunity to display the pride of wealth, and the poor to indulge in a little show, with that idleness which is so essential to the happiness of most Asiatics.

The condition of wives in Egypt has been much misrepresented by some popular writers, to whom the imprisonment and slavery of women offer a fertile theme for declamation. The word *harem*, or *harim*, indeed, meaning *sacred* or *prohibited*, applies to the women as well as to the apartments in which they dwell; but considerable liberty is allowed them. Those of the upper classes are secluded, and go veiled in the streets. They are seldom seen on foot in public, and their costume is indicative of this detail in their manners. Though, however, they have a suite of apartments assigned to them, they are not prisoners. A few Turks, jealous to exaggeration, may immure the inmates of the harem, and shut them altogether from contact with the world; but, generally, they are allowed to go out, pay visits, and

control the household. The theory of the Muslims is more rigid than their practice, which, were it consistent in all its features, would swathe the female sex with convention, as the ancient inhabitants used to swathe their mummies—until the form of humanity is lost amid the very devices which seek to preserve it. To such an extravagant height do some of them carry their ideas of the sanctity of the female sex, that their tombs are closed against strangers, while others will not permit a man and a woman to be buried in the same grave. Generally, however, husbands do not object to their wives mingling with the public through so as they religiously veil their faces. The lower orders are, of course, the least restrained. Those of the wealthiest and proudest men are most strictly secluded; but the interchange of visits between the harems is constant. With this degree of freedom the Egyptian women are content. Time has trained them to their situation, until a relaxation in their discipline is viewed less as an indulgence than a right. The wife who is allowed too much liberty imagines she is neglected, and, if others are more narrowly watched, is jealous of the superior solicitude bestowed on them. Among the rich the harem supplies all the delights of life. Rose-water, perfumes, sherbet, coffee, and sweatmeats, constitute the supreme joys of existence, with precious silks, muslins, and jewels. Among the poor, though reduced to beasts of burden, their buoyant hearts are not depressed under the load, and they sing from infancy to old age. Nevertheless their lives are full of misery, but it is the misery of a class, not only of one sex.

The Muslim woman is *proud* of her husband, and *fond* of her children. Exceptions undoubtedly occur, in which the warmth of the Oriental temperament takes the form of refined and spiritual love; but these are rare. In their offspring they find the chief resource of their lives. They may become mothers at twelve years of age, and at fifteen commonly do so. They give proof of astonishing fecundity, bearing numbers of children, though ceasing at an earlier period than among Europeans. That is the critical occasion of their lives, but they who pass it safely often survive to an extreme old age. The manners of the country render it necessary that midwives only should attend at the accouchement, which is usually easy. When a physician is called in, he must feel his patient's pulse through the sleeve of her garment, while her face is almost invari-

ably wrapped in a veil. The utmost kindness, even in the indulgence of their most trifling whims, is shown to pregnant women. The absence of that sentiment which, according to English notions, should attach a wife to her husband, is made up by the stronger bond which binds a mother to her child. Upon this all the wealth of her affection is bestowed, and in that precious charge all her soul is centred. This feeling—the most pure and true of any that grow in the human breast—stands to the woman of Egypt in place of every other. A proverbial saying expresses the national philosophy upon this subject: "A husband is a husband; if one is lost another is to be got; but who can give me back my child?" To be childless is regarded as a signal misfortune, and with those who happen to be barren many devices are employed to remove the curse. Among these, one of the most curious is—to wash the skin with the blood of an executed criminal. Her fecundity, with her parental care, might be expected to prove itself by a flourishing population; but the blind rapacity and profligate contempt of human life exhibited by the tyrants who, in succession, have ruled Egypt, have been more than enough to neutralise the liberality of nature.

The Mohammedan is essentially an Epicurean. In him the object of nature appears perverted. Instead of the animal being made subservient to the intellectual man, the mind is devoted to gratifying the sense. His life is divided between praying, bathing, smoking, lounging, drinking coffee, and the gratification of the various appetites. Voluptuary as he is, therefore, the opulent Egyptian does not rest content with the four wives allowed him by the law. He takes as many concubines as he can afford. They are all slaves, and are absolutely at the disposal of their master, who may handle, whip, or punish them otherwise as he pleases, and incurs very slight danger by killing one of them. The same regulations as to blood affinity apply to them as to free women. A man when he takes a female slave must wait three months before he can make her his concubine. If she bear him a child which he acknowledges to be his own, it is free. Otherwise it is the inheritor of its mother's bonds. She herself cannot afterwards be sold or given away, but is entitled to emancipation on the death of her lord. He is not, however, obliged to free her at once, though, if he have not already four wives, it is considered honourable to do so. A wife sometimes brings to the establishment

a few handmaidens. Over these she has control, and need not, unless she pleases, allow them to appear unveiled in their master's presence; but occasionally we find a wife presenting her husband with a beautiful slave damsel, as Sarah presented her bondswoman Hagar to Abraham. Rich men often purchase handsome white girls. Those of the humbler class are usually brown Abyssinians, for the blacks are generally employed in menial offices. Neither the concubine nor the wife is permitted to eat with the lord of the house. On the contrary, they are required to wait on him, and frequently, but not always, to serve as domestics. In consequence of this system, a great gulf lies between man and wife. His presence is viewed as a restraint in the harem, which, from all we can learn, is mostly lively and loquacious. Nor is this surprising, when we consider that the harems of aged men are so frequently filled with young girls in the fresh bloom of life, who can never learn to be fond of their husbands. The Egyptian proverb in reference to this is peculiarly apt. It describes an ugly old Turk with some beautiful youthful wives as "A paradise in which hogs feed." Ibrahim Pasha introduced into his private apartments the amusement of billiards, which at once became a favourite recreation.

Though polygamy is not only licensed but esteemed, and concubinage unlimited, few Egyptians have more than one wife, or one female slave. Not more, indeed, than one in twenty, it is said, indulge in this kind of pluralism, and it is probable that concubinage might be almost altogether abolished by the suppression of the slave trade. At present the markets are continually supplied with girls kidnapped in various countries, and these are sometimes stripped and exposed naked to the purchaser's inspection.

Satisfied as he generally is with one wife, the Egyptian Mohammedan is not by any means remarkable for continence. He may content himself with a single woman, but he may change her as often as he pleases, a privilege which is continually abused. The facility of divorce has had a most demoralising effect upon Egyptian manners.

A man may twice put away his wife and take her back without ceremony. If, however, he divorces her a third time, or deliberately unites in one act the effect of three, he cannot take her again until she has been married and divorced by another husband. The manner of divorce is sufficiently simple. The husband says, "I

divorce thee," and returns his wife about one-third of the dowry, with the effects which she brought at her marriage. He may do this through sheer caprice, without assigning or proving any reason; but when a woman desires to put away her husband, she must show herself to have suffered serious ill-treatment or neglect, lose the share of her dowry, and often go into a court of justice to prove her claim. With the man this is never required, as is indicated by the common proverb: "If my husband consents, why should the Kadi's consent be necessary?"

A widow must wait three months, and a divorced woman three months and ten days, or, if pregnant, until delivery, before marrying again. The latter, in this case, must also wait an additional forty days before she can receive her new husband. Meanwhile her former proprietor must support her, either in his own house or in that of her parents. If he divorce her before the actual consummation of the marriage, he must provide for her more liberally. In case, however, of a wife being rebellious, and refusing to recognise the lawful authority of her husband, he may prove her to have offended, before a Kadi, and procure a certificate exempting him from the obligation to clothe, lodge, or maintain her. Thus she is desolate and without resource, for she dare not go to another home; but if she formally promise to be obedient in future, her husband must support or divorce her. When a wife desires to be freed from any man's restraint and is unable to dissolve the union altogether, she may make a complaint and obtain a licence to go to her father's house. In that case he, through sheer spite, generally persists in refusing to divorce her. Sometimes a man with a disagreeable mother-in-law quartered upon him, puts away his wife in order to be rid of both.

The slightness of the marriage tie, and the ease with which it may be severed, leads, as we have said, to a profligate abuse of the power thus assumed by the male sex. Numbers of men have, in the course of their lives, 10, 20, 30, or even 40 wives. Women, also, have as many as a dozen partners in succession. Some profligates have been known to marry a woman almost every month. A man without property may pick up a handsome young widow, or divorced woman, for about 10s., which he pays as dowry. He lives with her a few days or weeks, and then divorces her with the payment of about 20s., to support her in the interval during which she is prohi-

bited from marrying again. Such conduct, however, is regarded as disreputable, so that few respectable families will trust a girl with any man who has put away many wives. The crime of adultery is laid down by the law as worthy of severe punishment. Four eye-witnesses, however, are necessary to prove the fact, and the woman may then be stoned to death. From the secluded nature of their lives, and from the nature of the offence itself, it is rarely that such testimony is to be had. Cases, therefore, scarcely ever occur before the public courts. Heavy and ignominious penalties are denounced against witnesses who make these charges and fail in the proof. Unmarried persons convicted of fornication may be punished by the infliction of one hundred stripes, and, under the law acknowledged by the Sumrah sect, may be banished for a whole year.

Egypt has in all times been famous for its public dancing girls, who were all prostitutes. The superior classes of them formed a separate tribe or collection of tribes, known as the Ghawazee. A female of this community is called Ghazeeyeh, and a man Ghazee. The common dancing girls of the country are often erroneously confounded with the Almeh—Awalim in the singular—who are properly female singers; though, whatever some authoritative writers may assert, they certainly practise dancing, as well as prostitution, especially since the exile of the Ghawazee. They perform at private entertainments, and are sometimes munificently rewarded. The Ghawazee, on the other hand, were accustomed to put aside their veils and display their licentious movements in public, before the lowest audience. The evolutions with which they were accustomed to amuse their patrons were commonly the reverse of elegant. Commencing with decency enough, they soon degenerated into obscenity, the women contorting their bodies into the most libidinous postures. The dress was graceful, but exposed a large portion of the bosom, and was frequently half thrown aside. The Ghawazee sometimes performed in the court of a house or in the open street; but were not admitted into the harems of respectable families. A party of men often met in a house, and sent for the dancers to amuse them. Their performances, on such occasions, were more than usually licentious, and their dresses less decent. A chemise of transparent texture, which scarcely hid the skin, and a pair of full trousers, was frequently all that covered them. Drinking copious draughts of brandy or some

other intoxicating liquor, they soon laid aside even the affectation of modesty, and scenes took place like those with which the priests defiled the temples of India. Many of the women who thus degrade themselves are exceedingly beautiful. As a class, indeed, they are described as the handsomest in Egypt. They are distinguished, by the peculiar caste of their countenances, from all other females in the country, and there can be little doubt that they spring from a distinct race. They boast themselves of the Barmecide descent, but this is impossible to be proved. It has been conjectured that they are the lineal, as well as the professional descendants of those licentious dancers who exhibited naked—as these sometimes do—before the Egyptians in the age of the Pharaohs. Some imagine that the dancers of Gade, or Cadiz, ridiculed by Juvenal, were the prototypes of the modern Ghawazee; but it has been supposed, with more reason, that the Phœnicians introduced the practice thither from the East, where profligacy flourished at the earliest period.

It has been the pride of the Ghawazee tribes to preserve themselves distinct from all other classes of the population, to intermarry, and thus to perpetuate their blood unmingled. A few have repented their mode of life, and married respectable Arabs; but this has not often occurred. They never among themselves took a husband until they had entered on a course of prostitution. To this venal calling they were all trained from childhood, though all were not taught to dance. In this community of harlots, it is singular to find that the husband was inferior to the wife; indeed he was subject to her, performing the double office of servant and procurer. If she was a dancer he was generally her musician, and sat by quietly tinkling upon a stringed instrument, while she, his wife, exposed her person in the most indecent attitudes, and by every voluptuous artifice endeavoured to seduce the spectator. Profligacy never assumed a more infamous form than that of the husband assisting at the daily adultery of his wife. Some of the men earned a livelihood as blacksmiths or tinkers. Many of them, however, were rich, and the women, especially, were possessed of costly dresses and ornaments.

The Ghawazee generally followed the kind of life led by our gipsies, whom some, indeed, have traced to an Egyptian origin. Many, but not all, of the wanderers of this nation in the Valley of the Nile, ascribe

to themselves a descent from a branch of the same family from which the Ghawazee claim to have sprung; but both traditions rest on doubtful testimony. The ordinary language of the Ghawazee is similar to that in use among the rest of the Egyptian population; but like all other unsettled, wandering tribes, they have a peculiar dialect, a species of slang, only intelligible to themselves. Most of them profess the Mohammedan faith, and they were accustomed to follow in crowds the pilgrim caravans to the sacred shrine at Mecca.

Every considerable town in Egypt formerly harboured a large body of the Ghawazee, who occupied a distinct quarter, allotted entirely to prostitutes and their companions. Low huts, temporary sheds, or tents, formed their usual habitations, since they were in the habit of frequently transplanting themselves from one district to another. Others, however, occupied and furnished handsome houses, trading also in camels, asses, and grain; possessing numerous female slaves, upon whose prostitution they also realized much profit. They crowded the camps and attended the great religious festivals, and on these occasions the Ghawazee tents were always conspicuous. Some joined the accomplishment of singing with that of the dance.

The inferior Ghawazee women resembled in their attire the common prostitutes of other classes, which also swarmed in Egypt. Many of these also, who were not Ghawazees, took the name, in order to increase the gains of their calling.

The system of marriage, to which we have slightly alluded, is worthy of more particular notice. The man who married a Ghazeeyeh was a low and despised creature. The saying is proverbial in Egypt, that "the husband of a harlot is a base wretch by his own testimony." The law among the Ghawazee was, that a girl as soon as marriageable must prostitute herself to a stranger and then take a husband. He is constantly employed in looking for persons to bring to her, himself cohabiting with her only by stealth, for she would be exposed to shame and made the object of ridicule were it known that she had admitted her own husband to her embraces. Polygamy is unknown among the Ghawazee. In that community, indeed, as it existed previously to the edict of 1835, we find a system exactly the reverse of that in the midst of which it existed. The birth of a male child was looked upon as a misfortune, since he was of no value to the tribe. Women, on the contrary, were precious, because they were sought after by nearly

the whole male population of Egypt. The Ghazeeyeh made it a rule never to refuse the offer of a person who could pay anything. The fashionable dancer, therefore, at country fairs, though glittering with golden ornaments, and arrayed in all the beauties of the eastern loom, would admit the visit of any rough and ragged peasant for a sum not exceeding twopence. In this manner, by seizing whatever was offered to them, they often accumulated wealth, dressed in superb attire, rich embroidery of gold, with chains of golden coins, and solid bracelets of the same costly metal. In many instances, when the Ghazeeyeh had lost or divorced her former husband, and become opulent upon the profits of her venal calling, she married some village Sheikh, who was proud of his acquisition. A virgin Ghazeeyeh was never induced to forsake her hereditary profession; but when she formed such an alliance, she made a solemn vow on the tomb of some saint, to be true to her new partner, sacrificed a sheep, and was generally faithful to her sacred engagement.

It was not only in the more populous cities and districts of Lower Egypt that the Ghawazee pursued their double calling of dancer and prostitute. Those in the Upper country were equally addicted to that immoral calling, and were, in proportion, equally encouraged. Even in the small villages a company of them was usually to be found, glittering in finery of gaudy colours, unveiled, and clothed only in those light transparent garments in which the members of the same sisterhood are represented on the monuments—a loose chemise of gauze, a scarf negligently hung about the loins, and loose trousers of the most delicate texture. Their dances were exhibitions of unrestrained indecency,—attitude, look, and movement being equally lascivious. They also sang and played on the viol, lute, tambour, lyre, or castanet. The common prostitutes of the meaner class excelled them, at least in the affectation of modesty. Many of the Ghawazee, however, appear sensible of the degradation to which they are consigned.

The dance of the Ghawazee was, to the Egyptians, what an opera ballet is in England—the representation of some episode, generally of love. Formerly there was, near Cairo, a little village called Shaarah, the Eleusis of modern Egypt, where the mystical rites of Athor were, until recently, celebrated. It was a collection of small mud huts, distinguished from those of the common people by superior cleanliness and comfort. Numbers of the Ghawa-

zee dwelt here, and when Mr. J. A. St. John visited their abode, came out to meet him, dressed in elegant attire, with a profusion of ornaments. All were young—none were more than twenty, many not more than ten years of age. Some were exceedingly handsome, while others, to an European judge, appeared quite the reverse. In this village lived a considerable number of the Ghawazee. The greater part of their lives was passed in the coffee-house, where they lounged all day on cushions, sipping coffee, singing, and indulging in licentious conversation. In the great room a hundred might assemble, and here they were visited by the profligates of Cairo, to whom the village of Shaarah was a regular place of resort. In the towns they frequented the common coffee-houses, and in the smaller hamlets up the valley, they wandered all day among the dwellings, or reclined on benches in the open air until a boat with travellers appeared on the Nile, when they immediately hurried down to the shore and commenced their lascivious songs. The Arabs have the reputation of being extremely profligate, and when on their journeys never visited a city or village without paying a visit to the Ghawazee quarter. Indeed, the manners of the population have been debased under every vicious influence. A despotic government, an epicurean religion, and the spirit of indolence thus engendered, have encouraged among the men every species of crime against nature. The corruption which brought a curse on the Cities of the Plain is emulated in the cities of Egypt.

When Burckhardt wrote, about 1830, the number of males and females of the Ghawazee nation in Egypt was estimated at from 6000 to 8000. Their principal settlements were in the towns of the Delta in Lower Egypt, and, in the upper country, at Kenneh, where a colony of at least 300 generally resided. The scattered companies generally formed a great concourse at Tanta, in the Delta, at the three annual festivals, when a vast multitude was collected from all parts of the valley. Six hundred Ghawazee have on such occasions pitched their tents near the town. During the reign of the Memlooks, the influence of these women was, in the open country, very considerable. Many respectable persons courted their favour. They were accustomed to dwell in the towns until the brutality of the soldiers—who sometimes killed one in a fit of jealousy—drove them into the rural parts. At each of their chief places of sojourn one was invested with the title of Emir, or chief of

the settlement. She was entitled to no authority over the rest, yet exercised much influence by virtue of her dignity. In Cairo itself their number was small, and they inhabited a spacious Khan, or hotel, overlooked by the castle. "In a city," says Burckhardt, "where among women of every rank chastity is so rare as at Cairo, it could not be expected that public prostitution should thrive." This is a harsh judgment on the character of the Caireen females, and, according to the accounts of most travellers, it is unjust.

Before Mohammed Ali, instigated by the priests, made his awkward crusade against the Ghawazee tribes, the public prostitutes were put under the jurisdiction of a magistrate—an aga, or captain of the dancing girls. He kept a list of them, and exacted from each a sum of money by way of tax. He also acted as a censor on the general morality of the people. One of these agas took upon himself an extension of his jurisdiction, and whenever he found a woman, no matter of what class, who had been guilty of a single act of incontinence, he added her name to the list of common prostitutes, and extorted the tax from her, unless she could offer him a sufficient bribe, and thus escape the infamy. Nor was this all. To gratify private revenge, he sometimes inserted in his list the names of respectable ladies; but was at length detected and punished with death. Whenever a party of Ghawazee was engaged, they had to pay to their chief a sum of money and procure his permission to dance. This practice was pursued by persons who farmed the tax, until Mohammed Ali was smitten by a sudden reverence for morals, and made an attempt, characteristic of his vulgar genius, to abolish the profligacy of Egypt. In June, 1834, a law was published compelling the Ghawazee throughout the country to retire from their profession. It is said that the Moolahs, or Muslim bishops, objected to them, not on account of the impurities they practised, but because it was a scandal that women belonging to the race of true believers should expose their faces to infidels for hire. An agitation was raised on the subject; a storm of sacerdotal rage assailed the palace; and the viceroy, priest-ridden, banished all the dancers to Esneh, 500 miles up the Nile. There they were herded together, with a small stipend from government to keep them from starvation. The effect of this truly barbarian device was just what might have been expected. The profligacy, which had been chiefly confined to them, broke out in other classes, and

demoralization advanced several steps further. It is said that the Moolahs repent their policy, since some additional burdens have been laid on them to make up for the loss of revenue.

Under the old system, when all the known prostitutes paid a tax, the amount contributed by those of Cairo alone was 800 purses, or 4000*l.*, which was a tenth of the income-tax on the whole population. This will suggest an idea of the numbers in which they existed. The Ghawazee formed the chief element in this system of prostitution, and Mohammed Ali imagined that with one stroke of the pen he could obliterate this blot on the social aspect of Egypt—he who had so worn himself out with licentious pleasures that his physicians had to persuade him to disband an army of concubines which he had kept at the expense of his miserable people. At once prostitution was denounced as a crime. The Ghazeeh daring to infringe the new law was condemned to fifty stripes for the first, and imprisonment with severe labour for the second, offence. The punishments of these and of all other women were illegal, according to the code of the Prophet. It has, however, been a blessing to the Mohammedan population of the East that their great lawgiver left his frame of legislation, for, invested with the authority of religion, it has been some check on the caprice of tyrants.

The men, also, who were detected encouraging the Ghawazee were made liable to the punishment of the bastinado. Legal enactments, however, cannot purify the morals of a whole community. Prostitution was abolished by law, but remained in practice as flagrant as ever. The Egyptians borrowed a device from the Persians. When a man desires to have intercourse with a woman of the prostitute class, he marries her in the evening and divorces her in the morning. The dowry he pays her is no more than she would receive were this transaction not to take place. She dare not apply for the usual stipend to maintain her afterwards. Even these connections are often kept entirely secret. The dancing has been more successfully suppressed, for many of the performances were public; but the Europeans, as well as the rich natives, frequently indulge by stealth in the prohibited amusement.

The Almehs, at least since the banishment of the Ghawazee, dance, and prostitute themselves, as well as sing—though their name implies neither practice, meaning simply “learned or accomplished women.” When an entertainment of the

kind is given, it is usual to choose for the scene a lonely house in the outskirts of the city, surrounded by a garden with a high wall. There, with the windows veiled, parties meet, and the dancers are introduced. Women with children at the breast come sometimes to take part in these abominable orgies; but do not usually, unless excited by the men, develop all their powers of licentious expression. Occasionally a party of soldiers breaks in on the forbidden revel, and the girls are carried off to prison, where stripes, or, perhaps, sentences of banishment, await them.

There are, however, in Egypt considerable classes of women solely devoted to prostitution, who practise none of the accomplishments in which the Almeh and Ghawazee excel. Among them is a peculiar tribe called the Halekye, whose husbands are tinkers or horse and ass doctors. They wander about the country like gipsies, and most of the women engage in prostitution. Prostitutes of the common order swarm in all the cities and towns of the valley. In and about Cairo they are particularly numerous, whole quarters being inhabited exclusively by them. Legislation is powerless to suppress their calling. Their dress differs from that of the other sorts of women only in being more gay and less disguising. Some even wear the veil and affect all the airs of modesty. Many are divorced women, or widows, or wives of men whose business has obliged them to go abroad. The wives of many of the Arabs, if neglected for a short time, slide easily into prostitution. When Ibrahim Pasha was away on the expedition to Syria, it was said that on his return the soldiers would find all their wives courtezans; but this, of course, was a satire.

Numbers of the common prostitutes in Cairo have been accustomed to sell pigeons and other birds in the different bazaars. Hence has arisen a proverb, that a person who marries in the bird-market must divorce his wife next morning. We find in these popular sayings many indications of the features which mark the system in Egypt. We have some in allusion to the shouts and disorderly conduct of persons issuing from the brothels in the morning, and others describing the career of the prostitutes themselves. “The public woman who is liberal of her favours does not wish for a procuress.” “If a harlot repent she becomes a procuress.”

One reason assigned for the practice of early marriages is, the proneness of the young men to be seduced by prostitutes. It is only just, however, to observe, that in

TABLE XVII.

LONDON LABOUR AND THE LONDON POOR.

TABLE SHOWING THE RELATIVE AMOUNT OF FEMALE AND MALE CRIMINALITY IN THE SEVERAL COUNTIES OF ENGLAND AND WALES.

† denotes above the average, * below it.

COUNTIES.	Average Female Population, 1841-50.	Number of Female Criminals in each year.											Total Female Criminals in Ten Years.	Average No. of Female Criminals per year, 1841-50.	No. of Female Criminals in every 100,000 of Population.	Percentage above and below the Average of Female Criminals.	No. of Female Criminals to every 100 Male Criminals.	Percentage above and below the Average of Female Criminals.	LIST OF COUNTIES, IN THE ORDER OF THEIR CRIMINALITY AMONGST FEMALES, AS SHOWN BY THE NUMBER OF FEMALE CRIMINALS IN EVERY 100,000 OF THE FEMALE POPULATION.	Counties above the Average.	Counties below the Average.	
		1841	1842	1843	1844	1845	1846	1847	1848	1849	1850											
Bedford	62,711	11	36	22	20	15	20	21	22	17	19	203	20.3	166	32	48.4	4.4	11	52.2	Middlesex... 110	Southamp.	60
Berks	97,708	45	53	43	44	42	37	55	43	52	36	455	45.5	268	47	24.2	1.5	17	26.1	Hertford .. 94	Kent	57
Bucks	71,732	20	23	31	17	25	21	22	21	27	16	223	22.3	265	31	24.2	1.5	8	26.1	Gloucester .. 90	Salop	57
Cambridge	90,365	29	28	33	42	34	20	44	32	34	44	340	34.0	232	37	40.3	5.2	14	28.1	Lancaster .. 83	Sussex	52
Chester	202,190	195	171	170	147	139	163	197	209	169	184	1764	176.4	792	87	40.3	37.1	23	38.1	Chester ... 87	Worcester... 85	51
Cornwall	181,137	61	67	75	56	62	67	78	68	69	46	649	64.9	217	35	43.6	61.8	27	17.4	Warrington .. 71	Essex	48
Cumberland	95,263	39	39	38	40	37	36	37	34	36	43	379	37.9	95	40	104	30.5	12	47.8	Surrey ... 70	Dorset	48
Derby	126,025	21	26	34	33	28	47	24	25	27	25	200	20.0	235	23	23.0	16.5	14	39.1	Stafford ... 65	Lincoln ... 46	46
Devon	291,653	171	194	177	151	184	184	206	226	224	193	1910	191.0	505	31	22.7	8.1	21	8.7	Suffolk ... 45	Hunts	45
Dorset	189,738	46	34	42	41	33	35	51	53	61	38	434	43.4	210	48	22.6	11.5	14	39.1	Leicester ... 42	Rutland ... 42	42
Durham	184,931	46	57	58	63	40	53	61	72	45	82	581	58.1	232	31	22.6	11.5	22	39.1	Northumb.	Cumberland .. 40	40
Essex	105,108	82	85	89	89	75	89	75	64	64	44	797	79.7	539	48	22.6	11.5	22	39.1	S. Wales ... 38	Cambridge ... 37	37
Gloucester	214,444	133	221	224	198	178	190	204	183	188	148	1632	163.2	875	90	45.2	60.6	20	13.0	Nottingham .. 31	Bucks	28
Hertford	48,828	64	49	45	38	39	34	52	52	44	45	462	46.2	187	94	51.6	40.4	24	4.4	Westmor... 28	Derby	23
Hunts	34,914	7	8	10	15	19	14	12	13	15	13	281	28.1	267	33	27.4	11.0	10	56.5	Derby	Derby	23
Kent	294,029	161	183	147	156	151	161	171	182	200	167	1679	167.9	792	45	24.0	11.0	19	17.4	Derby	Derby	23
Lancaster	963,338	927	947	847	689	668	826	832	902	819	950	8487	848.7	2635	88	27.4	11.0	21	8.7	Derby	Derby	23
Leicester	115,991	56	69	55	56	50	61	49	37	38	41	402	40.2	342	42	30.6	11.5	14	39.1	Derby	Derby	23
Lincoln	188,477	79	100	86	92	71	78	106	87	91	72	857	85.7	388	46	21.0	11.5	22	39.1	Derby	Derby	23
Middlesex	926,067	989	989	960	948	1102	1118	1176	1223	945	882	10232	1023.2	3244	110	21.0	11.5	22	39.1	Derby	Derby	23
Monmouth	78,528	63	51	53	77	41	46	67	64	78	97	637	63.7	232	81	30.6	11.5	17	26.1	Derby	Derby	23
Norfolk	216,632	112	127	117	127	101	120	143	78	100	89	1114	111.4	697	51	29.0	11.5	17	26.1	Derby	Derby	23
Northampton	103,642	45	38	25	34	47	41	32	36	24	33	302	30.2	259	35	25.2	11.5	14	39.1	Derby	Derby	23
Northumb.	145,749	54	52	66	77	46	43	50	44	64	83	579	57.9	177	40	21.0	11.5	15	34.8	Derby	Derby	23
Nottingham	144,171	38	49	43	51	42	45	64	33	37	34	436	43.6	289	31	20.0	11.5	15	34.8	Derby	Derby	23
Oxford	82,461	46	46	52	37	44	43	41	35	34	31	411	41.1	256	50	30.7	11.5	16	30.4	Derby	Derby	23
Rutland	11,774	6	4	7	3	3	4	7	10	4	2	50	5.0	28	42	23.5	11.5	18	21.7	Derby	Derby	23
Salop	122,035	80	75	89	84	73	48	62	65	61	59	696	69.6	253	57	24.2	11.5	24	4.4	Derby	Derby	23
Somerset	236,337	172	166	136	160	143	150	141	145	159	134	1506	150.6	751	64	34.7	11.5	18	21.7	Derby	Derby	23
Southampton	190,379	102	127	124	93	115	94	137	115	130	130	1147	114.7	555	60	39.7	11.5	20	21.7	Derby	Derby	23
Stafford	285,566	179	190	197	175	161	188	221	176	189	183	1809	180.9	831	65	38.9	11.5	22	21.7	Derby	Derby	23
Suffolk	165,775	77	80	68	92	66	77	82	57	76	74	749	74.9	436	45	27.3	11.5	16	30.4	Derby	Derby	23
Surrey	332,838	212	236	177	194	215	200	316	278	275	257	2340	234.0	806	70	26.6	11.5	26	13.0	Derby	Derby	23
Sussex	163,028	61	81	83	69	86	93	83	92	101	83	832	83.2	469	52	25.9	11.5	20	13.0	Derby	Derby	23
Warwick	236,909	168	157	177	119	144	163	179	199	142	162	1610	161.0	709	71	36.7	11.5	19	13.0	Derby	Derby	23
Westmorland	28,814	9	9	10	6	7	8	7	8	9	8	76	7.6	39	28	13.6	11.5	21	8.7	Derby	Derby	23
Wiltshire	122,339	65	57	65	57	52	60	95	59	78	47	626	62.6	384	51	33.0	11.5	15	34.8	Derby	Derby	23
Worcester	124,795	75	102	104	87	121	105	128	116	112	109	1050	105.0	506	85	42.2	11.5	20	13.0	Derby	Derby	23
York	850,425	331	380	375	323	290	294	351	344	347	321	3356	335.6	1587	90	190	11.5	21	8.7	Derby	Derby	23
North Wales	200,006	60	56	48	45	49	47	68	65	63	62	563	56.3	233	28	11.9	11.5	13	8.5	Derby	Derby	23
South Wales	288,612	93	79	84	117	84	91	127	145	134	151	1105	110.5	368	33	132	11.5	29	13.5	Average for England and Wales 62		
Total for Eng-land & Wales	8,649,371	5200	5569	5340	4993	4962	5257	6030	5763	5401	5265	50639	5063.9	22474	62	272	11.5	23	13.5			

* The average number of Male Criminals has been arrived at in the same manner as that for Female Criminals, but the table itself is reserved for another place.

MAP
SHOWING
THE CRIMINALITY OF FEMALES
IN EVERY 100,000 OF THE FEMALE POPULATION,
IN EACH COUNTY OF
ENGLAND AND WALES.

*** The counties printed *black* are those in which the number of Criminal Females is *above* the average.
The counties left *white* are those in which the number of Criminal Females is *below* the average.
The average is taken for the last 10 years.

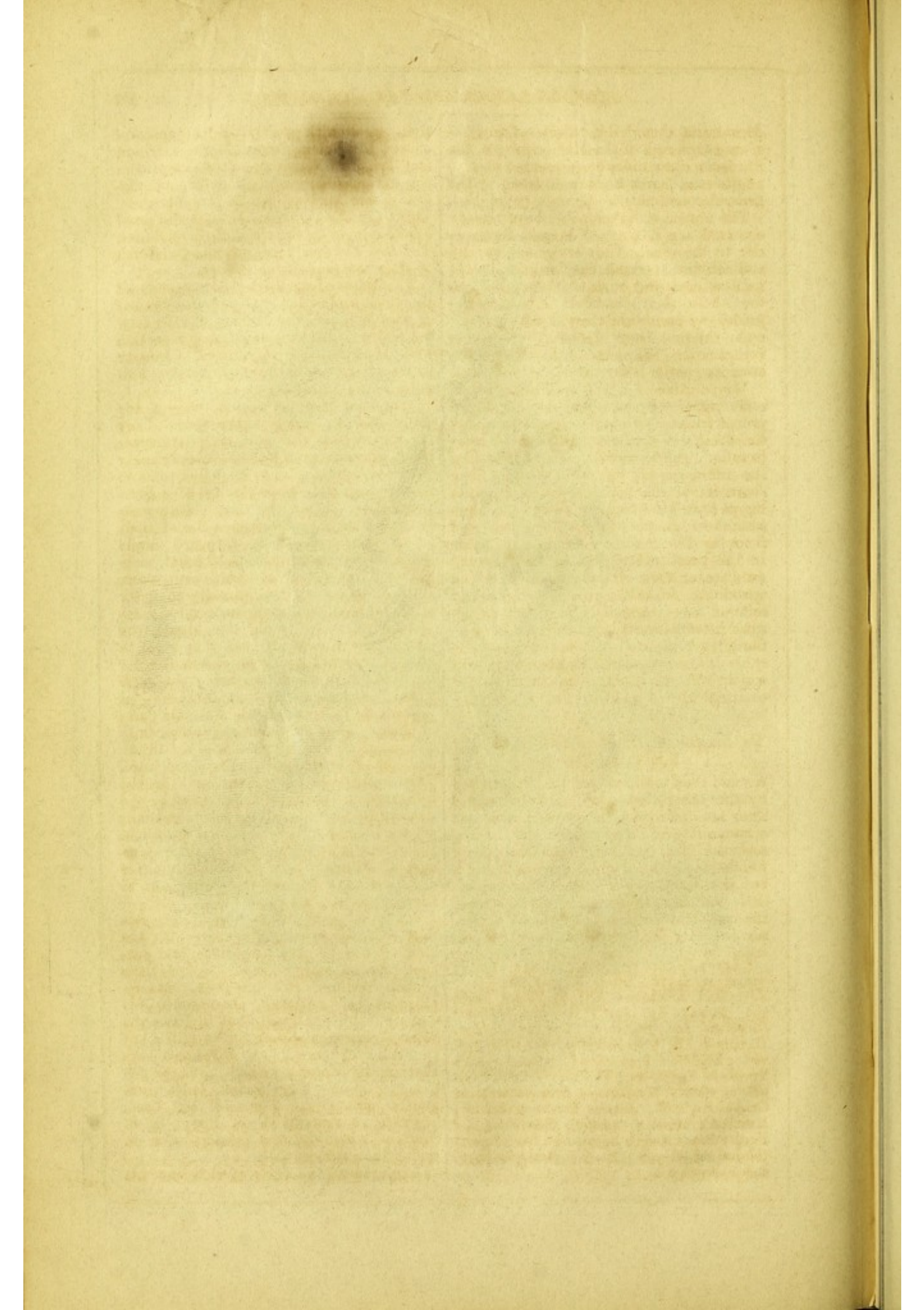


The Average for all England and Wales is 62 in every 100,000 of the Female Population.

"	"	Middlesex (the highest)	110	"	"
"	"	Derby (the lowest)	23	"	"



CHINESE WOMAN (PROSTITUTE),
ACCUSED OF DISORDERLY CONDUCT BEFORE A JUDGE.
(From ALEXANDER'S *Illustrations of China*.)



Alexandria, though it is considered the *refugium peccatorum* of the Mediterranean, the European community has preserved itself to an unusual degree uncontaminated by the general corruption of the male population.

The women of Egypt, as we have already observed, are, in point of morals, far superior to the men. They are generally silly and childish, because they are treated as soulless creatures and children; but, on the whole, their character is not so degraded by unnatural vices as that of their male rulers. These generally are coarse voluptuaries, in whom little except the animal appetite is developed.

We perceive in Egypt the illustration of some signal truths. We find there the proper fruits of Oriental despotism; we see the results of a vulgar barbarian attempt to reform public morals. We witness also the influence of its position upon the character of the female sex. Women in Egypt have been made by their social laws what the originator of those laws considered them to be—the mere servitors of man. In the prostitute system of the country we discover some singular features, which contribute to render modern Egypt, in relation to our actual subject, one of the most interesting regions in the East. The Christian population we do not notice, because it is composed of fragments of races which will be noticed in their proper countries*.

OF PROSTITUTION AMONG THE STATES OF NORTHERN AFRICA.

A VERY brief notice is all that is required by the other States of northern Africa. They are distinguished from the barbarous communities of that region by having assumed the forms of regular society, which places them under a separate head, but, in relation to our subject, they present little that is characteristic. In describing the condition and morality of the female sex in other Mohammedan countries we

* Lane's Modern Egyptians; Poole's English-woman in Egypt; Yates's Egypt; St. John's Egypt and Mohammed Ali; St. John's Egypt and Nubia; St. John's Oriental Album; Cadalvene and Breuvery, l'Égypte; Mugin's Histoire de l'Égypte; Burckhardt's Arabic Proverbs; Expédition Française à l'Égypte; Niebuhr's Travels in Egypt, &c.; Thackeray's From Cornhill to Cairo; Warburton's Crescent and the Cross; Bayle St. John's Levantine Family; Henniker's Travels; Minutoli's Recollections of Egypt; Boaz's Modern Egypt; Clot Bey's Aperçu Général sur l'Égypte; Pueckler Muskau's Egypt and Mehemet Ali.

shall meet with nearly all the features offered by Algiers, Barca, Morocco, Tunis, and Tripoli. Nevertheless, on account of the extraordinary mixture of the population, some curious details are observed. Turks, Christians, Arabs, Jews, Berbers, and Moors mingle in the cities of those States. The last, however, form the mass, and it is to them our remarks must apply.

The Moors of northern Africa possess all the vices, and scarcely any of the virtues, of the Mohammedans of the East. They are proud, ignorant, sensual, and depraved, without any of that high spirit of honour which often, in the oriental Muslim, half redeems his character.

The treatment of women among the Moors answers exactly to this view. They are regarded as the mere material instruments of man's gratification. Accordingly their whole education is modelled so as to render them fit to serve the lust of a gross sensualist. Among the more elevated nations of Asia, men sometimes tire of their wives' company, because they are simple beauties, without animation of mind, seeking the society of educated courtezans, more for their wit and vivacity than for their meaner and more material accomplishments. But, with the Moors, the animal appetite is all that they seek to satisfy. A woman with daughters does not train them in seductive arts; she feeds them into a seductive appearance—as pigeons and doves are fed in certain parts of Italy. They are made to swallow daily a number of balls of paste, dipped in oil, and the rod enforces their compliance. This practice is adopted as well by the inmate of the rich man's harem as by the courtesan; for to be plump, sleek, and fair, are the objects of their common ambition. A girl who is a camel's load is the perfection of Moorish beauty. Thus intellect and sentiment are not the possessions to recommend her, but fat.

It is strange that the woman's character does not correspond altogether with her mode of life. Heavy, corpulent, and sensual, she is, nevertheless, alive to the keenest feeling. Hot impulses, untamable in their outbreak, characterize her sex. Rivarol once said, that in Paris the veins of the women were full of milk; but in Berlin, of pure blood. Pananti says that in the Moorish woman fire is the circulating fluid. Fiery hearts, indeed, are general among the women of the East; and are as remarkable in Egypt as in Morocco, where Oriental passions seem to spring from African soil.

Immured as the wives of rich men are

in splendid harems, and rigidly excluded from intercourse with the other sex, they seek their whole enjoyment in the gratification of their passions or their senses. Their time is spent at home, or at the bath, lounging on cushions, sipping coffee, smoking, gossiping, or multiplying the devices of the toilette.

The Moors are extravagantly jealous. Some have been known to slay their women before proceeding on a long journey; others have forbidden them to name even an animal of the masculine gender. They are, therefore, entirely shut up within the walls of the harem; muffled under mountains of ungraceful black drapery as they move along the streets; or secluded from the sight of the world in the impenetrable recesses of the bath. There they exhaust all the ingenuity they can command in the perfuming and decoration of their persons.

Many have wondered why women thus prevented from displaying themselves should be so untiring in the offices of vanity. The reason, however, is clear. In the Moorish harem all that a wife or concubine has to look to is the favour of her lord. If she succeed in charming him, her lot is far more happy than under any other circumstances. Besides, it is not only to please him that she labours. The mortification of her rivals is an additional source of triumph, for in the narrow sphere of the harem, where the nobler qualities of the mind have no room for development, the meanest naturally flourish most profusely.

The marriage laws of Mohammedan countries in general prevail in the Barbary States, with slight modifications. The husband has more absolute control over the wife. Few take more than one, though polygamy is universally allowed. Opulent men, however, sometimes indulge in the full complement of four, besides a number of concubines. Though the betrothal usually takes place at an extremely early age, the actual union seldom takes place until the bride is twelve or thirteen, when, as a poet of Barbary expresses it, "The rose-bud expands to imbibe the vivifying rays of love."

An extensive system of professional prostitution prevails in all the cities of these States. In Algiers and Morocco they are particularly numerous. The low drinking shops are crowded with men, and the loose characters of the town have each a companion who is a harlot. The public dancers all belong to this sisterhood. They exist in large numbers and are very much encouraged by both sexes. The women in the baths, after steeping their bodies in

warm water until every nerve is relaxed, and all their limbs are softened into a voluptuous languor, lie on cushions and sip coffee, while dancers, attired in a slight costume, display their licentious arts, and Almeh sing songs equally lascivious. These prostitutes are of various classes, from the low vulgar wretches, encouraged by the French soldiers in Algiers, to the wealthy courtezans who live amid luxury and splendour.

A late traveller was introduced by a friend to "a Moorish lady." She occupied a fine house, situated, however, in a narrow and retired street. Its architecture was rich, and on the door being opened, signs of wealth became everywhere apparent. The visitor was ushered into a spacious apartment, roofed with graceful arches, and hung with rich-coloured silks. A lamp burning amid piles of freshly-gathered flowers, stood on the table. Reclining on a luxurious divan, with a tiger-skin spread at her feet, was a woman of extreme loveliness, attired in a superb costume. Though of a fair and brilliant complexion, her hair was jet black, braided with curious art and bound up with strings of pearl. Its heavy tresses were partly concealed by a tiara of crimson, figured with gold. Diamond drops hung from her ears; corals and gems sparkled round her neck.

A garment, of a fabric almost transparent, was folded over her bosom, and fastened with a golden ornament. A loose pelisse of blue brocade, confined at the waist with a cymar of embroidered silk, displayed the contour of her figure, and full trousers of muslin were furled about her limbs. Her cheek was tattooed with a blue star, and her nails were stained pink with henna. She was waited upon by a negro girl wearing a white muslin turban ornamented with a rose, the leaves and stem of which were gilded. Elegant in her manners, easy in her mode of address, this woman appeared to the uninitiated traveller the model of feminine grace. When he took his leave, however, his friend undeceived him, with an apology, and he discovered that he had been conversing with a Moorish prostitute.

This sketch of a woman, belonging to the class, may serve to show the extent to which some of them are encouraged. Indeed the society of the dancers, who are all prostitutes, is a favourite recreation with the Moors of all classes. The women, as we have said, belong to various grades, from those who debase themselves by their obscene postures in the low coffee-houses, to those who display their more elegant

licentiousness to amuse the wealthy. A man, entertaining a party of friends, sends for a company of dancers to enliven them in his kiosk or pavilion. There, amid the fumes of tobacco, and sometimes of strong liquors (for the precepts of the Koran are often disregarded), these unhappy women descend from ordinary immodesty to the most degrading obscenity, until the orgies become such as no pen could describe. When the master of the feast is particularly delighted with the beauty or the dexterity of any girl, he performs a favourite act of gallantry by dropping a few golden coins into her bosom. The whole company is liberally rewarded*.

OF PROSTITUTION IN ARABIA, SYRIA, AND ASIA MINOR.

IN whatever countries the Mohammedan religion has been established, to describe the condition of women would be generally to repeat the accounts already given. Their character varies in different populations, but everywhere the laws to which they are subject are substantially the same.

In Syria and Asia Minor the marriage code is, among the Muslims, precisely similar to that of Egypt and Turkey, and so also in Arabia. In Natolia, especially, the influence of the Prophet's law is powerful, and the comparative simplicity of its inhabitants leads them to respect the boundaries laid down to their indulgences. Possessing within their own country all the materials of prosperity, they might, with virtue and industry, become once more a powerful and wealthy race; but misgovernment adds yearly to the mass of their corruption, and they perish in misery and servitude.

In such countries ambition sees no path but that of reckless crime, and mental activity only stimulates to sensual pursuits. Accordingly profligacy flourishes in the cities of Asia Minor, though in the thinly-peopled tracts there is perhaps more purity of manners than in any other Mohammedan country, except Arabia. Polygamy, permitted as it is by the law, is far from being generally adopted. In 1830, the extensive city of Brussa contained only a single man who had more than one wife. Women are secluded to some extent, but enjoy great freedom. Loved and indulged they are, but not respected; and, consequently, their

morals are inferior to those of the Bedouin wives.

The Christians, who are so freely tolerated among the Mohammedan population of Asia Minor, preserve very much the customs of Europe, except in the lesser details of their life. In the rich provinces of Syria, Arabs, Greeks, and Ottomans have mingled, bringing each some characteristic habits to modify the general social scheme. The pastoral and the Christian tribes are by far the most moral.

Among the Maronites of Lebanon, who hold our faith, a rigid code exists, with purity of manners; but, as among the ancient Germans, the severe law is only the moral influence in action. The law, without the feeling which upholds it, would be powerful; which constitutes the difference between a community which frames its own code according to its own spirit, and that which receives decrees from the caprice of a ruler. If a man among the Maronites seduce a girl, he must marry her; should he refuse, fairs, imprisonments, and even blows are employed, which force him to submit. The illicit intercourse of the sexes, married or unmarried, is reprobated by the sense of the community, and the profession of prostitution is unknown. On the whole, this may be described as a simple and comparatively innocent race, removed above the profligacy which ferments around them.

The Druses, also, are distinguished by the same characteristics; they do not permit polygamy, and marry very young. A man may divorce his wife, however, by only saying, "Go;" or if she ask permission to visit her relatives, and he concede it, without enjoining her to return, she must consider herself put away. In spite of this facility such separations scarcely ever occur. An adulteress is mercilessly put to death by the hands of her friends. One who commits fornication suffers a similar punishment, but in this case the father may pardon her if he choose. The tenderness of the parent sometimes induces him to spare his child, though her guilt may stain the honour of his house; but brothers, it is said, never relent, visiting the sin of their sister with unsparing sternness.

Prostitutes and dancing girls are common in all the cities and towns of Syria, but they are never met with among any of the pastoral or nomade tribes. In Asia Minor and Palestine the same circumstance is to be observed.

There is little to remark upon in the habits or characteristics of the class, which is similar to others of the same sisterhood

* See Kennedy's *Algeria and Tunis* in 1845; Russel's *Barbary States*; Jackson's *Account*; St. Marie's *Visit to Algeria*; Pananti's *Narrative*; Beechey, *Blaquière*, &c.

in Egypt, Turkey, and other parts of the East*. Since, therefore, little could be gained by dwelling at length upon these countries, we quit them, and pass to a region which, if the spirit of romance still remains on earth, may be described as its chosen home.

In Arabia we find a system of manners at once unique and beautiful. In saying this, however, we allude to the Bedouins, or representatives of the true Arab race, who preserve their original simplicity in the rainless plains of their ancient country. In the cities of the coast, and wherever the fertility of the soil has attracted a crowded population, vice has introduced itself, and the graces of the shepherd state have quickly disappeared. In surveying the civilization of Arabia this distinction must always be held in view.

Many natural circumstances combine to influence the natural character of the Arabs in their native region. A country whose sunny and sandy plains alternate with tracts of hills and valleys of the richest bloom, has been their home. In the mountains of Yemen wet and dry seasons alternate, but over the desert hangs a sky of perpetual blue,—bright, dry, and warm; while, during the summer solstice, a sun almost vertical floods the waste of rock and sand with insufferable light, parching the face of all nature.

In this extraordinary region the Arabs live; some, as we have said, in cities or villages, some in separate families, under tents. An independent patriarchal form of government has been preserved in complete unity with their simple system of manners. Their religion is that of Mohammed, though various interpretations of his law have divided them into numerous sects. Differing, as they do, in their scheme of education from Europeans, it is difficult for us to understand their character. The boy grows up until five years old under his mother's care; then, without a graduation, he is taken to his father's side. From the companionship of women and children he passes at once into the society of men.

The Arabs hold the female sex in high estimation. They exclude women, indeed, from all public assemblies, preclude them from the use of strong liquors, and hold them from infancy to womanhood under tutelage; but they restrain themselves as

well, and their general demeanour is modest, sober, and grave. Those in the fertile province of Yemen are more vivacious than those of the sterile plains. Nevertheless the men love society. Every village has its coffee-house full of gossipers, and every camp its place of rendezvous.

The women of the family occupy the interior of the house or tent; they are secluded to some extent, but not in the extravagant degree described by some writers. A man will not salute one in public, or fix his eyes upon her. Strangers, in general, are not allowed to converse with them, and they are expected to pay great deference to the ruling sex, but they are neither disguised nor immured. Veils they wear, but do not hide their faces with that religious care considered indispensable in some countries. Among many of the tent-dwellers, women drink coffee with strangers; and in some of the communities towards the south they are allowed to entertain a guest in their husband's absence. Indeed it may be said, that they are in Arabia more free than anywhere else in Islam, and proverbially abstemious in the gratification of all their appetites. All the household duties are performed by them. They fetch water, drive flocks, and wait on the men; but they are loved and respected, notwithstanding, and no claim is held so sacred as that by which a mother exacts duty from her son. There is, indeed, something admirable in the simplicity of these desert tribes, where the wife sits within her husband's tent, weaving her own garments from the wool of his flocks.

Where several families are congregated, the females visit each other, assemble together, and exchange every pleasant service. They meet in the evening to sing to the young men of the tribe, and many romantic assignations are kept in the little secluded valleys in which Arabia abounds. The well is the favourite spot of rendezvous.

The dances of the Arab girls, who perform before the men, are not only decent but elegant and romantic—totally in contrast to those of the Ghawazee. These amusements are as much for their own gratification as that of the other sex, for sometimes no males are present. Nor are they forced to exhibit when disinclined. Sometimes when the young men have offended the maidens of a tribe, they assemble night after night, but no damsels appear to dance or sing. All this indicates considerable purity of manners. The Mohammedan marriage law prevails among all the Arabs of the peninsula, though its details are modified by their system of manners. A man is

* The most valuable body of information on the Turkish Empire ever published was collected by the Rev. Robert Walpole, whose acquirements as a scholar are equalled by his accomplishments as a writer and a preacher.

expected, though not compelled, to take the widow of his deceased brother. A man has an exclusive right to the hand of his cousin, but is not compelled to marry her. He, however, must finally renounce his claim before she can be taken by any one else. Each may have four wives and as many concubines as he pleases. Two sisters may not be had at once; but one being divorced, the other may be taken.

The disparity between the sexes in point of number, which has been asserted by some travellers, does not appear to exist. Polygamy, a privilege of the rich, is seldom practised even by them. Many wealthy Bedouins, who could well maintain a harem, declare they could not be happy with more than one companion. The law obliges a man to pass at least one night in every week with each of his wives, and this has assisted in checking the practice.

The Mohammedans of Arabia are accused of selling their daughters; but they do not often bargain them away for profit. They naturally prefer a wealthy before a poor son-in-law, and receive a bounty from him; but they richly portion out the bride. She is further endowed by her husband. The contract drawn up before the Kadi stipulates not only what she is to receive upon her marriage, but what she may claim in case of a divorce. In many cases a sheikh of substantial fortune takes a poor son-in-law, gives him the sum necessary to be paid before the judge, and exacts from him in return only a pledge of such an amount, in the event of repudiation, that it can never take place. The wife, not being compelled to vest all her property in him, is, in some measure, free from his authority. She is, indeed, more supreme in the household than in most countries, and is even more happy, because she can insist upon a divorce if ill-used. Some men, indeed, take two wives, and some even three, but these instances are so few that, though the sexes are numerically equal, almost every man may have a wife. In the towns, soldiers and domestics are more frequently married than in Europe. No insult wounds an Arab woman more than to compare her to a fruitless tree. In this way the evils of polygamy, in the cities, are counteracted. A maiden past the marriageable age is ashamed of her virginity, and a widow without children is miserable until she finds a new partner. There are no retreats whither celibacy may fly for refuge from the taunts of the world. Every woman, consequently, is desirous to marry; but those who are taken by pluralists bear fewer children than those who have no

rival under the roof. In the house of a polygamist, each woman, feeling she has to contend for favour, seeks by unnatural means to increase her own attractions, to seem more voluptuous than she is, and thus injures her natural powers. Concubinage is more common than polygamy. The sheriff of Mecca has numerous female slaves, and his high example is followed by many wealthy men in the luxurious and corrupt populations of the cities. In the desert it is more rare, and, indeed, scarcely ever practised, except where a father presents his son with a beautiful bondmaid, that he may be satisfied with her, and not enter the towns in search of prostitutes.

In Mecca, the sacred city of the Mohammedan faith, nearly all the wealthy men maintain concubines, but, if they bear children, must, unless their complement of four wives be already complete, marry them or incur public reproach. Some of these voluptuaries, who look on women only as a means to gratify their animal appetites, marry none but Abyssinian wives, because they are more servile, obsequious, and voluptuous than those of pure Arabian blood. Foreigners arriving at that city with the caravan bargain for a female slave, intending to sell her at their departure, unless she bear offspring, in which case she is elevated to the position of a wife. Under any circumstances, to sell a concubine slave, is by the respectable part of the community, regarded as disreputable. Speculators, however, sometimes buy young girls, indulge their sensuality upon them, train them up, educate them, and sell them at a profit. No distinction is made among the children, of whichever class of mothers they are born.

It is one sign of pure manners among the simple communities of Arabia, that chastity is highly prized. When the young Arab marries a girl, he sometimes stipulates in the contract that she must be a virgin. Of this he desires to assure himself by examination. If the outward signs are wanting, the bride's father has to prove the circumstance accidental; should he fail in this, the fame of her innocence may be destroyed, and she may be driven from home overwhelmed with shame. In many of the nomade communities it is the invariable rule to put away a bride immediately after the discovery of any suspicious sign, and in the hills of Yemen the laws are equally severe. The man who marries a woman disgraced by incontinence shares her infamy unless he send her back to her father.

The dwellers in towns, estimating less

highly the worth of feminine virtue, laugh at a man who dishonours his family on account of such a circumstance. A man finding that his bride is not a virgin demands compensation from her father, keeps her a short time, and then puts her away privily, as Joseph was minded to do with the mother of Jesus. Many also understand that nature has refused the sign to some females, and that it is unjust to condemn a woman on the strength of a circumstance which a hundred accidents may have caused. If adultery be committed by the wife, the law condemns her to have her throat cut by the hand of her brother or father; but in general humanity prevails against the written code, and this horrible punishment is seldom inflicted. The usual manner of visiting such an offence is by summary divorce, which is indeed easily to be obtained for trivial causes, or for no cause at all. In towns an agreement before the Kadi, in the desert a lamb slaughtered before the door of the tent, is all the ceremony needed. The simple pronouncement of the word "Go" is, in many parts, sufficient. Men of violent passions abuse this privilege, and it is said that some, not more than 40 years of age, have had as many as 50 wives; but it is utterly untrue to say that such instances are frequent. The existence of the pure and true sentiment of love, which is so rare in Mohammedan countries, is admitted to prevail in Arabia; the natural jealousy of the male sex, the superior wisdom of their regulations respecting the intercourse of the sexes prior to marriage, the independence of the women, and the lofty system of morals distinguishing the Bedouins of the desert, are totally incompatible with such a flagrant profligacy in the use of divorce. Were it the case, the complete confusion of society would ensue; whereas no region in the world presents spectacles of happier homes than the plains of Arabia, with their tents and wandering tribes. Women are comparatively free, being tolerated even in religious differences, which implies a high estimate of their intellectual qualities. The republican spirit of the desert assigns them, indeed, their natural position, and, though much is required from them as modest women, little is exacted from them as an inferior sex.

Some of the peculiar customs among the various communities of Arabia are curious enough to require notice. Before the Wahaby Conquest it was customary among the Deyr Arabs for a man to take his daughter, when marriageable, to the

market-place—where all such engagements were formed—and proclaim her for disposal, crying aloud, "Who will buy the virgin?" The Bedouins of Mount Sinai still adhere to their singular practices. A man desiring matrimony makes a bargain with some one who has an unmarried daughter, and if able to settle it, sticks in his turban a sprig of green, which signifies that he is wedded to a virgin. The bride's inclinations are not beforehand consulted. She must go home with her husband, and submit for one night to his embraces. If she be not pleased, however, she may in the morning go home, when the contract is dissolved. Among the wealthier tribes of the East, no price is paid, and every girl is free to choose a partner. Modesty, with them, is regarded as the finest grace of the sex. It is genuine and unassailable. The bride even is sometimes so coy, that her husband is obliged to tie her up and whip her before she will yield to him. A widow's marriage is disreputable, and assailed with every demonstration of disrespect. This proves that divorce among them is unfrequent. Among the Nazyene, a tribe on the peninsula of Sinai, a girl, when given in marriage, flies and takes refuge among the hills, where she is supplied with food by her relations. The bridegroom goes in search, and when he finds his bride, must pass the night with her in the open air. She may repeat the flight several times, and indeed is not expected to live with her husband until a whole year has elapsed or she has become pregnant. Various other customs characterise different tribes; but in every feature of Arabian manners we discover a simplicity and purity as admirable as it is rare. Conjugal infidelity is rare in the desert. Fornication scarcely ever happens, and common prostitutes are unknown. In the crowded towns on the coast, however, there are numbers of professional prostitutes, licensed to carry on their calling, who pay considerable sums to the magistrates for the enjoyment of their privileges. In Mecca they are extremely numerous, and for the most part inhabit the poorest quarter of the city. In Dhyrdda, also, they are extremely numerous, but the population of that place is almost exclusively foreign. These women bear scarcely any children. When, during the early years of their vocation, they are capable of producing offspring, they employ artificial means to ensure abortion. The seeds of the tree whence is obtained the balm of Mecca, are used for that purpose.

In the mosques of the sacred city, pros-

titutes collect in great numbers, and are largely encouraged by the Moolah or priestly class, who find them a source of profit. Those of the more indigent description inhabit a particular quarter, but the others are dispersed amid the general mass of the population. They are more decent in their outward demeanour than the same class in the East and in Europe, and it requires a practised eye to detect, amid the throng of veiled women circulating in the streets and bazaars, those of the venal sisterhood. Contrary, however, to the rule which prevails in England, they are almost the only females who frequent places of worship, which is on account not of their devotion, but of their effrontery, the prejudices of Mohammedans being against it. The Bedouins near cities sometimes frequent the brothels in their neighbourhood; but these belong to the class the manners of which have been vitiated by intercourse with strangers.

In what numbers the prostitutes of the Arabian cities are found we know not, nor do we discover anything remarkable in their manners or modes of life. It would, consequently, be unprofitable to dwell on them. We have to notice, however, in connection with Arabia, two remarkable customs, one of which exhibits to us a class of male prostitutes, if such a term may be allowed, and the other a species of hospitality, now very rare, except among the grossest communities.

In the Arabian province of Hedjaz no unmarried woman may pass within the boundary or enter the mosque. As, however, many rich old widows and persons whose husbands have died by the way arrive with every pilgrim caravan, some device is necessary to procure them admission without breaking the law. A number of men, therefore, live in the frontier towns, who, upon the arrival of every concourse, hire themselves out to the women, marry them, live with them while they pass through the sacred territory, receive a munificent sum for their services, and are then divorced. If one of these individuals chooses to insist on keeping the wife he has procured, she cannot help it; but such an act would be attended with great discredit and the loss of a very profitable occupation. Eight hundred men are sometimes employed as temporary husbands, and a number of boys are continually trained that they may inherit the calling. On the various roads to the shrine of Mecca congregate a number of women, with somewhat of a sacred character attached to them. They are prostitutes, but not indiscriminate in their

connections, since they offer to bear to wealthy pilgrims children, who are considered as born under a fortunate auspice.

Among the Merehedes, on the frontiers of Yemen, a custom far more revolting has existed from ancient time, and still prevails. A stranger arriving as a guest is compelled to pass the night with the wife of his host, whatever her age or condition. Should he succeed in pleasing her he is honourably treated. If not, she cuts off a piece of his garment, turns him out into the village, and leaves him to be driven away in disgrace. When the Wahabis conquered the Merehedes, they forced them to abandon this odious practice; but some misfortunes ensuing to the tribe, they were all imputed to this sacrilegious infringement of an ancient law. The custom was therefore restored. Some other female of the family, may, however, be substituted for the wife, but young virgins are never sacrificed to this barbarous hospitality*.

OF PROSTITUTION IN TURKEY.

THERE is one general system of manners pervading the Mohammedan world. In examining, therefore, the moral aspects of the various countries in which the religion of the Prophet is established, we find little in each to distinguish it from the rest. In Turkey exists the same civilization as in Egypt, though its population is more corrupt. 25,000,000 souls inhabit a region which would support twice as many, and yearly the work of decay is going on.

The Osmanlis, a race of Scythian extraction, have held Turkey during 400 years, receiving, however, large infusions of Persian and Mongolian blood. The wealthier people their harems with the beauties of Georgia and Circassia; the humbler intermarry with Servians, Bulgarians, Albanians, and Greeks, so that the original physical characteristics of the race have been greatly modified. Their moral nature has changed also, but in a less degree. Proud, sensual, and depraved in their tastes, they are too indolent to acquire even the means of gratifying their most powerful cravings. Their pride is satisfied with the recollection of

* Niebuhr's Description de l'Arabie; Burckhardt's Travels in Arabia; Burckhardt's Notes on the Bedouins, &c.; Chesney's Euphrates Expedition; Farren's Letters to Lord Lindsay; Perrier's Syrie sous Mehemet Ali; Skinner's Overland Journey; Kinnear's Cairo, Petra, and Damascus; Kelly's Syria and the Holy Land; Walpole's Memoirs; Poujolat's Voyage en Orient; Ainsworth's Travels in Asia Minor; Blondel's Deux Ans en Syrie.

former glories; their lust looks forward to the enjoyments of paradise, crowded, as they believe, with celestial creatures devoted to the delight of their senses. Immersed in an atmosphere of epicurean speculation, the Turk whom poverty does not compel to labour for his bread passes the day in lounging on cushions, smoking, sipping coffee, winking with half-closed eyes on the landscape, dreamily indifferent to all external objects. Even the poor indulge in this idleness. They measure out the amount of labour sufficient to keep them from want, and spend the rest of their lives drowsily awaiting the sensual bliss promised them by their prophet in heaven. During this lethargy passions more violent than are known to Europeans sleep in their breasts, and when these are excited, the Turk cannot be surpassed for brutal fury. All his ideas are gross. He is able to imagine no authority not armed with whip or sword. Moral power is to him an incomprehensible idea. It is, perhaps, for this reason that the Osmanlis have conquered so much, and possessed so little talent for governing what they acquired.

This notice of the Turkish character is necessary, because it corresponds exactly with their estimation of the female sex. The person alone is loved. Intellect in a Turkish woman is a quality rarely developed, because never prized. It is no part of her education to learn to read or write. To adorn herself, to dress in charming attire, to beautify her face, to perfume her hair, and soften her limbs in the bath or with fine ointments, is the object to which she applies her mind; and when, thus decorated, she lounges on a pile of cushions in the full splendour of her costume, her delight is some spectacle which will stimulate her passions and intoxicate her with excitement. Turkey is thus the empire of the senses.

Polygamy, authorized by the Prophet's code, is not now so frequently resorted to as formerly. It is growing into disrepute, and the female sex, upon which the laws relating to property have conferred much independence, are generally averse to it. Men marrying wives equal in rank to themselves frequently engage in their first marriage contract not to form a second, and the breach of this agreement is viewed as a profligate abuse of manners. The practice of polygamy was once, however, very prevalent among the higher orders, and contributed much to corrupt as well as to diminish the population. In the families of those Mohammedans who indulge in a plurality of wives, the children are fewer

than in those of the Greeks, Armenians, and Jews, to whom polygamy is not permitted.

The offspring of married women, also, in the middle ranks of life is more numerous than in the wealthier harems. Indeed, the sex in Turkey is naturally prolific; but the growth of the nation has been checked by this among other causes. To account for the origin of the practice in Turkey many ingenious theories have been framed. It appears easy, however, to find its origin. The men are naturally sensual, and have never been accustomed to respect the female sex. When, therefore, an individual's wealth allowed him, he naturally made use of it to multiply the sources of that animal enjoyment, dearer to him than any other earthly pleasure. Some have supposed that polygamy was necessitated by the numerical disparity of the sexes; but this does not seem the case. In those cities and towns where the women are in greater numbers than the men, we find that they are purchased in large numbers from the neighbouring villages or in the markets, to furnish the harems of the opulent.

The social code of Turkey requires a woman to preserve herself in strict seclusion. The privacy of her apartments is so great that, unless on very rare occasions, no male is allowed to enter them except the master of the house. There are only certain days of the year in which a brother, an uncle, or a father-in-law can be admitted, or on festive occasions, such as a birthday or ceremony of circumcision.

The usages of the country do not even permit a man to see his wife before marriage. In this respect the Turks are more jealous than their written law, for the Prophet advised his friend to obtain a glimpse of the woman whom he designed to receive into his bed. She may gratify her curiosity by seeing him, but such an occurrence is not frequent. This severe separation of the sexes has given employment to a class of professional match-makers, who, as in China, make considerable profits by their calling, and often gain money under fraudulent pretences. The beauty and temper of the woman are exaggerated to the man, who, on the other hand, is described to the lady as possessed of every heroic qualification. They are mutually deceived; they rush into a marriage, and perhaps in a few days a divorce is required. Children of three or four years are sometimes betrothed, and married when they are fourteen. This interference of the parents leads often to evil results, for the youth, who is forced to accept his father's choice, sometimes hates his bride

before he sees her, and resolves to take a concubine as soon as circumstances permit.

Each family deposes an agent to promote the satisfactory settlement of the transaction, while the girl herself, under her cloudy veil, sits in her harem to await her fate. To expose her face to a strange man's gaze would be regarded as a species of prostitution. Her fortune is, therefore, decided for her. The terms of the contract are laid down in a document, which is signed by witnesses, and the woman is then called "a wife by writing." This is concluded some days before the actual rite of wedding; but the whole interval is occupied with ceremonies, rejoicing, and liberal displays of hospitality. A man in Constantinople usually reckons on spending a year's income on the occasion of his marriage. The average of this, in the middle ranks, is from 2000 to 2500 piastres.

On the appointed day the union, which is a mere civil contract, though blessed by religious rites, is concluded. The bridegroom is conducted by an Imaum, or priest, to the entrance of the bride's chamber, and there a prayer is uttered, to which all his friends make response. He is then left alone, standing outside the door. He knocks three times. A slave-maid admits him, going out herself to fetch a table with a tray of viands. While she is gone the husband endeavours to uncover his wife's face, in which, after the usual coy resistance prescribed by custom, he, of course, succeeds. Meanwhile the damsel returns, and they eat together. The meal is very quickly dispatched, and a bridal couch is spread on the floor. Then the bride is taken into a neighbouring room, where she is undressed by her mother and her friends, after which the newly-married pair are left alone. Among the most popular stories connected with Ottoman manners, is that of the sultan throwing his handkerchief to the woman he chooses as the companion of his pillow, and the imitation of this practice by great men in their harems. This, however, is a fanciful invention, repeated by some travellers who desired the world to suppose they were intimate with the secrets of the seraglio. When the sultan chooses any one of his women to pass the night with, he sends an eunuch with a present to inform her of the intended honour. She is taken to a bath, perfumed, attired in beautiful garments, and then placed in bed. The story of her creeping in at the foot of the couch is also a fable. The first chosen is the chief in rank.

The first of these fanciful accounts was

probably suggested by a custom still practised among some of the Bosnian communities in western Turkey, where manners are more simple than in the eastern provinces. The young Muslim girls are there permitted to walk about in the daytime with uncovered faces. A man inclined to matrimony who happens to be pleased with the appearance of one of these maidens throws an embroidered handkerchief, or some part of his dress, over her head or neck. She then returns to her home, considers herself betrothed, and never again exposes her features in public. This is the usual preliminary to marriage; but it is probable that the lover has more than one look at his mistress before he makes the sign.

Even the sultan's concubines are purchased slaves, since no free Turkish woman can occupy that position. Occasionally he gives one away to a favourite pasha, who looks with pride upon the acquisition, and glories in the refuse of a palace. Little girls, about seven years of age, are much prized as slaves, and are often sold for upwards of a hundred guineas.

Life in the harems of Constantinople is similar to that in those of Cairo. It is a round of sensual enjoyment, in which vanity is almost the only relief to the grosser appetites of humanity. The bath is the favourite place of resort. Lady Wortley Montague has left a celebrated description of one of these palaces of indolence. The ladies, perfectly naked, walked up and down, or reclined in various attitudes on heaps of cushions, attended by pretty slaves, who handed them coffee or sherbet. They delighted in the voluptuous movements of the female dancers, of which the public class in Turkey, as in Egypt, is composed of prostitutes. It struck them with surprise and disappointment that Lady Mary did not take off her clothes as they did; but she showed them how she was cased up in her stays, so that she could not strip, which they imagined was an ingenious device of her jealous husband.

The morals of the Turkish women in general are described by most writers as very loose. The veils which were invented to preserve their virtue, favour their intrigues to dispose of it. The most watchful husband may pass his wife in the street without knowing her. Thus they live in perpetual masquerade. The places of assignation are usually at Jews' shops, where they meet their paramours, though very seldom letting them know who they are. "You may easily imagine," said Lady

Montague, "the number of faithful wives to be very small in a country where they have nothing to fear from a lover's indiscretion." This may be taken, however, as an exaggerated view, for her ladyship was accustomed to breathe the impure moral atmosphere of courts, and cared little for the character of her sex in any part of the world.

The wife in Turkey holds this check upon the caprice of her husband—her property belongs to herself, and if she be divorced she may take it away. The widow, also, is inviolable in her harem, not only against private intrusion, but against the officers of the law. If a woman's husband neglect her, that is, if he fail to visit her once a week, she may sue for a separation, which may be easily effected before a Kadi. If she commit adultery, he may also sue; but if the divorce takes place by mutual consent no formality whatever is required. As in Egypt, a man may marry a woman twice after divorcing her; but the third time he must not take her again, until she has been had and put away by another person.

Women, in Turkey, regard as an object more pitiable than any other the childless wife. With them to be barren after marriage is viewed as more disgraceful than with us to be fruitful before. All sorts of quackeries are resorted to by them to prolong and increase their powers of child-bearing, so that many kill themselves by the dangerous devices they employ. It is common to see a woman who has borne thirteen or fourteen children; some in the middle ranks bear from 25 to 30. They pray for the birth of twins, and are usually good mothers, though some have expressed themselves indifferent whether all their children lived or half of them were swept off by the plague. The single instance of superior refinement observable in Egypt is also remarkable here. Midwives only attend the bed of child-birth. There are no accoucheurs. Female practitioners also cure diseases; though an European physician is sometimes admitted to feel a pulse or even to see a patient's face.

Among the humbler classes the condition of the women resembles very nearly that of our own country. Their morality is generally superior to that of those wealthier inmates of the harems whose indolence seduces them into vice.

The dancing girls of the public class of Turkey resemble, in all respects, those of Egypt. They are prostitutes by profession; but they do not appear to be so numerous in that country as formerly. Their per-

formances, however, are prized by all classes, and they dance as lasciviously in the harem before women, as in the Kiosk before a party of convivial men. Those who perform in public indulge in every obscenity, and vie with each other in their indecent exhibitions. Their costume is exceedingly rich both in colour and in material. Frequenting the coffee-houses by day, they pick up companions, whom they entertain with songs, or tales, or caresses until night-fall, when preliminary orgies take place, and they disperse, with their patrons, to houses in various parts of the city, generally in the more narrow, tortuous, and remote streets. The outsides of these habitations are usually of a forbidding, cheerless, dirty aspect, but the interior of those belonging to the wealthier chiefs of the dancing girls are fitted up with every appurtenance of luxury.

One of the most extraordinary features in the social institutions of Turkey is the temporary union, or marriage of convenience, which is adopted by many. It is, indeed, strictly speaking, simple prostitution. A man going on a journey, and leaving his wife behind, arrives in a strange city, where he desires to make some stay. He immediately bargains for a girl to live with him while he remains in the neighbourhood; a regular agreement is drawn up, and he supports her, and pays her friends, while he has her in his possession. The Moolahs declare this to be one valuable privilege of the male sex in Turkey; but the engagement does not appear to be valid before the law, if contracted expressly as a temporary union. But this is not necessary. The facility of divorce renders all such precaution useless. The man, therefore, takes the girl, nominally as his wife, but virtually as his mistress, until he is tired of her, or wishes to depart, when she returns to her friends and waits the occasion of a new engagement.

Such is, in outline, the social system of Turkey with reference to the female sex*.

OF PROSTITUTION IN CIRCASSIA.

A PECULIAR interest attaches to the nation inhabiting that isthmus, with its stupend-

* Walpole's *Memoirs of Turkey*; *Deux Années à Constantinople*; Walpole's *Travels*; *Sketches of Turkey by an American*; Castellan's *Mœurs des Ottomans*; Macfarlane's *Constantinople in 1828*; Porter's *Philosophical Transactions*; Lady M. W. Montague's *Letters*; St. John's *Notes*; Thornton; Walsh; Slade's *Travels*; Marshall; Marmont's *Turkey*; Arvieux's *Voyages*; Russel's *Aleppo*, &c.

ous mountains, which forms the natural barrier between Asia and Europe; and is, perhaps, still the least known region in the ancient world. The Western Caucasus comprehends an immense district commencing at the middle Kuban, and terminating with Georgia. It is peopled by various tribes, claiming a common descent, and governed by princes, elders, and nobles. The Circassians are a brave and civilized, hospitable and courteous, race, resembling the ancient Swiss; and they present a singular system of manners varying considerably with the different tribes.

There is a race, known as the Abassians, which is considered the aboriginal nation of the Caucasus,—described by Strabo as a predatory people,—pirates at sea, robbers on land; characteristics which they have to this day preserved. They are, however, in other respects, virtuous, dwelling in fixed habitations, strangers to the worst vices of civilized life, and humble in their desires. Their religion, a compound of Judaism, Christianity, and Islamism, permits polygamy; but, as a wife is expensive, they are usually contented with one, who is more the companion than the menial of her husband. The women are exceedingly industrious; employing themselves in a variety of pursuits, and tasking themselves far more than is essentially necessary in order to procure ornamental clothes. To reward them for this they are allowed full liberty, are free in their social intercourse, and, if they wear a veil, wear it only to screen their complexions from the sun. Their costume is highly elegant, and their state is indicated by the colour of their trowsers—white being that for the virgin, red for the wife, and blue for the widow.

The laws these people have made to protect their own morals, have, in some degree, answered their purpose. Illegitimate children have no claim to a share of the patrimony, and can legally claim no relationship with any one. Should they be sold as slaves there is no one bound to ransom; should they be assassinated there is no relative expected to avenge their death. Nevertheless the inherent kindness of the Abassians mitigates the effect of these harsh laws. Illegitimate children are rarely treated ill, and their legitimate brothers often make with them a voluntary partition of property.

But when a man marries a barren woman, he is allowed to take a concubine, whose children inherit no disability on this account.

When a man dies, be his rank what it may, the social law confers on his wife the

superintendence of the household, and she administers the property without division until her death, when it is divided among the sons. Should any of the daughters remain unmarried, their eldest brother is bound to support them until a suitor appears, when he may make as good a bargain as he can.

Severe laws have been enacted against immorality. The man detected in illicit intercourse with a married or unmarried woman is tried before the elders of the community, who rarely fail to punish him, either by a fine or by perpetual banishment. The dishonoured wife is returned to her parents, as well as the girl, and sold as a slave. The dowry which her husband had given for her is returned to him. If the guilt have happened in the family of a prince, it can only be washed out by the blood of one, if not both, of the criminals. So bitter, indeed, is the shame which such an occurrence brings upon a house, that they who have been so disgraced often retire to some desolate part of the Caucasus, there to hide themselves from the obloquy which ever afterwards attaches to their name.

When a man desires to divorce his wife, he must declare before a council of elders the reasons for such a step; and if these be not perfectly satisfactory he is obliged to pay the parents of the women a sufficient amount to recompense them for the burden thus thrown upon their hands. Should the woman, however, marry again before two years have expired, this sum is returned. Frequently a maiden having formed some romantic attachment, and hating the man chosen as her husband by her parents, flies alone into the woods, and hides until her friends proclaim themselves willing to concede her desires. Occasionally, also, two warriors select the same girl to marry, and in this case a duel is fought—sometimes with fire-arms—the victor carrying off the prize. Similar laws and usages prevail among the Circassians, except that the wealthier men among them seclude their wives, and are altogether more Turkish in their manners. On the whole, however, the patriarchal institutions of this singular and romantic people are admirable for the effect they produce, since the Circassians and Abassians are exceedingly pure in their morality.

Among the Circassians themselves, with the exception of the prouder nobles, women are not secluded. The wives and daughters of a house are often introduced to the traveller, and unmarried girls are frequently seen at public assemblies. One

singular custom, however, is observed, which is that the husband never appears abroad with his wife, and scarcely ever sees her during the day. This is not from neglect or scorn, but in accordance with ancient habits, and a desire to prolong the first sentiments with which the bridegroom approaches his bride.

All Circassian women wear, until they are married, a tight corset of leather, which makes their complexion sallow, and hurts the figure, as all unnatural compression does. The consequence is that the young wives are infinitely more beautiful than the maidens; and the charms of the women of this race are celebrated throughout the world. The reason assigned for this strange custom is, that it is shameful for a virgin to have a full bosom. When a girl has been chosen and purchased, her future husband comes to the house, places her on horseback, gallops away, and conveys her home. Then, when all the people are supposed to be asleep, the bridegroom first unlooses the abominable ligatures which confine the bosom of his bride. He does not, until some time has passed, live with her openly.

An idea prevails among the vulgar in Europe, that the Circassians sell their daughters as slaves to any Turk or Persian who may desire to buy them. This is not correct. They are particularly careful as to the position and birth of the individual who desires to intermarry with them, and the sale is no more than takes place among their own people, as well as among all the nations inhabiting the Caucasus. Great precautions are taken to secure the happiness of the girls, and long negotiations frequently produce no bargain. It is true that in the bazaars of Constantinople, and the principal towns of Asia Minor and Persia, numerous girls are sold under the name of Circassians, but they are mostly Abassians, or the children of Circassian peasants, or children ravished from the neighbouring Cossacks, or slaves procured from those base Circassian traders who have given in their adhesion to Russia. Many of the girls, being trained to such ideas from childhood, prefer the Turkish harem to the life they follow among their native hills. Some come back after having obtained their liberty, and bring accounts, in the most fluent language, of the voluptuous joys they have indulged in in their luxurious prisons; but generally the race is dearly attached to its freedom.

Throughout the Caucasus we have found a high scale of manners. Prostitution, as

a profession, is unknown. In one of the simple tribes, still under patriarchal rule, a girl who took up such a calling would be so shunned and abhorred by the rest of her country-women, that she would speedily be compelled to fly beyond the bounds of their territory, that is, if she escaped being sold as a slave or put to death by her indignant friends. The parental authority, more moral than legal, is a great check upon profligacy, since a man of whatever age, if he have a father living, pays obedience to him, and fears to incur his reproof. It is therefore delightful to point out a country surrounded by gross and profligate nations, where simplicity of manners still prevails, and where the female sex is as happy and as highly esteemed as it is modest, chaste, and virtuous*.

OF PROSTITUTION AMONG THE TARTAR RACES.

THE immense region of Central Asia, little known and seldom visited, has been the cradle of great nations, which have exercised a mighty influence on the fortunes of the world, and may again become conspicuous in history. It is, therefore, interesting, as well as important, to inquire into the characteristics of the populations which still cling to its soil. They are divided under many names, and among the most remarkable are the hordes of Kirghiz Kazaks, who wander between the borders of the Caspian Sea on the west, and the fortified line which forms the southern frontier of the Russian Empire. On the east it is divided by a similar chain of posts from the Chinese dominions, but towards the south the limits of their wanderings are unknown. Over this vast steppe a various climate prevails; but the whole is particularly marked by extremes of heat and cold, while the soil is composed of alternate deserts of sand and pasture, where rain during the greater part of the year is exceedingly scanty. A short and delicious spring, a burning and dry summer, a short and miserable autumn, which speedily darkens into a long, bitter, and gloomy winter—such are the influences to which these hordes are subject. Forests, patches of green, salt lakes, springs and rivers of fresh water, a few rich valleys, and some rocky hills, vary the aspect of the wilderness which is their

* Spenser's *Western Caucasus*; Klaproth's *Voyages dans le Caucase*; Spenser's *Travels in Circassia*; Wilbraham's *Travels*; Marigny's *Three Voyages*.

home; but generally it is a blank and monotonous waste. All these circumstances are enumerated, as they may be supposed to have formed, or at least to have modified, the character of the Kirghiz Kazaks. They are divided into three principal hordes—the Great, the Lesser, and the Little—amounting altogether to from 2,000,000 to 2,400,000 souls. Engaged perpetually in wandering from place to place, they have nevertheless certain spots, belonging by prescriptive rights to particular tribes, where they encamp for the coldest months of the winter. Their manners afford a faithful picture of the ancient patriarchal life, not, indeed, the poetical life of Arcadia and the pastures of Israel, but that of the Scythians, as represented by Herodotus, or the Bedouins in their original simplicity. Forming a nation of shepherds, they appear to live only on and for their flocks, accustoming themselves little to the use of arms, and, though perpetually on horseback, seldom engaging in the chase. They dwell in huts or temporary habitations of strong wickerwork, covered in with fleeces; and in the interior of these singular habitations much comfort, elegance, and even sumptuous luxury may often be found. Nevertheless they are a robust, hardy race, possessing very indistinct ideas of property, and, though addicted to sensual enjoyments, long lived, and seldom visited by epidemic diseases, except when the small-pox is brought among them from Siberia.

Their manners with respect to the character and treatment of the female sex are simple, but, in comparison with other pastoral races, somewhat coarse. In costume the woman differs little from the man. Both men and women adorn themselves with ornaments of silver, gold, or coral, or even pearls and other gems, and in this reciprocal display of vanity we discover a token of equality between the sexes. It is difficult to ascertain the religion of these hordes, but it is apparently a crude mixture of Mohammedanism and Paganism. The Muslims have attempted to disseminate their doctrines widely, but few of the Prophet's laws have been accepted so readily as that which allows a plurality of wives—which the Kirghiz indulge in whenever they can afford the amount to be paid for a bride according to the usages of their nation.

The Kirghiz are immoderately addicted to voluptuous pleasures, and are extremely idle. It is curious to remark, however, that while the men are distinguished by their indolence, the women are fond of ex-

ertion, occupying themselves, as much from inclination as from necessity, with the affairs of the household, with attendance on the flocks, and with the manufacture of garments. Their recompense is to be treated as servitors by masters who are sometimes proud and harsh; but the labour of the women is not compulsory, nor are they shut up in harems, or forbidden to mix with the other sex. The seclusion of females, indeed, is not a custom. Their manner of living exposes them to every temptation; jealousy has little power to watch, and the wife's virtue is, for the most part, left to guard itself.

Though, as we have said, the Kirghiz, when they are rich enough, eagerly avail themselves of the privilege of polygamy, few possess wealth enough to enable them to marry more than one wife. This circumstance prevents them from indulging in that pride which impels a man to shut up the partner of his pillow from every eye but his own. They who have seraglios must follow a steady and uniform course of life. The Tartar's tent offers few obstacles to curiosity or intrigue. Turks and Persians who keep a harem usually possess slaves also, whose labour permits their mistresses to lounge idly on silken cushions; but as the Kirghiz loves to be indolent, he is constrained to let his wife be as active as she pleases, and is never so happy as when she saves him the trouble of moving from his couch, by going everywhere and doing everything herself. But on horseback he is proud of motion, which accounts partly for the migratory habits of the hordes, though the nature of their country is the chief cause of their nomadic manner of life. Women consequently enjoy their liberty, and to their love of industry they join a goodness of heart and a warmth of affection which extort praises from many travellers.

The great check upon polygamy is, as we have noticed, the cost of the *Kalym*, which is to be paid for every woman. This price varies in amount, from five or six sheep, and occasionally less among the poor, to 200 or 500 or even 1000 horses among the rich. To these are added different household effects, with, on rare occasions, a few slaves, male or female. Out of these payments a considerable share goes to the Mohammedan Moolahs who frequent the steppes, and who are attracted thither no less by their profitable occupation of marrying the people than by religious zeal. The *Kalym* increases with the number of wives. The second costs more than the first, and the third than the second, and so

forth, which enables none but a very wealthy man to keep a harem. The khan of the Little Horde, who was lord over nearly 1,000,000 men, had sixteen or seventeen wives, besides fifteen concubines, whose offspring, however, were all on an equality. This patriarch had 42 sons and about 34 daughters. Young men usually take their first wife not according to their own choice, but under their father's direction. As to girls they are always under their parents' control, and many are affianced during infancy.

The first arrangement made when a marriage is in contemplation is to fix the amount of the *kalym*, and the date on which it is to be paid. These preliminaries concluded, the Moolah consecrates the transaction by asking three times of the parents of the bride and those of the bridegroom, "Do you consent to the union of your children?" and reading prayers for the happiness of the married couple. Witnesses and arbitrators are then chosen, who may decide future disputes, should any such arise, and the nuptials are terminated by a feast and various kinds of merry-making. The man then begins to pay a *kalym*, or else his father does this on his behalf; and the parents of the girl occupy themselves with getting ready a trousseau for their daughter—among the articles of which it is essentially requisite to include the tent which the bride is to occupy when she is finally delivered over to her husband. While the *kalym* remains unpaid the marriage is suspended; though the bridegroom may pay visits to the maiden he has chosen, and even live with her, provided he engages not to take away her chastity.

Among some tribes these preliminary meetings are conducted with much ceremony; in all they are often the first interviews which the husband has with the woman who is to be his wife. When once, however, a part of the required amount is paid, neither can retract without disgrace. Ruptures, indeed, rarely, if ever, take place; partly because no young girl dare to assert a will of her own, and partly because the man does not care to rebel against a union which he is free to break when he desires.

Frequently, however, the bride and bridegroom, during their preliminary visits, anticipate the final nuptial ceremony; in which case this is usually hastened, though the whole amount of *kalym* may not have been paid. They are led, richly clothed if possible, into a tent, where various rites are performed. The husband then departs,

but immediately comes again on horseback and demands his wife. Her parents refuse to yield her, when he enters, bears her off by force, places her across his saddle, and gallops away to his tent, which during many hours after is sacred against all intruders. This custom, however, is not universal.

If a man finds his wife not to be a virgin, he may disgrace her, send her home, and demand from her father the restitution of the *kalym*, or one of his other daughters who happens to be chaste, without payment.

As every woman brings with her dowry a new tent, so each wife, when a man has more than one, dwells in a separate habitation. The first is styled the "rich wife," and exercises superior authority over all the rest. Though she may have disgusted her husband, he is bound to distinguish her by respect; while the others, entirely equal among themselves, remain always in a certain dependence on her. Prudent husbands divide even the flocks belonging to the different women, that the children of each may justly inherit her property. The chief wife may quit her husband, if she can show any grave cause for separation, and return to her parents, but the others have not that privilege.

The manners of the Kirghiz women are in general simple and courteous; and the conduct of the men towards them, though often rude, gross, and contemptuous, is frequently also polite and deferential. The love songs of the desert are some of them exceedingly poetical; and the pictures drawn by Tartar improvisators of their mistresses are full of passion and adulation.

A man may kill his wife if he find her actually committing adultery, but not otherwise. A fine is the usual punishment of the adulterer; while the woman may be divorced, or chastised in various ways.

Generally the morals of the Kirghiz Kazaks are good. Chastity in their women is highly prized—its loss entailing disgrace; but as numbers of the men are extremely sensual, many prostitutes may usually be found in each camp, though not so many as some appear to imagine. They live usually in companies, resembling the class of sutlers in European armies; though some of superior fortune inhabit separate tents, and live in ease and plenty.

Among the Nogay Tartars, who are also nomades, the custom prevails of a man serving his father-in-law for a certain number of years. With them the weaker is absolutely the property of the stronger

sex, and all contracts are transactions of sale. The father sells his daughter, the brother his sister, and girls are considered part of an inheritance as much as flocks and herds, and are equally divided among the sons. The value of a woman is measured in cows; five being the cost of an inferior, and thirty of a superior one. The man, however, though obliged to buy, is not allowed to sell his wife. If she transgress beyond his patience he turns her out of the dwelling, and she returns to her parents, who seldom fail to receive her kindly. Divorce is permitted, but is so costly that few resort to it. When a wife leaves her husband against his consent he may demand her back; but if she meanwhile commit adultery or theft, her parents must restore the *kalym* which was originally paid for her, and she becomes so infamous that only the poorest man will buy her.

The rich are polygamists; and as the sexes are about equal in point of numbers, many of the poor cannot get a wife of any kind. The woman is not allowed to eat with her husband; and if she expect paradise, it is with the understanding that she is to dwell there as a servitor. Marriages are not fruitful, and the population is regularly decreasing.

The Russians have introduced into the country certain virulent diseases, which aid rapidly to thin the people, who themselves have lost much in morality. Wherever they have large encampments, and settle for the winter, numbers of prostitutes spring up among them, not indeed entirely addicted and altogether destined to that calling, but employing it as a means of gain, and living on its wages for a shorter or a longer period.

Prostitution, which is unknown among the pastoral tribes of Arabia, is, in fact, very prevalent among some of the shepherd communities inhabiting the Tartar steppes. There are two classes of women who betake themselves to it—widows and divorced women—who, having no independent means of subsistence, hire out their persons under a sort of necessity, and linger through a miserable remnant of life, in dirt, rags, and contempt; and a few who addict themselves to prostitution simply under the impulse of a profligate disposition. On the whole, however, the morality of Tartars is of a superior character*.

* Levchine's *Les Kirghiz Kazaks*; Spencer's *Travels*; Klaproth's *Travels*, &c., &c.

OF THE MIXED NORTHERN NATIONS.

INTRODUCTORY.

PURSuing our inquiries among the northern races, to the very extreme of Polar cold, we discover many interesting peculiarities. Perhaps, however, the most important result of our research is the establishment of the fact, that the popular idea is in great measure erroneous, of hot countries having the most licentious population. Climate, indeed, may by fine degrees influence the temperament of men; but the conspicuous truth evolved from all our investigations has been that the manners of nations are regulated by their moral education, and not by the thermometer.

In Egypt, India, Persia, and the other hot regions of the African and Asiatic continents, there prevails a voluptuous spirit; but in Russia, in Siberia, among the Greenlanders, and the tribes of the snowy deserts in the utmost north, equal sensuality is to be discovered. In the warm and happy plains

of Arabia, in the sultry champagnes of various parts of the East, we find shepherd communities with manners most pure and simple, and we find the same among many roving nations in the cold of Tartary and Siberia. The languor and indolence engendered by a fervent climate may, indeed, induce a thirst for exciting pleasure; but the rigour and inclemency of the north appear equally to dispose men to take refuge in sensual gratification. Ispahan was never more licentious than St. Petersburg 50 years ago; nor are the debauchees in the burning atmosphere of Africa more gross and indiscriminate in their pursuit of animal delights than many tribes of Esquimaux, buried though they be among the frosts of an eternal winter.

Thus climate appears to exert, at least, far less influence than is popularly imagined. The horrible orgies of the *Areois*, in the voluptuous islands of the Pacific, were rivalled and surpassed by the Physical

Societies of Moscow; nor are the revels of Southern India more profligate than those enacted among the snowy solitudes of Siberia. Indeed, among the Hindus, we have never found perpetrated, even by the lowest class, depravities more vile than those we have discovered among tribes in Kamschatka and other parts of the Arctic regions.

One circumstance, however, appears to be undeniable. The temperament of Asiatics is more easily inflamed than that of northern races. Their mind is more active, their fancy more busy, their imagination more creative. They give even to their vices a picturesque colour, quality, and configuration, whereas the voluptuaries of cold countries are dull and drowsy sensualists, without a tinge of poetry in their composition. For this reason the ardent passions of the East have been celebrated in romance and history, while the slothful sensuality of the North has been neglected and forgotten. The world consequently has heard much of the one, and little or nothing of the other; and in course of time, by a very natural process, has imagined that the burning climates of Asia represent the passions of its inhabitants, while the snows of the opposite regions of Polar cold are characteristic of their purity and freedom from the dross of vice.

This idea, which we confess we once shared with the rest of the public, has been dissipated in our minds by the inquiries we have made. The sensuality of the East is more striking, more conspicuous, more celebrated, because it has been dressed by history and fable in more attractive forms, while that of the North is forgotten, because it has presented no theme for declamation or romance. But the people of the one resemble very much the people of the other; and even in the South, among the old and decaying nations of Europe, the same truth is discovered. Spain and Italy are supposed to be the cradles of voluptuous sentiment; but history shows how they have, in the manners of their people, passed from gradation to gradation, from variety to variety, while their climate has remained perpetually the same. Nature alters in nothing, but civilization is in continual change; and Rome, which was the sanctuary of female virtue in the heroic times of the Republic, is now, like Babylon, a city where adultery is licensed, and profligacy has the encouragement of the law.

Manners in Russia appear also to have passed through a considerable change since the days of the Empress Catherine. When it becomes civilized, it will, probably, im-

prove still further. Its manners are now gross and profligate in the extreme, which in servile populations is invariably the case; but they have undergone considerable ameliorations since the close of the last century. In the neighbouring and kindred regions of Siberia, alterations appear only in those parts where a congregation of tribes has taken place, and the ruder are giving way to the more refined forms of society. Throughout the North, indeed, as much variety appears as in the East, and communities dwelling under the same temperature, present a perfect contrast in their morals and customs.

In Finland a very extraordinary state of manners still prevails. A recent traveller affords a curious illustration of this, showing how the ideas of decency in various countries are modified by habit. He went to a bath, and when conducted into a private chamber, found to his astonishment a tall handsome girl ready to attend him. She exhibited the utmost coolness and indifference, stripped off all his clothes, and rubbed him with herbs from head to foot as though he had been a mere log of wood, bathed him, laid him on his face, scourged him with a bundle of twigs, until he broke out into copious perspiration, dried him with towels, and all the while appeared utterly unconscious that her task was inconsistent with modesty or decent manners. In many parts of the North it is customary, as in some places in the East, and in the heroic ages in Greece, for the maidens of the house to attend a guest to his bed-chamber, and assist in disposing him in comfort for the night. These practices do not in all countries, and at all times, illustrate the same national characteristics. They belong on the contrary to two extremes of social development. They indicate either a perfect simplicity or a total corruption of manners. It was genuine purity of mind and unsuspecting innocence of character that is represented in the virgin who attended Ulysses to the bath; but it was the vilest sensuality and brutality of manners that allowed the Roman Emperor of later days to be bathed and dressed by women.

Consequently in passing from the semi-civilized nations, through the races of the North, to the educated communities of Christendom, we proceed without the theory of measuring a country's manners by its geographical position. If it be civilized, it will be moral; but civilization is a false name when it is applied to a corrupt and enervated society. Art and luxury are not its highest evidences; but virtue

and obedience to the exalted maxims of ethical philosophy.

OF PROSTITUTION IN RUSSIA.

RUSSIA, included by courtesy among civilized states, retains strong traces of its original barbarism. Resembling China in its system of government, it resembles it also in manners. What is admirable in its social characteristics arises from the natural good qualities of the people, who, notwithstanding a despotism which has wanted no feature to degrade them, please the traveller by a display of many signs of good disposition.

Russia resembles Asia in the indolence and apathy of its population. In the one region nations appear to have been enervated by heat, in the other benumbed by cold into a torpid submission to power. This is evident from the state of public manners. In Russia the inquiry is not what is essentially wrong, but what is wrong according to the police; and nothing else is condemned. Abject towards their rulers, they assume towards others the arrogance of slaves, so that a succession of tyrants may be said to exist from the emperor who tramples down sixty millions, to the peasant who oppresses his serving-boy.

No more striking proof could be mentioned of the fact that the condition and character of women form an infallible measure of civilization, than the state of the sex in Russia. It is true that our knowledge is very incomplete. Most travellers who have written on that country complain how difficult it is to describe it well, and they have generally verified their remark; still we learn enough from various authorities to enable us to judge in a general way of its characteristics.

Among the higher classes women affect and study a polish and refinement of manners, but this relates chiefly to the formalities of life. They dare not, under their own social code, make an inelegant salutation, transgress a point of etiquette, ride in an unfashionable equipage, or converse in a vulgar tone; but they may break the most sacred moral laws, may speak openly of indecent subjects, and may act and talk in a way which a modest English lady would blush to think of. The position they hold in society is in accordance with this view. Formerly marriage was little more than a bond between master and slave; but the relation has been, in that respect, improved. Women are to a certain degree independent, but

it is the independence of neglect. They lead, in a word, a life very nearly resembling that of fashionable persons in our own metropolis, but their morals are not to be compared.

Little need be said of the marriage contract in Russia, since it is under the laws of the Christian church. It is, however, necessary to mention that few engagements occur between persons mutually united by affection. Interest is the usual tie; and frequently a girl is taken to the altar, where her appointed husband stands before her, all but an utter stranger. The ceremony is so theatrical that it wears no solemnity whatever. It is a drawing-room scene, directed by priests; so that the very seal of matrimony is of such a kind as to impress the woman with no idea of a holy union. The wives of the Russian nobles have accordingly little reputation for fidelity to their husbands; a characteristic observed by Clarke, long ago, as he travelled, and confirmed by Mr. Thompson, who wrote a year or two since, as well as by many other writers. Immorality and intrigue are of universal prevalence, from the palace to the private house. In a social sense they are scarcely looked upon as offences. The husband and wife, united by a bond, not of affection but of policy, look on each other from the first with coldness and indifference. Gradually each withdraws in a separate circle of life, and at length one looks without much care upon the guilt of the other. Before marriage the sexes are divided by etiquette, after marriage by mutual repulsion. The women, inferior in personal attractions, but superior in manner and acquirements to the men, receive from them little respect; and thus society, poisoned in its very springs, becomes yearly more dissolute and melancholy.

None will require to be reminded that numerous exceptions occur; that pure and strong family attachments exist in Russia; that young persons marry sometimes influenced by reciprocal feelings of affection; but from the accounts of all the writers we know who have described Russia, no other picture of its society could fairly be drawn. There is in that state licence for every crime which does not offend the government; and the more the nation is absorbed in its sensual enjoyments, the less will it be disposed to weary of servitude.

Among the peasantry sensuality is equally prevalent. They generally marry very young, but it is by no means essential that the bride should be a virgin. On

the contrary, numbers of women never marry until they have had an intrigue with some other lover.

St. Petersburg, it is said, is a city of men, there being, in a population of about 500,000, 100,000 more males than females. The native Russians are less handsome and sooner faded than the women of Germany, Finland, Livonia, Esthonia, and Courland—countries which supply the state with prostitutes. Such are the manners of the city that no woman may walk out unless accompanied by a man, not even on the great promenades, in the broad light of day.

In ten years, from 1821 to 1831, the deaths in St. Petersburg were 61,616, being 24,229 more than the births; and during the same period there were 11,429 marriages. The native Russian women are remarkable for the ease with which they bring forth children, while the foreigners in that country are precisely the reverse. Of the former, 15 in 1000; and of the latter, 25 is the average of those who die in childbed. The average of 20 years gives 6 still-born infants out of every 1000.

The foundling hospitals of Russia, magnificent as they are, cannot but be regarded as a premium upon immorality. Those of St. Petersburg alone cost from 600,000,000 to 700,000,000 of rubles annually; supporting from 25,000 to 30,000 children, who are received at the rate of 7000 or 8000 a year. They are called "houses of education," because a prejudice attaches to their proper name. They are not, however, intended for infants who are picked up in the streets. There is never a case of such exposure. Women who have children of which they desire to be rid, bring them usually in the twilight, and they are taken in without any questions being asked. No one can tell whether they are legitimate or illegitimate—whether the offspring of poverty, adultery, or prostitution. In cases where fear or shame might in other countries induce a woman to murder or abandon her child, the mothers bring them to the hospital, and impenetrable obscurity remains over the previous part of the transaction. It is questionable whether the crimes thus prevented would make up an amount of evil equal to that caused by the profligacy to which the licence of impunity and encouragement is thus afforded.

Violence committed on a woman, married or single, is, in Russia, punishable by the knout; but this is almost the only check which the law, written or social, imposes on immorality. It is said that judges some-

times compound with a female criminal who happens to possess beauty, and pardon her at the price of her virtue.

When a French writer, many years ago, astonished the civilized countries of Europe by the description of a private institution in Russia known as the Physical Club, his report was rejected by the majority of persons as one of those travellers' tales which had their origin in a man's impudence or credulity. Lyall, however, made extensive inquiries upon the subject, and found that there did actually exist at Moscow a society called the Physical Club, the object of which exhibited, perhaps, more depravity of manners than could be found in any other part of the world, except among the Arcois of the Pacific.

This club was originated by eight men and women of high rank, who agreed to hold common intercourse with each other, and for that purpose established a society. Its members all belonged to the nobility, and they sought to exclude all but beautiful women with the bloom of youth still upon them. Admittance was very difficult to be procured. A person before being initiated was sworn to secrecy, so that the names of the members remained unknown.

At stated intervals the members of the club assembled at a large house, where, in a magnificent saloon, brilliantly lighted up, they indulged in every kind of licentious amusements, inflaming themselves with strong potations, and preparing for the hideous orgies which were to follow. Suddenly all the candles were put out, each man chose a companion, and a scene of indescribable debauch ensued. On other occasions tickets were drawn by lot, and the company paired off to bedchambers prepared for this libidinous festival. This horrible institution, transferring its pestilential influence through every circle of society in Moscow, was abolished by Catherine the Second, who hated to see the reflection of her own vices—for it is matter of history that she was a vulgar prostitute herself.

Of the prostitute system in Russia our accounts are the most scanty possible. They exist in large numbers in every city and almost in every village; and a traveller remarks that they have the character of demanding to be paid beforehand, and refusing afterwards to remain with their companion. They do not form so distinct and conspicuous a class as in some countries, for the virtue of married women and young girls in the various ranks of life is not so inaccessible as to distinguish the professional prostitute so broadly from the



GIRLS OF NUBIA (MAKING POTTERY).

[From St. John's Oriental Album.]

The first of these was the establishment of the first public school in the city, in 1630. This was the first of a long series of schools which have since been founded in the city, and which have played a great part in the education of the people of Boston. The second was the establishment of the first public library in the city, in 1630. This was the first of a long series of libraries which have since been founded in the city, and which have played a great part in the education of the people of Boston. The third was the establishment of the first public hospital in the city, in 1630. This was the first of a long series of hospitals which have since been founded in the city, and which have played a great part in the education of the people of Boston.

other classes, as in a society whose manners are less corrupt. They are, in the cities, under the perpetual surveillance of the police. In the rural districts numbers of young women, belonging to the village populations, addict themselves to prostitution for gain—some permanently, others only until they have a chance of marriage.

There is apparently no check upon this calling, unless the women become afflicted by disease. When this is discovered the prostitute is forced to discontinue for awhile her dissolute course of life, and remain in a hospital until cured. When, as very frequently happens, the wife of a soldier takes to this occupation, and becomes tainted, she is delivered to her husband, who is obliged to sign a bond, engaging for the future to restrain her from profligacy. The wives of serfs are also delivered up to their husbands, who must pay the expenses of their cure at the hospitals. If they refuse to do this, and to answer for the future conduct of their partners, the women are sent, without further ceremony, to Siberia.

Another peculiarity in the civilization of Russia is exhibited in the market of wives, which is annually held in St. Petersburg. It is one of those things which many persons exercise their philosophy by refusing to believe; but its existence is undoubted. It is still practised, even among the upper orders, while among the humbler classes it is extremely popular. Every year, on the twenty-sixth day of May, numbers of young women assemble in a particular part of the City Summer Garden, where they are exhibited in a formal "bride-show." Decked with an Oriental profusion of ornaments, all the marriageable girls are arranged in lines along the shady alleys, while some friends and professional match-makers stand in attendance on each group. The men who are inclined to matrimony visit the garden, pass along the rows of maidens, inspect them leisurely, enter into conversation, and, if pleased, enter into a preliminary, but conditional, contract. Numerous matches are thus formed; but very frequently the engagement here concluded, has long, between the youthful couple, been a matter of contemplation. Those who do not possess sufficient beauty or fascination are sometimes loaded with the signs of property to induce men to take them. A mother once, desiring to match her daughter to a man of substance, hung about her neck a massive chain of gold, to which was attached six dozen silver-gilt tea-spoons, and three dozen table-spoons, besides two heavy punch-ladles of the same

metal, which soon attracted the attention of the young men. In the towns, indeed, we are told that marriages among all classes are generally settled by interest. In the rural parts this is also the case, but in a less degree. There it is the custom—among the peasantry—for the bride and bridegroom to enter the church door side by side, which they take care to do with the utmost regularity, since the superstitious idea prevails, that the one who plants a foot first inside the threshold of the edifice, will be supreme over the other, and become a tyrant in the family. The serfs cannot marry without the consent of their masters. In all parts of Russia the marriage of a felon is dissolved by the sentence which condemns him; but if he be pardoned before his wife has married again, he can recover her.

It will, from this account, be seen that the manners and morals of the Russians are dissolute in an extraordinary degree. There is, perhaps, no part of Europe where the people, as a race, are so profligate. This does not imply that the society of St. Petersburg or Moscow is not distinguished by many virtuous families; but, on the whole, all travellers concur in showing the facts upon which we have based our estimate of the national character with respect to morality*.

OF PROSTITUTION IN SIBERIA.

FROM Russia the transition is natural to the contiguous and kindred region of Siberia. Thence we may, without any apology, extend our inquiries to the remotest north—for the Arctic countries do not present themselves with sufficient prominence to occupy a separate account, and to none could they be added as a supplement more fitly than to the snowy wilderness which spreads on one side to the shores of the Frozen Sea, and on the other to the frontiers of the Chinese Empire. It may appear anomalous to include any of these tracts under the head of civilized countries; but we place them as an appendage of Russia, to which, indeed, they form an appropriate companion.

The state of manners at which the po-

* Kohl's Russia and the Russians; La Russie en 1844—par un Homme d'État; Russia under Nicolas I.; Clarke's Travels; Lyall's Character of the Russians; Voyages des Deux Français; Granville's Travels; Golovine's Russia under the Autocrat; Venable's Domestic Manners of the Russians; Bourke's St. Petersburg and Moscow; Thompson's Life in Russia; Jesse's Notes by a Half-Pay; Erman's Travels.

pulation of these snowy tracts have arrived is extremely low. Nature has taught them many rude arts; but their civilization has not advanced far beyond its crudest elements. The severe rigours to which they are exposed have produced pressing wants, which they have ingenuity enough to satisfy, and further than this their education does not appear to go. They are rude, ignorant, and gross. Some remain with none but the faintest idea of a Deity; others preserve the ancient heathen belief of the Shamans; others have accepted a form of Christianity; but in few of them has a variation in their religious ideas resulted in a change of manners. In fact, the form, and not the spirit of our creed has been introduced among them.

Throughout the immense tracts of Siberia we find numerous tribes, and even nations, classed under various denominations; but all, in their general manners, very much resembling each other. The condition and character of the female sex among them is low; but it is not treated with that harshness or contumely which it experiences in some savage races. Although the rude Ostyak, for instance, considers his wife as no more than a domestic drudge, seldom thinks of giving her a cordial word, and loads her with tasks, he does not use her with positive severity. Among the Samoyedes, women are much less happy and more harshly treated. In the perpetual migrations of the tribes they are charged with the principal burdens, and drag after the men like a train of slaves. The wife is viewed as a necessary but almost disgusting appendage to a man's household. She is regarded as unclean under many circumstances—especially childbirth, after which her husband will not approach her for two months. When about to be delivered she experiences, instead of the kind, considerate usage which some, even of the wildest savages pay to their women in such situations, a scorn and indignity to which, by long custom, she has thoroughly learned to bend.

In many parts of Siberia, however, a better prospect is presented, and the sexes appear more on an equality. Towards the centre, away from the sea on one hand, and Russia on the other, the tribes enjoy a very independent existence, being, indeed, the most free among the subjects of the Czar. In the winter time, when the rivers are completely frozen, the young girls assemble on their snowy borders, taking care to deck themselves out with every sort of finery they can procure. Their friends also congregate, forming groups,

gossip, and enjoy themselves, while the youths mix with the maidens—each selecting the partner he likes the best. It is at this time of the year that the principal matches are arranged. In all parts it is customary to pay a certain amount to the girl's parents to buy the privilege of marrying her. Should a man not be rich enough to offer the sum required, he hires himself to her father, who tasks him sometimes very heavily, and continues in servitude for three, five, seven, or ten years, according to the agreement made beforehand. At the end of that period, he takes his bride, is redeemed from his servile condition, and enters the family with all the dignities and rights of a son-in-law.

Among the Ostyaks it is regarded as very disgraceful to marry a brother's widow, a mother-in-law, or, indeed, any person connected in an ascending or descending line with the wife; but it is reckoned honourable to marry several sisters. The sister of a deceased wife is considered a particular acquisition, and, indeed, is attended with a solid advantage, for a man taking the second daughter of a house pays to her father a sum only equal to half of that which he paid for the first. No one can marry a person of the same family name; but this seems to apply to men alone, for a woman under this description who enters another household, and bears a daughter, may bestow her upon her brother. In a word, every union is lawful provided the father of the bridegroom and the father of the bride are of different families—though custom makes other distinctions, which are generally observed with as much strictness as those marked by the traditional law.

When an Ostyak desires to marry he selects from among his companions or relatives a mediator. He then goes with a train of friends, as numerous as his influence enables him to collect, and stands before the door of the house in which the girl whom he has fixed upon resides. Her father easily guesses, on the arrival of such a cavalcade, what the object of it is, and consequently asks no questions, but invites the company in and welcomes them with a feast. Then, retiring with the mediator into another hut, he enters into a negotiation about the amount which he is to receive for his daughter. These things are quietly arranged, though the spirit of bargaining is generally active on both sides. It is not necessary to pay down the whole amount at once, but this must be done before the nuptials can take place. Sometimes, however, a man snatches away

his bride before he has fully discharged his debt. In that case her father waits for an opportunity to seize her, carries her home, and keeps her in pledge until the amount be faithfully paid.

Similar customs prevail among the Samoyedes, who are polygamists, though they prefer the changing one wife for another, according to the changes in their inclination, to having two or three at once. The Tunguses, however, often keep as many as five, but even among them the majority of men marry no more than one at a time. They enter into matrimony at a very early age. It is common to see a husband fifteen years old, and a wife, or even a widow, of twelve. There is with them no feast or ceremony of any kind. The bargain is made and ratified, and the young couple proceed forthwith to their nuptial couch.

The Bulwattes, who are also polygamists, treat their women well. Among them one curious observance is,—that the consummation of every marriage must take place in a newly-built hut, where, as they say, no impure things can have been. This is, at any rate, a poetical and a somewhat refined idea. Certain feasts are essential before the union is contracted.

The Tchoutkas, beyond Nigri Kolinsk, have been baptized in large numbers. Their Christianity, however, does not incline them to remove polygamy, for they have in most cases a plurality of wives, whom they marry for a certain period—long or short, as circumstances may determine. It sometimes happens in one of these households that the wife obtains sufficient ascendancy over her husband to bind him to her, and a convention, intended from the first to be only temporary, becomes permanent. The woman who accomplishes this achievement is honoured by the rest of her sex, and is thenceforward supreme in the family. Generally speaking the women of this tribe are more happy and free than in any other part of Siberia.

Among the Tschuwasses it is customary on the occasion of a betrothal to offer a sacrifice of bread and honey to the sun, that he may look down with favour on the union. On the appointed day, while the guests are assembling, the bride hides herself behind a screen. Then she walks round the room three times, followed by a train of virgins bearing honey and bread. The bridegroom entering, snatches over her veil, kisses her, and exchanges rings. She then distributes refreshments to her friends, who salute her as "the betrothed girl," after which she is led behind the screen to put on a matron's cap. One

of the concluding rites performed is that of the bride pulling off her new husband's boots—a ceremony to symbolise her promise of obedience to him. When, however, he on his part takes the cap from her head, she is divorced, and goes home to her parents.

Still more degrading is the custom of the Tchemerisses. A man, representing the girl's father, presents to her husband a whip, which he is allowed freely to use. There is only one occasion during the year when men permit their wives to eat with them. The Morduans betroth their children while very young; but the youth does not know his bride until he marries her. She is then brought to him, placed on a mat, and consigned to his charge with these words, "Here, wolf, take thy lamb." Still more singular is the custom of the Wotyahé tribes. With them it is usual for the young wife, a few days after the wedding, to go back to her father's house, resume her virgin costume, and remain sometimes during a whole year. At the end of that period the husband goes to fetch her, when she feigns reluctance, and exhibits every sign of bashfulness and modesty. The women of this community are habitually chaste and decorous in their behaviour.

The usual occupations of the men in Siberia are hunting, fishing, smoking, drinking, and bartering with the Russian traders. Those of the women are far more numerous and wearisome. They build the huts, they tend the cattle, they prepare the sledges, they harness the reindeer when their husbands are away, and drive them also occasionally; they weave mats, baskets, and cloth; they dye worsted for embroidery; they tan hides, make garments, cook the food, and, in some tribes, assist in catching fish. While they perform these varied and harassing offices without a murmur, as they usually do, their life is one of peace; but if they repine they are sure to be harshly reproved, if not severely punished. In some communities the husband is permitted the free use of his whip; but in others, as that of the Ostyaks, a husband dare not flog his wife without the consent of her father, and on account of some grievous fault. If he does she has the privilege of flying home, when her dowry must be restored, and she has her liberty complete.

Jealousy is a sentiment little known among the Ostyaks, or, indeed, any of the Siberian races. Sometimes the women wear veils, but not with that strictness observable with some nations, and more to save

their eyes from the effect of the snow glare than from any other motive. Modesty, indeed, is by no means one of their characteristics. Nor is chastity very highly prized. When a Samoyede woman is about to be delivered, she is obliged to confess, in presence of her husband and a midwife, whether she has engaged in any criminal intrigue. If she tell an untruth, the national superstition is that death will assail her amid the pangs of childbirth. Should she declare herself guilty, the husband contents himself with going to the person whom her confession has accused, and exacting from him a small fine by way of compensation—for having, "without permission," carried on intercourse with a stranger's wife.

The barbarous manners of Siberia do not allow us, indeed, to expect any refined modesty among its women. Wrangell was introduced into the family of a rich and influential man—the head of a tribe. Within a low-roofed but spacious habitation he found five or six women—wives and daughters, of various ages, all completely naked. They roared with laughter when their visitor entered, and appeared excessively amused at being discovered in that condition. The dancing women of these tribes wear clothing while they display their skill, but otherwise they are as indecent as possible. Obscene and degrading postures, indeed, make up the chief merit of their performances. A late traveller, hearing of these dancers, desired some women to perform, but they appeared so modest, bashful, and diffident, that he feared to urge them. However, after considerable solicitation they consented, when he was disgusted at seeing them fling themselves with marvellous rapidity into a hundred disgraceful attitudes.

Infanticide is not practised in Siberia, except on those children who are born with deformities. These are, it is said, invariably destroyed. There is, in fact, little inducement to the crime, for the whole region is but scantily peopled, and marriages are not at all prolific.

The morals of the Siberian races are universally low. A licentious intercourse is carried on between the sexes long before marriage, early as this takes place. In the great city of Yehaterinbourgh, where religious dissensions are extremely bitter, profligacy is still more powerful, and women, from sheer lust, prostitute themselves to men of all sects, with whom, however, they would rigidly refuse to eat or drink. In all the towns numbers of prostitutes reside. They are scarcely, if at all,

reprobated by the other classes of the population, and the young men who do not wish to marry, or cannot afford to procure a wife, as well as widowers, resort to them continually. The process, in fact, which educates a Siberian prostitute to her calling, appears to be this. A young girl, in a community where general licentiousness of manners prevails, is brought up from her mother's breast with the most loose ideas. She is not taught to prize her chastity, though told that marriage is the destiny to which she must look, and warned that her husband will require her to be faithful to him. Meanwhile, however, there is little in her own mind, or in the care of her friends, to protect her virtue. She forms acquaintances, and is seduced, first by one, and then by another, until her profligacy becomes so flagrant and so public that no one will purchase her as a wife. Accordingly she follows as a means of livelihood that which she has hitherto resorted to only as a means of indulging her vicious appetite. Thousands of prostitutes are thus made, especially amid the crowded communities. In some of the small wandering tribes, the women are comparatively chaste; but on the whole the refined sentiments of virtue are unknown, and prostitution extremely prevalent. This appears strange to those who are accustomed to believe that a warm climate is essential to form a sensual race. It seems, on the contrary, that one extreme of temperature is accompanied with influences as demoralising as another, for it is certain that nations dwelling in the temperate zone are more moderate in their passions, and more abstemious in the gratification of them.

For the races inhabiting the Arctic regions, the Esquimaux may be taken as a proper type. As a race, they are dirty, poor, and immoral, but not so grovelling as the tribes of Western Africa. Though their ideas of beauty and grace are totally at variance with ours, it is wrong to suppose that they have none, for the Esquimaux woman, who tattoos her skin to charm a lover, exhibits undeniably one of those characteristics in human nature which allow opportunities to civilize individuals and nations. They are an ingenious industrious people, understanding well how to make use of those conveniences and appliances of life which have been placed by nature at their disposal; and they who make themselves comfortable and happy in the coldest and most desolate parts of the earth, must possess a certain amount of that genius which,

properly developed, flourishes in civilization.

The estimation in which women are held among the Esquimaux is somewhat greater than is usual among savages. They are by no means abject drudges, those cares only being assigned to them which are purely domestic, and which are apportioned to the females among the humbler classes in all European countries. The wife makes and tends the fire, cooks the food, watches the children, is sempstress to the whole family, and orders all the household arrangements, while her husband is labouring abroad for her subsistence. When a journey is to be performed, they, it is true, bear a considerable share of the burdens, but not more than among many of the poor fishing populations of civilized countries in Europe, in some of which the man's occupation ceases when his boat touches the shore. It is a division of labour, not so much imposed as shared, and the toil is not by any means hateful to them. During the stationary residence in the winter, the life led by the women is in fact one of ease, indolence, and pleasure, for they sit at home, cross-legged on their couches, almost all the day, enjoying themselves as they please, with a fire to warm the habitation, which it is a pleasant task to attend.

The Esquimaux women are not very prolific, few bearing more than three or four children. They generally suckle them themselves, but it is not uncommon for one woman to nurse at her breast the infant of another who may be closely occupied at the time. They are more desirous of bearing male than female offspring, for parents look to their sons in old age as a means of support.

The Esquimaux are permitted by their social and hereditary law to have two wives, but the custom is by no means general. Parry describes a tribe of 219—69 being men, 77 women, and the rest children—among whom there were only twelve men who had two wives, while a few were doubly betrothed. Two instances occurred of a father and son being married to sisters. Children are usually plighted during infancy—that is, from three to seven years of age, and the boy sometimes plays with his future bride, calling her wife. When a man has two wives, there is usually a difference of six or seven years between their ages, and the senior being mistress, takes her station by the principal fire, which she entirely superintends. Her position is in every respect one of superiority; but this is seldom as-

serted, as the two generally live in the most perfect harmony. The marriage contract has nothing of a sacred character about it, being merely a social arrangement which may be with great facility dissolved. A man can without any ceremony repudiate his wife, to punish her for a real or supposed offence, but this is rarely done. The husband, who is usually older by many years than his partner, chastises her himself when she irritates him, though caring comparatively little for her fidelity. Absolute in his authority, according to the laws of the Esquimaux, he is sometimes, nevertheless, ruled by the women. Usually, however, he upholds his prerogative, and punishes any infringement of it in a very summary manner; but the utmost harshness commonly employed is to make the delinquent lead her master's reindeer while he rides comfortably in his sledge. Women are very careful of their husbands, partly no doubt from natural sentiments of affection, but partly also, we may believe, from knowledge of the fact that widows are not half so happy as wives, being dirty and ragged, unless they have friends willing to support them, or sufficient attractions to enable them to gain a livelihood by regular prostitution.

Respecting the virtue of the Esquimaux women and the morality of the men, little of a favourable nature is to be said. Husbands have continually offered their wives to strangers for a knife or a jacket. Some of the young men told Parry, that when two of them were about to be absent for any length of time on whaling expeditions, they often exchanged wives as a matter of temporary convenience. Instances of which have been noticed by the voyager—in some cases merely because one woman was pregnant and unable to bear the hardship of a journey. The same writer affirms that in no country is prostitution carried to a greater length. The behaviour of most of the women while the men are absent, causes a total disregard of connubial fidelity. Their departure, in fact, is usually a signal to cast aside all restraint, and, as the last excess of profligacy, children are sent out by their mothers to keep watch lest the husband should return while his habitation is occupied by a stranger*.

* Wrangell's *Nord de la Siberie*; Cottrell's *Recollections of Siberia*; Dobell's *Travels*; Hollman's *Travels*; Erman's *Travels*; Parry's *Three Voyages*; Bache's *Narrative*; Bache's *Land Expedition*; King's *Journey to the Arctic Ocean*;

ICELAND AND GREENLAND.

ICELAND and Greenland, differing in their people, their fortunes and their civilization, may, nevertheless, be classed together, for both belong geographically to the western world, while both present intimate relations with Europe. Iceland, a lonely, gloomy, and extensive country, is inhabited by a serious, humble, and quiet people, numbering about 55,000. Isolated from the rest of the world by dreary and tempestuous seas spreading far around it on every side, its inhabitants remain to this day almost in their primitive condition. Nine centuries have produced little change in their language, costume, or modes of life. Formerly, indeed, they were heathens, and have now been converted to Christianity. Modifications have also occurred in their manners. At one period, for instance, the law allowed the exposure of such children as their parents desired to be rid of, and the unnatural sacrifice was common. It originated with the men, and the women appear never to have become reconciled with the usage, which has now been entirely abolished, though infants perish in large numbers from insufficient and unskilful nursing. On the whole, however, the original manners of the Icelanders remain unchanged. We refer, of course, to a period since what has been termed the heroic age, when a system of society prevailed, which has been entirely swept away by a new and victorious civilization. In those ancient times, when Iceland was a republic, with institutions of a most remarkable nature, the treatment of the female sex there, and among the Scandinavian nations generally, was unequalled by any other heathen communities, except the polished state of Greece. Polygamy, though not forbidden by their religious code, was exceedingly rare. Their manners, indeed, are, in several other respects, superior to their enacted laws. Fathers, or other near male relatives, possessed unlimited power to dispose of the young girls as best suited their convenience or caprice, but seldom or ever exercised this invidious prerogative, leaving them rather to their own choice. With mild advice, indeed, they persuaded them to prudent unions, but with no harsh, inconsiderate authority. The daughter received, on her marriage, a dowry from her parents besides a present from her husband. These acquisitions formed a property which remained abso-

lutely her own, and constituted her provision in the event of a divorce. This could take place whenever she chose to express before certain prescribed witnesses her desire for such separation. A harsh word, any ill-usage, or a hasty blow, might be pleaded as sufficient reason for her resolve; and by a liberal use of this prerogative the wives of Iceland obtained high authority over their husbands. They occasionally accompanied them to the public assemblies, which were convened in conformity with their popular institutions, and were always present at the great festivals. Sometimes they assembled in rooms assigned exclusively to them, and made merry among themselves; sometimes they mingled with the general company. With the exception of a few, whom the fearful superstition of that age condemned to death as witches, no women suffered very severe punishment. The warriors of the island delighted to celebrate their praises, and terms expressing the high qualities of the female sex were abundant in the Icelandic language, and profusely employed in its literature. At present the condition of the sexes is somewhat equal. The men of the humbler classes divide their labours with the women, but do not oppress them with any of the taskmaster's tyranny. Both are alike filthy and coarse in their habits. Among the wealthy, as well as in the middle orders, it is customary for ladies to wait at table when strangers are present; but this is considered as an employment by no means menial. The hospitality of the Icelanders, indeed, assumes some very singular forms. Their women often salute the stranger with a cordial embrace, from which on account of their uncleanness he is generally desirous to escape as quickly as possible. When Henderson, the missionary, resided there, he visited, during his travels, the house of a respectable man, where he was liberally treated. At night, when he retired to his bedroom, the eldest daughter of the family attended him, and assisted him to undress by pulling off his stockings and pantaloons. He was unwilling to accept such services, to which he was wholly unaccustomed; but she imputed his refusal to politeness, and insisted on performing the office, declaring it was the invariable custom of her country. It is the task of the women, almost always, to unloose the sandals or lachets of their husband's shoes.

The intercourse of the sexes in Iceland is regulated by few absolute laws; but Christianity has abolished polygamy, while public opinion holds a strong check upon

Fisher's Voyage of Discovery; Barrow's Voyage; Shillinglaw's Arctic Discoveries; Snow's Arctic Regions; Scoresby's Arctic Countries, &c., &c.

illicit communication. With the exception of those seaport populations, which have been corrupted by an influx of Danes and other foreigners, generally of disreputable character, they are, as a nation, moral. These exceptions contribute very considerably to the number of bastard children. In 1801, the population was 46,607 — ; 21,476 males and 25,131 females, or in the proportion of thirteen to fifteen of men to women. The average marriages during a period of ten years, were 250, or one out of 188 of the population; the births 1350, or one in 35, and the deaths 1250. One child out of nine was illegitimate. In 1821 one out of seven was illegitimate, and in 1833 the proportion remained the same. Men usually marry between the ages of 25 and 32, women between those of nineteen and 30.

If, however, we give credit to a scandalous anecdote related by Lord Kames, in his "Sketches of Man," we must impute to the Icelanders, of a century and a half ago, a very profligate disposition. In 1707, it is said, a contagious distemper having cut off nearly all the people, the King of Denmark fell on an ingenious device to repeople the country. He caused a law to be promulgated that every young woman in Iceland might bear as many as six illegitimate children without injuring her reputation; but, says the gossiping philosopher, the young women were so zealous to repeople the country, that after a few years it was found necessary to abrogate the law. Little dependance is to be placed on such stories, though the number of illegitimate children born does certainly contradict the panegyrics on the pure morality of the Icelanders, in which some writers are fond of indulging. About one person in seven is married; but it is the custom among the poor for persons of both sexes to sleep promiscuously in small close cabins, which cannot but corrupt their manners. In the fishing towns, especially, where numerous foreigners have congregated, there are many prostitutes, who usually gain only part of their livelihood by that profession. What their numbers are it is impossible to tell; but it seems that the crews of the fishing-vessels, as well as the traders who frequent the ports from time to time, generally resort to the company of prostitutes, who present themselves in any numbers that may be required.

Extending our observations to the remote and desolate coast of Greenland, we find a population partly composed of European colonists and partly of Esqui-

maux, who have, however, a system of manners not identical with that of the tribes we have already noticed. They are a vain and indolent, but not a very sensual, people. What virtue they possess consists rather in the negation of active vice, than in any positive good qualities. Their women occupy an inferior, yet not a degraded, position. They take charge, indeed, of all domestic concerns, make clothes, tools and tents, build huts and canoes, prepare leather, carry home the game, clean and dry the garments, and cook the food, while their husbands catch seals; but the men often assist their wives in these occupations. Marriage is essentially a contract for mutual convenience, to be dissolved when it ceases to be agreeable to both. The woman looks out for a skilful hunter, the man for an industrious housewife. She brings him little dowry, possessing usually no more than a kettle, a lamp, some needles, a knife, and a few clothes. Parents seldom interfere with the matches of their children. It is considered proper for a girl, when a man comes to request her in marriage, to fly away and hide among the hills, whence she is dragged, with a show of violence, by her suitor. He takes her home, and if her aversion be real, she runs away again and again, until he is weary of pursuit. Formerly, it was the custom to make incisions in the soles of a bride's feet, as some tribes in Siberia and Borneo are accustomed to do to the captives, to prevent their escaping. When a woman is courted by a man whom she detests, she cuts off her hair, which is a sign of great horror and grief, and usually rids her of her suitor. Among the heathen tribes polygamy is allowed, though seldom practised. Divorces sometimes take place. All the man has to do is to assume a stern expression of countenance, and quit the home for a few days without saying when he intends to return. The woman takes the hint, packs up her few effects, and goes with her children to the house of her parents or some friend. Generally, however, they lead a reputable life, the women being docile, and the men indulgent.

Considering themselves, as they do, the only civilised people in the world, the Greenlanders feel a pride in observing the outward shows of decorum. They do not allow marriages within three degrees of affinity. It is not considered reputable for persons, though not related, who have been educated in the same house, to marry. Sometimes a man takes two sisters, or a mother and her daughter, but this is viewed with general reprobation. The

marriage contract is, on the whole, very strictly observed, few divorces taking place, except between the young. "The most detestable crime of polygamy," as a Danish writer terms it, produced, where it was practised, little of that jealousy which might be expected among the wives, until the arrival of the missionaries, who preached against it, and speedily won the female sex to support their doctrine.

There was formerly in Greenland a society resembling very closely the Physical Club of Moscow, but still more obscene in its practices. This, however, has disappeared. Prostitution, nevertheless, prevails to a considerable degree, widows and divorced women almost invariably adopting it, as the only means of life, indeed, to which they can resort. There are numerous habitations in the larger communities, which can only be described as brothels; but the profession entails the worst odium on those who follow it*.

OF PROSTITUTION IN LAPLAND AND SWEDEN.

A NOTICE of the Scandinavian populations would be incomplete, unless we touched particularly on the Laplanders; especially as they contrast very strongly with their neighbours the Swedes, notwithstanding that these are far more inflated with the pride of civilization. Forming a nomadic race, known in their own region as Finns, they occupy a country little favoured by the prodigality of nature. Nevertheless, where they have settled into fixed communities, we find them adopting many forms of luxury, polishing their manners, and pursuing wealth with eagerness. But these scarcely belong to the body of the Laplanders, and it is only necessary to say of them that they are a happy, virtuous people, distinguished by the affection and harmony existing between men and women.

The genuine Laplander, among his free rocks and snows, lives partly in a tent, partly in a hut; but, whichever tenement he inhabits, he is content with the most simple economy. During the summer he wanders, and is equally industrious and frugal; during the winter he remains in one place, enjoying the fruits of his labour in ease

and idleness. This is a peculiar mode of life, and has much influence on the manners of the people; for, during their leisure months, they invent many pleasures, few of which are indulged in by one sex apart from the other.

The Lapland families are generally small;—three or four children being the largest number habitually seen; but what they do bring forth, the women bring forth easily; scarcely ever requiring help, and speedily leaving their couch to fulfil their usual tasks.

The general character of the Lapland race is good. From whatever cause the circumstance proceeds, it is certain that their morals are strict and virtuous. Few strong passions of any kind prevail among them, and they are more especially distinguished by their continence.

The priest of a large parish assured one traveller that there had been but one instance of an illegitimate birth during twenty years, and that illicit intercourse between the sexes was almost unknown.

Old travellers have amused their readers with accounts of the conjugal infidelity common in Lapland, and asserted that the men are in the habit of offering their wives to strangers: this appears to be wholly untrue. So far from truth is it, indeed, that adultery is a crime almost unknown among them; they are, in fact, rather jealous than otherwise of their women. The intercourse of the sexes, nevertheless, is free and agreeable; their marriages are contracted, sometimes according to the choice of the young people, sometimes by that of their parents. Prostitution is unknown among them, except in the fishing towns, where a few wretched women have taken to that mode of life; but, on the whole, they are a chaste and virtuous race.

The great difference between the institutions of Norway and those of Sweden consist in this—that in the former, manners influence the law; while in the latter, law attempts to regulate every detail of public manners.

Men, says the public law of Sweden, attain their majority at the age of 21 years, but women remain in tutelage during the whole period of their lives, unless the king grants a privilege of exemption: widows, however, are excepted. Men cannot legally marry before the age of 21. Even to this rule there is an exception, for among the peasants of the north it is lawful for a youth of eighteen to take a wife—a device adopted to increase the population of those thinly-inhabited provinces. Women may marry immediately after their

* Henderson's Residence in Iceland; Trail's Letters on Iceland; Kames' Sketches of Man; Gaimard's Voyages en Islande; Hooker's Tour in Iceland; Crantz's History of Greenland; Account of Greenland, Iceland, &c.; Dillon's Winter in Greenland; Barrow's Visit to Iceland; Egede's Descriptions of Greenland; Graah's Voyage to Greenland.

confirmation, which never takes place before fourteen. The nuptials are recognised by law, and are celebrated in the presence of a priest, by the gift of a ring. A man desiring to take his sister-in-law to wife, must have permission from the king. A few years ago an ordinance was abolished which required a similar formality to be gone through previous to the marriage of cousins. A man may marry without the consent of any one; but a woman must obtain the sanction of her parent or guardian. To render binding the contract, which stipulates for the rights of each with respect to property, it must be presented to the magistrates of the place, and signed by the priest, before the celebration of the wedding.

In default of such an agreement a division takes place, under rules which differ in the country and in the town. In the former, two-thirds of the property belong to the man, and one-third to the woman; in the latter, half is apportioned to each.

Marriage, when fully consummated, is not indissoluble. Divorce may be pronounced by the public tribunals of justice. First, for adultery on the part of the husband or of the wife; second, on the condemnation of one or the other, on account of a felonious crime, to loss of honour and liberty for ten years; thirdly, in cases of insanity; fourthly, for desertion, neglect, or the continued absence, without intelligence, of husband or wife. When a married person complains of having been abandoned, the magistrate fixes a certain interval during which the other may make answer; a notice is inserted in the gazette and the newspapers. If, at the expiration of this period, no reply is heard, the divorce is pronounced. The length of absence necessary to justify such a separation is left to the discretion of the judge. Fifthly, when one person is palmed off for another; sixthly, for ill-treatment; seventhly, for apostasy; eighthly, for incurable epilepsy. After the sentence of the civil tribunal, the divorce is held good in an ecclesiastical court.

A man is bound to support his natural children, and inquiries in cases of affiliation are frequent. When a girl accuses a man before a public tribunal, of being the father of her child, he may deny it upon oath, when her allegation is dismissed, unless she can prove by witnesses, or by any other evidence, that her claim is absolutely just. As such a proof is difficult to obtain, there are abundance of false oaths made at Stockholm. A girl sometimes accuses a peasant of being the parent of her child,

demanding, perhaps, a sum of money equal to a sovereign of our coinage, by way of compensation. The man refuses to pay it, and offers to swear that he is not the child's father. The magistrate then seeks by persuasion to induce him to confess the truth; but he persists in his refusal until the woman modifies her claim. He continues all the while to threaten her with the oath of repudiation, unless she is contented with his offer. If she accepts a miserable trifle, he acknowledges the debt; if not, he perjures himself, and the law allows him to escape, though morally convinced, beyond all question, of his profligacy and falsehood.

The illegitimate child has no claim on the property of its father, or even on that of its mother; but if the parents marry, however short a time before the child's birth, it is saved from the stigma of bastardy. A legitimate child cannot be disinherited by its parents, unless for marrying against their consent, or being condemned for felony to a heavy and disgraceful punishment.

Death is the penalty attached to infanticide, but is almost invariably commuted to detention for a longer or shorter period, with hard labour in prison. In 1832 the House of Correction for females in Stockholm, which served for all Sweden, contained 290 women, of which 45 were condemned to hard labour for life; of these, 30 had murdered their children.

The punishments denounced against adultery endeavour to mark a distinction between particular degrees of the crime. Incest and bestiality are, however, punished only with a moderate fine. When a married man indulges in guilty intercourse with a married woman, they both suffer death by decapitation. When it is committed by a married man with a girl betrothed and pregnant by her lover, he receives 120 blows with a stick, and she 90 lashes with a whip. Punishments of this sort continually take place in a public square at Stockholm. At present, in whipping the girls on their naked persons, care is taken to protect their bosoms and their abdomens with plates of copper. Formerly, however, when this precaution was not adopted, the lash frequently lacerated the bosom and tore open the flesh, so as to expose the bowels. When adultery is committed by a married man with an affianced girl, or the reverse, a simple fine is exacted; in default of which, imprisonment on bread and water, or a public flogging, is inflicted. When one of the criminals only is married, and the other is

entirely free, an inferior money penalty is adjudged.

An unmarried woman becoming a mother pays to the church penance money, to a certain amount. So also does every man: that is to say, the law enacts it; but it is, perhaps, needless to add that the priests get, in this respect, much less than is legally their due.

In 1836 prostitution was forbidden by law throughout Sweden. The public woman, being convicted, was imprisoned in a house of correction, until she had time to reclaim herself, and some one was willing to take her into service. The same, indeed, was done to any poor woman, whatever her character, who could not describe her occupation. Many little girls, some not more than eleven years old, were confined as a punishment for being without a regular avocation. Professional and open prostitution being thus severally prohibited by the law, there were, at that period, no regular brothels in Sweden; but the women of the lower orders were so corrupt, that prostitution was as common as possible. "Every servant girl," says the advocate Angelot, who wrote in 1836, "may be considered as a public prostitute, and every house of public entertainment may be described as a brothel."

So far the laws describe the manners of Sweden; that is, they indicate the profligacy they are unable to cure. The country is, perhaps, one of the most demoralized in Europe. During many years it continued to decline in population, prosperity, and character; and if during the last quarter of a century it has improved in these respects, it is because the old system of institutions is gradually wearing away.

Superficial travellers, who gather their ideas of other countries by no other light than that of the chandelier, and in no other society than that of fops and flirts, describe Sweden as a paradise of good breeding and elegance. Society is there often gay and lively, which satisfies the inquiries of such tourists. The ladies of that nation also possess many fascinations, with an apparent frankness and sincerity, which never fail to please. The women of the humbler orders wear, in the streets, the airs of modesty, and never shock the eye by exhibitions of wantonness or indecency. The intercourse of the sexes is extremely free; and therefore there are fewer signs of intrigue, because this is not necessary; but to infer from such circumstances that Sweden is a moral country, is to fall into a grievous error.

Sweden is immoral, and Stockholm is the

most immoral place in Sweden. For many years it absolutely decayed under the moral disease which afflicted it. In 1830 it contained nearly 81,000 inhabitants; this number decreased in a year or two to 77,000, and the deaths during a period of ten years exceeded the births by an average of 895. Yet it is in a healthy situation; the people are well lodged; everything, indeed, is there to render it pure and salubrious; but the moral atmosphere is tainted by a continual epidemic of depravity.

The whole nation numbers about 3,000,000; but it is in the capital that the excess of profligacy is displayed. Three or four years ago the proportion of illegitimate children was as one to two and three-tenths, that is to say, one person out of every three was a bastard. Taking all Sweden, we find the proportion of the ten years, from 1800 to 1810, was one in sixteen; from 1810 to 1820, one in fourteen; from 1820 to 1830, one in fourteen and six-tenths. It was thus the town population which was to be charged with the immoral result of depravity. In Stockholm, however, statistics could not fully exhibit the general demoralization. Laing asserts his deliberate belief that the offspring of adultery and children saved from illegitimacy by the late marriage of their parents were there exceedingly numerous; and it is probable that the law forbidding young men to marry before they were 21 years of age had, in this respect, a very evil influence, as similar checks have undoubtedly had in Norway.

In 1837 the government of Sweden, finding that to prohibit prostitution was not to prevent it, and that the vice they sought to check increased in spite of their efforts, ran, at one impulse, to a contrary extreme. Formerly no public women were allowed, now they were created as a class; formerly no brothels were permitted to be kept by private individuals, now a huge brothel was instituted by the authorities. A large hotel was hired, was fitted up for the purpose, and opened to all the city. A number of unfortunate women were expected to inhabit this licensed resort of infamy, and it speedily overflowed. A code of regulations was framed for the government of the place; but the barbarity of this discipline prevented the scheme from succeeding. Prostitution, however, had been recognised by law. Therefore, though the government brothel was abandoned, others were multiplied in its place; and vice, which had rioted under a mask, appeared in her proper form, among the citizens of Stockholm. Nevertheless, numbers of the restaurants and houses of public

entertainment still retain their original character as the secret resorts of prostitutes and their companions. One great cause of the immorality prevalent in Stockholm was, that no woman who could afford to do otherwise, or had any of the wretched pride of respectability, would suckle her own child. Wet nurses, therefore, were in great request. Unmarried girls were absolutely preferred, because the family was not troubled with their husbands. Their own offspring were meanwhile transferred to the foundling hospital, which remains another licence to immorality. There are in Stockholm two of these institutions, where the children are educated, on payment of a premium varying from five to ten pounds sterling of English coinage. In 1819 there were born in Sweden 14,000 illegitimate children, being nearly a seventh of the births. M. Alexandre Daumont says, that there was in Woesend, a canton of Finland, a special law which, granting to women equal rights of property with the men, improved the character of their morals. But no institutions will improve the manners of a country like Sweden, until the national sentiments are purified, for the example of the court and the nobility, says Mr. Laing, have instructed the people so far, that it is only a moral revolution which can reclaim them.

There is in Stockholm a separate hospital for the treatment of syphilis. It received in one year 701 patients, 148 being from the country and the rest from the city itself. In that year (1832) the number of unmarried persons, of both sexes, above the age of fifteen, was 33,581. Consequently, 1 person out of every 61 was afflicted by the venereal disease.

The condition of women in Sweden is low in comparison with the other countries of Europe, and offers a strong contrast with that which we discover in Norway. Tasks are assigned among the humble orders to the female sex against which true civilization would revolt. They carry sacks, row boats, sift lime, and bear other heavy labours. Among the middle classes they hold an inferior situation; but among the higher, though little respected, they are comparatively free*.

* Angelot's *Legislation des États du Nord*; Capel Brookes's *Winter in Lapland and Sweden*; Reichard's *Guide des Voyageurs*; Bramsen's *Letters of a Prussian Traveller*; Laing's *Tour in Sweden*; Tryzell's *History of Sweden*; Frankland's *Visits to Courts of Russia and Sweden*.

OF PROSTITUTION IN NORWAY.

LIVING under ancient laws and social arrangements distinct in their principles no less than in their forms from those which discipline society in the feudal countries of Europe, the people of Norway are among the most singular and interesting in the world. Their peculiar institutions, which never admitted of an hereditary nobility, have distributed property among all, so that nowhere is there less poverty, or more abundance of the necessities of life. These circumstances have exerted a powerful influence on the moral character of the Norwegians. It is consequently important to inquire into their manners, since the solution of many social problems may, by such an investigation, be assisted.

There are in Norway two classes of checks upon the rapid increase of population—one arising from their public economy, the other artificial, and under the influence of law. In all countries where the poor possess the land, provident marriages prevent the growth of a pauper population, and this is the case in Norway. So far the results produced are wholly beneficial; but here other restraints are imposed, which, being somewhat extravagant, miss their object, and exert bad effects on the moral tone of the community.

A marriage in Norway is an occasion, not only of long and formal ceremonies, but of considerable expense. This circumstance has two opposite tendencies on the character of the people. It is not considered respectable to marry unless some grand display takes place, with a liberal festival, the distribution of presents, a long holiday, and other means of expenditure, which create a provident spirit and prudent habit, which stimulate industry, and contribute to the general happiness and prosperity. Spending on their wedding-day what would support them during twelve months, many young couples do, indeed, commit acts of injurious extravagance in emulation of their neighbours; but in accumulating what they thus lavish, they have acquired the custom of saving, the necessity for which puts off the period of marriage. The Lutheran church also holds another strong check upon improvident and ill-considered marriages. It compels all within its communion to observe two separate ceremonies—one the betrothal, the other the wedding. The first must precede the second by several months at least, and generally does by one, two, three, or even four or five years. This in-

terposes a seasonable pause between the first engagement, which may have sprung out of a temporary passion, and its irrevocable ratification, which may be the prelude to a life of misery. It has been calculated that the practical result of this interval between the period when a girl becomes naturally, and that when she becomes legally marriageable, checks the growth of the population by four or five per cent. Maintained within just limits such social laws are found to act beneficially, and tend in every way to improve the condition, manners, habits, and morals of the people.

In Norway, however, they have been pushed beyond the frontiers of moderation, and in many cases cause more evils than they cure. For it is found impossible to put a bridle on human nature. Powerful impulses attract the sexes to intercourse, and it frequently occurs that the betrothed girl becomes a mother before she becomes a wife. Up among the high districts of the interior, it is said that the peasant girl rarely marries until she has borne a child. Throughout Norway, indeed, the proportion of illegitimate to legitimate children is about one to five, and in some parishes, where the restraint upon marriage is greatest, the average lies far more towards the side of immorality. In one of these districts, where there are no other obvious causes of profligacy, such as the resort of shipping, the cantonment of troops, the neighbourhood of a great manufactory, or any other of the usual demoralizing influences, the proportion of illegitimate children is nearly one to three.

This by no means implies, however, a profligate disposition in the Norwegians—male or female. The woman who bears offspring by a lover is almost invariably married to him afterwards; it is impatience of the restraint put upon them by the law which impels them to this illicit communication. The evils of illegitimacy are also, in a great measure, counteracted by liberal and wise regulations. Subsequent marriage of the parents removes the stigma of bastardy from their children. A man, even, who feels inclined to marry another woman, when his first friend has died or become indifferent to him, may legitimize his former children, by a particular legal instrument. This, in such cases, which are rare, is commonly done, and all, consequently, share alike in their father's inheritance. Some neglect to perform this act of justice, but instances seldom or never occur of a man leaving his offspring desolate when he has any means or opportunity

of providing for them, which in Norway almost every person has. Women in Norway occupy a position of superior honour. They have, perhaps, more to do with the real business of life, and more share in those occupations which require the exertion of intellect and study, than in England. They enjoy less compliment, but more respect, which all the sensible members of their sex would infinitely prefer. She, indeed, who provides for a household, under the peculiar domestic arrangements of the country, and presides over its economy, is held in high estimation. Women, in fact, hold a very just position in the society of Norway, having that influence and participation in its affairs which develop their mental and cultivate their moral qualities. Yet it is far from true that they occupy themselves entirely with the sober business, paying no attention to the elegant arts of life. Many of them adorn themselves also in those lighter accomplishments which gracefully amuse a leisure hour; but they certainly do not exhaust on song or dance, or the embroidery frame, the most valuable powers they possess. The able and observant traveller, Laing, supplies a true picture of their character and position, observing that among the wealthier merchants the state of the female sex is less natural and less to be admired than among the humble classes, which compose the general mass of society. Generally speaking, therefore, women nowhere play a more important part in the affairs of social life than in that remote and romantic part of Europe. Among the poor the division of labour between the sexes is excellent: all the indoor work is assigned to the women, all the outdoor labour to the men.

Travellers, among whom Mary Wolstonecroft is one, have nevertheless complained direly of the situation women hold in Norway. One gentleman condemns the national character, because the ladies in respectable houses often wait at their own tables; but this is a national peculiarity, hereditary among the Norwegians. It is a voluntary office; no compulsion is used to impose this or any other task upon them. All that we can infer from such a custom is, the dissimilarity of ideas on points of propriety which prevail with different nations. The English pity the women of Norway, because they sometimes wait at their own tables; the Norwegians accuse the men in England of ill-breeding, because they do not take off their hats whenever a female appears in sight, and because they dismiss the ladies after dinner.

With respect to the actual morals of

Norway, we may assign them the highest rank. The number of illegitimate births can scarcely be described, under the circumstances we have noticed, as indicating an immoral disposition in the people. Nowhere is adultery less frequent. The matrons are almost universally above suspicion, while street-walking and professional prostitution are almost unknown. The most profligate class of females appears to be the domestic servants*.

OF PROSTITUTION IN DENMARK.

In the laws of Denmark in 1834 the position of the sexes, the regulations of the marriage contracts, and the restrictions on public immorality were sought to be fixed, with every distinction of detail. A man was declared under tutelage until the age of eighteen, and under a modified authority until twenty-five, after which he attained independence in all the acts of his life as a citizen. The woman was declared to remain under tutelage all her life. Even the widow must place herself under a guardian, without whose consent she can do nothing; but this person she may choose herself. She may place herself under the direction of one or many, and even distribute authority among them, but is never allowed to assert an independent existence.

To contract marriage a man must be at least twenty years old, and the woman not under sixteen. The system of legal and binding betrothments was abandoned in 1799; but previous to that period the ceremony of affiancing the bridegroom to the bride was important and almost as absolute as the last ceremony itself.

To contract a legal marriage, it is essential that both persons shall be free from the ties of any other legal engagements. Persons who are related to each other in an ascending or descending line are prohibited from marrying. Brother and sister, says the code, may not marry; but brother-in-law and sister-in-law, uncle and niece, may. A man who desires to marry his mother's or father's sister must obtain a special permission from the government.

* Laing's Residences in Norway; Wittich's Western Coast of Norway; Two Summers in Norway; Latham's Norway and the Norwegians; Elliot's Letters from the North; Mathew Jones's Travels; Clarke's Travels; Count Bjornstjerne's Moral State of Norway; Buch's Travels in Norway; Price's Wild Scenes in Norway; Ross's Yacht Voyage to Norway; Kraft's Topographisk, Statistisk, Bestrøfelse-über Kongeriget Norge, Christiania, 1820, 5 vols. 8vo.

It is necessary before marriage to procure the consent of the parents or guardians or guardians of both parties; but if they refuse, their refusal may be complained of, and the judge, reproving them, may order the union to take place in spite of their opposition. At twenty-five years of age the man is released from this authority.

According to an ordonnance passed in 1734, promises of marriage may be written or verbal; a promise of marriage by written agreement must bear the handwriting, seal, and signature of him who makes it. It must be certified by two witnesses, respectable men, before there is any communication between the man and the woman. The verbal promise must also be spoken aloud in the presence of two respectable men, before any intercourse is allowed. Such engagements are binding, and the man who breaks one may be prosecuted at law.

There are, however, certain descriptions of persons whom the law does not allow to invoke the faith of such promises. Widows, who desire to act against their guardians' consent, and women of bad reputation, are in this manner excluded. A servant cannot plead a promise of marriage against her master, her master's son, or any person dwelling in the same house. A man may also repudiate, by a formal oath, the accusation of a pregnant woman who pretends he has promised her marriage, and that he is the father of the child she bears in her womb, unless she can prove her allegation by sufficient testimony.

Divorce is permitted, and may be pronounced immediately when legal cause is proved against one or other of a married pair. It may be demanded in the case of simple abandonment during seven years, or malicious intentional desertion for three years, in the case of condemnation to perpetual hard labour, of impotence existing previously to marriage, of the venereal disease contracted previously to marriage, of insanity supervening upon marriage, and of adultery. Divorce may also take place, without any judgment from the public tribunal, when both parties equally desire it.

In this case, after the married persons have declared their intention, they must be entirely separated in bed and at table during three years; when, if they persevere in their desires, the separation is legally complete. If, however, at the expiration of that period, one of them refuse to abide by the agreement, the administrative college may order it to be fulfilled, notwithstanding all such opposition. Lastly, the king may always allow a divorce to take

place, for any or no cause, according to his royal pleasure.

Inquiries into the maternity or paternity of children are permitted. If a girl accuses a man of having been the father of an infant to her, he can only rebut the charge by taking a solemn oath that he had intercourse with her at the period presumed to be the date of her conception. She may then prove, if she can, by any means whatever, that he is swearing falsely; but such evidence being difficult to complete, so as to produce legal conviction, many individuals escape the burden which justly attaches to them.

He who acknowledges or is proved the father of a natural child is bound, until it attains its tenth year, to maintain it according to his rank in life. Should he refuse to pay what he has promised, he may be imprisoned on bread and water. Every twenty-four hours thus spent acquit him of about half-a-crown of his liability.

Illegitimate children have no claim upon the inheritance of their father's property; but to that of their mother, or even of their mother's parents, they are absolutely entitled. A natural child may be adopted or legitimized by subsequent marriage, in which case it loses all the disability which attached to its former condition. In 1831 the proportion of illegitimate children in Denmark was one in nine and three-fifths. In Copenhagen, however, the frightful proportion was exhibited of one to three and a half.

The law adjudges to the child killer death without mercy. She is decapitated, and her head fixed upon a spike. The woman who does not take proper precautions before the delivery of her offspring is accounted guilty of infanticide should the infant die.

Notwithstanding the severity of the law infanticide is a very common crime in Denmark, although it contains foundling hospitals, at least in Copenhagen. Angelot saw in one of the prisons of that city a man, who, after having flung his four children into the water, went immediately before a magistrate, declaring that he could not provide them with sustenance, and had consequently thought it better to send them to God. Another of these murderers was a woman, who had cut the throats of two of her children, and was engaged in attempting to kill the third, when she was arrested. Superstition and misery, combined with the looseness of morals in the capital of Denmark, were the chief causes of these fearful crimes against nature. The criminals are condemned to the death we have mentioned, but their sentence is

usually commuted to imprisonment for life in a house of correction.

The punishment denounced against unnatural crimes was formerly that of burning alive; but it is now softened to that of perpetual exile or forced labour.

The husband may be prosecuted for adultery, as well as the wife, and it is an offence which, says the code, may be punished by law; but authority seldom interferes. The ancient Danes visited the crime with death, and that at a period when murderers were only condemned to pay a fine. At present the penalty is fixed, for the first offence, at confiscation of a tenth part of the guilty person's property; for the second, banishment. For the third repetition of the crime the adulterer may be tied up in a sack and drowned. The law, however, has now become obsolete through long disuse.

Women may take to public prostitution if they receive permission from the authorities. They are not troubled afterwards unless they offend against peace or decency, or bear more children than may legally be born. The code declares that any unmarried woman who becomes the mother of two children may be prosecuted, fined, and committed to prison. Custom, however, in this, as in many other instances, is more considerate than the law, and no woman is troubled who has not born three children by three different men; even then a permission of a special character is necessary before the prosecution can be carried on. No doubt these restrictions encourage women to procure abortion, or destroy their offspring when born. Prostitutes are very numerous, and the vexatious restraints upon marriage appear to produce much immorality. In Copenhagen, however, the corruption of society cannot be altogether, or even chiefly, traced to that cause; for the manners of the city are, in a general sense, profligate.

The appearance of the women belonging to the lower classes in Copenhagen, as in Stockholm, is remarkably modest and unassuming. Neat and tasteful in their costume, they preserve in their own homes a freshness and a comfort which indicate that they enjoy a position of some honour; for where women are not well treated, they never have a pride in keeping their clothes, habitations, or persons clean and elegant.

It seems that the condition as well as the morality of the sex has improved since the laws of the country have become more polished by civilization. The code we have

described belonged to a period several years back. Since then a new constitution has been established; the nation has become more free; the penal laws, especially, have been very considerably modified; the relations of the sexes have lost some of the rudeness which characterized them before; and though civilization still remains at a low ebb, public manners have certainly undergone great improvement.

The prostitutes of Copenhagen live, some in a kind of hotel, where they take part in mixed entertainments, to which the dissolute persons of the city congregate; some in a sort of boarding-houses; others in

private dwellings of their own; for they lodge in small rooms, and go with their companions to houses where temporary accommodation may be had at various charges. Their numbers would appear to be considerable; and their habits do not differ in any peculiar manner from those of the same class in other cities of the Continent, which afford materials for a more complete description*.

* *Angelot's Legislations des États du Nord*; *Bremner's Excursions in Denmark*; *Feldborg's Denmark Delineated*, &c., &c.

OF PROSTITUTION IN CIVILIZED STATES.

INTRODUCTION.

WE have inquired into the history of the female sex under the social laws of antiquity, under the rude codes of barbarian races, and under the Mohammedan and Hindu systems. It will now be interesting to trace it through the dusky period of modern civilization from the rise of Christianity to the middle ages. Many writers afford the materials for a view of the prostitute systems of Europe during that era, and M. Rabuteaux especially has combined their researches in one wide and broad view.

The Christian Emperors of Rome endeavoured to suppress prostitution, but with little success. Constantine, Constantius, Theodosius the Younger, Valentinian, and Justinian took up the task by turns, denounced penalties against offenders—those who debauched others, and those who prostituted themselves; but though the world changed its aspect, it did not change its vices. Among the northern barbarians, indeed, austere principles ruled over the people, and women occupied a higher place than is accorded them now. They were companions of the men, not toys for their pleasure, or bagatelles for their amusement. Called, at a later age, to the functions of maternity, they previously learned the use of reason, and succeeded from a virtuous maidenhood to the dignity of matron. The chastity which Tacitus describes among the barbarians of Germany continued long to be their characteristic; but their penal customs became milder as they received better maxims of social po-

licy. A woman who debauched herself was expelled from the city—a sufficient punishment. She had no more any family. Even the ties of paternity were broken. Gradually, however, the barbarian conquerors of Europe bent to the attractions of a corrupted society, and though the laws of the Visigoths forbade prostitution, men were found to encourage and females to pursue this infamous occupation.

The free woman who prostituted herself was, for the first offence, punished with 300 strokes, and for the second reduced to slavery, given to some poor man, and prohibited from entering a town. Parents who connived at the vice of their children were flogged. If the offender was already in bonds, she was whipped, shorn of her hair, and returned to her master. Should he himself be the accomplice of her sin, he lost her, and suffered an equal penalty of the rod. Prostitutes who walked the streets and fields were flung into prison, scourged, and fined. A decree of Theodoric, king of the Goths, declared death against all who gave an asylum or any encouragement to infamous persons.

The epithet of "lost woman" applied to one of honest character was an insult punishable by law—generally by fines. A maiden or a widow was especially protected against such imputation. In France the female who accused another of infamous habits was condemned to pay five sous, or to walk in penance, only clothed in a light shift, while a matron followed, and thrust a fine-pointed instrument above her thighs, more as a humiliation than an injury. The Spanish code also recognised

this offence, as well as that of general defamation.

The church was the universal censor of public manners in the middle ages. No sin was more severely denounced by the Christian law than that of licentiousness; yet it inculcated no savage persecution of the fallen. Good men could never forget, that a courtesan had washed the feet of Christ, and accordingly a humanizing spirit presided over the social code of the early fathers. They received into their communion any woman who renounced her evil life, married, and was faithful to her husband, or remained single without prostituting herself again.

Everywhere, indeed, Christianity tolerated prostitution. It was impossible to eradicate vice, and it was better one class should make a profession of it than that all should follow it as a secret occupation. Suppress courtesans, said St. Augustine, and you confuse all society by the caprice of the passions. Nevertheless, efforts were made to check the evil, though the principal rules of this "police of manners" were applied to confine the prostitutes of every town in a separate quarter, and to force on them an uniform apparel, that their shame might not be concealed, and that other women might be safe from the address of brutal libertines.

But while the woman who lost herself was forgiven by the civil and religious law, no toleration was extended to the wretch who made her such—the pander who seduced young girls and sold them for profit. The Council of Elvira refused pardon, even on his deathbed, to the wretch who was guilty of leading the innocent to prostitution. "Miserable wretch; brand of hell!" exclaimed Merot to one of these, "dost thou believe that when thy accursed soul is lost in eternal pains, God will be content? No; he will augment thy punishment;" and he added, that the young females he had ruined should inflict his tortures. All the rigour of the law, every form of public infamy, every device of humiliation, was called in to brand with additional opprobrium the depraved trader in prostitution.

In France the punishment was in general arbitrary, according to the circumstances of each case. Nevertheless law and usage regulated the degree of it. In Paris an edict was published in 1367 forbidding persons to procure girls for prostitution on pain of being exposed in the pillory, marked with a hot iron, and expelled from the city. It was renewed in 1415, and we find an instance of its application in the next

year, for in the public accounts Cassin La Botte is described as receiving money for the expenses of an execution of this kind, in which some wretches were led into a public place, branded, mutilated by the ears, and set in the pillory. Sometimes the procuress was mounted on an ass, with her face towards its tail, a straw hat on her head, and an inscription on her back. In this state she was paraded through the streets, whipped, and sent to prison, or exiled. These circumstances appear to have frequently occurred as lately as 1756. We find it applied in a provincial town to some prostitutes who had infringed the local rules:—"They were led through the place, with a drum beating before them, and exposed." In England similar occurrences were common, and were accompanied by some peculiar details. The cart in which the culprit sat was preceded by two men playing music, while a crowd followed and showered filth and mud upon the offenders.

Sometimes, when the penalty was aggravated in severity, the culprit's hair was burnt. Thus, in 1399, at Paris, several men and women suffered this punishment, being pilloried and deprived of all their possessions. At Toulouse, a prostitute was conducted to the town hall, where the executioner tied her hands, stripped her naked, placed a cap, made in the form of a sugar-loaf, ornamented with feathers, on her head, hung an inscription on her back, and then took her out to a rock in the middle of the river. There she was compelled to enter an iron cage, which was plunged three times into the water, while nearly the whole population was assembled to witness the scene. Afterwards she was led to the hospital, where she remained labouring for the rest of her days. A similar custom existed at Bourdeaux. Everywhere, indeed, the same rude devices were employed to terrify the people from profligacy.

The laws of Naples were extremely severe. Before the thirteenth century we find every procuress endeavouring to corrupt innocent females punished, like an adultress, by the mutilation of her nose. The mother who prostituted her daughter suffered this punishment, until King Frederic absolved such women as trafficked with their children under the pressure of want. The same prince, however, decreed against all who were found guilty of preparing drugs or inflammatory liquors—to aid in their designs upon virtuous females—death in case of injury resulting, and imprisonment when no serious harm was

effected. These laws, however, proved insufficient for their purpose, and towards the end of the fifteenth century profligacy ran riot in Naples. *Ruffiani* multiplied in its streets, procuring by force or by corruption multitudes of victims to fill the taverns and brothels of the city. Penalties of extreme severity were proclaimed against them. The *Ruffiani* were ordered to quit the kingdom, and the prostitutes were prohibited from harbouring such persons among them. Any woman who disobeyed was condemned to be burnt on the forehead with a hot iron, whipped in the most humiliating manner, and exiled.

The code of Alphonso IX., King of Castile, which belonged to the second half of the twelfth century, included procurers among infamous persons, which condemned them to "civil death." Five classes of these were enumerated:—I. Men who trafficked in debauch: these were expelled the country. II. Speculators who hired their houses to abandoned women for the exercise of their vocation: their houses were confiscated, and they were fined. III. Men or women who kept brothels and hired out prostitutes: if the females they sold were slaves, the law gave them liberty; if they were free, their corrupter was under pain of death, forced to endow and place them in a situation to marry. IV. Death was denounced against the husband who connived at the dishonour of his wife, and against every one who seduced an honest woman to infamy. V. Girls who supported *Ruffiani* were publicly whipped, and deprived of the clothes they wore when arrested. The men themselves were, for the first offence, flogged; for the second, expelled from the city; and for the third, sent to the galleys. Between 1552 and 1566 additional terrors were devised against this crime, and the *Ruffiani* once convicted were sentenced to ten years chained at the oar, while for a repetition of the offence they received two hundred blows, and were condemned for life to the galleys.

The incitement to vice has, indeed, been everywhere considered a crime deserving of the heaviest punishment; but prostitution itself has not been tolerated without interference. In France, especially, efforts were early made for its suppression. The laws, however, failed, on account of the number of offenders it would have been necessary to condemn, and a few examples only were made, to show that no licence was extended to debauch. The first edict published was an absolute prohibition by Charlemagne. He commanded strict search to be made throughout his dominions, in

every habitation and place of resort, that every public woman, and all persons without known occupations or means of livelihood, might be exposed. Men who were found harbouring prostitutes were compelled to carry them on their shoulders to the place where they were to be whipped with rods. In case of refusal they suffered this infliction themselves. It is singular to find, that among the ancient Parisians no disgrace was equal to that of bearing on the back a debauched woman.

During three centuries and a half after Charlemagne, public immorality flowed in a tide over the country. Prostitutes multiplied in every town, and in the eleventh century Paris was as one general brothel. Everywhere harlots thronged the streets, soliciting the men who passed, dragging them by the arms into their dens, and if they resisted, abusing them in unmeasured terms. In the same house might be found a school on the upper floor and a brothel below. In 1254 an effort was made for the reformation of manners; but the only effect was, that vice dissimulated instead of bearing its title on its face. Clandestine succeeded to public debauch. At length, however, some real good resulted from a succession of rigorous edicts. At the commencement of the fifteenth century, the scourge of society had been lightened, but there broke out wars and troubles which gave new licence to immorality. A hundred years revived the pestilence in all its virulent shapes; and in 1503 a council was assembled at Paris to deliberate on the best means of abolishing the brothels which were crowded around them. Laws were passed, which we cannot describe in detail, especially as they are of no value to the legislators of this age, for in spite of them the moral malady of France extended, and public custom recognised what authority refused to allow.

In Paris the prostitutes resorted to places known as *clapiers*, or mole-holes, in allusion to the brutal subterranean life they led. They did not live in the houses where they received their temporary companions; there were localities common to many, where they assembled during the day, and which the magistrates ordered to be opened and closed at stated hours. They were not permitted to carry on their orgies at night, to prostitute themselves in their own homes, or publicly to shock the decent population; but they rebelled against all discipline, and evaded where they did not openly contradict the law. In 1307 an edict was published, assigning to prostitutes certain streets as places of abode—

Rue de l'Abreuvoir, la Macon, la Boucherie, la Rue Froidmantel, de Glatigny, la Cour Robert de Paris, les rues Baillonné, Tyron, Charon, and Champ Fleury. It is remarkable that the infamy of these neighbourhoods has been hereditary; for after the lapse of 500 years, after all the alterations in the city of Paris which have been effected, after all the vicissitudes of its domestic history, the same places still exhibit the same spectacles, and are inhabited by the same population. The complaint of two neighbours was enough to cause a prosecution against the keeper of a brothel. Notwithstanding every exertion which the inefficient law and police of those ages enabled rulers to make, prostitution increased, spread into prohibited streets, and throughout France was a characteristic feature of society. Nor were the palaces whence issued decrees for the reformation of public manners, superior in many instances to the brothels they denounced.

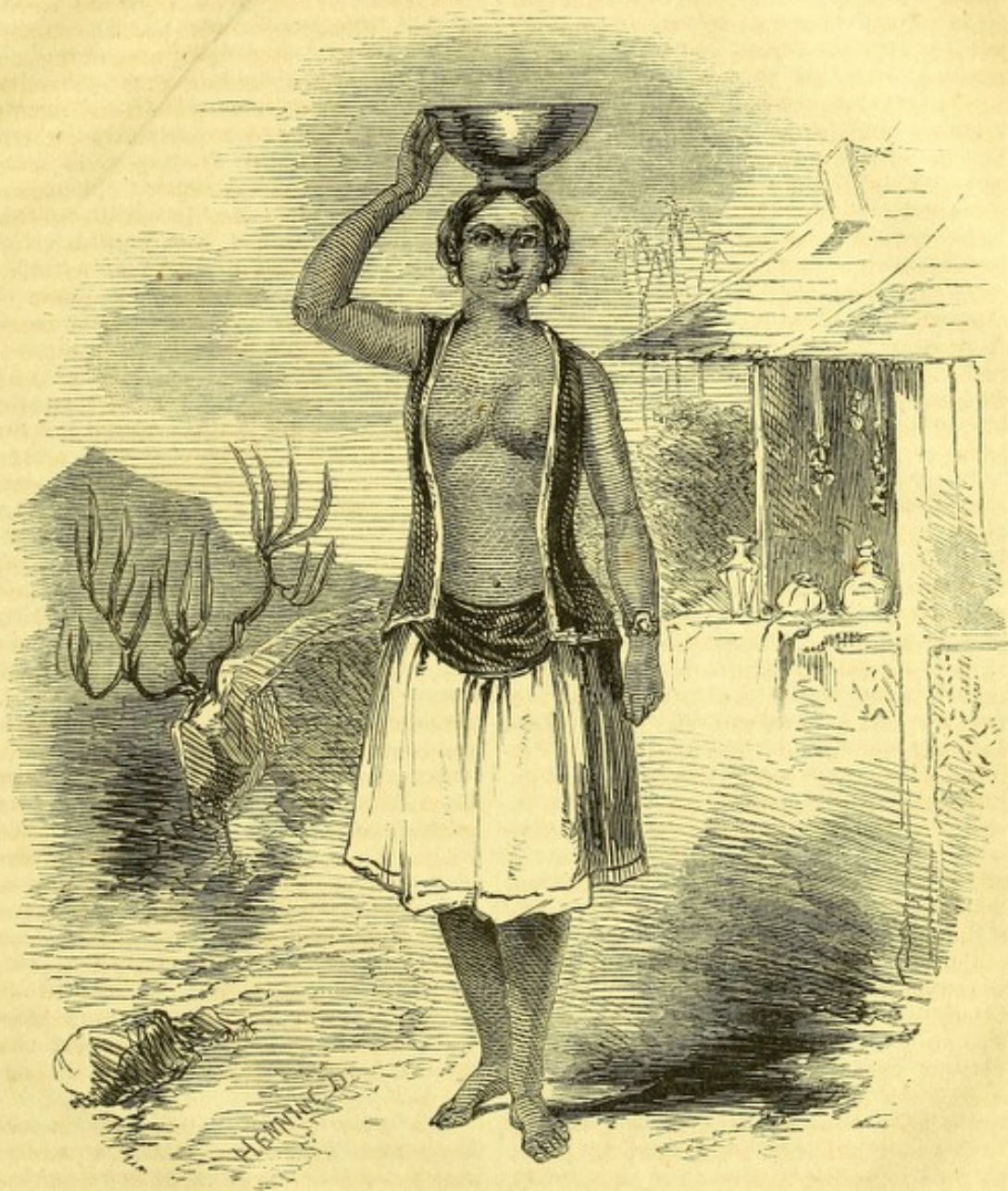
In the eleventh century a brothel and a church stood side by side at Rome; and 500 years after, under the pontificate of Paul II., prostitutes were numerous. Numerous statutes were enacted, and many precautions taken, which prove the grossness of manners at that epoch. One convicted of selling a girl to infamy was heavily fined, and if he did not pay within ten days had one foot cut off. The nobility and common people indulged habitually in all kinds of excess. Tortures, flogging, branding, banishment, were inflicted in vain on some to terrify the others, but with very incomplete success. To carry off and detain a prostitute against her will was punishable by amputation of the right hand, imprisonment, flogging, or exile. The rich, however, invariably bought immunity for themselves. In Spain, although violence offered to a public woman was an offence, few women dared to complain of having been seduced. In Naples, also, under King Roger, such a charge was never taken; but William, the successor of that prince, punished with death the crime of rape; but the victim must prove that she shrieked aloud, and prefer her complaint within eight days, or show that she was detained by force. When once a woman had prostituted herself, however, she had no right to refuse to yield her person to any one. This legislation extended to the extreme north, and obtained in Sleswig.

Among the most extraordinary acts of legislation on this subject was the bull of Clement II., who desired to endow the church with the surplus gains of the

brothel. Every person guilty of prostitution was forced, when disposing of her property, either at death or during life, to assign half of it to a convent. This regulation was easily eluded and utterly inefficacious. A tribunal was also established, having jurisdiction over brothels, upon which a tax was laid continuing in existence until the middle of the sixteenth century. Efforts were made to confine this class of dwellings to a particular quarter, but without success. In Naples the same failure attended the attempt. Prostitutes, in spite of the law, established themselves in the most beautiful streets of the city, in palatial buildings, and there, with incessant clamour, congregated a horde of thieves, profligates, and vagabonds of every kind, until the chief quarter became uninhabitable. In 1577 they were ordered to quit the street of Catalana within eight days, under pain of the scourge for the women, and the galleys for such of the proprietors as were commoners, while simple banishment was threatened against "nobles."

One example of good legislation was the pragmatic law of 1470 to protect the unfortunate against the cupidity, the extortion, and the fraud of tavern keepers and others, who grew rich upon their infamy. Men went into their places of entertainment with some single girls, contracted a heavy debt, and then left their victims to pay. These were then given the choice of a disgraceful whipping or an engagement in the house. They often consented, and usually spent the remainder of their lives in dependence on their creditor, without ability to liberate themselves. By the new law masters of taverns were forbidden to give credit to prostitutes for more than a certain sum, and this only to supply her with food and clothing absolutely necessary. If he exceeded this amount he had no legal means of recovering it.

The most remarkable feature in the Neapolitan legislation on this subject was, the establishment, at an unknown but early date, of the Court of Prostitutes. This tribunal, which sat at Naples, had its peculiar constitution, and had jurisdiction over all cases connected with prostitution, blasphemy, and some other infamous offences. Towards the end of the sixteenth century it had risen to extraordinary power and was full of abuses. It practised all kinds of exaction and violence, every species of partiality and injustice, and even presumed to publish edicts of its own. The judges flung into prison numbers of young



DYAK WOMAN—BORNEO.

[From MARRYAT'S "*Indian Archipelago*."]]

THE HISTORY OF THE
CITY OF BOSTON
FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT
TO THE PRESENT TIME
IN TWO VOLUMES
BY NATHANIEL BENTLEY
OF THE BARR

THE FIRST VOLUME
CONTAINING THE HISTORY FROM
THE FIRST SETTLEMENT
TO THE YEAR 1780
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THE SECOND VOLUME
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girls, whom they compelled to buy their liberty with money, and sometimes dared to seize women who, though of lax conduct, could not be included in the professional class. This was discovered, and led in 1589 to a reform of the court. Its powers were strictly defined, and its form of procedure placed under regulation, while the avenues to corruption were narrowed. The institution itself existed for nearly a hundred years after that period—until 1768, when a royal edict declared the ruler's resolution to abolish the infamous calling altogether. Vice, however, when widely spread in a nation, does not vanish at the breath of authority. Denounced by the law, prostitution continued to flourish and society to feel its influence.

Passing from the south to regions with a less voluptuous climate, we find Strasburgh as overflowing with vice as perhaps any other city in the world. Prostitutes were in the fifteenth century so numerous there that, though a distinct quarter was assigned for their residences, they invaded every locality, and swarmed in the finest streets. Speculators were accustomed to travel abroad and bring home unfortunate girls, whom they kidnapped and reduced to a state of slavery. Officers were appointed to visit the brothels and collect the tax imposed on them. More than fifty-seven of these places existed in six streets only. One contained nineteen, while other neighbourhoods were infested in an equal degree. At the commencement of the sixteenth century, so far were public manners demoralized that prostitutes horded in the clock towers and aisles of the great cathedral as well as in several smaller churches. In 1521 an ordinance appeared directing the "cathedral girls," who were called "swallows," to quit the sacred places of their retreat within fifteen days. To those who persevered in their libertine mode of life, various residences were assigned—in the suburbs. Strasburgh was now in the depth of demoralization; but the Reformation soon visited the city, awakened its people from sensual pleasures to an intellectual battle, and a speedy change was apparent. In 1536 there were only two brothels there. In 1540 public prostitution was effectually suppressed. Ten years after it was proposed to establish a house of legal debauch; but the attempt was resisted, though renewed in the third and fourth year after this.

It was little matter to the prostitutes to inhabit houses especially dedicated to their vile traffic. They cared not to wait passively at home for visitors. Wherever men congregated for pleasure or for the business of

life, wherever there was any chance of provoking their desires, they thronged, sometimes impelled by the love of excitement, sometimes by the pains of hunger. They thus transformed into so many brothels wine houses, barber's shops, and students' rooms, and the perseverance of government against them was by no means equalled by their own tenacity. An edict of 1420 forbade prostitutes to enter the cabarets; another of 1558 prohibited tavern-keepers from entertaining them. Another denounced gambling, and prostitutes were only allowed when desirous of refreshment to stand without and drink what was handed to them from within. In England similar regulations were established, and barbers especially were made the object of very severe restrictions. Sempstresses and butchers were forbidden to employ any females of bad character, and others were restrained by similar laws.

All these efforts, however, to render the sisterhood of prostitutes a homeless, desolate, hopeless class—to deprive them of shelter, of comforts, and the honest means of life—failed in purifying the manners of the age. The baths became a regular resort of women belonging to this order—in Paris, in Geneva, in Venice, in Rome, in Naples, in Milan, in Ferrara, in Bologna, in Lucca, and in every other city of the Peninsula—so that there was scarcely the keeper of a bath who was not at the same time a brothel keeper, employing numbers of *Ruffiani* to procure attendance at his house. There were other cities in which baths were publicly tolerated and recognised as places of prostitution. Among these were Avignon and London. A statute of the Church of Avignon, dated 1441, interdicted the use of certain baths, known to be brothels, to the priests and clergy. An offence committed by day was not punished half so severely as one committed by night. There is only one other instance of a punishment inflicted during that age on men who violated the public law of morals. It was that of certain citizens of Anvers in Flanders, who were condemned to make a pilgrimage to expiate an offence of this kind. On one occasion, indeed, of which the date is lost, the magistrates of Bourdeaux caused a man to be hanged for forcibly violating a prostitute.

In Avignon, however, the licence of prostitution was shortly taken away. The residence of the popes in that city had attracted a concourse of strangers from all parts of the globe, and brothels sprung up in profusion in the neighbourhood of churches, at

the door of the Papal palace, and side by side with prelatical residences—a display of libertinism so gross that the public acts of encouragement at once ceased, and an edict drove all the prostitutes out of the city.

In London, as we have said, as at Avignon, prostitution took refuge in the public baths—a practice of very ancient date. These places were situated in the borough of Southwark, which was not included in the city until 1550. It was a miserable quarter, full of inhabited ruins, to which some public gardens, dedicated to dog and bear baiting, alone attracted the people of the neighbourhood. In this general preliminary sketch it is not necessary to say more of London.

In various parts of Europe a continual stream of edicts was poured out against the system of prostitution; but it was only persecuting the victims, instead of eradicating the causes. In some States, as in Lombardy, men were forbidden to give them an asylum; they were prohibited from appearing among honest citizens; they were prevented from purchasing food or clothes, or borrowing money by the hire of their persons; in fact, fines, prisons, whips, still continued to attempt the reform of morals.

Hitherto, however, we have seen prostitution in some places protected, but in all restrained, though everywhere freely exercised by those persons who would brave its perils and its disgrace. It was now sought, by the direct and continuous intervention of the law, to transform it into a public institution, organized, watched, disciplined, by particular officers, and subjected to special authority. In France, and especially in Languedoc, these principles were, during the middle ages, firmly established. Louis XI. proclaimed, that from the remotest antiquity it was the custom in Languedoc to have a house and asylum for public women. The most celebrated of these were at Toulouse and Montpellier. That at Toulouse was known to exist during the twelfth century, and by an abuse of terms, not uncommon at that period, was called the Great Abbey. The Commune and the University divided the expense, and were proprietors of the building, and a good revenue was derived from it for municipal purposes. But in 1424 the receipts diminished considerably, to the great regret of the governors. The turbulent youth of Toulouse behaved to the poor girls, whom they sacrificed to their lust, with the utmost violence and brutality—beating them and their children,

breaking up the furniture, and wrenching off even the doors of the house. Many attempts were made to repress these outbreaks, but the prostitutes were at length compelled to take refuge in the interior of the city. Severe regulations were imposed upon them. All who were diseased were compelled to live in solitude until cured, and some were whipped for disobedience. On one occasion, when a famine prevented the inhabitants from indulging in their ordinary pleasures, the prostitutes emigrated, but returned to their post in 1560. The magistrates, shamed by public outcry, which accused them of purchasing their robes from the tax on debauched women, abandoned the money, at this time, to the hospitals; but the administrators of these afterwards made them some compensation. In 1566 a council was called to deliberate on the best means of ridding the city from the profligacy and wickedness which had grown up through the immense licensed brothels it contained. To increase the scandal, four prostitutes were discovered in a monastery of Augustine friars. Three of these unhappy girls were hung. Shortly afterwards three others were found in a convent, and they also were sent to the gallows.

It appears that in 1587 prostitution was almost eradicated from Toulouse, though it flourished in the rural districts around. Many of the girls were forced to labour at cleansing the streets as a punishment. Two decrees of Louis XI. and Charles VIII. indicate the history of prostitution at Montpellier in the fifteenth century. A man named Panais possessed and governed the place devoted to this purpose, and dying, left a dynasty of brothel keepers—two sons, who associated with a banker. They embellished the edifice, furnished it luxuriously, constructed beautiful baths, and obtained a legal monopoly in their infamous traffic, by engaging to pay a certain tax. However, in 1458, another individual was permitted to establish himself, which he did with *éclat*, and the women deserted their old quarters for the new "hotel." A public cause was made of the quarrel, and it was decided that the original promoters should continue to enjoy their privilege. The two brothel keepers, who gained the titles of "Friends and faithful Councilors of the King of France," grew wealthy, and their trade of prostitution became one of the most important branches of enterprise in the city.

The city of Rhodes appears to have been another city of Europe where a chartered brothel existed, for the bishop, in 1307,

forbade the inhabitants to receive any of the public prostitutes into their houses, which supposes that some particular retreat was open to them. There was one also at Lisbon; but it was not until 1394 that the magistrates deliberated on the propriety of erecting a building at the public expense, expressly as a brothel. Ten years later we find the inhabitants lamenting that their wives and daughters were endangered by the want of such a place, and in 1424 it was established. A tax was levied on the women to assist in defraying the cost, and fines were imposed for misconduct.

In Italy licensed brothels were very numerous. There was one at Mantua, and Venice was the very sink of prostitution. In 1421 the government enlisted women to this service to guard the virtue of the other classes. A matron was placed over them, who governed them, received their gains, and made a monthly division of profits. The names of several women, the most notorious and beautiful of the Venetian courtezans, are preserved by Nicolo Daglion. A very small sum was paid to them by their patrons.

In Valencia a public brothel, on a colossal scale, existed towards the end of the fifteenth century. It resembled a little town surrounded with walls, and had a single gate; in front of this stood a gibbet for criminals. Near this was an office, where a man stood who addressed all who entered, and said, that if they would deposit what valuables they had with him, he would return them safely as they came out; but if they refused and were robbed within, he was not responsible. The wall inclosed four or five streets of little houses, inhabited by girls dressed in brilliant habiliments of velvet and silk. Three or four hundred of them were usually in attendance. They received only a small sum for their favours. Whether this system was then general in Spain we know not, but it is certain that common prostitutes abounded. Servants appear to have been hired for this purpose, for Philippe II., in 1575, in order to check the ravages of immorality, ordered that no female domestics under forty years of age should be hired by men. A decree of 1623 required that in all cities throughout the kingdom public brothels should be abolished.

In Geneva there was a "Queen of the Prostitutes," elected by the civic magistrates, who took an oath of office, and undertook to govern all the women engaged in her occupation. At Schelstadt a man was commissioned to a similar duty,

and very strict rules were imposed on the population.

We have seen that in many places prostitution became a source of revenue, and might enlarge our details and multiply our examples; but it would be tedious to cite the laws of France, Spain, Italy, and Germany on the subject. They varied much in different times, but offer little interest.

The legislator, however, has not contented himself at all times with dividing the prostitute class from other classes of females, with shutting them up in separate quarters, or even confining them in houses of which he kept the key. In some cases he obliged them to assume a peculiar costume, or at least a conspicuous badge of infamy. They always endeavoured to resist or elude the restrictions laid upon them, and, feeling deeply the humiliation of such compulsion, sought by all means to evade it. The first regulation of this kind for the city of Paris is mentioned by the chronicler Geoffrey. He says, that the Queen of Louis VII. going one day to church, met a woman gorgeously attired, and, deceived by her appearance, gave her, "according to custom," the kiss of peace. She was a court prostitute; and when the royal lady heard this, she complained to her husband, who ordered that no mantles should in future be worn by prostitutes. From time to time new edicts on this subject appeared. One of 1360 forbade them to wear any embroidery, any gold or silver buttons, any pearls, or any trimmings of gray fur. In 1415 and 1419 golden and gilded zones were prohibited to them, as well as silver buckles to their shoes. The very fashion of their dress was afterwards regulated. These devices to distinguish prostitutes from respectable females were speedily imitated. An *aiguillette* of a certain colour, hung from the shoulder, was most generally adopted in France. In some towns silk was prohibited to them.

The Bishop of Rhodes, in 1307, forbade them to wear mantles, veils, amber necklaces, or rings of gold, while the popes of Rome followed the example. The laws of Mantua obliged prostitutes when they appeared in the streets to cover the rest of their clothes with a short white cloak, and wear a badge on their breasts. At Bergamo the cloak was yellow; in Parma, white; in Milan, at first, black woollen, and then black silk. If disobedient, they might be fined, and, in case of a second offence, publicly exposed, and whipped. Any one might strip the garments off any girl he met in the streets illegally attired. In London a

similar distinction was imposed on them, and at Strasburgh a sugar-loaf bonnet was invented for their use. In Spain, besides prohibitions concerning dress, they were forbidden the use of coaches and litters, as well as prayer-carpets or cushions in the churches; even a hackney-carriage was not allowed to be hired by them.

The acts of legislation in France were almost exclusively police regulations. Forced to tolerate the prostitute class, the law endeavoured, by watching, restraining, shaming, and insulting it, to render its occupation so infamous as to terrify persons from seeking it as a means of livelihood. It does not seem that in France, during the middle ages, legislation ever passed this limit or went beyond the action of police. In Italy, however, and in Spain, this was not the case. The Roman law had left many vestiges, which have never, in reality, disappeared; the ecclesiastical prerogative was powerful, and disposed to be active. Local statutes existed in great abundance, and the combination of these authorities gave rise to a jurisdiction full of details: profuse, sometimes strange, always subtle, in parts inconsistent, and laboriously commented upon by a numerous school of jurists—a jurisprudence which elevated itself above simple measures of security and municipal rules, and instituted for prostitutes a civil and social statute of their own.

Ulpian says that a woman is a prostitute not only when she frequents regular brothels, but when she visits cabarets, or any other places, where she is careless of her honour. She is a prostitute who yields herself for base purposes to all men; but she who has connection only with one or two is not. Octavenus, however, thinks, more justly, that she is a prostitute who gives up her person in common, whether she receive money or not.

The lawgivers of the middle ages were not accustomed to insist on perfect or precise definitions. They liked to subtilize over terms. Some held Ulpian's limited view to be correct; others, with Octavenus, declared that any woman yielding to the solicitations of several men, even without being paid, was a prostitute. The Roman law defined prostitution to be the reception of numerous libertines. But how many? inquired St. Jerome. This threw divisions among the theorists. Some declared 40 men to be enough, some insisted on 60, others on 70; while a few, carrying extravagance to its utmost limits, asserted that no woman was a prostitute who had not delivered up her person to at least

3000 persons. While these ridiculous disputes engaged attention, the corruption of manners went on.

It is just to the wisdom of that age, however, to remark, that these discussions of the casuists appeared no less ridiculous to contemporary statesmen than to us; while the general public idea of prostitution was habitual debauch for vile purposes, whether mercenary or otherwise.

Some theorists, nevertheless, insisted that the nature of a hireling was inseparable from that of a prostitute. On this account the name *meretrix* had by the Latins been given to a woman of this class; but this view led to consequences which the wise legislator would not accept. If any female accepting a reward for her dishonour was to be publicly enumerated among professional harlots, many, from a single offence, must, under compulsion, follow a life of systematic vice. Others argued that two or three repetitions of this infamous sale would justify the title being applied; but this is a point on which writers have never agreed. Consequently, a long controversy arose upon the three conditions in dispute: what amount of publicity—what number of vicious connections—what kind of venality—was sufficient to stamp a woman with the name and character of a common prostitute.

Rabuteaux describes her as one who, under constraint, or by her own will, abandons herself, without choice, without passion, without even the impulse of the grossest lust, to an unchaste course of life. By want of choice he means the absence of a preference for the individual, by which, he adds, a forbearing judgment extenuates the offence of immorality. If, he insists, there be any choice of persons, there may be libertinism, there may be debauch, there may be scandal, there may be vice, but there is not prostitution in the true sense of the word. It applies to "sacred prostitution," whether gratuitous or venal, which was an unblushing and indiscriminate sacrifice of chastity; to that which the barbarous hospitality of savages, whether on the rivers of Lapland or in the deserts of Africa, gave up a woman to every guest; and to that legal kind in civilized countries which sold itself promiscuously for hire.

Such is M. Rabuteaux's idea. We differ from him. Prostitution appears to us the application to a vile purpose of that which was designed for honourable uses; and the mere satisfaction of animal lust is in itself the vilest object. There may exist in a woman's mind, even when most debauched,

a preference for some, an aversion to others; but she is no less a prostitute, if she abandon herself viciously, whether to one or many.

While these theories divided the opinions of lawgivers, legislation on the subject was extremely difficult. They were forced to be contented with what they thought imperfect proof; and, to fix the infamy of a woman, accepted evidence from witnesses, even those accomplices in sin who, of all others, have lost the right to accuse. A female who chose the night for the period of her orgies; who, as a wanderer, without a companion to protect her, entered house after house; who waited on revellers in a place of entertainment; might be registered among common prostitutes. A legitimate suspicion, also, attached to her who received the visits of many young men; and, above all, who, in light or darkness, frequented a public school.

These women, when once consigned legally to the prostitute class, gained, in the middle ages, a right which they could not otherwise assert. The Roman laws adopted by the jurisprudence of that period allowed her to have a legal claim to payment when she prostituted her body, and the reason assigned was founded on a strange and subtle distinction of terms. "The courtesan's vocation," said Ulpian, "is infamous, but the wages of it are not; the act is shameful, but not the reward which is in prospect when the act is committed."

The Spanish law was still more favourable to her. When a man paid in advance, and she refused to submit according to her promise, he could not demand his money back. On one side she received a legitimate emolument; on the other, he was guilty of immoral turpitude which the law would not recognise. The code of Alphonso also permitted this interpretation; some commentators, however, allowing that the woman had a right to revoke the promise of yielding her person, but was bound to restore the amount of hire she had received. Long and vigorous controversies arose among the theologians when this was referred to them. It was also disputed in France, whether the prostitute could enforce payment when she had sold herself and an avaricious person refused to reward her. An imposing list of authorities is arrayed on either side.

Another question long debated was the use to which such gains could lawfully be applied. Alphonso the Wise, on the authority of Isaiah, forbade priests to receive offerings from such a source. Baldæus and others insisted that the church could not

accept taxes from public women; but this by many was repudiated, as contrary to the principle that the wages of prostitution were lawfully acquired. The Spanish law allowed money of this kind to be given in alms, and the public opinion recognised the right to dispose of it by testament, though several popes attempted to decree a contrary usage. If, then, they could dispose of their gains as they pleased, could they inherit property? They could, but under limitations. In Savoy it appears that legacies to prostitutes made by soldiers who had not quitted service more than a year were null and void. In Spain no woman of this class could inherit to the disadvantage of the testator's relatives in a direct or collateral line. Many authorities only admitted the brother of the deceased to this right; but an exception was made when it was a daughter who succeeded to such property, or when the woman was herself married. A mother, however, could disinherit her daughter for leading a vicious life, but lost this privilege if she had been the accomplice of her immorality. The father had equal authority, but with one curious limitation. When, said the law, a father has sought to marry his daughter, and endowed her sufficiently, if she, against his will, refuses to marry and becomes a prostitute, he may cut her off; but if he have opposed her marriage until she reached the age of 25, and become a libertine, he cannot refuse to bequeath her his property. In the duchy of Asota, in Piedmont, a similar regulation was established; but the age was fixed at 29, and the woman, on every opportunity to marry, was bound to present herself before her father and demand his consent. If he refused it, he was not allowed to punish her when, at 30, she became a harlot.

The church, in those ages, made it a pious act to marry a prostitute, and absolved from their sins all who did so. In France a woman of this class might, at a very ancient period, save a criminal from death, by inducing him to espouse her, and Farnacius relates an anecdote which shows this custom to have existed in Spain. In a city, which he does not name, a young man mounted on an ass was being conducted to the scaffold. A courtesan was struck by his beauty, offered him his life if he would become her husband. He refused. The temptation was not strong enough to induce him to accept such a wife. He merely answered, "Let us move on," and reached the place of execution. Meanwhile, however, an account of the incident had reached the king, and he, admiring the youth's courage, pardoned him.

From this we may learn that though the church consecrated such a marriage with peculiar grace, public opinion considered it infamous.

The jurisprudence of the middle ages introduced new principles, and these unions became more rare. Many doctors of law announced that they were contrary to the sacred code.

In Spain, where concubinage was legally recognised, men of rank were forbidden to take as concubines slaves, whether born in actual bondage or emancipated, dancers, servants of taverns, go-betweens, or prostitutes. It was disputed whether the children of these women could be legitimized by subsequent marriage. It was decided that they could, though with more difficulty than others, and their mothers became amenable to the laws against adultery.

Persecution in all barbarous ages and countries has endeavoured to perform the task of teaching and reclaiming mankind. The members of the venal sisterhood have, more than any others, experienced the harsh effects of this species of legislation. The law sought to withdraw them from vice by shutting from them every approach to virtue, to reform their minds by forbidding them the society of honest persons, to elevate them from their degradation by adding to their infamy. It refused to receive them as witnesses, even when violence was done upon their persons; though more liberal jurists cried out amid the clamour of intolerant bigotry, that the protection of justice should attend even the vilest prostitutes in the vilest dens of her resort; but the spirit of the times was vindictive, and because society was corrupt and base, it was most unsparing in its cruelty towards the victims of debasement and corruption.

In spite of every one of these rude devices of a rude society to banish immorality to habitations of its own, by badges, quarters, distinct costumes, and even separate laws, prostitutes swarmed in every city of Europe, and still more in its innumerable camps. Armies were then undisciplined bands of adventurers, and pillage was the soldier's chief purpose. Xenophon tells that the nations of Persia, Asia Minor, and India, were accompanied on their marches by their women and their children, to defend whom they fought with more courage; and Athenæus describes Chareas, causing a band of beautiful courtezans to dance before his phalanxes to the tune of flutes and psalteries. Two thousand prostitutes were driven from the camp of Scipio Africanus; and so, in the middle

ages, every army drew in its train numbers of public women. Three hundred were with the army which laid siege to St. Jean d'Acre in 1189, and during the whole of the crusades the Christian armies were followed by them. Many times the leaders endeavoured to check this debauchery. Some of the girls were flogged. Sometimes the man who was found with one of them was obliged to allow her to strip him to his shirt, and lead him with a rope through the camp. On the plains of Perretola, after the defeat of the Florentines, in 1325, public dances were executed by prostitutes for the amusement of the army. In all parts of Europe similar profligacy distinguished the camp; and long after we find Jeanne d'Arc, when reviewing the army, chastised with her sword several prostitutes whom she detected among the ranks. Marshal Strozzi, with a ferocity worthy of that period, drowned 800 of them in the Loire. When the Duke of Alva invaded Flanders, there accompanied his army "400 courtezans on horseback, beautiful and grand as princesses, and 800 others on foot." These were for the pleasure of 10,000 men, all veterans.

Prostitution was authorized and disciplined, not only in the camps but in the palaces of those days. From the eleventh century to that of Francis I., a regular community of public women was attached to the court.

We have already noticed the Queen of Louis VII. kissing one of them on her way to church; and we find Charlemagne ordering his palace to be cleared of them. At the Council of Nantes, in 660, it was complained that the concubines of the nobility, instead of remaining at home, thronged to public assemblies; but the seraglios of these lords, in the ninth century, were places of prostitution. The German law imposed a fine of six sous on a man who committed violence on a female in the principal or royal "gynecées," but only three in any other. It was formerly the custom to send to one of these retreats a woman convicted of adultery; but this was at length forbidden, lest it should simply allow her an opportunity to repeat the offence. Sometimes they were only the harems of the proprietor, sometimes brothels. William IX., of Poitou, established in the eleventh century an abbey for prostitutes, where he added to his profligacy the crime of sacrilege, giving the harlots the titles of abbess and prioress, and parodying every sacred rite. The orgies of his palace, and indeed of all others of that age, are indescribable.

The title of King of the Prostitutes was given to the officer who presided over the royal brothels. In Paris, in Normandy, and in Burgundy, we find this functionary. Under the kings of France he enjoyed a high rank and many privileges; and associated with him was a woman who governed the prostitutes, and punished them with whipping when they offended. In England, also, the palace and the mansions of the nobles contained small brothels. In Henry VIII.'s palace was a room, with an inscription over the door, "Chamber of the King's Prostitutes."

Thus, throughout the world, there was, in the middle ages, profligacy and corruption, which rose to its height at the period which preceded the Reformation. From their chief places of resort in royal palaces prostitutes spread over the whole of society, invading the church, the hearth, following the camp, dividing the privileges of the wife, and ever debauching both sexes by their companionship. Rods, prisons, gallows, chains, pillories, tortures, served in no way to prevent or even to discourage them; badges and restrictions proved equally futile; but it is agreeable to find some relief to this dark spectacle of demoralization. In the age of primitive Christianity religious men endeavoured to reclaim from vice those whom they found making a trade of it. We cannot stay to dwell on the sincere apostleship which laboured, especially in the East, and was followed by fathers and hermits from the desert. Stories of conversions of this kind fill the legends of the time, and earnest attempts were made to offer an asylum to the unhappy women who had abandoned themselves to profligacy. We have noticed Theodora, the imperial harlot of Rome, collecting 500 prostitutes in a palace on the Bosphorus; but her impure hand could not perform well the offices of charity, and she applied force to fill her asylum. Many of the girls, therefore, who were shut up in her magnificent and luxurious prison, found their confinement insupportable, and committed suicide to escape it. In 1198 two Parisian priests established a nunnery for repentant women, and thirty years afterwards the House of the "Daughters of God" was instituted, and these efforts were rewarded with much genuine success. Two centuries passed without many enterprises of the sort being undertaken; but in the fifteenth century an association of public women was formed to exchange their base gains for those of piety and virtue.

In 1489 all the prostitutes of Amiens,

animated by a sudden awaking of remorse, applied for a place of retreat, where they might bury their shame, and renew their honesty. This was granted, and several others were established, the inmates of which wore white garments.

In several other parts of France, and generally in Europe, the religious orders made attempts to recall some of the abandoned class of females, to redeem the virtue of their sex, and, as they laboured with sincerity, many of their enterprises were successful. But, on the whole, prostitution still increased, and, the Reformation broke over a state of society demoralized to the very core*.

OF PROSTITUTION IN SPAIN.

Few nations have been described in more various ways and in more contradictory terms than the Spaniards. In the pages of one writer, we find them represented as in all things a great example of virtue, morality, and uncorrupted manners; in another, they are pictured as the very embodiment of vice and degradation. We have been at much pains to deduce from the history, from the achievements, and from the actual state of Spain, as these are set forth by innumerable authorities, a just opinion of its national characteristics, and the sketch we shall offer is the result.

In that country we have to divide class from class before we can fairly view its manners. On the one hand we have a peasantry ill-taught, and educated to servility; then a trading body, with another employed in professions; and thirdly, a large order of nobles, degenerated altogether from its ancient splendour, but preserving nevertheless all the pride, all the indolence, all the sensuality, which characterized it in the age of extended conquest and prosperous commerce. Upon all these classes time has left traces, and the influence of their history has been remarkably strong. A rich soil, a warm climate, an abundance of precious minerals—these circumstances have been by no means without their effect. The Roman Catholic religion, an army of priests, an arbitrary government, and the habit of respecting persons more than principles—these have a still more distinct impression on the national character. A literature once illustrious but now dead, an empire once splendid but now perished, a commerce once magnificent but now decayed, a

* Rabuteaux, ex Lascher, La Chaus, Layard, Knight, Dulaure, Chaussard, Jacob, Saint Hilaire, Hugues, Faumin, Sabatier, Beraud, &c., &c.

wealth once gorgeous and now turned to poverty, arts once noble and now degraded—in these we find an index to the Spanish national character. There is nothing virgin in the country, there is nothing progressive, there is nothing with hope: all the glory of Spain belongs to the past. The present is a wreck, and the future is a blank.

The manners of Spain present none of that simple purity which we find in Switzerland. Every influence to which the people are subject tends to corrupt them. Young women who stand at their windows, and see with delight the flagellants go by, lashing themselves until the blood splashes under their whips, cannot possess much dignity of mind. Yet such are the spectacles which in Spain have been made familiar and favourite to the populace. There is throughout Spanish society an effort to appear better than they are, which in itself is an unfailing indication of impurity. Men dare not when in company take any improper liberties with women, even those whom they might be able privately to seduce. On the stage they hoot a piece, which in France, or even England, would not be regarded as in the slightest degree indelicate. Nevertheless, in their retired rooms, ladies who are thus prudish before the world, will suffer approaches gross enough, will amuse themselves with obscene pictures, will pardon readily equivocal jokes, and listen to songs of the worst indecency. Nor will they object to behold the fandango danced, though, whatever some tolerant travellers may say, it is proverbially obscene.

In many parts of the country, and especially in Seville, the ancient national customs are still preserved, and young girls are always when in the street accompanied by a *duenna*. In Madrid, where manners have undergone a change, this is no longer the case; but in the more primitive cities it is more prevalent. The guardianship of such a companion, however, by no means implies absolutely a respectable character, for common prostitutes, when they do walk abroad, are often accompanied by old women who attract notice to them, and frequently engage visitors to their places of resort.

The actual intercourse of the sexes in public is reserved, except with respect to conversation. The gossip at a *Tertulia*, described by some tourists as delightful, is characterized by English ladies not at all inclined to satirize Spanish manners as very far from that which women in good society among us are accustomed to hear.

Children who appear fresh from the nursery indulge in remarks which to many appear positively obscene. The intellectual standard among them is low. Ladies have been known who, with all the pride of an hereditary title, could scarcely write their own names.

Good wives and good mothers are nevertheless very abundant in Spain. It has produced heroines of every kind, from the intriguers of the *Camarilla* to the defenders of a city. When "in love," the Spanish woman is exceedingly full of passion, and, carrying a knife, she occasionally employs it to revenge a slight. These essential characteristics of female manners are, however, gradually yielding under what we may term the common law of society in Europe. Madrid is assimilating itself to Paris, and Paris to London; so that as time progresses the peculiar features wear off, and statistics alone may at some future period form the measure of a people's morality.

In the rural parts women share with men the heaviest labours of the field. They may be observed as you pass along the highways, staggering under the weight of enormous burdens; but this is a circumstance attaching to poverty in all parts of the world, not to any nation in particular. It is among the upper and middle classes in Spain, though in many other countries the contrary is true, that women wear most strongly a national characteristic appearance. In Madrid and the other fashionable cities you are surprised by the vast number of women who crowd the streets. They have no domestic occupations; they trouble themselves little with the nurture or education of their children; they devolve on hirelings the management of their household affairs; and they relieve themselves from ennui by sauntering through the public places, dressed with the minutest elegance, carrying their fans, and bargaining on it, by every possible species of coquetry, for admiration from the passers by.

A Spanish woman is a natural coquette, and when married cannot abandon the habit familiarly known as flirtation. This gives rise to jealousy on the husband's part, which produces infinite misery.

Marriage is held in law a solemn and irrevocable contract. It is under many legal regulations, and subject to the authority of the Roman Catholic Church. In the hands of the clergy, indeed, there is vested a prodigious arbitrary power, which they are careful to exercise, lest it should become obsolete by disuse. They may

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

its compliance with the request of many Subscribers, the outer pages of this periodical will, in future, be used as a wrapper, intended to be cut off in binding. This will not only keep the work from being soiled, but enable Mr. Mayhew to answer the inquiries of his several Correspondents.

Concerning the order in which the several divisions of "London Labour and the London Poor" will make their appearance, Mr. Mayhew begs to state that the first six Monthly Parts will be devoted to an exposition of the condition and earnings of the several varieties of the London Street-folk. A Title, Preface, and Index will then be issued, so that the whole of the Numbers on that subject may be bound up into a Volume, in which it is hoped, will be found a full and minute account of the numbers, income, experience,

habits, and tastes of every class of person getting his or her living in the public thoroughfares; whether Street-seller, Street-buyer, Street-finder, Street-performer, Street-artizan, or Street-labourer; including accounts of the Street-Irish, Street-Jews, Street-Italians, Street Blind and Maimed, Street Mechanics, Pedlars, Costermongers, and Gipsies,—and thus constituting Vol. I. of the first real History of the People that has ever been attempted in any country whatsoever.

This done, Mr. Mayhew purposes directing his attention to the Producers; beginning with the Workers in Silk, Cotton, Wool, Worsted, Hair, Flax, Hemp, and Coir, as well as the Workers in Skin, Gut, and Feathers, comprising both the Manufacturers and Makers-up of these Materials. Under these two heads will be

I. WORKERS IN SILK, COTTON, WOOL, WORSTED, HAIR, FLAX, HEMPEN OR OTHER MATERIALS.

1. *Manufacturers of Materials.*

Silk, ribbon and lace manufacturers.	Factory workers.	Flock manufacturers.	Lint makers.
Lace menders.	Spinners.	Mop makers.	Tape makers.
Gauze makers.	Weavers.	Worsted manufacturers.	Hemp dressers and manufacturers.
Braid makers.	Knitters.	Carpet and rug manufacturers.	Canvass weavers.
Gimp spinners and weavers.	Candle and lamp-wick makers.	Hair manufacturers.	Rope and cord spinners.
Fringe manufacturers.	Stocking makers.	Wig makers.	Net makers.
Tassel makers.	Woollen and cloth manufacturers.	Hair dressers.	Mat makers.
Trimming makers.	Cloth pressers.	Artists in hair.	Sail and sailcloth makers.
Coach-lace makers.	Shawl makers.	Brush and broom makers.	Tarpaulin makers.
Gold-lace weavers.	Crape makers.	Flax and linen manufacturers.	Ship's caulkers.
Cotton manufacturers.	Felt manufacturers.	Thread makers.	Tilt makers.
Wadding makers.			Sack and bag makers and weavers.

2. *"Makers up" of Materials.*

Tailors and breeches makers.	Dress makers and milliners.	Stay and corset makers.	Quilters.
Slop workers.	Robe makers.	Belt makers.	Bed and mattress makers.
Accoutrement makers.	Satin and silk workers.	Stock makers.	Hatters.
Sempstresses.	Embroiderers.	Umbrella and parasol stitchers.	Bonnet makers.
Shirt makers.	Berlin wool makers.	Purse makers.	Cap makers.
Baby-linen makers.			Cloth-cap makers.
			Artificial-flower makers.

II. WORKERS IN SKIN, GUT, AND FEATHERS.

1. *Manufacturers of Materials.*

Skinner and skin dressers.	Curriers and leather sellers.	Catgut makers.	Goldbeater's-skin makers.
Parchment makers and dealers.	Strop makers.	Gut blowers and spinners.	Feather manufacturers.
Tanners.	Furriers.	Musical string makers.	Pen makers and dealers.
		Bow-string makers.	Quill dressers.

2. *"Makers up" of Materials.*

Boot and shoe makers.	Leather case makers.	Glove makers.	Whip makers.
List shoe makers.	Leather pipe makers.	Saddlers.	Coach trimmers.
Ball makers.	Cap peak makers.	Harness and collar makers.	

*** *Answers to Letters received will be given in the next Number.*

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Several anonymous communications have been received, some of them evidently curious and (if duly authenticated) valuable, but it is impossible to attend to any statement unless means are afforded of testing its accuracy by the names and addresses of the parties forwarding the information being communicated in confidence.

J. T.—Acknowledgments and thanks are due for the receipt of the valuable pamphlet of "Who pays the Taxes?" and for other matters, all of which will receive my earnest attention.

THE SOCIETY OF CABINET MAKERS.—The request of J. S. shall be complied with.

THE REV. J. E. H. will be written to immediately.

"THE BRISTOL TAILOR," &c.—It is to be hoped that those who can advocate the cause so well will not allow it to drop.

"THE DISEASE AND THE REMEDY," a valuable Essay, has been received. It is heartily wished that the example of Mr. E. Edwards's industry and research in collecting statistics and other information concerning the printing trade may be followed by the secretaries of other trade societies.

G. J. H., BRUNSWICK-ROW.—The address of the tailor has been received. He will be communicated with at the fitting time.

J. P.'s letter shall be attended to.

BRISTOL.—The statistics will be welcome.

PIMLICO SOCIETY OF CARPENTERS.—The Report has come to hand, for which many thanks.

T. P. A.—It would hardly be becoming to act in the way intimated.

JOURNAL OF INDUSTRY.—Many thanks are given for the recommendations and remarks of the able editor.

TWO POOR NEEDLEWOMEN.—Agnes M— and Jane W—, who, in my inquiries among the needlewomen, had become known to me as persons of good character, have written to me stating: "Our circumstances are very bad, we have only earned a few shillings for the last twelve weeks." Mr. MAYHEW can vouch for the worthiness and for the poverty of those two poor women. Toiling from morning till night, they have had but twopence-halfpenny a day to live upon

for several years, after paying their rent. This Mr. MAYHEW proved in the *Chronicle*, by extracts from their account-books.

J. I. G.—This correspondent's suggestions shall be heeded when the matter in question is treated of.

T. R., MILK-STREET.—The application shall be borne in mind.

A PURCHASER, &c. is referred to the article concerning the "Coster Girl." Where it is proper and practicable, the mode of procedure he points out will be adopted; but as the communications are confidential, the procedure is not always proper or practicable.

PENSION SOCIETY OF CLICKERS, &c. are thanked for the Report forwarded.

CAROLINE G., the widow of a railway-guard, writes to describe her extremely distressed condition.

A. B. C., LOCK'S-FIELDS, is requested to send his name and address (of course in confidence).

D. P. M., ARLINGTON-STREET, has been written to.

P. C., BREWER-STREET, NORTH.—The information proffered will be gladly received when the mechanical calling of which P. C. writes is treated of.

PUBLIC BATHS, &c.—Thanks are due for the ticket and documents. The establishment will be noticed in due course.

IMPORTATION INTO HULL, &c.—Received with thanks.

F. W. is thanked for the useful book he has forwarded.

C. B., ANN-STREET, &c.—Similar statements have frequently been received, and will be made available when the poor so suffering are described.

J. R., LIVERPOOL, has sent many valuable accounts of the tailors, all of which will be made useful.

T. D., DALSTON.—Thanks for the pamphlet.

THE LOOKER-ON.—Received, with thanks.

E. J. B., DRURY-LANE.—Received.

THE SWANSEA HERALD, DUBLIN COMMERCIAL JOURNAL, STOCKPORT ADVERTISER, and other papers, containing notices of "London Labour and the London Poor," have been received.

THE PROFILIST is thanked, and will be communicated with.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

AN account has been given among the notices to correspondents of the several occupations which will be treated of in this work, on the completion of the volume concerning the street-folk. In the meantime, the several operatives, trade societies, and employers, will do the Author, and it is hoped themselves and the public, a considerable service by forwarding such facts connected with their trade, as may have come under their own *personal* experience.

MR. MAYHEW would feel obliged by the name and address of the writers being added to all communications—not with a view to publication, but as a guarantee of respectability and good faith. MR. MAYHEW (for obvious reasons) never prints the names of those from whom he receives his information, but leaves the public to look to him alone as the person responsible for the truth of the statements here published; it is therefore necessary for his own credit sake, that he should be furnished with the means of ascertaining the credibility of his informants, before pledging himself to the authenticity of any facts with which they may supply him. All anonymous communications will henceforth be unattended to.

The statistical information that MR. MAYHEW desires is of three kinds—First, concerning the earnings of individuals—Secondly, the income and expenditure, objects and government of trade societies—and Thirdly, the *kind* of cheap labour by which the “cutting” masters in the several trades are enabled to undersell the more liberal employers.

1st. The earnings of individual operatives should be proved by the account-books of the employers or employed, both of which will be highly valuable, especially if extending over a series of years. Each of the account-books of the operatives, however, should be accompanied by a statement as to whether it represents the earnings of a person who is *fully, partially, or only casually*, employed; also, whether the workman is a *quick, average, or slow* hand. Of course all such books (or statistical documents of any kind indeed) as may be entrusted to MR. MAYHEW for the purposes of this work, will be carefully preserved, and when done with faithfully returned.

2nd. The trade society statistics that MR. MAYHEW would be thankful for, are statements of the number of members in and out of society for a series of years—the wages of society men during the same time, specifying the cause of any rise or fall—the subscriptions paid by members, and how much of these is devoted to trade purposes, and how much to “philanthropic” (if any)—the income and expenditure of the society for each year as far back as possible—the sums paid annually to the unemployed, as well as the yearly number of unemployed members—the amount given every year to the sick, (specifying if possible the prevailing diseases of the trade)—the sums disbursed to the superannuated, as well as the gross amount paid at death of the members, setting forth the number of individuals in each case—the sums paid for insurance of tools, if any—the amount disbursed to tramps—the number of employers who pay society prices, and if possible the number of those who do not (the last items especially, should be given for as long a period as possible, so that an estimate may be formed as to the prospects of the trade). MR. MAYHEW would also be glad to know what are the trade regulations concerning apprentices—the term of apprenticeship—the number usually taken—the premium paid—and the remuneration of the apprentice. The hours of labour recognised by the Society, and the duration of the brisk and slack seasons, would likewise be useful, as well as whether the men are paid day-work or piece-work. It would further be desirable to know the cost and causes of any strikes that may have taken place, and the opinion of the more intelligent members of the trade thereupon. MR. MAYHEW wishes

moreover to be furnished with facts as to whether the late reduction in the price of food has been followed by a commensurate reduction in the rate of wages, and whether at the time of the imposition of the income or any other tax, the wages of the operatives were reduced to an equal extent. MR. MAYHEW is aware that such has been the case in many trades, but he is desirous of ascertaining whether the reduction has been general, and if not, of learning the nature of the exceptions.

3rd. As to the nature of the cheap labour by which the cutting masters in the different trades are enabled to undersell the more liberal employers. MR. MAYHEW wishes to know; first, whether the cheap labourers employed belong to the less skilful portion of the trade—as boys, “improvers,”—old men, &c.; or to the less respectable—as the drunken, the idle, and the dishonest; or the less expensive—that is to say, those who will put up with a coarser diet, as foreigners, Irishmen, &c., and those who have their subsistence found them, either by the State, as paupers and criminals, or by their connections and relations, as wives and children. Also whether there are any “aids to wages” among the cheaper labourers in the several trades, as “allotments,” “relief,” &c. &c. Moreover, it would be advisable to make known whether the cheap workers are obliged to find security, and if so, to what extent—whether they are bound to provide any and what articles that it is usual for the more liberal employers in the trade to find for their workpeople—whether they are bound to buy their materials, tools, or food, of their employers, and if so, the prices charged by them compared with others. If they are boarded or lodged by their employers, the quality and quantity of provisions, and style of accommodation found them. If there are fines, the nature of the offences for which they are imposed, and the amount exacted. If middlemen are customary, then should be stated the sum paid to such middlemen by the employer, and the sum paid *by* them to the employed; if, on the other hand, there be a large number of small working masters in the trade, it would be desirable to know the lowest sum required by an operative to commence manufacturing on his own account—the usual hours of labour among the small masters—the rate of working, that is to say, the quantity of work done by them in a given time—the number who work on the Sunday—the time lost in finding a market for the goods when finished—the advantages taken of their necessities by the tradesmen to whom they sell—the kind of assistants the small masters employ, and the wages they pay.

Statistical information on the above points, in connection with any of the trades (specified in No. 5), or indeed in connection with any other trade, will be of the utmost value. Such information need not concern London alone, but the provinces as well, for it is MR. MAYHEW's intention not to confine the work to the artisans and labourers of the Metropolis solely.

MR. MAYHEW would further be thankful for accounts as to the individual expenditure of operatives. These would be of the greatest service, as the means of arriving at the number of ounces of solid food consumed by working men in particular trades, so that the quantity may be contrasted with other trades, as well as with the dietaries of paupers and prisoners. A statement of the sum spent in intoxicating liquors would do good in tending to check a most pernicious custom.

In conclusion, MR. MAYHEW begs to state, that he would likewise be glad to be furnished with a brief account of the experience, privations, and struggles of those working men whose lives have been unusually chequered, and the publication of which is likely to prove interesting or useful to their fellow-workmen, or the public generally.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

P. L.—The subject will be a matter of investigation in a few months.

W. B., CHELSEA.—The trouble taken by W. B. demands acknowledgment, but a statement, merely ex parte, and hardly relevant—although W. B. might make it so—to the subject of street-life, cannot be attended to.

A BOOTMAKER for eighteen years is thanked for his communication.

AN INVESTIGATOR.—The information was official, and, there can be no doubt, as correct as possible under the circumstances.

Mr. W. H. FORMAN writes to point out "a slight error respecting the number of people that can be accommodated in the Gallery of the Victoria Theatre," in the first number of this work. Mr. Forman states that 1,000 is (what is termed among the fraternity) "a fizzer," but 900 is the full number the gallery will hold, the other hundred hang about the beams, &c., as described in the first number. Mr. Forman is thanked for his correction, and for his concluding remarks.

E. B., PORTLAND TOWN.—See p. 219 of McCulloch's "Dictionary of Commerce" (1844). The orthography used is that of the leading fruit brokers—though there are certainly doubts on the subject—but in such matters custom is often the only recognized authority.

CAUTUS.—The suggestion is hardly capable of realisation.

T.—No such inquiries can be answered.

A GREENGROCER is thanked for the information forwarded.

B. H. R. W.—Received.

E. C. M. is thanked for his suggestions, and is requested to send, in confidence, his address.

P's application has been attended to.

L. A.—The number cited was on the authority of a government table. L. A.'s censures, though complimentary, collaterally, to the importance of such a work as "London Labour and the London Poor," are hardly borne out by the facts.

J. R., LIVERPOOL, has again forwarded valuable information. He will shortly see a publication on the subject.

W. P.—This communication accidentally escaped notice last week, and it is worthy of every attention.

T. R. suggests a Grand National Labour League.

F. R. S.—The amount might be somewhat understated, but it was mentioned that a (probable) understatement was resorted to in the absence of positive information.

T. W. R. cannot be answered, with any precision, at present.

T. W. P. is thanked for his letter and for his calculations. His recommendations will not be lost sight of.

W. T., SOMERS TOWN, should be at once assisted were there funds for such a purpose.

A PLAIN SPEAKER.—It would be improper to do as requested.

P. P.—The information will be found in No. 3.

A. R. and other anonymous communications cannot, as before stated, be attended to.

M. N. L.—On the authority of a Report of the Poor-Law Commissioners.

MENTOR.—The fulness of a Parliamentary Inquiry, by a Select Committee, can hardly be questioned.

ANONYMOUS COMMUNICATIONS have been received but they cannot—it seems again necessary to announce it—command any attention.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.—Letters received later than Saturday morning cannot be attended to in the Number published on the following Wednesday.

FAIR DAY'S PAY FOR A FAIR DAY'S WORK.—This correspondent has, no doubt inadvertently, omitted sending his name and address, so that no reply can be forwarded to him.

RECTUS IN CURIA.—The information may be found in any of the Cyclopædias.

L. L. A.—No such table has been received.

R. F.—It will be sufficient to say that the communication was made in consequence.

A BOOTMAKER is thanked.

B. B.—The Plumber's trade was not the subject of any Metropolitan Letter on Labour and Poor in the *Morning Chronicle*.

A. Z.—The answer to B. B. applies to this querist also.

L. M. N.—It is usual to do so. The facts can be made serviceable, but the letter, for obvious reasons, cannot appear in its present form. Any further statement will command immediate attention.

AN ADMIRER.—The question of democracy and aristocracy cannot be discussed in "London Labour and the London Poor," in the way which "An Admirer" recommends.

A GARDENER.—Of such things the costermongers know and care nothing. The tariff of 1842 reduced the duty on foreign pears to 6d. per bushel (3d. from British possessions); it was formerly 7s. 6d.

T. P. is thanked for his information. The address of the party had been previously obtained to be available when wanted.

T. W. P.—The letter has been received and the matter will be carefully attended to.

P. P.—A prospectus will be forwarded if P. P. will state to what address.

R. S. A.—It is not possible to enter into explanations, concerning abstruse questions in the necessarily circumscribed limits of these "Answers."

D.—The "Penny Gaff" alluded to has been suppressed. It is said not to have been one of the worst.

"LAUDATOR TEMPORIS ACTI."—The statement is correct. See the Acts—50 Geo. III. c. 41, and 6 Geo. IV. c. 80. Further information on the subject will be given.

WHOLESALE DEALER.—Certainly not.

"A FORMER SUFFERER."—The topic is not one in accordance with the inquiry into "Street-Life" now being prosecuted.

E. L.—POOR NEEDLEWOMEN.—A letter has been received, from which the following is an extract, the name and address being given, and to be learnt at the Office, 69, Fleet-street.—"I am an employer of female labour in the ill-paid trade of shirt making, and also in the Berlin brace trade. In your last Number I perceive an account of two poor needlewomen; my object in writing is to offer them work, which is continual, winter and summer, and also to lay before you my scale of wages. I have an opening for ten or twelve good hands in either of the above trades. My system is a division of labour. I pay 4s. per dozen for stitching, 3s. 2d. for the plain work, and 6s. for the fitting, which I fix myself, thereby relieving the hands of the most difficult part of the trade. I have the whole of the latter part done upon the premises, under my own inspection, paying every attention to the comfort of the work-people. They have an airy work-room, with fire and candles, cotton is found, and a comfortable tea provided; so that their earnings are free from deductions. I am also in want of a good button-hole worker, wages 3d. a dozen button-holes. I have not been able to see your letters in the *Morning Chronicle*, but am anxiously waiting their appearing in your weekly paper. I am told there are thousands making shirts at 2½d. each; if this is really the case, I think it must be in consequence of their being extremely inferior hands. The great fault appears to be, that poor girls are not properly instructed in the use of the needle, very few make really quick and clever needlewomen; while the many are so very inferior, that they are compelled to accept any wages that may be offered. The above wages are far less than I should like to be able to pay, but the very utmost I can afford under present circumstances, leaving but a very trifling profit for my own labour and superintendence."

F. S.—The question will be treated in due course, and F. S. shall be communicated with. The subject was very briefly alluded to in the *Morning Chronicle* about a twelvemonth ago.

LAW WRITERS' APPRENTICES.—Such communications are of great value, and may prove of great usefulness, as many abuses cannot possibly be corrected, for they have never been exposed. The correspondent in question—it is better not even to give his initials—will be written to when the condition of the Clerks, Assistants, &c. of London is, the important subject of inquiry.

M. & M.—Received.

A. B. C.'s communication has been received.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"L. C. F. presents her compliments to Mr. MAYHEW, and begs to enclose half a sovereign, to be disposed of as he may think proper, to any of the distressed persons mentioned in his account of the "LONDON POOR." She heartily wishes that she could make it more, but her circumstances do not admit of it at present, though she trusts ere long to be able to send another donation; and will also when possible, subscribe to the 'Friendly Association of Costermongers,' as described in Mr. MAYHEW's work. Should the two Young Flower Girls, or the little Cress Girl, mentioned by Mr. MAYHEW, be still in distress, her own sympathies go first with the young in sorrow. So much sin as well as misery may be prevented, by timely aid in supplying them with stock to pursue their honest trading, that one might hope whilst assisting them in their means of support, to be also aiding (however humbly), in 'saving souls alive.' But Mr. MAYHEW will be, of course, the best judge where so sadly small a sum can be made of the most avail."

[Mr. MAYHEW has handed over the half-sovereign, kindly forwarded by L. C. F. to his Publisher, Mr. JOHN HOWDEN. Mr. MAYHEW has, in his dealings with the poorer classes, seen too many instances of the evils of promiscuous charity, to consent to become the dispenser of alms. The most dangerous lesson that can possibly be taught to any body of people whatsoever is, that there are other means of obtaining money than by working for it. Benevolence, however kind in its intentions, does oftentimes more harm than even the opposite principle. To bestow alms upon a struggling, striving man, is to destroy his independence, and to make a beggar of one who would work for his living. It is to teach such an one to trust to others for his subsistence, rather than to convince him that he himself contains within his own frame the means of providing for his own sustenance—indeed, it is to change the self-supporting animal into the mere vegetable; for the main distinction between animal and vegetable life is, that the one seeks its own food and the other has it brought to it. Mr. MAYHEW, while he wishes to arouse the public to the social necessity of enabling every person throughout the kingdom to live in comfort by his labour, has no wish to teach the humbler classes that they can possibly obtain

a livelihood by any other means. All that the better part of the working-classes desire is, to live by their industry; and those who desire to live by the industry of others, form no portion of the honest independent race of workmen in this country whom Mr. MAYHEW wishes to befriend. The deserving poor are really those who cannot live by their labour, whether from under-payment, want of employment, or physical or mental incapacity; and these Mr. MAYHEW wishes, and will most cheerfully do all he can, at any time and in any way, to assist. If the poverty arise from unfair payment, we should demand from the employers a fair living price for the work. If, on the other hand, it arise from want of employment, then we should seek to obtain work for those who cannot themselves procure it; and if from disability, we should use our influence to get them

admission to some asylum specially devoted to the alleviation of their particular sufferings; or, if there be no such asylum, then we should endeavour to found some one of the kind wanted.

Mr. MAYHEW has been thus explicit as to the principles which guide him, because he wishes it to be known that, for several reasons, he has no desire to fill the post of dispenser of alms. In the first place, it is necessary that, for the honour of the office he has taken upon himself, he should be placed beyond even the remotest suspicion. He has therefore determined to accept no place of pecuniary trust whatsoever; and in accordance with this resolve, he has handed over such money as has been forwarded to him for distribution among the poor, to Mr. JOHN HOWDEN, with the view of making it the nucleus of an institution that he is most anxious to see established, viz., a "Loan-Office for the Poor," where small advances may be obtained on approved security, at a moderate rate of interest. This appears to Mr. MAYHEW not only to overcome all the objections to almsgiving, but to afford the same pecuniary assistance to those who stand in need of it, without degrading them into beggars. Such an institution would also go far to put a stop to the exorbitant rates of interest now charged by those who trade upon the necessities and destitution of the indigent,—such as the dolly-shops, pawnbrokers, stock-money lenders, tally-shops, and many like iniquities. Those gentlemen and ladies who would not object to serve upon the committee of such an institution, are requested to forward their names to the Office, 69, Fleet-street, and those who think sufficiently well of its objects to contribute towards its capital, will oblige by making their post-office orders payable to Mr. JOHN HOWDEN, who has kindly consented to act as Honorary Secretary for the time being. It is proposed to pay three, or, if possible, four per cent. interest for all contributions made to the institution, the sums contributed by the subscribers being lent out at five per cent., and the difference devoted to the expenses of the institution.]

Lucy L., of Bedford-square, sends the subjoined:—"Sir,—I am a governess, anxious to provide for my old age, and save all I can for that purpose. The difficulty is, how to invest these savings—the savings-banks

give such a small interest. In No. 6 of your admirable work on LONDON LABOUR AND THE POOR, I see an advertisement of the 'Mutual Investment Society,' wherein they proffer 5 per cent. for money deposited with them. I hope you will excuse the liberty of my inquiring whether you know anything of the Managers of the Society, and would you advise my depositing my savings there? my apology for this intrusion is, that I look upon myself as one of the Labourers of London. A notice in your next Number will greatly oblige, your sincere admirer, Lucy L."

[The lady is informed that Mr. HENRY MAYHEW himself has no connection whatever with the Institution referred to; his brother, Mr. Horace Mayhew, is, however one of the Directors. The "Mutual Investment Society" appears to be a very valuable Institution.]

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The London coal-whippers have forwarded a Prospectus of a new journal which is about to be published by some members of their own body. These labouring men have long been celebrated for the many classical scholars included among their ranks; but curious as classical scholarship may be when found among such a class, still intelligence in a periodical will prove of much greater value. It is hoped therefore that the coal-whippers will not be so anxious to display their learning as their sense. If they will but avoid a perhaps pardonable demonstration of their scholastic acquirements, and determine to deal with the labour question judicially rather than emotionally, eschewing all that may savour of the platform—if they will but adhere to plain matters of fact, collecting and making known the statistics of labour, and so contributing their mite of truth to the general knowledge fund on this difficult question, they may be the means of doing incalculable good, not only to their own people, but to the great body of labouring men throughout the country. Let them rest assured that the labourer is to be benefitted solely by truth. No revolution in any country whatsoever can ever make two and two anything but four. If the working men are wronged, then let them demonstrate how the treatment they receive violates the laws of right, and depend upon it there are enough people wishing right to prevail, ultimately to put an end to the wrong. The process may seem a slow one, but there is no hastening it by force—conviction alone can work the change. Mr. MAYHEW himself believes that the working men of England are grossly wronged by capitalists. All production is according to the very first principles of political economy—a partnership between the man of money and the man of muscles, in which the monied man agrees to advance to the working man his share of the produce in the form of wages. Look at the labour question in whatever light we may, these are the very elements of it. It may offer some violence to the pride of the capitalist to be told that his labourers are partners in his business, but common sense and justice admit of no other view being taken of the transaction. That this fundamental contract is violated, and that the labourer does not get his fair share of the produce at the present day, none can doubt—the padlock, to quote a solitary instance, which is made for a halfpenny, is sold for a shilling. In place of the original compact a new law has been instituted, by which the necessities of the working man—instead of equity—are made to determine the value of his labour. This is what is called the law of supply and demand, which taking no heed of the result (that is to say, whether the value of the materials on which the workman has exercised his skill has been doubled or increased even a hundredfold by the operation), says, that the proportion of the wealth which is to come to the labourer is to be regulated by no other principle than what the capitalist can induce or force him (by starvation or chicanery) to accept. Now this to Mr. MAYHEW appears to be the very reverse of justice, and contrary to the fundamental principles of the very science of which it is said to be a part. Unfortunately, however, the law of supply and demand has got to be recognised by the rulers of the land, and to be considered almost as a part of the commercial creed of the country—the last “new commandment,” as it were—against which it is political blasphemy to raise one’s voice. Until the injustice of this principle is exposed and made generally known, there is no hope for the labouring man; for a necessary corollary (and certainly a most convenient one to all employers) of the law of supply and demand is the dogma of free labour, which asserts that in any way to restrict the liberty of the capitalist to buy his labour in the cheapest market and sell it (of course) in the dearest, is to interfere with the “rights of commerce.” This, however, would seem to perpetrate an even greater iniquity than the present

wage-law—and that solely for the benefit of the capitalist—at the expense, moreover, of both producer and consumer, giving rise at once to underpaid workmen and overcharged purchasers—to cheap labour and dear commodities for the mere aggrandisement of the middle-man. To buy labour at the cheapest possible rate, without any regard to the value of the produce, is to defraud the producer, and to sell it at the dearest possible rate (without any regard to the prime cost of the commodity), is to swindle the purchaser. Surely this was the principle of trade which guided the dealings of Ikey Solomons, the Jew fence, and yet he was tried at the Old Bailey and transported for putting it in practice. In the case of the receiver of stolen goods, the main iniquity consists in not paying a fair price for the labour of the article purchased; and indeed it is often this buying of articles far below their equitable value that constitutes the chief evidence as to the guilty knowledge of the receiver. If no restriction whatever is to be placed upon the dealings of capitalists, and they are to have full liberty to buy in the cheapest market—despite the principles of justice—then why in the name of common sense prosecute the receiver or the thief, when their whole crime consists in not paying a proper price for the labour of the commodities they obtain? Under these circumstances it behoves the great body of working men to protest loudly—but calmly and resolutely—against the iniquity of the law of supply and demand, and against the doctrine of free labour which seeks to make the remuneration of workmen depend on the greed of commercial men rather than the principles of justice. There are no men who can make this apparent better than the coal-whippers—no men who have had greater experience of the atrocities that can be perpetrated under the *free labour* principle, and none who if they will but tell all they know, and all they have seen, and tell it dispassionately—appealing to the consciences rather than the passions of their fellow-creatures—can do more to bring about that state of right and truth which all good men desire. This is the sole object Mr. MAYHEW has in view—all he wishes is to make the public aware of the infamies that can be practised upon the labourer when the trader is allowed to use him as his own brutalizing love of gain may dictate; he hopes by showing these things to induce some change in our social state (though at present he hardly knows what change) by which the workman may ensure his fair share of the produce. There are many means proposed to obtain this end. Protection Chartism, Co-operative Societies, Socialism, Communism, and many other social and political panacea; but with these, Mr. MAYHEW has in his present vocation nothing to do, and he wishes it to be distinctly known and understood—without reservation or cavil—that he is in no way connected with any social or political party or sect whatever. Mr. MAYHEW is neither Chartist, Protectionist, Socialist, Communist, nor Co-operationist; but a mere collector of facts, endeavouring to discover the several phenomena of labour with a view of arriving ultimately at the laws and circumstances affecting, and controlling the operation and rewards of the labourer, as well as of showing the importance of the poor and the working classes as members of the State.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The following has been forwarded by the Rev. Robert Montgomery:—

"61, Torrington-square, Thursday.

"My dear Sir,—The sacred cause of Christian philanthropy is vastly indebted to the noble efforts you are now making to enlighten the polished darkness in which the upper classes are veiled from a real and adequate acquaintance with the dismal realities of the poor man's life around them. Personally, I have to thank you for admonishing my own selfishness, and expanding my own sympathies, by your deeply-moving details in your *LONDON LABOUR AND POOR*. It is not likely that you have ever heard of, much less read, my last volume, '*GOD AND MAN*.' Nor do I refer to it as having intellectual claims on your attention. But there is *one essay* in it, which, I believe, in point of subject, stands *alone* in our literature. It is entitled, '*The benefits the poor confer on the rich*'—the reverse side of the question as generally discussed. Of this, I say, I beg you to accept the enclosed extract: do me the honour to *read it*; and, if it can be of the remotest use to your sublime cause, it will gladden the heart of, my dear Sir, yours faithfully,

"ROBERT MONTGOMERY.

"N.B.—This is a public letter, and at your discretion can be used. Is it possible to get some of these people to hear the *Word of God*? if so, pray command my labours."

From J. C. (M.D.) the following has been received:—
"In Dr. Carpenter's '*Prize Essay on Intoxicating Liquors*,' he has quoted some statements from the '*Inquiries by the Commissioner of the Morning Chronicle*,' (see Appendix A. and B.), which, so far as I can make out, seem to imply that a man may carry up as many as sixty tons of coals on his back, from a ship's hold sixteen feet deep, in the course of a day. 'I have backed as many as sixty tons in a day since I took the pledge.' 'Many teetotallers have backed coals out of the hold, and I have heard them say over and over again, that they did this work with more comfort and

subject to which J. C. is directing his attention, he would be happy at all times to afford him any information within his power, and be equally glad to be made acquainted with the results at which J. C. may arrive. When it is remembered that to the *muscles* of men we owe so many of the comforts and necessities of our lives, surely the subject of muscular energy, irritability, and durative power must rank among the most important of studies, and the more so because the physical causes of crime, vagabondism, industry, and a host of other virtues and vices, which must be in some measure due to the bodily conformation of the individuals, have been hitherto wholly unexplored by impartial scientific men. The phrenologists alone have looked into the subject; but unfortunately they are theorists with a disposition to warp rather than discover facts. Ethnologists have done little or nothing towards increasing our knowledge of the physical conformation of the predatory and vagabond races of the world. Nor have the revelations of Drs. Marshall Hall, and Carpenter, concerning the automatic, consensual and voluntary actions of men been as yet attempted to be applied to the enigmas of moral or social philosophy. Dr. Hall's theory of fatigue appears to throw a flood of light on the causes of industrial and idle habits. When will the physician be considered as necessary a functionary in our gaols and unions as the clergyman? for when he is, we may hope for some more useful knowledge than we are at present vouchsafed, concerning the causes and treatment of criminals and paupers. At present our prison reports, and our gaol and poor-house discipline are as unphilosophic as the '*wise-saws*' of our old nurses.

"I have noticed in the seventh Number of your *Journal*," writes a lady without a name, "a statement that '*lavender*,' in common with other flowers, is sometimes sold for '*immoral purposes*.' With the curiosity so natural to a daughter of Eve, I feel very inquisitive to know what purpose, or purposes, it can be '*immorally*' applied to? Flowers have always been

associated in my mind with ideas of rural happiness, and as emblems of purity and simplicity, and therefore your announcement has startled me very much, leaving me after all my cogitations in a labyrinth of doubt and conjecture. If you will have the courtesy to solve this query for me, in one of your future Numbers, you will confer a great favour."—(The subject is not exactly feminine—but the immoral purposes are the same as those for the sale of flowers in the streets; by young girls, frequently used as a cloak.)
The following petition has been handed to Mr. MAYHEW by the poor half-witted and very persecuted harp-player, so well known in the streets of London; and as he can vouch for the worthiness of the petitioner, as well as his inability to obtain his living by labour, Mr. MAYHEW gives publicity to it here in the hope of enlisting the sympathies of some of his readers in behalf of the poor musician.
"TO THE PUBLIC.
"Ladies and Gentlemen,—Your humble Partitioner as been obtaining a lively hood the last 4 years by playing an harp in the streets and is desirous of doing so but from the delapidated condition of my present instrument I only produce ridicule instead of a living Trusting you will be kind enough to assist me in getting another I beg to remain your humble Partitioner.
"FOSTER."
"L. Wallington (Gray's-inn-terrace), 1s.; Mr. Briggs, 1s.; T. L., 1s.; Jno. Ballantyne, 1s.; A friend, 1s.; T. N., 4d.; J. Hughes, 6d.; Mrs. Ganston, 6d.; Dubois, 1s.; J. Ellis, 6d.; Mrs. Bridges, 6d.; Mrs. Hosleham, 1s.; H. M., 5s."
Two pounds ten shillings will be sufficient to obtain such an instrument as is required. Subscriptions may be forwarded to Mr. JOHN HOWDEN, 69, Fleet-street.
GINGER-BEER SELLER.—ODD FELLOWS.—It was stated, in No. 9, that 1,200 ginger-beer sellers had, at one time, attached to their stalls a label, or ticket, showing that they belonged to the Society of "Odd Fellows." It should be of "Old Friends," a society then well known.
B. P. M. is thanked, but the class is finished.

ease than they did when they drank intoxicating drinks. Coal-backing is the hardest work that it is possible for a man to do. Going up a ladder sixteen feet high, with 238 lbs. weight upon a man's back, is sufficient to kill any one.' May I beg you will have the kindness to say in the notices to correspondents in '*London Labour*,' &c. whether I am right in my conjecture. It has been supposed that the work performed by the South American miners of carrying up loads of 200 lbs., from a depth of eighty yards, twelve times a day, was about the greatest amount of labour which a man could undergo; but this would far surpass it. My object is to investigate the amount of muscular power which a man is capable of exercising, and I trust you will excuse the liberty I have taken of thus encroaching upon time which is so much and so usefully occupied." Speaking from memory, the passages above quoted are correctly given. There was, however, together with the weight carried, a statement as to the aggregate height to which the substances were lifted in the course of the day's labour, which J. C. must be well aware is an important element in the calculation. The copies of the *Chronicle* in which the Letters on the London Coal-whippers were originally printed not being at hand it is impossible to refer J. C. to the precise date of their appearance; but Mr. MAYHEW believes it was at the beginning of last year. The impression left on Mr. MAYHEW's mind by the investigation was, that stimulating drinks were in no way necessary for the performance of the severest labour. Mr. MAYHEW was the more particular in his inquiries upon this subject, because he knew there existed a deeply-rooted conviction in the minds of the industrious classes that hard work could be performed only with the assistance of some kind of fermented liquor, and the result of the investigation most assuredly was that such a belief was in no way founded upon truth. Mr. MAYHEW (being no teetotaller) investigated the subject purely as a question intimately connected with the welfare of the working classes, and without reference to any preconceived opinion whatsoever. As Mr. MAYHEW takes great interest in the

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

W. M. H.—The letter has been received.

F. F., on a little consideration, must perceive that his request, without a direct contravention of the rules observed in conducting this work, cannot be complied with.

ANONYMOUS LETTERS.—It is to be regretted that letters, without name or address, continue to be occasionally sent to this office, notwithstanding repeated notices that they are valueless for any purpose.

AN UNWORTHY PROTECTIONIST.—A political controversy is inadmissible in any form.

R.—No such communication has been received.

L. L.—In 1829.

AN OBSERVER, WHITECHAPEL.—The year assigned was the correct date.

H. W. H.—The statement may be looked upon as at least semi-official.

P. L., MANCHESTER.—Such a communication should be addressed to the Government Commissioners.

B. T. L. is thanked for his curious information.

LECTOR.—The likeliest course will be a search in the British Museum.

M. F., LIVERPOOL, is thanked for his letter.

F. R.—The matter will not be lost sight of.

L. A. P.—There appears no good reason for following such a course.

M. H. W.—The class of men referred to could only, by a very forced and violent construction, be included among patters.

PETER.—The question seems entirely theological, and is not within the scope of this work.

A FISH FACTOR.—No further intelligence can be given of the precise derivation of the word "Bummaree." In Mr. Knight's "Cyclopædia of Political, Constitutional, Statistical, and Forensic Knowledge," (referred to by a Fish-factor), it is stated: "Bottomry, Bottomree, or Bummaree, is a term derived into the English maritime law from the Dutch or Low German. In Dutch, the term is *Bomerie* or *Bodemery*, and in German, *Bodmerie*. It is said to be originally derived from *Boden* or *Bodem*, which in Low German and Dutch, formerly signified the bottom or keel of a ship; and according to a common process in language, the part being applied to the whole, also denoted the ship itself. The expression *bottom* having been commonly used to signify a ship, previous to the 17th century." In this statement we have most probably the word. How it became possessed of its present signification at Billingsgate, seems never to have been ascertained.

B. Y. R., SHEFFIELD.—The classification suggested is very good, and will be borne in mind when the subject is treated of.

L. A. R., MARYLEBONE.—It would hardly be proper to publish those addresses in the way suggested.

B. B., NEWCASTLE.—It is impossible that the Editor of this work can interfere in such a matter.

L. O., NORTON FOLGATE, is thanked.

W. R., received.

P. S. R., WESTMINSTER, will find the information he is solicitous to acquire in the present number.

A PARENT.—See No. 3.

L. L., GREENWICH.—Any letter sent to the office, 69, Fleet-street, on the subject will receive due attention.

A WESLEYAN.—It was the City Missionaries who were alluded to on the occasion in question.

R. F. A.—In 1837.

H. G.—This communication came to hand too late to be more than acknowledged in the present number, but the "respected friend" who has addressed it to the Office, shall be written to.

E. B.—Received, in postage-stamps, 5s. for Foster.

ALMA MATER.—It can hardly be expected that the editor of any periodical can devote time to answer such elaborate questions.

QUESTOR.—The following information—at this correspondent's request, and in acknowledgment of the trouble he has taken—is derived from the "Standard Library of Political Knowledge":—"The laws relating to vagrants continued substantially upon the footing of the statutes of 39 Eliz. and 7 Jac. I. for more than a century, until, in 1744, they were reconsidered and remodelled by the statute of 17 Geo. II., c. 5. This was the first legislative measure which distributed vagrants into the three classes of idle and disorderly persons, rogues, and vagabonds, and incorrigible rogues. Although this statute is now wholly repealed, it continued in force nearly a century, until 1822, when a temporary Act, Stat. 3 Geo. IV., c. 40 passed, repealing all former laws, and re-enacting most of the provisions of the stat. 17 Geo. II., c. 5, with many additions and modifications. The provisions of the stat. 3 Geo. IV., c. 40, was, however, entirely superseded by the 5 Geo. IV., c. 83, which now (1846) constitutes the law respecting vagrants. This Act was amended by the 1 Vic. c. 38 (1838). The third section of the statute Geo. IV. declares what persons are idle and disorderly persons, and may be committed to hard labour in the House of Correction for any time not exceeding one month."

BLANDFORD.—There will be no delay on the subject, but it is essential to proceed in due course.

T. L., BATH.—The intelligence shall not be overlooked at the proper period.

R., READING.—In any of the Encyclopædias.

LONG SONG SELLERS.—The sum stated as expended in long songs, in the streets of London, should be 120*l*. instead of 180*l*.

A. M. and J. M.—A letter has been received from these parties containing thanks for the receipt of 5*s*., "kindly brought by a gentleman," after perusing a recent number of London Labour and the London Poor.

J. W., of Egerton-street, Liverpool, is thanked sincerely for his kind offers and expressions. He has been written to privately.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The following valuable communication has come to hand. It is given entire, to show the use of some such institution as was advocated in a previous Number:—
 "Sir,—I take the liberty of addressing you on the subject of the Loan Fund, advised by you in your 'Labour and the Poor,' for the relief of our suffering brethren of the streets. It is not for me to *advise* you; but I think, sir, if you could combine a savings'-bank and sick-fund with it, you would add materially to its benefits. I know, from my experience of my order, that such of us as can save money from our weekly earnings would far rather place it in the hands of our friends than in those of any Government—who, say many, 'would, in any period of political commotion, probably make of our money arms to crush us.' Besides, we want the spirit of mutual assistance, which is but enlightened self-help, more largely among us; and would rather that our money went to help the struggling than be employed we know not how. In this building we in August last established a little sick-fund, and, as soon as we got a pound or two, talked of depositing it in a Government savings'-bank; but one or two of our members said, 'No—let us loan it out to such of our number as may require it.' We did so at 11, at a time, payable in twenty-one weeks at 1s. per week, placing the profit in the sick fund. We soon found the applications for loans more numerous than we expected. To meet them, I proposed a savings' bank to receive deposits from 6d. upwards, bearing interest at 5 per cent. per annum as soon as they should reach 5s. Thus we shall receive 15 per cent. per annum for money lent, while we are paying 5 for that deposited; but, as the money is re-lent as fast as it comes in from the loans, the profits, in the course of twelve months, will be a great deal more; and as all will go to increase the sick-fund, relieve cases of sudden distress, or assist a poor member compelled by cessation of employ to leave us (as our rents are 4s., 5s., 6s., or 7s. weekly), every one is interested in the matter, being a *bona fide* partner. The whole of our expenses, for box, lock, two keys, and books, have been under 4s., as our members have furnished them, charging only for materials. I would not trouble you, sir, but out of this matter perhaps you may pick some hint to assist your good intentions. I should feel very proud to see a savings'-bank formed for the working-classes, the stock of which would be loaned out to assist others not so fortunate; and if the ladies and gentlemen who correspond with you would guarantee the repayment of deposits, it would work well. I believe they would never be called upon for a shilling, and you would make the assistance of the working-classes the work of their own order, bringing their two extremes together, and binding all in one bond of brotherhood. And if a rather higher rate of interest was required, and the profits of it passed into the sick-fund (after paying necessary expenses)—to which, if fixed at a low rate (ours is 2d. per week), many would gladly subscribe—it would do a great deal to make those who are improvident careful, and be a blessing to all who knew it. I am, Sir, faithfully, yours to command, B. B. Feb 19, 1851.

"P.S.—If in any of your future Numbers you intend to describe model-houses, which are now becoming a feature in London life, I will endeavour, if you please, to procure you correct information respecting this establishment from its commencement to the time of publication."

C. B. sends "Three shillings worth of stamps for Foster," saying, "if the subscription be filled, then apply the money to some other deserving object." The inclosure has been handed over to Mr. Howden, and will be paid by him to Foster, whose receipt will be visible at the office. At present only 8s. have been received for the poor fellow.

A communication has been received from the "Association for the Relief of the Poor of the City of London and parts adjacent, Office, 43, Bow-lane, Cheapside, Instituted, 1798," familiarly known as the "City Kitchen;" where, during the first season, as much as 2,6144. were expended in providing relief to near 20,000 poor. [Mr. MAYHEW has no faith in soup-kitchens—they make life too easy.]

R. T. (of Edinburgh), makes the following suggestion, which shall be considered. It was in contemplation to give a Daguerreotype View of London, from the top of St. Paul's, as a frontispiece to the First Volume. "In the course of perusal of your very interesting work *LONDON LABOUR, &c.*, an idea has struck me, which I think would enhance the value of it, and be of great service to many of your readers, more particularly the provincial ones, which is to publish with your work a *Plan of London*; the cause of this suggestion is the repeated mention made of the various streets that are frequented by the street-traders, also it might be the means of increasing the sale, inasmuch as that parties intending to visit London at the Great Exhibition, would find the plan very useful; many I have no doubt will be curious enough to see some of the more noted street characters mentioned. I find that in a great measure the Edinburgh couters are subject to the same treatment as in London, all or nearly all the stands or stalls have been removed from the streets, and those using barrows are compelled to keep moving on. Yours, R. T. Edinburgh." [Will R. T. favour Mr. MAYHEW with some further information about the Edinburgh street-sellers, if he have the means of obtaining it.]

A. S. E., of Redland, Bristol, makes the following correction of a quotation from Mr. McCulloch; where there are so many facts to collect, of course it is impossible to prevent the occurrence of such errors in the hurry of a first publication. "Sir, in page 129, last sentence, you state that 'Mr. McCulloch estimates the average consumption of butter, in London, at 6,250,000 lbs. per annum, or 5 oz., weekly, each individual.' There must be a mistake either in Mr. McCulloch or your quotation, as this would make the population of London, only 384,615. If we assume the annual consumption correct, and the population 2,000,000, we should have the weekly individual consumption not quite 102. If we assume the weekly consumption of each individual to be 5 oz., and the population to be 2,000,000, the annual total of consumption would be 32,500,000 lbs. Which is correct? With due respect, A. J. E."

The following has been received from "C. P.—Sir, seeing in your prospectus of *LONDON LABOUR*, that you intend giving an account of the London shopmen, and having been a shopman for some years at a linen-draper's, as I have now left the trade, I shall be happy to give you the results of my experience, on condition no names are mentioned in your periodical; should you think this worthy of attention, and hint the same in your correspondents' page, I will then put all down on paper I consider worth telling, and forward it to you; or if you prefer it, I will call on you and 'put you up' to some of the most amusing 'tricks of trade.'" [Mr. MAYHEW will be glad to receive the promised communication. The London shopmen will be treated of at the earliest opportunity. The distribution of wealth, and consequently the distributors, may be said to be almost as important as the production and producers of it. Strictly speaking, the street-sellers now treated of belong to the class of distributors.]

J. W., of James-street, Gray's-inn-road, a bricklayer's labourer, sends a long and valuable communication touching the condition and earnings of the workmen in his trade. Among other things, he states that a great many of the constant hands have been reduced from 3s. and 3s. 6d. per day to 2s. 8d. since the repeal of the Corn Laws. Mr. MAYHEW will be happy to hear again from J. W., should he have any fresh facts to communicate.

F. B. B., who writes in reply to Mr. MAYHEW's observations on Profits and Wages in a recent Number, shall be attended to at the earliest convenience.

J. L., Johnson's-court, Fleet-street, is thanked for his valuable communications on tramps.

TANCRED is informed that no letters by Mr. MAYHEW on the subject of Railway Labourers have appeared in the *Morning Chronicle*.

C. R. M. (who writes about the muffin-sellers) is thanked for the correction.

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F. B. B., of Alfred-street, Bedford-square, sends a letter in answer to certain observations printed among the Notices to Correspondents in Number 10. It is impossible to give the entire document, but the following extracts are sufficient to show the spirit and arguments of the writer. Mr. MAYHEW's comments are given between brackets.

"Sir,—Allow me to say, that I think your observations on labour and capital, in No. 10 of 'London Labour,' very erroneous and mischievous, and calculated to mislead the working classes. I may observe, by the way, that I am no capitalist or employer of labour. You assert that 'the working men of England are grossly wronged by capitalists;' and 'that the labourer does not get his fair share of the produce at the present day,' you add, 'none can doubt.' Now I beg to say that I, in common with many thousand others, very much 'doubt,' nay, distinctly 'deny,' the truth of your assertion. Political economists consider that the wages of the labourer are his share of the produce; [the halfpenny out of the shilling padlock] "and they believe this share is necessarily regulated by the law of supply and demand." [A share is a portion regulated by equity, and not by a scramble.] "If wages are not to be thus regulated, I desire to know by what other standard can they be regulated? To talk of 'conscience' and 'justice,' is to use vague terms of no definite meaning." (!) "The dictates of 'conscience' depend upon organization and education; what one man's conscience teaches, another man's denies." [Does truth depend on the same circumstances? To what organizations and in what schools does $2 + 2 = 5$? So of moral truth.] "There is no definite and invariable standard of right." [So that Rush and Greenacre were condemned to death for not conforming to the fashion of the time.] "The same is true of 'justice.' The law of supply and demand is evidently a law of nature" [though justice and right are not], "and to interfere with it would introduce endless confusion and mischief. Would you compel a capitalist to give a certain amount of wages, irrespective of all risks and losses, and the profits which he calculates necessary to repay him for capital, knowledge, and superintendence? Surely this would be gross injustice, if it were practicable! (The returns of the capitalist then are to be regulated by the principle of justice, while the remuneration of the working man is to be left to a scramble, or the law of supply and demand. What Mr. Mayhew desires is, that the amount coming to both parties should be regulated by the eternal principles of equity (if F. B. B. can understand such things)—the same as all partnerships are. If the labourer and capitalist are not partners, then, of course, the equitable principle does not hold; but as this partnership is the fundamental axiom of political economy, why surely the principle which is used to determine the 'rights' (the word is quoted, in obedience to the prejudices of F. B. B.) of partners should be applied to settle what is due to the labourer as well as the capitalist.) "You and others, who declaim on this subject, never consider the population question—the overcrowding of the labour market. This, I am convinced, is the chief source of our social evils. The fault of low wages is not in the capitalists, but in the labourers, who overcrowd the labour market, and compete with each other. If the working classes have no prudence, no self-denial, they ought surely to bear the consequences of their deficiency in this respect—not the capitalist. If they will recklessly increase the population of their own class, they must take the natural consequences in the lowering of wages. Other classes practise self-denial in this respect" [the highest personage in the realm, for instance; but capitalists never are family men, of course.] "It might be hoped, that if the working classes were duly informed on the subject, and were better educated, and this may be expected from national education, they would at length learn wisdom and prudence; which will never be the case, so long as they are put upon a false scent, and are taught, by unreflecting sentimentalists, that they are entirely blameless, and that all the fault and

wrong s with the capitalist and the Government. It is very easy and very cheap benevolence to indulge in vague generalities and high-sounding declamation about 'conscience' and 'justice'—'injustice,' 'wrong,' and 'oppression;' but not so easy to prove where the 'wrong' and 'injustice.' [Because, according to F. B. B., wrong and injustice are mere conventional phantasms—things of organization and education.] "From the style of your writing, you appear to belong to the class of impulsive sentimentalists (see *Edinburgh Review*, on 'English Socialism'), who are too apt to suffer their feelings to overbear their reason and judgment—a more dangerous class to take up any 'cause' I cannot conceive, or one more likely to do injury to those whose interests they advocate."

[Excepting those, be it observed, who allow their reason and judgment to overpower their feelings, a class of which, it may be added, the Devil himself is the apt and sublime archetype. Mr. MAYHEW has printed the above letter—abuse and all—because he thinks it may be taken as a fair sample of the present fashionable economical creed—a creed which does not hesitate to tell us that "justice," "right," and "conscience" are matters of "organization" and "education," mere whimsies of the stomach, or bugbears of the nerves, or dogmata of the schools; for the propounders of such doctrines, being unable to perceive that conscience is the exercise of the judgment on moral propositions, and justice the perception of moral equality or equity, are likewise unable to perceive that to deny the existence of the conscience is to deny that there is any such faculty as judgment in man, while to make equity and other moral truths mere conventions is to reduce the most fundamental truths of all, viz., those which depend on a perception of equality, to matters of pure fashion. The population question, in which F. B. B. goes "the whole hog," like Stuart Mill—declaring that there is no hope for the workmen of this country until they imitate the Catholic priests and register vows in heaven of perpetual celibacy—is one of which Mr. MAYHEW purposes exposing the fallacy in its due place. Suffice it, for the present, that he believes the superabundance of labourers in this kingdom to be due to the creation of 600,000,000 of steam men (which is the estimated power of the aggregate machinery of England) within the last hundred years—a fact of which economists and populationists never condescend to take the least notice—though where the difference can be between a steam-engine performing all the functions of the labourer, and oftentimes of the artisan, and a human machine doing simply what the thing of brass and iron does—it is beyond common-sense to discover. The entire number of human operatives in England and Wales are not more than 4,000,000—the steam operatives are at the least 150 times as many, or 600,000,000—and when it is remembered that these competing steam labourers are things that can work night and day without any sense of fatigue—without cravings or desires—without children to feed and educate, or wives to support and clothe—it surely must be evident to all at what fearful odds the mere creature of flesh and blood—of stomach, brain and (though F. B. B. and his school object, still it must be added,) heart—must enter the field against them. And yet, knowing the enormous rate at which the steam population has been increasing in this country during the last century—at the rate of no less than 6,000,000 of steam labourers per annum—Mr. Stuart Mill and others, when writing about remedies for low wages, do not hesitate to tell us that there is no hope for the working man until he is taught to restrain his passions—stigmatizing all who object to their "preventives" and "checks" as sentimentalists, who suffer impulse and feeling to overbear reason and judgment. Verily, as Coleridge declared, the heart often reasons much sounder and clearer than the head. Moreover, the extraordinary anomaly with these writers is, that while crying out loudly for the non-increase of human labourers, they say not one word against the propagation of the steam ones; for, with a lop-sidedness peculiar to such logicians, they attribute

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almost every evil in the land to the fact of there being 4,000,000 workmen to supply nearly 20,000,000 of individuals with food, clothing, shelter, warmth, light, and, indeed, every necessary and luxury that human nature can either demand or desire—declaring that one-fifth of the population are far too many to create the wealth required for the sustenance and enjoyment of the whole, and a good part of the world besides; and that, consequently, the labour market of the country is overstocked to such a degree that distress and want must be the necessary portion of a considerable number; but (mark the absurdity) never even so much as hinting the while that the 600,000,000 of steam rival operatives which have been created within the last century have in any way tended to induce the overstocking of the said labour market, nor venturing to propose that capitalists should be taught to restrain their passions (for wealth) and made to refrain from annually bringing so many steam labourers into existence. That there are too many steam-engines and mechanical labourers is proved by the repeated gluts in the Manchester and other markets—such gluts being admitted on all hands to be the necessary consequences of over-production. Manchester manufacturers, however, while they admit the over-production, attribute the glut rather to under-consumption, saying that it is impossible there can be too much calico till every man and woman in the kingdom has a superabundance of under-clothing. But how is it possible for working men and women to avail themselves of the superabundance of materials for shirts, shifts, and petticoats, when the only thing they have to give in exchange for such articles is their labour? and of this, by the invention of machinery, the division of labour, and the large system of production, we are daily depriving them—or in others seeking how to produce more wealth with fewer labourers. When the economy of labour is the ruling principle of the science of manufacture, how can we wonder at the superabundance of labourers? Or, knowing these things, how can we, without laughing in our sleeve the while, seek to prove that such superabundance of labourers is due solely to the unrestrained sensuality of the working classes? With 600,000,000 of steam men to help to do the work of the nation, no wonder that a considerable portion of the 4,000,000 of human creatures can get little or no work to do! But we are told steam-engines create work for the human machines. There must be, it is said, some man or child to tend them; whereas human machines are pure social incumbrances, causing no addition whatsoever to the aggregate demand for labour. Every fresh pair of feet that come into the world do not create a demand for an extra pair of shoes—nor each new back want clothing—nor another head require additional shelter—nor another stomach additional food to be produced. Certainly not. The steam man is the greatest of national blessings—our fellow-man the greatest of national curses.

But in order that the natural additions to the aggregate demand for labour, created by each new workman who is brought into existence, should have free play, it is necessary that there be a corresponding demand for the workman's own labour. If he be not employed, of course he cannot employ others to make his shoes—his coats, grow his bread, or build his house; for it deprived of work by his steam competitor, then he must go barefoot, barebacked, empty-bellied, and houseless,—the fate of thousands in this country, as witness the handloom-weavers, the sawyers, &c. Even to reduce the workman's wages, is to decrease the aggregate amount of work to be done in the kingdom. The national income, which is estimated at 300,000,000*l.* sterling per annum, may be said to consist of three equal parts: 100,000,000*l.* going to replace capital; 100,000,000*l.* being the gross amount of profits accruing to the capitalists; and 100,000,000*l.* the gross amount of wages received by the labourers. The latter, or wage fund, constitutes the great purchasing fund of the country, for the whole of this is (with the most trifling exceptions) consumed; whereas the profit fund is mainly (perhaps more than half) saved with a view of increasing the capital of the capitalists. Hence, to decrease the wage fund is consequently to decrease the purchasing fund of the community. F. B. B. should not venture to write on subjects to which he

has evidently paid but little attention, and to which he can contribute no new ideas. This magpie mania for mere chattering is one of the worst signs of the times. Mr. MAYHEW must decline replying to all similar communications for the future.

The following letter has been received from "An Employer," in answer to some statements made among the Notices to Correspondents in a recent Number of this Work. It is printed here in full, because it is desirable that the arguments against any proposed measure should at all times be patiently attended to:—

"Sir,—In the correspondence published in No. 9 of LONDON LABOUR AND LONDON POOR, you notice a proposed Act of Parliament intended to prohibit the stoppage of any part of a workman's wages under any pretence whatever, and proceed to enumerate some instances in which you state the 'system' produces injustice; I am not prepared to deny injustice is done to the Workpeople in the cases you mention, but were the 'system' carried out as proposed, the Master Manufacturers would in some cases, at least, be the victims of injustice. I allude more especially to the Owners of stocking-frames in the Midland Counties—to prevent the payment of rent for which would be the object of such an Act as you mention, and is, I presume, the intention of the 'Universal Anti-Truck Society,' over which your correspondent, Mr. Briggs, presides.

"You are probably aware, Sir, that in the generality of cases the Manufacturers of hosiery goods in the Midland Counties are the owners of numbers of stocking-frames, which are let, in some cases, to middle hands, in others directly to the workman, at certain fixed rents, in most instances to be worked at the house of the hirer, for the benefit of the Manufacturer, he of course supplying the material, and paying the wages of the workman, less the rent of the frame.

"The effect of the Bill proposed by your correspondent will be to prevent the Manufacturer, who has been at considerable expense in constructing the machines, from receiving the fair return of his outlay; in other words, it will compel him to supply tools to the workman at his own expense, which may or may not be used for his benefit.

"The injustice of this will be obvious, but it will be still more so in cases, and I believe there are many, where 'frames' are held by trustees of deceased Manufacturers, as so much ordinary property, for the benefit of their widows or children, who rely perhaps solely for their maintenance upon the rents obtained for the use—they not being in any other manner connected with trade. In those cases whole families would be deprived of the means of maintaining themselves in their proper station in society by the operation of the Act.

"Without entering into the question of the right of any legislature to interfere in contracts between master and workman, or the expediency of its so doing, I merely wish to draw your attention to the above circumstances, to show the great danger that persons, however well-intentioned, though unacquainted with the minutiae of the questions they wish to legislate upon, may incur, and the great injustice they may do by endeavouring to pass such Acts as the one proposed, without first fully and calmly hearing both sides of the question, and from the habit of forming general conclusions hastily from particular circumstances.

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant.

"AN EMPLOYER."

Mr. Mayhew not yet having had occasion personally to investigate the condition of the "stockingers," and knowing nothing of the system of "frame rents" but by common report, he considered it best to forward the Employer's letter to Mr. Briggs (the President of the Universal Anti-Truck Association), so that he, who had devoted much time and attention specially to the study of the circumstances of the case, might deny or admit the truth or justice of the several statements above given. Subjoined is Mr. Briggs's reply:—

"28, Iron Gate, Derby, 14th February, 1851.

"Dear Sir,—As regards labour and work, why should there be any difference between the 'printer,' the 'weaver,' or the 'stocking-maker?' They have each and all to get their living by labour, and they

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each and all are employed in machinery belonging to the employer. The stocking-frame is not worth more than from 5*l.* to 10*l.*, while the printing-press is worth from 30*l.* to 100*l.*; yet, because a printer employs a man to work at his press, at so much a day, or so much per token, who ever heard that the printer charges the workman a rent for the press, and deducts it from his wages? The 'Employer,' at Loughborough, knows very well where is the trick—in plain English, the robbery. If it be *idem per idem*, one and the same thing, why does the 'Employer' want to make stoppages at all? Why not give his workman so much less per dozen, and pay him for every dozen he makes? The 'Employer's' reason is obvious,—because, if he did so, he could not, when he had no work, in slack times, to give the man, get paid for his unemployed frames out of his workman's future earnings in the brisk season. The 'Employer's' object is, to keep the man under his thumb, and always ground down and beggared.

"Employer" first says, that if you prevent the manufacturer from stopping the rent from the workman's wages, you hinder him from receiving the fair return of his outlay. Now, this is untrue; nor is there a word of sense in the assertion. If an employer lays out money in machinery, what has the value of that to do with the workman's wages? If he cannot pay the man for his labour, he ought not to employ the man. The object of the universal anti-truck law is, that he should not nurse up his property with the man's labour.

"He secondly says, that it will compel the employer to supply tools to the workman at his own expense. This is again as untrue as absurd. The Act will prevent an employer from stopping the rent of tools from his man's wages; it will not prevent his finding a man tools, if he likes. He is not, and will not then, be bound to find him tools or machinery, unless he choose; but if any employer will find his workman tools or machinery, then the Act declares simply, he shall pay the man for his labour. What has the poor man to do with his master's property? It is nothing but employment he wants, and nothing but labour has he to give. If a man cannot get work without tools, there are plenty of men to lend them to him, or to set him up with them, independent of his master; but if his master will not employ him, unless he can stop the rent for them out of his wages, it prevents workmen getting employment and wages for their labour.

"I know hundreds of poor men now, with frames and tools of their own, that cannot get employment unless they will take frames of their master, and submit to have a fixed rent stopped from their uncertain wages, whether they earn as much or not.

"It is a monstrous untruth to say, that the 'Act preventing employers from stopping from their workmen's wages a rent for the frame,' can deprive the owners of frames, or their widows and families, of the means of maintenance. Owners of frames have nothing to do with employers, nor will the Act have anything to do with one man letting a frame to another, if he does not employ him. That rent is got by law. The Act is simply to prevent employers stopping such rent from wages. The Act will better the widow's property, as, if employers cannot stop rent from wages, it will give better scope to her to let it. The Loughborough 'Employer' might as well say, because a master cannot stop from the wages of his workman the rent of a house which he lives in, and of which the master is the landlord, it would injure the rent of houses—on the contrary, it would not only better that property, but would leave the workman free to rent a house where he liked, instead of his employment being dependent on his consenting to take a house of his employer, and have the rent stopped from his wages. The stoppage system is the ruin of all labour; it must be put an end to.

"I send you my short account of the laws relating to working men and their wages, with a *verbatim* copy of the present Anti-Truck Act; you will please notice it as you like. Nothing short of the principle of universal anti-truck can ever better the condition of the working man. This must be enacted into a positive law. It is after the most mature reflection and consideration in my mind thus:

"That the entire amount of the wages, the earnings of labour, shall be actually and positively paid in the current coin of the realm, without any deduction or stoppage of any kind whatever.

"I am, dear Sir,

"Yours respectfully,

"JEREMIAH BRIGGS."

[The above reply appears to Mr. Mayhew fully to controvert every one of the assertions of the "Employer." The system of stoppages is so crying an injustice of the present time, that, acting upon the law as given in Mr. Briggs's valuable treatise on the enactments concerning the wages of working men, Mr. Mayhew has made up his mind to try the question in London, by bringing either Messrs. Nicol, Messrs. Moses, Hyams, or their "sweaters" to account for their iniquities before some metropolitan police magistrate. It is high time that some one took the bull by the horns, and since public opinion has made but little impression on the worthies above named, it will be advisable to see whether fine or imprisonment will have any terrors for them. At least, if by their chicanery they are able at present to keep clear of the law (which Mr. Briggs's excellent pamphlet—a work indispensable to all Trade Societies, and which, indeed, should be possessed by every one who wishes to see justice done to those to whom we owe so many comforts), the very publicity given to the proceedings, and the glaring iniquity of the dealings of these employers, will force upon all parties the necessity of some such alteration of the law as Mr. Briggs and the Universal Anti-Truck Association desire. Mr. Mayhew would suggest that in the proposed Act a clause be inserted forbidding the payment of wages in public-houses. This is as great an evil as the direct stoppage of wages. In the case of the lumpers, the men are tricked three nights a week into the tap-room of their employer, and there induced (not forced) to guzzle away that which should be devoted to the maintenance of their wives and children. Indeed, the villainous tricks practised by dishonest employers upon working men are beyond number, and cry aloud for instant redress. The Government have promised to bring in a Bill this Session to remedy the evils of the ballast-heavers; and Sir George Grey assured Mr. Mayhew some months back they would give their support to any measure that bid fair to put a stop to all similar wrongs practised on working men. With but a dozen earnest workers in this direction, it is incalculable the good that might be done.

"HENRY" will be answered in the next Number.

W. F. P. sends, "for the relief of poor Foster, the harp-player," half-a-crown in postage-stamps. They have been handed over to Mr. HOWDEN for the person alluded to, whose receipt may be seen at the Office.—The autograph shall be forwarded.

MR. MAYHEW will communicate with the street-seller, E. R.

The suggestion of C. B. T., who sends no name, will be acted upon.

J. N., of Bermondsey-street, is informed that the first volume of LONDON LABOUR will be completed about July; the price, bound in cloth, will be about 6*s.* or 7*s.* In the present position of the undertaking it is impossible to state the exact price. It is Mr. MAYHEW's intention to make the volume devoted to the Street-folk as full and perfect in its detail as possible. He also hopes to be able to give a comparative view of the state of the Street-folk in other large towns.

W. A. C. &c.—Received.

F. B.—It seems a matter rather private, than characteristic of a class.

SUN ROSA.—Nothing can be advanced on such a subject in this work at present. It is altogether alien to the subject in hand.

B. S.—Applications of this description should be addressed to the publisher, 69, Fleet-street.

WILLIAM R.—The information will no doubt be useful and available.

OXON.—It is impossible to state.

A. S., AN IRISHMAN, is thanked for his remarks in corroboration of the statement in question.

G. R., WHITECHAPEL, is thanked for his courteous intimation.

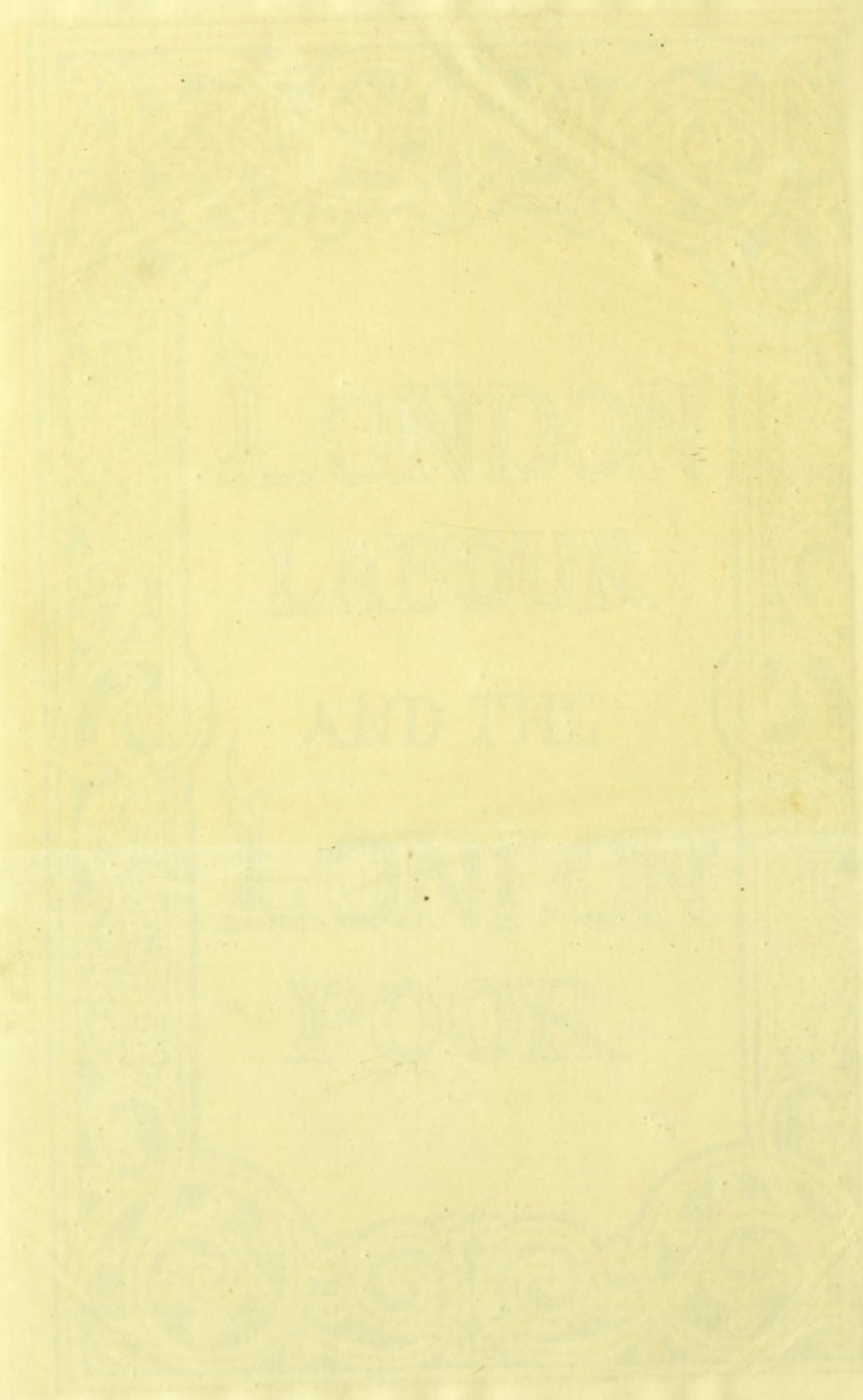
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A gentleman who forwards some valuable information concerning benefit clubs, writes as follows on the subject of the wages of bricklayers' labourers:

"Seeing that a communication has been received from J. W., a bricklayer's labourer, in which, amongst other things, he says, that the wages of his class have been reduced from 3s. and 3s. 6d. to 2s. 8d., since the repeal of the corn laws, I beg totally to deny that such is the case, and I do not wish you simply to put statement against statement, but if you think it worth your while, I think I can produce you the time-books of my father from thirty to forty years past, to prove that the rate of wages has been the same for that period, that is, 17s. per week in summer, and 16s. in winter, or 2s. 8d. and 2s. 10d. per day; and my memory serves to remind me, that of all the branches of the building trade the wages of the bricklayers' labourer have been the most stationary, and never have we been asked for more, except at the time of the greatest activity in railroads, when occasionally 3s. per day might be asked by men who, from their past employment or superior strength, would more properly come under the denomination of navvies. Should you require any information which it may be in my power to give you, I shall feel happy in doing so."

Mr. MAYHEW is obliged for the above counter-statement, of whose truth there can be no doubt, as regards the firm to which the writer belongs. The original statement of J. W., the labourer, may however be true likewise. He might have been one of the men of "superior strength," who at the time of the "greatest activity in railroads," it is admitted received 3s. per diem, and who now get only 2s. 8d. The real difference between the two assertions appears to be, not as to the fact of the reduction, for this the last writer admits while seeking to disprove it, but as to its cause. The master bricklayer refers the decrease, or rather the increase, from 2s. 8d. to 3s. during the period of greatest activity in railroads, to the demand for labourers of "superior strength" at that time; whereas J. W. attributes the decrease in his wages since then to the cheapening of provisions. If the wages of bricklayers' labourers stood at 3s. a day during the "railway mania" only, and ceased when that ceased, then of course the master is right in his inference; but if the diminution was not made until the reduction in the price of food occurred, and that was the cause assigned by J. W.'s master at the time of making it, then it would appear that the labourer is correct in his statement. That such a diminution of wages has already commenced in many trades, owing to the cheapness of provisions, Mr. MAYHEW knows from his own personal investigations. During his inquiry into the condition of the labourers at the timber docks, he found that the wages of the men there had all been lowered. This was stated at the time in the account furnished by him to the *Chronicle*; but though the fact of the reduction was printed, every line referring to the cause of it was withheld from the public by the Editor (Mr. MAYHEW has the proofs now in his possession), for that journal being inveterately free-trade in its principles, of course would not allow any fact to appear in its columns which went to show that the minimum, or natural value of all labour, like the minimum or natural value of every other thing, was regulated by the cost of its production; and that, when the supply exceeded the demand, the same natural value was necessarily the point to which the price ultimately descended. But the *Chronicle* had been long theorizing in the contrary direction, and, consequently, could not be expected—even in an "impartial" inquiry—to stultify itself by publishing facts in opposition to its own preconceived opinions. It had asserted that wages in no way depended on the price of food, and it would, therefore, never have done for so impartial a journal to have been the means of proving that they did. Had the operatives, however, been steam-engines, instead of mere human machines, the economical school to which that journal belongs would have been the first to have declared that any reduction in the cost of producing the power (as, for instance, in the decrease of the price

of coals to one-half their value), would necessarily, if the market were overstocked, be followed by a proportionate reduction in the sum charged, in the price of the goods, for the power employed in their manufacture. To all who will or can think without prejudice on the subject, it will be evident that as there are necessarily three kinds of value appertaining to all commodities—to wit, a natural value regulated by the cost of production—a market value, regulated by the relation of the supply to the demand—and a money value, regulated by the currency—so must labour partake of all these three characteristics; and, consequently, as the natural value or cost of production is that to which the market value of all things must necessarily descend whenever the market is glutted, it holds that to reduce the cost of production in articles of which there is a superabundance, is to reduce their market value in an equal ratio. This is the A B C of political economy, and those who say otherwise, either do not know the alphabet of that science, or have some interest in perverting it. Now that the labour market in this country is glutted, there cannot be a doubt, hence the market value of such labour has a tendency to sink to its natural value or cost of production. The cost of the production of human labour is precisely the same as the cost of the production of steam labour—viz., the market value of the substances required to produce it—together with the expense of the wear and tear of the machine, and interest for the capital sunk in it. Reduce any one of these items, and the labour can and will (provided, as we said before, there be a glut of the article) be correspondingly cheapened. What coals are to the engine, food is to the man—the source of power; what the wear and tear is to the thing of brass and iron, so is sickness and accident to the creature of flesh and blood; and what the capital sunk in its construction is to the machine, so is the time and money expended in instruction to the workman. For each and all of these an equivalent should be given as the lowest compensation to the producer, and, in the case of the steam-engine, such an equivalent is generally yielded to the capitalist (for if not, he withdraws his capital, and leaves off producing); but in the case of the human engine, when wages are driven down to their ultimatum—as in hand-loom weaving, shirt-making, slop work, ballast heaving, making of soldiers' clothing, fancy cabinet-work, and the like—there is seldom any allowance made to the labourer for the wear and tear of the machinery of his frame; nor do his wages include any return for the capital and labour sunk in learning his business. The consequence is that the burden of the wear and tear of the human machine in the time of sickness or accident, is thrown upon the parish, who are left to remedy it as best they can and will. Moreover, as the manufacturer in the price he receives for the labour of his engine when in work, is paid for the interest of his capital when out of work, even so should the wages of the employed labourer be sufficient to keep him when unemployed; for otherwise the rate-payers will have to make up in charity to him, what his employer should have given him as a right. Cheap food should be the greatest of all blessings to the poor; but so long as the labour-market is overstocked, and wages are regulated by the principle of supply and demand, it is utterly impossible that a diminution in the price of provisions should not, sooner or later, be followed by a corresponding diminution in the price of labour. Wages, in such a condition of the labour-market, must necessarily tend towards the lowest possible subsistence point; and whatever may be the money value of the smallest quantity of food sufficient to support life, such will be the wages of the people in those trades where there is a superabundance of labourers. That this should not be, Mr. MAYHEW is most ready to admit; nor could it occur, if the remuneration of the workman depended, as it should in equity, upon the increased value such his labour gives to the materials upon which it is exercised. As was before stated, the proportion that the operative contributes towards the ultimate value of the produce, should be the determining principle of



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his amount of recompense. For instance, it is stated by M. de Villefosse, that in France the labour exercised upon 1*l.* worth of bar iron, in the manufacture of polished steel sword-handles, increases its value to 972*l.*, or very nearly a thousand-fold. The sum actually paid in wages to the workmen engaged in the production of these articles, M. Villefosse does not state; but supposing it to amount to 500*l.*, surely no one would assert that in such a case justice was done to the labourer; for why, in the name of equity, should the capitalist receive as much as 500*l.* for supplying 1*l.* worth of material, and the labourer receive as little as 500*l.*, when he, by his skill alone, makes the 1*l.* worth nearly 1,000*l.*? Nor would it be any justification to the capitalist to say, that many indigent men, having no material upon which to exercise their skill, would gladly have accepted the same, or even a smaller sum. The production is essentially a partnership or joint stock association, to which the man of money contributes 1*l.*, and the man of skill nearly 1,000*l.*; and these proportions alone should determine the relative amount of remuneration coming to each. The capitalist should undoubtedly receive a fair recompense for the use and risk of the material, which is as necessary to the result as even the labour itself; and this, together with a proper reward for all other services he may render to the work, should be expressed in the estimation of his share of the produce. But that he should be allowed, because he contributes a *portion*, to take advantage of the workman's necessities, and grasp nearly the *whole* of the produce, is as monstrous as it is contrary to the fundamental principles of political economy. If the padlock which in our own country is made for a halfpenny and sold for a shilling, is honestly worth that sum in the market, then it is plain, according to the principles of equity, the *workman* making it is defrauded—not receiving his fair share of the produce; and if a halfpenny be sufficient for the making of it, then it is equally plain, judged by the same standard, that the *purchaser* is defrauded—being called upon to pay more than a fair return for the capital and labour invested in the commodity. Let us, however, once admit the law of supply and demand as the guiding commercial principle, and, despite all equity, we must allow the transaction to be perfectly fair, saying that the manufacturer merely carried out the glorious policy of the enlightened commerce of the present time—buying in the cheapest market and selling in the dearest. It is true, he underpaid the producer, and overcharged the consumer, while he enriched

of the produce, barely sufficient to cover the cost of his subsistence.

The "equitable" wage-principle here advocated in contradistinction to that of the "law of supply and demand," is not entirely unknown in commerce. The mode of working the mines in Cornwall, by what are called "tribute," or payment for raising and dressing the ore by means of a certain part of its value when rendered merchantable, and which, as Mr. Babbage tells us in his "Economy of Manufactures," is found to produce "such admirable effects,"—the payment of the crew in whaling-ships—the profits arising from fishing with nets on the south coast of England—the "fourth penny" among the Irish weavers—are all instances of the equitable mode of payment or "tribute" rendered to working men. The establishment of M. Leclaire, the French house painter, is also well-known to be conducted on a similar plan, and perhaps to be the most just and practical illustration of the principle that is at present in existence—the capitalist being paid a fair interest for the use of his money, a return for his risk, and a salary for his superintendence; while the workmen (who receive a certain weekly wage) are allowed to participate with himself in the profits. The introduction of this "tribute" system into factories has been ably advocated by Mr. Babbage, who sums up its advantages in the following terms:—(1) Every person engaged in the business would have a direct interest in its prosperity. (2) Every person would have an immediate interest in preventing waste or mismanagement. (3) The talents of all would be directed to its improvement in every part. (4) None but workmen of high character and qualifications would be admitted into such establishments. (5) When any circumstance produced a glut in the market, more skill would be directed in diminishing the cost of production. (6) All real or imaginary causes for combinations of workmen against their employers would be totally removed.

The tribute, or equitable wage-principle, it is evident, is merely a mode of carrying out that *partnership* in the produce which the fundamental axioms of political economy acknowledge. In all production the capitalist supplies the past labour (accumulated in the form of materials, &c.), and the workmen the present labour. The union of the two constitute the produce, which, therefore, it is plain the *two* should share in the proportion which they contribute towards the result.

A correspondent, dating from the Athenæum Club, sends the subjoined epistle: "Sir,—In your Prospectus, it is mentioned that the class of unfortunates—

himself at their joint expense; but this, we are assured by our modern sages, is necessary for the good of the community,—a sentiment so extremely liberal, that, as "there is nothing like a good cry," the political propounders of it had better throw up their caps, and shout at once, "Success to Swindling."

MR. MAYHEW in saying thus much is anxious not to be misunderstood. He wishes capital to have every just reward and stimulus for its use. That the accumulator of labour should have his fair share of the produce to which the labour he has accumulated is so necessary an auxiliary, that he should be recompensed for the risk of his property, and that he should be paid for his superintendence of the manufacture—common honesty and common sense demand. But that the capitalist should be at liberty to pay for the labour he employs *without any regard to the increased value that such labour may give to the articles on which it is exercised*, appears to MR. MAYHEW to be one of the crying iniquities of the present day. If a publisher were to give a needy author 10*l.* for writing a book, and that book were afterwards to produce a thousand clear profit, surely not even the most rabid "economist" would dream of maintaining that the transaction was a fair one; and if it be unfair it is so simply because the publisher took advantage of the author's poverty, and gave him a sum which bore no proportion to the ultimate value of his work. And herein lies the great injustice of the principle of supply and demand. It trades upon the workman's necessities, and pays him at a rate which has no relation to the increased value that he by his labour has given to the materials upon which he has operated, yielding him, instead of his fair share

Street-walkers—are to be written about; and I hope that, in some of the many true tales which you must have heard, you will point out for publication those that bear upon the cruel treatment which the frail fair one expects, and generally receives, from those who ought to be her best friends. On more than one occasion, I know that the frowns of the father, the upbraidings of the mother, the sisters' taunts and jeers, and the sulkiness of the brothers, have arrested all idea, all hope of returning to home; and this ought surely not to be. As a class, they are more 'sinned against than sinning'; and many would give their right hand to be rescued from a life of sin and shame. I think you can do much good in arousing families by true details, how wrong they are in stopping the least advance of these poor girls; and I hope that when you come to that portion of your valuable and original history, that you will use your powerful pen in their behalf; and although you may not have open thanks, still many will be grateful to you privately. If not giving you too much trouble, I should like to know whether you have received this note, and if your views coincide with my ideas. I am, Sir, yours very faithfully, PITY."

MR. MAYHEW has no time at present to write an essay on prostitution, even if he were inclined to do so, nor to inquire into the matter. The subject *will* form a part of the present Work, though when it will be entered upon it is impossible now to say. MR. MAYHEW (speaking before investigation) has no doubt that many of the "unfortunates" are driven to lives of vice and crime by the harshness of parents and relations; but that the greater part of the prostitution of this country is so induced, he is in no way prepared to

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W. sends a long complimentary epistle requesting to be informed what are the remedies for low wages. To understand this we must first comprehend the circumstances by which wages are at present regulated. "Wages," says Mr. Mill—the best "economical" authority perhaps on the subject—"depend upon the demand and supply of labour; or, as is often expressed, on the proportion between population and capital,"—the term population here meaning, as he tells us, "the number only of the labouring class, or rather of those who work for hire," and the term capital referring solely to that which comes under the denomination of "circulating capital—and not even the whole of that, but the part which is expended in the direct purchase of labour." In plain English, we are informed this means, "the more money there is offered for labour, and the fewer labourers there are to ask for it, the greater will be the share of each,"—"which of course," adds another gentleman, quoting the passage, "is self-evident." But is this partition of the wage-fund among the labourers quite as self-evident as is asserted? Let us see. Suppose the number of labourers belonging to a particular trade to be 1,000; that there is just enough work to keep them all fully employed; and that the wage-fund, or gross sum annually "expended in the direct purchase of their labour" amounts to 50,000*l.*; in such a case it is manifest each of the labourers would receive 50*l.* per annum, or say 1*l.* per week. Then suppose the number of labourers to be doubled, or increased to 2,000, while the quantity of work remains the same, or sufficient to employ only half the number—in this case would the wage-fund be shared among the whole of the 2,000 labourers, and each receive 10*s.* a week for working half-time, according to the statement which is said to be "self-evident?" Or rather, is it not far more self-evident the real result would be, that the labourers being twice too many, the wages would be reduced one-half, and that, consequently, 1,000 of the men would be unemployed and get nothing at all, while the other 1,000 would get only 25,000*l.* or 10*s.* a week each for the same amount of work as before, while the remaining 25,000*l.* would, provided the market were limited, and the price of the commodities remained the same to the public, go to increase the profits of their employers: so that instead of the wage-fund being necessarily shared among the workmen, we see that in the same proportion as the supply of workmen increases beyond the demand for their work, so may the wage-fund be shared between the labourers and their employers—that is to say, the workmen in a given trade becoming half as many again as are required to do the work, and wages consequently being reduced one-half, the other half of the wage-fund may be apportioned among the capitalists. A reduction of price, it should be borne in mind, cannot, in many cases, be followed by an increase of demand. What cheapness could possibly make the public require a greater quantity of hearers? Again; if the price of doll's-eyes were reduced one-half, could there be more eyes got rid of than the demand for dolls allowed? So the demand for sawyers' work must be regulated by the demand for carpenters' work; and the demand for carpenters' work by the demand for builders' work. In such cases the market is necessarily limited, and then cheapness can benefit only the employer or the public at the expense of the working-man.

Let us now see whether wages do really depend upon the number of the labouring class, and the amount expended in the direct purchase of their labour, or, in other words, "upon the proportion between population and capital." The fallacy here lies in taking no notice of the duration of the daily labour, nor of the rate of labouring, both of which are manifestly as essential elements of the subject as even the number of labourers themselves. For let us suppose the operatives in a given trade to be twice too many to do the work required to be done—on the assumption, of course, that each labourer twelve hours per diem—for it is only by assuming some terms of labour that we can reason on the matter at all; then let the hours of

labour be reduced to six, and it is manifest that instead of one-half of the operatives being out of work, the whole of them would be fully employed. Or let us suppose the number of operatives to be just sufficient to do the work required to be done (provided each labourer only twelve hours a day), and let the hours of labour be increased to eighteen, then it is really self-evident that there will be one-third too many labourers, and that only two-thirds of the trade will be fully employed. As it is with the duration of the daily labour, so it is with the rate of labouring. If there be just sufficient work to keep the whole of the operatives belonging to a given trade fully occupied, on the assumption that they each labour at a particular rate, or, in other words, get through so much work in a certain space of time, then let anything occur to induce or compel the men generally to double their rate of labouring, and so get through twice the quantity of work in the same space of time, it is manifest there will be full employment for only half the men, while the other half will have no work at all to do. Hence we see that wages depend, not only upon the proportion between the number of labourers and amount of money expended in the direct purchase of their labour, but also on—matters equally important for the right understanding of the subject, but as yet wholly omitted from all "economical" consideration—the duration of the daily labour as well as on the rate of labouring; and, consequently, that anything which tends to increase either the number of labourers—the duration of their labour—or the rate of labouring, tends in precisely the same proportion not only to decrease the amount of money coming to the operatives, but (provided the prices to consumers remain the same) likewise to increase the amount of profits accruing to their employers. *The Messrs. Nicol, of Regent-street, are said to have amassed 80,000*l.* each, in a few years, simply by reducing the wages of the 1,000 workmen they employ to one-third below that of the "honourable" trade.*

Let us now proceed to ascertain what are the circumstances that tend to affect the wages of operatives in the several modes above mentioned.

I. The circumstances which tend to increase the number of labourers in a trade appear to be as follows:

- (1) The labourers increase in a measure according to the ordinary rate of the population—trades generally descending from father to son. (2) They increase according to the demand for labour. (3) According to the number of apprentices taken, and consequently according to the number of "little masters" in the trade. (4) According to the demand for children's labour.

II. The circumstances tending to extend the hours of labour are (1) The "domestic system," or working at home—as enabling a man to labour as early or late as he pleases. (2) Piece-work—as giving the labourer a direct interest in increasing his amount of labour. (3) Time-work—or work required against a particular period. (4) Reduction of wages—as necessitating a greater quantity of labour in order to obtain the same amount of income.

III. The circumstances inducing a quicker rate of working are (1) Piece-work—for the same reason as that given above. (2) Reduction of wages—as inducing "scamped-work." (3) The "strapping system"—as in the joiners' trade, where men are required to get through a certain amount of work in a given time. (4) Increased supervision—as causing increased exertion. (5) Division of labour—as creating increased facility.

This contradiction to the theories of economists Mr. MAYHEW, on investigation, found to be due simply to a large number of the workmen having passed, since 1831, from the state of journeymen into that of little masters; and so not only toiling longer hours all the week, and Sunday too, as well as labouring at a far more rapid rate for themselves than they had been in the habit of doing for others, but, forcing the market with the goods they were obliged to sell as fast as made, whether there was a demand for them or not, and thus reducing the prices generally throughout the trade. The same facts and reasons were found to hold good in the turners' trade, which had also decreased in

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"hands" and increased in work, while wages had fallen—and that simply through the over-work and consequent cutting down of prices by the little masters.

But, besides the above circumstances affecting wages, there are others equally important, and which must be ascertained before any effective remedy for low wages can be devised. The matters spoken of as yet relate chiefly to the labourers—to the supply of the labour—as well as to the quantity of work done by the operatives. They in no way concern the demand for such labour—or, in other words, the quantity of work to be done. This, it is evident, is quite as essential a point to be evolved as any other; for to decrease the demand for labour is, of course, the same as to increase the supply; reduce the quantity of work to be done, and it is tantamount to lengthening the hours of labour or quickening the rate of working; in either case, the same number of labourers must be thrown out of employment. Let us, therefore, see now what regulates the quantity of work to be done.

That the wages do not depend, as "economists" would have us believe, solely upon the supply of labourers and the demand for their labour—that is to say, upon the number of workmen to do the work required to be done—is proved by experience; for the "hands" belonging to the cabinet trade decreased, between the years 1831 and 1841, no less than 15 per cent.; and though the quantity of work during that period increased considerably, wages were, nevertheless, in some instances, as much as 400 per cent. higher in 1831; so that here was more work to be done with fewer hands to do it, and yet less wages for the doing of it!

The circumstances tending to decrease the amount of work, or demand for labour, are (1) Increase of the price of the commodities to consumers. (2) Decrease of the purchasing fund, or amount annually expended upon such commodities. (3) Panics—as inducing an indisposition on the part of the public to expend money in the purchase of goods. (4) Decrease of the amount of capital—and so allowing a less sum to be expended in the purchase of labour. (5) Decrease of the quantity of materials to be made up; as failure of the cotton-crop, &c. (6) Over-production—as requiring no

further labour until the stock accumulated has been consumed. (7) Machinery—as superseding manual labour, and so lessening the quantity of work for the labourers. (8) The seasons—as preventing the performance of certain kinds of labour at particular periods of the year. (9) Fashion—as superseding the demand for certain commodities.

Hence we perceive that anything which tends to increase the number of workers—to lengthen the hours of work—to quicken the rate of working—or to decrease the quantity of work, must necessarily, so long as the remuneration of the labourer continues to be regulated by the law of supply and demand, be followed by a decrease of wages; and, *vice versa*, anything which tends to decrease the labourers—to shorten the hours of labour—to retard the rate of labouring—or to increase the quantity of work, must necessarily be accompanied by an increase of pay to the labourer.

The above law, however, it must be distinctly understood, holds good only so long as the price of the commodities remains the same to the public; for if that price be reduced in the same proportion as wages are reduced, then it is clear that the public, and not the employer, is benefited—but at the expense of the working man. For the same reason, machinery and the division of labour, which enable a greater quantity of commodities to be produced with the same or a less quantity of labour, tend in some cases to increase the demand for labour by cheapening the cost of production, and so lowering the price, and consequently increasing the demand for the commodities. But this is a result, it should be borne in mind, that can be attained only in connection with the production of those commodities, the demand for which is infinitely extensible (as, for instance, with the several articles of cotton manufacture); for where the market is necessarily limited, and the demand regulated by some concomitant circumstance—as, for instance, in the sawing of wood, where the quantity of sawers' work depends, as was before stated, on the quantity of carpenters' and joiners' work, or in the threshing of corn, where the quantity of threshers' work depends on the quantity of

corn grown; so that the increase of the one cannot take place without the previous increase of the other)—it is manifest, that under these circumstances, either to quicken the rate of working by the division of labour, or to reduce the amount of labour by machinery, is to deprive a number of labourers of employment, and to lessen the wages of the remainder. In such cases, the cheapness is likewise attained at the expense of the working man—that is to say, the capitalists are enriched and the labourers pauperised by it; for it admits almost of demonstration that cheapness, brought about by lessening the reward for labour, can never benefit any other portion of the community than the monied classes; since a given quantity of money will, of course, when prices are lowered, exchange for a greater quantity of commodities; but that the labourer can be in any way benefited by a lowering of prices, when this same lowering has been effected solely by a reduction of the price of his own labour, is an absurdity of the most glaring description. The only legitimate mode of cheapness to a community is that which is attained by increased facilities of production applied to the manufacture of those commodities the demand for which is infinitely extensible. If in such cases a labourer, by improved methods of manufacture, can be made to produce a greater quantity of commodities in a given time, with the same amount of labour on his part, and for that labour he receives the same amount of remuneration, then, of course, all parties will be benefited—the capitalist class and the working class—both then being able to obtain a greater quantity of commodities for the same quantity of money.

There is still another circumstance affecting the labourer's reward; viz., the mode of distributing the returns for the produce. But this, together with the usual means adopted to reduce wages, and the remedies for the same, will be considered in the next Number.

MR. MAYHEW, however, wishes it to be distinctly understood, that he in no way pledges himself to the principles here asserted from time to time. It should be remembered he is collecting facts, and merely avails himself of the waste pages of this periodical as

a means of recording the opinions which are forced upon him in the course of his investigations (such opinions being at all times carefully excluded from the work itself). He reserves to himself therefore (as a person unconnected with party), the right of changing or modifying his sentiments as often as a more enlarged series of facts, may present new views to his mind. It is in this light that he wishes his speculations to be received—for speculations they are, though, perhaps based upon a greater number of phenomena than any economist has as yet personally obtained. For the present he can only declare his determination to follow the facts, whithersoever they may lead (for he has no object but the truth), and if he be open to the charge of generalising, before he has made himself acquainted with all the particulars, he at least has a greater right to do so than any economist of the present day—seeing that he is perhaps the first who has sought to evolve the truths of the Labour Question by personal investigation. As yet political economy has been a purely arm-chair science—gentlemen who troubled their heads about the matter have done no more than trouble their heads: they have sat beside a snug sea-coal fire and tried to excogitate, or think out the several matters affecting the working classes—even as Adam Smith, the great founder of the science retired for twelve years to an obscure village in Scotland to dream upon the laws concerning production and the producers. And yet it is upon the cobweb philosophy thus spun out that the whole of the legislation of the present day is made to depend!

MR. MAYHEW will at all times be glad to listen patiently to any new ideas, though he must object to a disgorging of the old ones, in opposition to the sentiments he here propounds; he will also be pleased to receive any additional facts from working men, whose greater experience may cause them to detect omissions and errors in the enumeration of circumstances given here or hereafter. A desire for the public good precludes party bigotry.

G. B.—Two shillings and sixpence for the poor harp-player, handed to Mr. Howden.

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The Rev. J. B. W. favours us with the subjoined curious etymology, from an equally curious source:—"Your readers being by this time familiar with the term 'patter,' may be glad to know its etymology, which I have just met with. To 'patter' is to say 'Paternosters,' in which sense the word is used by Tyndall, one of the exiles of Queen Mary's time. For this information I am indebted to no less grave an authority than the Rev. Dr. Pusey.—(Letter to Bishop of London, p. 78, ed. 3.)"

MR. MAYHEW has to acknowledge the receipt of a cheque from F. P. for 12s. to be dispensed as a loan in equal proportions to the "reduced gentlewoman," and the "reduced tradesman," mentioned at p. 250; also 15s. in postage-stamps, from the Rev. J. S., to be applied as follows:—5s. for poor Foster, the harper; 5s. for the "reduced tradesman;" and 5s. for the "reduced gentlewoman,"—the two latter sums to be offered by way of loan—the money when re-paid to be lent to any similar applicant. The above-mentioned sums have been handed to Mr. Howden, who will see that the wishes of the gentlemen are duly carried out.

The following should have been answered in the last number:—"Sir,—Can you be so obliging as to inform me if I could obtain a living by tinselling pictures; if so, how and where am I to sell them? I am employed during the day, but that does not bring me in a sufficiency to make a living; so I want to do something in the evening on my own account (tinselling pictures, for instance,) so that I may be able to obtain a respectable and comfortable living. I hope you will pardon me for the liberty I have taken in addressing this to you; I should not have done so, had I not known your kind and liberal feelings towards the industrious. I remain, Sir, &c.—HENRY." [MR. MAYHEW is unacquainted with the practical part of the profession to which the writer refers. He would, however, object on principle to be connected in any way with what is known in "Political Economy" as an "aid to wages." He has, in the course of his inquiries, seen so many injurious effects proceeding from the subsistence of artisans being eked out by other employments, that he could not conscientiously give any advice on such a matter. If the wages of the present occupation of "Henry" are below subsistence point, then the best thing he can do is—if it be at all possible—to move into some other better-paid trade. But to seek to gain a competence by means of uniting another occupation with his present one, is only to enable employers still further to reduce his earnings. The prostitution which needlewomen, in many cases, are forced to resort to as an "aid to wages," is one of the causes of sempstresses being so badly paid. As before stated, the minimum value of labour is the smallest amount that the labourers can subsist upon. Those, therefore, who add prostitution to needlework as a means of living, can afford to undersell those who do not, and consequently become the means of ultimately reducing the more virtuous to the level of their own degradation.]

JUVENIS, of Camberwell, requests to be informed, "if it is intended to issue binding at a low price (as in most cheap publications), on the completion of the work?" [Most likely some arrangement will be entered into with a bookbinder, to supply covers at a fixed rate.]

C. B., of Portland Town, says:—"Being a subscriber to your useful work, LONDON LABOUR, I take it to the shop to read, for I am a journeyman tailor. There is a passage at page 89, that some of my shopmates find great fault with, and don't believe you are stating correct, when you say that cocoa-nuts are generally spelt 'coker.' They wish to know in what work of M'Culloch's they are spelt as such, and how long they have been entered as such at the Custom House; for they cannot find them spelt so in any work they have seen. You will please to answer this on the wrapper of LONDON LABOUR, and you will much oblige me, as I defend you as well as I am able." [The orthography is "coker" in M'Culloch's "Commercial Dictionary;" and they are certainly so

written at the Customs, and by all fruit-brokers. Mr. Keeling (of the firm of Keeling and Hunt) was the first gentleman who made Mr. MAYHEW acquainted with the commercial distinction.]

W. A., of Tower-street, says:—"At the foot of the first column of page 218 of LONDON LABOUR (No. 11), a paragraph appears which is utterly incomprehensible to me, and I should feel extremely obliged if you would afford me an explanation of its meaning in your next Number. Your informant states that, 'From the hasty glance he has taken at the patters, any well-constructed mind may deduce the following inference: because a great amount of intelligence sometimes consists with a great want of principle, that no education, or mis-education, leaves man like a reed floating on the stream of time,' &c. Now, I want to know what is the inference any well-constructed mind may deduce? If you will favour me with a word in explanation in your next, I shall feel more indebted to you than ever." [The meaning of the sentence is, that an utter want of education, as well as a bad education, leaves man without any directive power. The passage is certainly misty.]

R. A., asks where the colours that the shops use in painting the scenes and characters in small theatres are to be had—"their colours," he says, "being so much clearer than the cakes one can buy in the shops?" Can any correspondent supply the information, MR. MAYHEW is profoundly ignorant of the subject.

A. E. L., of Shepherds Bush, says, "Pray give me an answer whether you do not think socialism is the remedy for all the misery of the working man?" MR. MAYHEW is not in a position at present to reply to the above question. He has merely a "book-knowledge" of the subject as yet, and to answer before investigation would be as injudicious as unjust. At some future time he purposes inquiring specially into the matter, and then he will not hesitate to publish the result of his inquiries. Concerning the other matter referred to in A. E. L.'s letter, it being not the most agreeable subject to have to touch upon, MR. MAYHEW must be excused making a reply. In such a case, the supply must necessarily be regulated by the demand.

A literary gentleman forwards the following observations—"It appears from your notice to correspondents that your illustrations of the conditions of LONDON LABOUR provoke various comments. May I venture to say how deeply interested I am in your revelations? In compiling an appendix sometime back to a Prize Essay on the working classes of Great Britain, I found your letters in the *Morning Chronicle* of invaluable service, and believe your present publication will be the means of great good to the classes you so ably befriended. Is there anything to be done by men like myself of humble literary pursuits, in alleviation of those evils. Would any movement, do you think, for the promotion of co-operative labour among the manufacturing poor, which the advocacy of the press might promote, tend in any measure to meet the wants of the case? I am sometimes troubled lest the frightful exposures of suffering and class wrong, should fail to give birth to commensurate effects for the cure of the evil. The conviction is growing among thinking men that capital has innumerable crimes to answer for, and that in the continuance of such a policy of competition as we have seen in modern times, there is no ultimate hope for the workman; but the vaguest ideas are afloat as to the true remedy. Public opinion waits to be taught and guided, and many men who have something to do with its formation, want to receive their cue from some master, who like yourself have made this subject in its million aspects a familiar thing. The artisans themselves are trying to solve the problem; but if the secret lies in the wild form of socialism we see in 'Co-operation Associations,' it is pity that their encouragement is left to a little band of comparatively obscure and feeble men." MR. MAYHEW has already given the only answer he can at present give the

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above question. He is not in a position to speak fairly upon the subject, and therefore must decline speaking at all.

The following sums have been received and handed to Mr. Howden:—

Left at the Office by a Stranger, 2s. 6d. for Foster.

Five shillings in postage stamps has been received for Foster, from "An Old Harpist."

C. A., Exeter-change, 5s. for Wm. Price and Thos. Wicks, and 1s. for the Poet, mentioned in No. 14.

AN EDINBURGH STREET-SELLER, who adopts the signature of "Mac," proffers information as to the street-life of that city. He sends the following letter:

"I have been a constant purchaser of your valuable publication of *LONDON LABOUR* since its commencement, and to its truthfulness as regards 'travellers,' I can bear witness. Unfortunately for myself, I have travelled different parts of England, &c., in various occupations, and have seen 'every move on the board,' and been well acquainted with men who well knew both Captain M—— and Nicholas A——; and their exploits as mentioned by you are perfectly true, and many others I could tell, with which, I dare say, you are also acquainted. For upwards of three years past I have been a resident here, endeavouring to obtain a honest livelihood in various ways of street-trading (as I am not capable of doing bodily labour), and in a great measure, I may say, I have succeeded, having placed myself in a state of comparative comfort; but still the 'moral brand' of being on the streets is a 'sticking-plaster.' The reason of my writing to you is, my having noticed an answer to 'R. T.' requesting information as to the Edinburgh street-sellers, and not knowing whether he can or will supply you with any, I have taken the liberty of volunteering any information in my power. A complete crusade is declared against all street-sellers here: they are not even safe when moving along, even if they have only a tray hanging in front of them, for if they only stop to sell a single half-pennyworth, they are liable to be summoned, and ultimately fined or imprisoned. Cases in point I have known, and can give the names of the parties. Baillie Dick, one of the sitting magistrates, used the following words to a poor lad, who was summoned for standing in one of the markets with a board hanging in front of him, selling sweet-stuff—(the same lad had often been convicted of theft, but at length had determined to get a living honestly, and is still rigidly adhering to his resolution)—'We will let you go this time, but if ever you are brought here again for the same offence,' (looking at the 'offender'

you took a memoir of my life a short time ago for that work. My life was a street-showman, from an early age having a crippled arm, and no other means of getting a living. I am still the same as I described to you, and a showman, but for the want of the sum of 11. 10s. I am living a miserable and starving life. The loan of the required sum would be the means of saving me from entering a workhouse, which I do not desire to do if I can live honest by perseverance and industry. I have parted with all things I had to make money of, to bring forth, if possible, a novel and pleasing exhibition, being models made of glass and stone-work, representing large buildings of British and foreign views; also a mechanical representation of a cataract, or mountain torrent, with real water; but for the want of the required sum, I am completely at a loss. If I could get a person to be a friend to me in my present circumstances, I would give the sum of 5s. for the loan of the above-mentioned sum, and pay it up by instalments at 2s. per week, and give a security for the same, or leave the value of it as a security. If you doubt what is stated by me in the few lines written to you, you can come yourself and inquire into my character, or send a trust-worthy person to do the same. You can see, by instituting an inquiry, that there is no imposition."

Should any reader feel inclined to lend the amount above-named, Mr. MAYHEW will see that proper security is given for the repayment of the money. Of course Mr. MAYHEW could be no party to the premium of 5s. for the loan of 30s. The exhibition is at least a harmless one, and the man being crippled in his right arm, has not the power of working for his living—a circumstance which drives many hundreds to the streets.

G. P., of Manor-place, Edinburgh, sends the "Reports of the Edinburgh Lodging-house Association" with the following observations—"I do so to show you that the houses are equally bad with those you describe in London, and what progress has been made here in model dwelling-houses. There is also an association for building model lodging-houses, which has already commenced operations, and it is likely to prove a very profitable investment for the shareholders as well as being the means of conferring comfortable houses on the working-class. Your Edinburgh correspondent is right as to the removal of the stalls from the streets—it has been productive of great injury in every respect to the class of stall-keepers, who were totally dependent on that for their living. Should you wish any information about lodging-houses, cha-

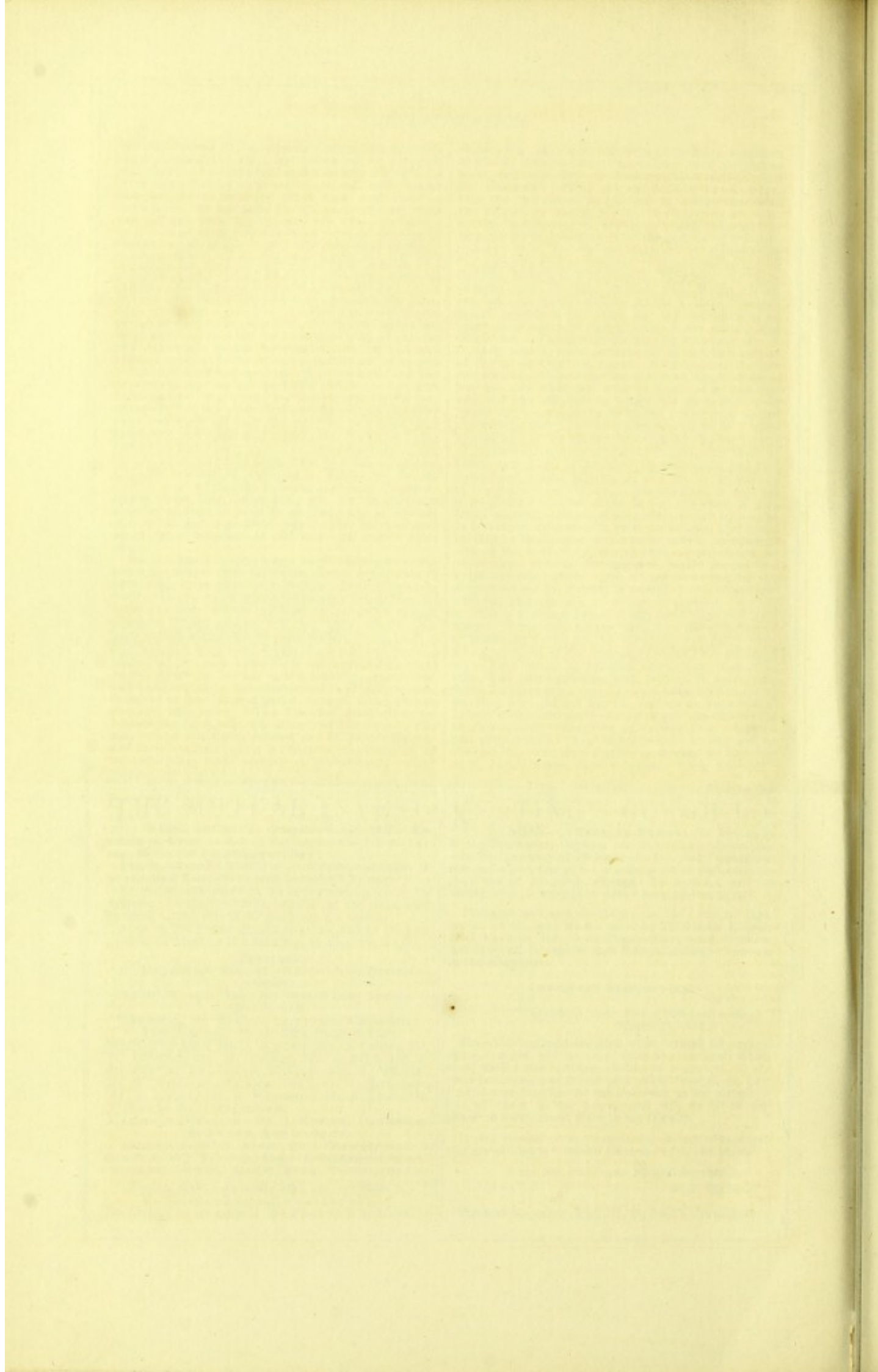
as if he were guilty of a most heinous crime), 'you will be fined and imprisoned.' Now, sir, was not that enough to make that lad return to his former vicious courses? The pattersers, or 'speech criers,' as they are called here, are the only ones the police have not interfered with; but this street-trade is, I believe, also intended to be stopped—at all events, there is a talk about it. A great reformation has taken place here with these men within these two years; the majority of them are teetotallers, or act up to the same principle, and it is said by many that the Edinburgh criers are the most respectable they ever saw. This small outline will of course be of little or no service to you, but any information you may wish for, I shall be happy to oblige you with, if it lays in my power. Of course I do not wish to be known in the matter, as the opinions of many of the street-sellers here are much against you (but the most of them are very ignorant and bigoted), and if it were known amongst them that any party was giving any account of them, he would be sure of a 'ferricadouzer,' or 'mugging,' as we call it. I however send my name and residence in confidence, and you can either drop a line by post, stating what information you require (which mode, if agreeable to you, I should prefer), or answer at your convenience in your answers to correspondents."

Mr. MAYHEW will communicate with "Mac" by letter. He is much obliged for his offer.

Mr. MAYHEW prints the following letter from a showman of his acquaintance—a struggling, hard-working man:

"Pardon me for taking so great a liberty as to write to you. Sir, you are publishing a work in weekly numbers called *LONDON LABOUR AND LONDON POOR*;

ritable societies, street-sellers or poor in Edinburgh, or any of the towns in Scotland, I shall be glad to give you what I know, and also endeavour to obtain from other sources." Mr. MAYHEW wishes to give at the conclusion of this account of the London Street Folk, a brief account of the numbers and earnings of the several classes of Street Folk in all the large towns throughout the kingdom, and will feel obliged to G. P. for any well-authenticated information. The classification of the London Street Folk will do for all towns. G. P. quotes the following passage from a work now in course of issue, and entitled "An Inquiry into Destitution, Prostitution, and Crime in Edinburgh"—as a proof of the evils caused by removing the street-sellers from their pitches in that city: "In this house, we found a family who had previously earned a scanty and precarious subsistence by keeping a barrow—as a sort of stall—on the street, in which they hawked whatever might be in season at the time,—fruit, fish, or confectionery, as the case might be. Now, however, thanks to the wisdom of our civic rulers, if they venture with their barrow on the public streets, fines and imprisonment are their certain fate. We cannot, for the life of us, conceive what has tempted the head of our police to proceed as he has done in his late system of, what we will venture to call, *ejectments*; for really we cannot find a word that appears to us more appropriate. It is possible enough that the absence of these stalls may make the streets look better and cleaner; but will it tend to the general cleanliness and morality of the city at large? In our opinion, quite the reverse; for what must be of necessity the effect of depriving some 200 families of the means of making a miserably poor,



ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

In the Notices to Correspondents accompanying Number 16, Mr. Mayhew, in reply to a letter from one of his readers, proceeded to specify the several circumstances regulating wages which in the course of his inquiry among the London operatives had fallen under his notice. Four distinct kinds of circumstances were then enumerated, viz.:—1. The number of labourers; 2. The hours of labour; 3. The rate of labouring; 4. The quantity of work; and under each of these heads a large variety of particulars were shown to be comprised.

In Political Economy wages are made to depend solely upon the proportion between population and capital; that is to say, between the number of labourers and the amount of capital expended in the direct purchase of their labour. But it is very evident, since wages are but remuneration for labour, that the quantity of labour exacted for a certain amount of wages is an essential element of the subject. Among economists, however, all idea of work is discarded from the question, though it must be manifest even to childish comprehension, that wages remaining the same and work being doubled the remuneration for labour must be decreased one-half: hence it is impossible to come to a right understanding of the matter without allowing the quantity of labour to enter into the proposition. According to the inconsistencies of political economy, if the tailors respectively received one year thirty shillings for making two coats, and the next year only the same amount for making double that number, the remuneration for their labour would remain unaltered. But, surely, to increase the quantity of labour, while the "amount expended in the direct purchase of that labour" remains the same, is—according to Cocker—to decrease the wages in precisely the same proportion. To extend the quantum of work is plainly tantamount to augmenting the number of workers; for the wage-fund, or gross sum expended upon such work remaining unchanged, it follows that the individual remuneration for a given amount of labour must be identical in both cases.

The quantity of work, however, has, so to speak, a double or reverse action upon wages, and this is most essential to be borne in mind. According to the law of supply and demand, when work increases (without a corresponding increase in the number of labourers), and the demand for labour consequently increases, while the supply continues the same, wages must rise; but this is true only so long as the capital of the trade, or fund out of which the labourers are paid, admits of being augmented. The amount of the Wage-Fund must of course determine the amount given in exchange for the labour. If this fund be small, wages must necessarily be low; and if large, high wages will be the consequence. It is true, that in the several trades any increased demand for labour is usually followed by a rise of wages, because the capital of any one trade admits of being augmented by advances from the capital of others. But though this is true of any one trade, it is by no means, and, indeed, cannot possibly be true of all trades. For the gross Wage-Fund of the country not admitting of sudden extension, but being regulated by the sum saved or set aside out of the national income of the past year for the purposes of production during the present, it is impossible that this fund can be extended according as the amount of work or demand for labourers grows greater; hence it follows, that though in any one trade an increased demand for labour at a particular time may be attended with an increase of wages, this cannot be the case in all, and that, on the contrary, a greater amount of work throughout the nation must necessitate a decreased amount of remuneration for it; that is to say, there will be greater quantity of work to do for the same (or, as we shall see presently, even less) pay, which, of course, is equivalent to the same quantum of labour for less wages. Thus, during the railway mania, the pay of "labourers" was increased, not because the capital, or gross savings of the country had suddenly been augmented, but because a considerable sum at that time was withdrawn from other trades and invested in railroads. Consequently it appears that wages—so far from depending (as economists would have us believe) upon merely the supply and demand for labour, or, as others term it, the proportion between population and capital—are regulated rather by five distinct circumstances, every one of which exerts, according as it is either increased or decreased, a like increasing or decreasing influence upon the amount of remuneration coming to the labourers individually. These five circumstances are—

- I. The numbers of labourers.
- II. The hours of labour.

III. The rate of labouring.

IV. The quantity of work.

V. The amount of the Wage-Fund, or gross sum expended upon the purchase of the labour.

The next point for consideration therefore becomes, what regulates the amount of the Wage-Fund? This is the most important question of all, as this constitutes not only the standard by which the exchangeable or market value of the labour is estimated, but also the stock out of which it is remunerated; for though, so long as this stock remains unchanged in amount, wages will increase whenever the number of labourers, the hours of labour, the rate of labouring, or the quantity of work, are decreased, still, the other circumstances being unaltered, it follows that wages must depend upon the extent of the fund out of which they are paid; that is to say, if the Wage-Fund be doubled, then a given quantity of labour will exchange for twice the former quantity of wealth, and consequently that wages must rise as that fund becomes greater, and fall as it is diminished in amount. Hence, to ascertain what determines the extent of the Wage-Fund is a most essential point.

The extent of the Wage-Fund appears to depend, as before stated, in a great measure, upon the amount of capital, or sum set aside for production, in this or in any other country. But since the elements of production are of three distinct kinds, viz., (1) Labour, (2) Instruments (as tools, machines, shops, &c.), and (3) Materials, it follows that the wealth set aside for the purpose of production must be divisible into three distinct funds or sources, from which each of such elements can be supplied. There must be a Subsistence Fund for the maintenance of the labourers—a Sinking Fund for the purpose of providing tools, machines, buildings, &c., and a Material Fund, out of which the substances upon which the labour is to be exerted may be procured. Now these three parts constitute the whole of the capital or stock set aside for future production. The sole office of capital is to provide such funds, and that only is capital which contributes to one or other of them—or rather, such is productive capital (of distributive capital, or that employed in distribution, and its influence on wages, I purpose speaking by-and-by). It is a question of arithmetic, therefore, that the increase of any one of the three parts must (if the whole remain the same) be followed by a proportionate decrease in the others; that is to say, if any of the funds set aside for the purpose of providing some one of the elements of production be augmented, such augmentation can only take place at the expense of either of the remaining funds. Now it is evident that the material fund, or that part of the national income saved with a view of providing the materials on which the labourer is to operate regulates the aggregate quantity of work to be done throughout the country, and that, if a greater quantity of materials are obtained, there must necessarily be a greater quantity of work to do. But a greater quantity of materials can only be obtained by an increase of the Material Fund, at the expense of either the Sinking or the Subsistence Fund, or both; but since the sinking fund, or that portion of capital which is annually sunk in tools, machines, factories, &c., is, in this country, manifestly being increased, rather than decreased, every year, it follows that the augmentation of the Material Fund can only be brought about by a corresponding diminution in the Wage-Fund, or sum devoted to the subsistence of the labourers; and that, consequently, any increase in the national quantity of work must necessarily be attended by a like decrease in the aggregate amount of remuneration received for it by the workers; or, in other words, the wage law is—the more work there is to do, the less the workpeople will get for it. This is a matter that admits of demonstration, and yet one which no political economist has as yet either discovered or, having discovered, thought fit to make known. But political economy is the science of money-making. Let me, however, so as to impress this necessary decrease of wages, as consequent on the increase of materials, the more strongly on the minds of working-men, and those who really wish them well—let me put the question arithmetically, thus:—Say that the sum annually expended on materials in this country equals 50,000,000*l.* sterling, and that the Wage-Fund, or sum paid for operating on those materials, equals 100,000,000*l.* sterling; in that case, it is clear that, for making up every one pound's worth of stuff, the labourers will receive two pounds. Then let us suppose the sum expended on materials to be doubled, or to equal 100,000,000*l.*, in this case it is evident there would be twice as much work to be done, and since the Material Fund could only have been doubled by decreasing the

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Wage-Fund to one-half, the sum consequently coming to the labourers would be reduced to 50,000,000*l.*; or, in other words, there would be not only twice as much work to do, but half as little again to receive for it, for the labourers would get only 10*s.* instead of 2*l.* for every pound's worth of materials made up by them. Hence wages would be four times less than they were. Still further to exemplify the principle, let us now suppose the Material Fund to be increased to 125,000,000*l.*, and the Wage-Fund consequently to be decreased to 25,000,000*l.*; then it is manifest that the quantity of work will be increased one-fifth more, while wages must decline again one-half; so that there will be twice and a half more material to be made up than at first, and only one-fourth the amount of wages to receive for so doing; or, in other words, the workman will be paid ten times less wages for the same quantity of labour. But it may be said that, twice and a half more materials being made up, commodities must be twice and a half more abundant, and therefore twice and a half cheaper; consequently, every shilling the workman receives will exchange for twice and a half as much as formerly, or be to that amount increased in value. But since the labourer receives ten times less, it is clear that, notwithstanding the increased value of money, he must be four times poorer by the alteration. The effect of the change, however, upon the moneyed classes and the capitalists in general is precisely the reverse. Every pound of their money is thus made twice and a half more valuable, that is to say, it will exchange for that extra quantity of commodities, while the employers' profits, depending upon the gross amount of capital devoted to the purposes of production, will be in no way reduced. It is of no consequence how the 150,000,000*l.* are apportioned; for whether five-sixths be spent upon materials and only the sixth upon wages, they get the same aggregate amount of profit as they would even if one-third only were devoted to materials and the remaining two-thirds to the subsistence of the labourers. The gross capital being the same in both cases, viz., 150,000,000*l.*, it is self-evident the gross profits would also be the same. It may, however, be further urged that if profits are the same in either case, there is no reason why the employer should impoverish the labourer by expending the greater portion of his capital upon materials. The answer is, that though the gross profit fund of the country would be in no way extended, and the employers as a body, therefore, would be in no way benefited by so doing, still many of what are called enterprising tradesmen would individually be large gainers thereby—for, spending a greater quantity on materials, and, consequently, obtaining a larger amount of produce, those who were the first to make the alteration would be enabled to undersell the rest, and, consequently, to force their trade to a greater extent. Now that this increase of the quantity of materials to be made up, and consequent decrease in the remuneration for the labour employed upon them, is one of the great evils of the day, and one of the main causes why the operatives are daily becoming more and more overworked and underpaid, all my investigations go to prove. The cheapness which Political Economists cry up as such a boon to the Poor Man is here plainly shown to be a gain only to the Rich; such Cheapness is produced solely at the Operative's expense; that is to say, by making him do more work for less pay. I have before alluded to the Messrs. Nicoll, who, having reduced the wages of the 1000 workmen in their employ to one-third below the amount paid by the "honourable" part of the tailoring trade, or from 36*s.* to 24*s.* a week for the best hands, have been enabled to force their trade to an enormous extent, and to amass 100,000*l.* in a very few years. This is the effect of cheapness upon the employer: let us now see what effect it has upon the employed. The following are two instances (printed in the Morning Chronicle) of overwork and underpay taken from different trades.

A waistcoat hand, whom Mr. Mayhew visited during his investigations into the state of the tailoring trade in December, 1849, narrated the following facts.

"The effect that the continual reduction has had upon my earnings is this—before the year 1844 I could live comfortably and keep my wife and children (I had five in family) by my own labour. My wife then attended to her domestic and family duties, but since that time, owing to the reduction in prices, she has been compelled to resort to her needle as well as myself for her living." (On the table lay a bundle of crape and bombazine ready to be made up into a dress.) "I cannot afford now to let her remain idle—that is, if I wish to live, and keep my children out of the streets, and pay my way. She makes dresses. I never would teach her to make waistcoats, because I knew the introduction of female hands had been the ruin of my trade. With the labour of myself and wife now I can earn 32*s.* a week, and six years ago

I could make my 36*s.* by my own labour alone. If I had a daughter I should be obliged to make her work as well, and then probably with the labour of the three of us we could make up at the week's end as much money as up to 1844 I could get by my own single hands."

Here is the statement of a worker at the "fancy cabinet" trade (a trade, by the by, in which the number of hands have decreased, work increased, and yet wages fallen to an enormous extent):—

"The most of us has got large families. We put the children to work as soon as we can. My little girl began about six, but about eight or nine is the usual age. 'Oh, poor little things,' said the wife, 'they are obliged to begin the very minute they can use their fingers at all.' The greater part of the cabinet makers of the East End have from five to six in family, and they are generally all at work for them. The small masters mostly marry when they are turned of twenty. You see our trade's coming to such a pass, that unless a man has children to help him he can't live at all. 'I've worked more than a month together,' continued the wife, 'and the longest night's rest I've had has been an hour and a quarter; age, and I've been up three nights a week besides. I've had my children lying ill, and been obliged to wait on them into the bargain. You see, we couldn't live if it wasn't for the labour of our children, though it makes 'em—poor little things!—old people long afore they are grown up."

"'Why, I stood at this bench,' the wife went on, 'with my child, only ten years of age, from four o'clock on Friday morning till ten minutes past seven in the evening, without a bit to eat or drink. I never sat down a minute from the time I began till I finished my work, and then I went out to sell what I had done. I walked all the way from here (Shoreditch) down to the Lowther Arcade, to get rid of the articles.' Here she burst into a violent flood of tears, saying, 'Oh, Sir! it is hard to be obliged to labour from morning till night as we do, all of us, little ones and all, and yet not be able to live by it either.'"

F. C., of Waltham, will be written to.

D. sends 4*s.*, and COMFRATER 1*s.* (in postage stamps), for "the poor crippled seller of nutmeg graters." They have been handed over to Mr. Howden, who will see them profitably applied.

L. H. K. will be answered privately.

OLIVE LEAF will be written to.

C. is thanked for the Corrections. It is impossible to be faultless, especially where so much new matter has to be obtained in so short a time.

MR. MAYHEW has been favoured with the following from Messrs. Keeling and Hunt, gentlemen to whom he is indebted for much valuable information:—

"Monument Yard, London, 7th April, 1851.

"Sir,—Your correspondent, C. B., of Portland Town, has properly questioned the accuracy of the word "Coker," as applied to nuts sold under the generally known title of "Cocoa," the proper derivation being 'Cocos nucifera,' one of the palm tribe and a native of India, first imported in 1690. From the researches we have made, we can only infer the word 'Coker' is a corruption, or, more properly speaking, a Custom-house licence, to create a distinction in the mode of levying the duty on this description of fruit, and the kernels of a nut which is the produce of a different description of tree, and the decoction of which is used so generally for the purpose of beverage; for the term 'Coker' we find, upon reference to the Customs Acts of Parliament, was classified many years back by Mr. Hume, the then Chairman of the Board of Customs, and has been retained accordingly.

"The correct word is 'Cacato,' 'Coco,' from whence the English adaptation 'Cocoa,' is decidedly correct; but the word 'Coker' and other anomalies are retained in order to discriminate between the duties levied upon articles bearing similar names, but different in use—in a similar way to Prunes (the French for Plums), which pay 7*s.* per cwt. duty, and Plums, commonly called French Plums, which pay 20*s.* per cwt. 'Coker' nuts, commonly called 'Cocoa,' are now free of duty; while Cocoa in husks and shells pay one penny per pound duty.

"Will you afford us this opportunity to bear testimony to the general good character and valuable assistance we derive from the 'Costermongers' engaged in the sale of our description of produce, and who have only to be treated kindly to render them as useful and as grateful a body of men as can be encouraged.

"We are, Sir,

"Your obedient servants,

"Henry Mayhew, Esq.,

"KEELING AND HUNT."

"&c., &c."

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

In the last Number of this work Mr. Mayhew, in prosecution of his inquiry into the circumstances regulating Wages, proceeded to set forth the conditions which determined the amount of the Wage-Fund, or stock, out of which the labourers are paid. Productive Capital, or that portion of accumulated labour which is devoted to the purposes of production (in contradistinction to Distributive Capital, or the portion devoted to the distribution of the commodities produced), we have seen to consist of three distinct elements or funds—viz., the Material-Fund, or stock devoted to the supply of materials; the Sinking-Fund, or that devoted to the construction of tools, machines, factories, and other instruments of labour; and the Subsistence-Fund, or that devoted to the maintenance of the labourers. We have also seen that the Material-Fund regulates the gross quantity of work to be done, and the Wage-Fund the gross amount of remuneration to be received for such work; and, since the Material-Fund can only be increased at the expense of the Wage-Fund, that if a larger proportion of the Capital of the country be devoted to the purchase of a greater quantity of materials, there must necessarily be more work to be done, and less wages to receive for it. Facts, moreover, were cited to show that this increase of work and decrease of wages was going on in many of the trades of the present day, and that it constituted one of the main evils of our social economy.

But if the Material-Fund is so intimately connected with the Wage-Fund that the increase of the former must necessarily be followed by a corresponding decrease of the latter, in what way does an alteration in the quantity of Capital apportioned to the Sinking-Fund affect the amount devoted to the subsistence of the Labourers? That is the next point to be ascertained. To understand this, we must keep steadily in mind the fact that Productive Capital is wealth set aside for the purposes of future production, and that such Capital is necessarily of two distinct kinds, viz., that which is consumed after being once used, and which consequently requires to be continually reproduced, as materials and food; and that which is more permanent, admitting of being used more than once, and whose reproduction therefore is spread over a series of years, as tools, machines, factories, &c. The alkali and tallow which constitute the "materials" out of which soap is manufactured are, it has been truly said, destroyed after one application to the purpose for which the soap is made; and if there was not a fresh supply of such substances produced year after year, it is evident that the national stock of that commodity must ultimately come to an end; and in the same manner the quartern loaves which the agricultural labourer consumes during his work are, by that very work, reproduced: and thus the supply is kept up, so that we see that Capital invested in the subsistence of labourers, as well as in the materials upon which the labour is exercised, is continually being replaced, and that if it were otherwise, the country must necessarily be impoverished to precisely the amount which was consumed without being reproduced.

Now it is the peculiar quality of Capital sunk in instrumental labour, that is to say, in the construction of tools, machines, factories, &c., that it is not immediately reproductive, but requires a series of years before the advantages gained by the new instruments are sufficient to make good the amount of wealth consumed in their construction. The wealth sunk in a large factory is years before it is repaid, even as a steam-engine does not return the cost of its production for some considerable time. No one commodity alone pays for the construction of the tools used in its manufacture, but the expense of such tools is spread over as many commodities as they are capable of producing. The plough, the harrow, the horses, the waggons, the barn, the threshing machine, do not depend for their remuneration on a single harvest, but on a series; even as the loom is not paid for out of the first piece of cloth woven, but out of the thousand and odd that it is capable of weaving. There is scarcely any form of labour to which the returns may be said to be immediate, with the exception of that of the hunter and the fisherman, and almost every different kind of work differs in the period required for its remuneration. The wealth expended in the construction of a canal or a railroad is a long time before it can possibly be returned, whereas the food required to sustain the savage during his search after the spontaneous products of the earth must be made good almost immediately. The barbarian can hardly afford to wait a day for his remuneration, whereas the civilized man is often engaged in operations that require perhaps a century or more to be fully compensated. Now it is an essential

quality of all production that every commodity must be paid for before it can possibly be produced. Nature gives no credit. We cannot obtain the least particle of wealth from her, without first expending a certain amount of wealth in procuring it. If it be merely the act of gathering wild fruit, the operation requires the destruction of a certain quantity of muscular tissue, without which no act can be performed, or in other words, so much strength accumulated in the limbs of the agent, by means of the food previously consumed, must be expended in the operation, and this, unless recompensed, must sooner or later end in that physical bankruptcy which we term starvation. But though Nature gives no credit, Man, as we have seen, is obliged to credit Nature to a large amount; and it is the long credit often given in the form of sunk capital, that is cause of so much distress to those who have nothing but their labour to live upon. We have before seen that according as one or other of the elements or funds essential to production is increased, the rest must be correspondingly decreased; that is to say, if an undue proportion of the Capital, or gross stock set aside for future production, be devoted to the purchase of materials, and besides this a considerable sum be sunk in the construction of tools, machines, or buildings, there can only be a small amount left for the subsistence or wages of the producers; for it is a mere question of arithmetic, that, assuming the entire Productive Fund to equal 9, if 3 represent the amount devoted to one element, and 4 that apportioned to another, there can be but 1½ left for the third. We have already seen the operation of an undue increase of the Material-Fund upon the Wage-Fund, and it is here evident that the increase of the Sinking-Fund must be attended with precisely the same effect. Let us suppose, for the sake of argument, that the productive capital of the kingdom equals 300,000,000*l.* sterling, and that one-third of this is sunk in machines and factories, while the other two-thirds are devoted to the supply of materials and the subsistence of the workpeople; then it is evident, since Capital invested in the instruments of labour is not immediately reproductive, but requires a certain term of years before the wealth expended is returned, that the next year the Productive Fund of the country must be diminished one-third (minus, say, a tenth—on the assumption that the sunk Capital will be replaced in ten years) below that of the previous year—or, in other words, that the country must be nearly one-third poorer—the Productive Fund being thus equal to 200,000,000*l.* instead of 300,000,000*l.* sterling as before. Then let us suppose that the next year the same proportion (one-third) of the Productive Fund is sunk in the same (immediately) unproductive manner—that is to say, that 70,000,000*l.* more are invested in machines and factories, and the remaining 140,000,000*l.* (instead of 200,000,000*l.*) devoted to materials and wages; in which case it is evident that the community, instead of being one-third, must now be (within a fraction) one-half, poorer than in the first instance. Assuming further, that the Productive Fund is thus reduced to 150,000,000*l.* in round numbers (allowing 10 per cent. per annum for the return on the sunk Capital), and that the same process of sinking one-third again goes on, it is evident that at the end of the next year the Productive Fund of the country must have decreased two-thirds, or from 300,000,000*l.* to 100,000,000*l.*, while the particular funds out of which the materials and food of the labourers are to be supplied must have decreased one-half. And assuming, for the mere sake of argument, that the Material and the Wage-Fund continued equal all this time, it is manifest that each of these funds must have declined one-half also, and, consequently, that the gross income of the labourers must be one-half less than it was three years previously. With the capitalists, however, the case will be very different—for since the aggregate amount of profits upon Capital depends solely upon the gross amount of Capital employed, without any regard to the mode in which it is partitioned among the several funds or elements of production, it follows that, though the labourers get one-half less, the gains of their employers will be in no way diminished; but rather by the increase of commodities the value of every pound sterling of their Capital will be considerably increased.

The enrichment of the Capitalist class and impoverishment of the working class, by the investment of the national savings in machinery and the several instruments of production, that is here advanced, is by no means a singular opinion, but is maintained by some of the more enlightened of the Political Economists. The following passage may be cited in corroboration of the conclusion (even if corroboration be needed, to esta-

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LABOUR
AND THE
LONDON
POOR
BY HENRY MAYHEW.

Office removed to No. 15, Upper Wellington Street.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

blish that which is a question of mere figures, viz., that $3\frac{1}{2} + 4 + 1\frac{1}{2} = 9$, even as $3 + 3 + 3 = 9$. Mr. Ricardo (the author of the "Theory of Rent") tells us, in his article on "Machinery," he had once thought "that the labouring class would, equally with the other classes, participate in the advantage, from the general cheapness of commodities arising from the use of machinery." He had since become convinced, however, "that the substitution of machinery for human labour is often very injurious to the interests of the class of labourers. My mistake," he says, "arose from the supposition, that whenever the net income of a society increased, its gross income would also increase. I now, however, see reason to be satisfied that the one fund from which landlords and capitalists derive their revenue may increase, while the other—that upon which the labouring class mainly depend—may diminish; and therefore it follows, if I am right, that the same cause which may increase the net revenue of the country may at the same time render the population redundant, and deteriorate the condition of the labourer." Amongst other deductions from his views he enumerates the position, "3rdly, that the opinion entertained by the labouring class, that the employment of machinery is frequently detrimental to their interests, is not founded on prejudice and error, but is conformable to the correct principles of political economy." Mr. Stewart Mill, too, is somewhat of the same opinion. "I cannot assent to the argument," he says, at p. 116, "which is relied on by most of those who contend that machinery can never be injurious to the labouring class—namely, that by cheapening production it creates such an increased demand for the commodity as enables ere long a greater number of persons to find employment in producing it; the fact, though too broadly stated, is no doubt often true. The copyists, who were thrown out of employment by the invention of printing, were, doubtless, soon outnumbered by the compositors and pressmen who took their place; and the number of labouring persons now occupied in the cotton manufacture is many times greater than were so occupied previously to the inventions of Hargreaves and Arkwright, which shows that, besides the enormous fixed capital now embarked in the manufacture, it also employs a far greater circulating capital than at any former time. But if this capital," continues Mr. Mill, "was drawn from other employments; if the funds which took the place of the capital sunk in costly machinery were supplied—not by an additional saving consequent on the improvement—but by drafts on the general capital of the community, what better are the labouring classes for the mere

transfer? In what manner is the loss they sustained by the conversion of circulating into fixed capital made up to them by a mere shifting of part of the remainder of the circulating capital from its old employments to a new one. All attempts," he adds, "to make out that the labouring classes, as a body, cannot suffer by the introduction of machinery or by the sinking of capital in permanent improvements are, I conceive, necessarily fallacious."

Those, therefore, who tell us that it is a settled point in Political Economy that machinery tends to benefit the labourer as well as the capitalist, are either ignorant of the writings of the most eminent and thoughtful of the economists on the subject, or else it must be evident they have some intention to deceive. Since, then, it is admitted that the increase of the Sunk Capital of a country must necessarily be attended with a corresponding decrease in its Circulating Capital—that is to say, that the wealth devoted to the construction of tools, machines, factories, &c., must necessarily diminish the sum set aside for the supply of materials and the subsistence of the labourers; let us now take a cursory glance at the quantity of Capital that has been invested in the instruments of labour within a comparatively recent period. In one manufacturing town, we are told, there are 200 factories, and that each of these establishments requires an outlay of 100,000*l.* (see Dodd's Textile Manufactures); hence the Capital sunk in Manchester alone, within little more than the last half century, amounts to no less than 20,000,000*l.* of money. But, according to the latest report of the Factory Inspectors, the gross number of such establishments throughout the country amounts to 4330; and calculating the same amount to have been sunk in each of these, we have the enormous sum of 433,000,000*l.* thus expended, which is at the rate of 50,000,000*l.* of money sunk every year since about 1760, or 100,000,000*l.* per annum (a third of the national income), dating from the commencement of the present century. But that is not all: if to this we add 300,000,000*l.* sunk in turnpike-roads, canals, and railways (not to speak of mines), we shall then see good reason for that gradual impoverishment of the labouring classes and enrichment of their employers, which is the marked feature of the present age.

But though the most enlightened of the economists

have been able to perceive that according as the fixed Capital of the country is increased, its Circulating Capital must be necessarily and correspondingly decreased, none, that I am aware of, has yet drawn attention to the fact that this Circulating Capital consists of two distinct and conflicting elements, viz., the Material-Fund and the Wage-Fund; and that according as either of these is extended, so must the other be proportionately diminished—a proposition more important to the labouring classes than perhaps any one yet propounded in Political Economy, and one which not only intimately concerns the welfare of the working man, but affords the sole explanation of the growing tendency to overwork and underpay; and which moreover helps us to perceive how it is possible (in direct opposition to the boasted law of supply and demand) for there to be more work to do and less wages to receive for it—as for instance in the Cabinet Makers' trade—where, since 1831, the hands have declined 33 per cent., the work increased enormously, and yet where wages 20 years ago were 400 per cent. better than they are now.

Still the great evil remains to be pointed out. The depreciation of labour is not so much due to the isolated agency of each of the above-mentioned causes, but to the combined operation of the two. If within the last century we have invested upwards of 400,000,000*l.* of Capital in the construction of machines and factories—the very construction of these instruments requires that they should be kept continually in action, for every moment that they are unoccupied the Capital invested in them is lying idle; hence, as Mr. Mill tells us, in quoting from Mr. Babbage, "the only profitable mode of employing machines is to keep them working through the twenty-four hours." The consequence is that they must necessitate a vast increase in the quantity of materials, and so give rise to an equally vast decrease in the remuneration of the workpeople. If, therefore, these machines be employed night and day in making up materials, they must also be employed night and day in reducing the subsistence of the Labourers. Now, another gentleman, in estimating the difference between the produce by hand and by machinery, assures us, "that in a cotton factory with a steam-engine of 100-horse power, there are 50,000 spindles, which are superintended by about 750 persons. The quantity of yarn produced by this mechanism in a day, would extend 62,500 miles in length—being as much as would require the labour of 200,000 persons with the common spinning wheel. We believe," adds the gentleman with an air of triumph,

that betrays an utter want of thought on the social bearings of the question, "there are now upwards of 2000 such cotton-mills, giving motion to at least 20,000,000 of spindles, and the whole consequently doing the work of 400,000,000 of persons, if estimated by the power of hand labour."

But if these 20,000,000 and odd spindles are perpetually doing the work of 400,000,000 individuals, of course they must require to be supplied with 400,000,000 times as much materials as each of these individuals could work up; and, consequently, it is plain that the Material-Fund must, by the introduction of such an enormous power of machinery into one trade alone, be increased as much as the Sinking-Fund, out of which the machines were provided; and that the Subsistence-Fund, therefore, must be decreased in a double proportion—that is to say, the investment of a large portion of the productive Capital of the country in machines and factories, necessitates the apportionment of an equally large amount to obtain an increased quantity of materials. Hence, it is a matter of demonstration, that there must necessarily be a proportionately smaller sum left for the maintenance of the workpeople. The quantity of raw material imported for the cotton factories in 1849 was 654,000,000 lbs.; in 1839 it was 387,000,000 lbs.; and in 1815, only 100,000,000 lbs. The quantity of foreign wool used in the woollen manufacture in 1847 was 82,000,000 lbs., and in 1840 only 49,000,000 lbs. The quantity of raw silk imported for the manufactures of this country in 1847 was 5,000,000 lbs.; in 1841, only 4,000,000 lbs. This enormous increase in the quantity of materials used in but three of our manufactures, may enable us to form some idea as to the portion of Capital annually now devoted to the Material-Fund, for the entire manufactures of this country: while the 700,000,000*l.* of money before specified as sunk within a comparatively recent period in the machines, factories, and facilities for transit, will likewise afford us the means of making a guess as to the portion of the gross Capital annually invested in the increase of the instruments of labour as well as the appliances for the distribution of the products of that labour. Now, putting these items together, it surely does not require a superabundance of brains to be able to perceive how, after supplying both

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We are now in a position to see the falsity of the Wage-Law as enunciated by Political Economists. This law, according to Mr. Stewart Mill, the latest authority on the subject, is as follows: "Wages depend upon the demand and supply of labour, or, as it is often expressed, on the proportion between population and capital"—limiting the term population to the labouring class, and capital to that which is expended in the direct purchase of labour.

In the first place this proposition confounds things essentially distinct, under the impression that they are one and the same. The demand for labour is here—with an eminent want of discrimination—jumbled up with the capital or stock set aside for the remuneration of the labourer: this is manifest from the use of the particle "or," showing as it does that the terms population and capital are considered to be merely different modes of expression for what are believed to be the same conditions—the demand and supply of labour. "Wages depend," says the writer (book ii., chap. 11), "on the demand and supply of labour, or, as it is often expressed, on the proportion between population and capital." Now that the demand for labour is a condition essentially distinct from the capital expended in the direct purchase of that labour, has been already shown. The one represents the *work*, and the other *pay*. The demand for labour is regulated by the quantity of work to be done; that is to say, by the aggregate amount of materials to be operated upon: whereas the capital to be expended in the direct purchase of the labour represents the aggregate amount of remuneration to be paid for such operations; and that these are not only diverse, but positively opposite elements of the Wage-Law, was demonstrated in No. 18 of this periodical. The Material-Fund and the Subsistence-Fund, which Political Economists believe to be identical, were then proved to be so essentially distinct, that precisely in the same proportion as the former increased the latter is diminished—causing more work and less pay. That wages cannot be said to depend solely on the demand and supply of labour is self-evident, because wages are simply remuneration for labour; and the proposition thus stated includes no mention of the fund out of which the labourers are remunerated, and the gross amount of which must necessarily be one of the conditions determining the individual amount of wages. Nor can wages, on the other hand, be said to depend solely on the number of labourers and the amount of the capital expended in the direct purchase of their labour, for this form of the economical proposition takes no notice of the quantity of labour to be done, or amount of materials to be operated upon for a given amount of capital.

Hence we see the prodigious short-comings and jumbings of Political Economy, the dogmas of which are enunciated with the same confidence as if they were matters of Revelation, constituting as it were the Bible of Selfishness—the Gospel preached by Mammon, giving unto us the last new commandment, "Do your neighbour as your neighbour would do you,"—in contradistinction to that higher code of kindness and charity which Edinburgh Reviewers and Manchester Men do not hesitate now to rank as morbid sentimentalism.

For the last two weeks public attention has been here drawn to the circumstances regulating the amount of the Wage-Fund. It has been shown that the Wage-Fund is a necessary element of the Productive-Fund, or gross amount of Capital set aside for the purpose of future production; it has been shown moreover that the circumstances which, from the very constitution of things, are requisite for production are three, viz. (1) Labour; (2) Instruments, as tools, machines, or workshops; and (3) Materials; and it has been further shown that these three circumstances require the gross Productive-Fund of the country to be divided into three other funds; that is to say, into—

- I. THE MATERIAL-FUND, or that portion of capital devoted to obtaining the substances upon which the labour is to be exerted.
- II. THE SINKING-FUND, or that portion of capital devoted to the construction of tools, machines, and factories or workshops.
- III. THE WAGE-FUND, or that portion of capital devoted to the Subsistence of the Labourers.

These three funds being altogether exactly equal to the entire Productive-Fund, or gross amount of Capital set aside, out of the past produce, for the purpose of future production.

Hence it follows (as a mere matter of arithmetic) that the increase of Wages depends upon either the increase of the total Productive-Fund, or the decrease of those particular portions of it which constitute the Material or Sinking Funds; and *vice versa*, the decrease of Wages depends upon either the decrease of the whole or the increase of the other parts. We have likewise seen that the increase of the Sinking-Fund, or investment of a large amount of Capital in machines or factories, naturally reduces (from the very necessity of keeping such machines, &c., in continual employment and so preventing the Capital sunk in them from lying idle) the increase of the Material-Fund; that is to say, a greater portion of the gross Productive-Fund must be expended upon materials, and consequently there must be a smaller portion left for the subsistence of the Labourers. Nor is this all: the very necessity of keeping the increased quantity of machinery in continual action, and so operating upon a larger amount of materials, gives rise, at almost regular intervals, to an over production of commodities; for the Subsistence-Fund of the Labourers being decreased, of course the Purchasing-Fund of the community is correspondingly diminished, and hence periodically arise those commercial crises or social anomalies in which a superabundance of wealth co-exists with a superabundance of poverty—when the manufactures of the country are brought to a stand-still because, from the increase of the Material-Fund, and decrease of the Wage-Fund, we have made up more commodities than the great mass of the people have the means of purchasing, and thus produced, at one and the same time, more and more clothing, and more and more nakedness—too many shoes, and too many bare feet—too many shirts and too many shirtless.

But these are only a portion of the evils resulting from an undue increase of the Sinking and Material-Funds. The expenditure of a larger amount of Capital upon machinery not only necessitates an increase of expenditure upon Materials, and consequently the production of a greater quantity of commodities, but this greater quantity of commodities necessitates, in its turn, an equally extended means of distribution: more warehouses must be built—the facilities of transit must be increased, while a greater number of persons must be employed in selling, and the "premises" of the sellers must be "enlarged." We have seen that the increase or decrease of the Wage-Fund, depends indirectly upon the augmentation or diminution of the Productive-Fund; but what regulates the Productive-Fund? what circumstances determine the amount of the gross Capital set aside, or saved out of the past produce, for the purpose of future production? The Productive-Fund, say Political Economists, is limited by two things:—

- (1.) The amount from which the saving is effected.
- (2.) The strength of the dispositions which prompt such saving.

The amount from which the saving can be made is, according to Economists, the *surplus* of the aggregate produce which remains after supplying the necessities of life to all concerned in production—including such as are engaged in replacing materials as well as keeping the sunk capital in repair. This surplus constitutes, we are told, the gross Profit-Fund of the country, or that portion of the national income which is left after paying the total cost of production. But according to this reasoning the entire income of the country must be made up solely of the Productive and Profit-Funds; whereas it is clear that the Distributive-Fund, or that portion of wealth annually expended upon the conveyance and exchange of commodities belongs neither to Production nor to Profit, and that the Capital set aside for the purpose of distributing the wealth when produced is a totally distinct kind of Capital from that devoted to the production of it. A railway does not add one single commodity to the riches of the country—it merely increases the facility of exchanging the produce of one district for that of another. Nevertheless, railways and railway-engines, ships and docks, warehouses and shops, must surely be considered as Capital. According to Political Economy, however, they cannot be Capital, because, though part of the national savings, they are not saved with a view to future production; nor can they be Profit because they form no part of the Surplus which remains after replacing materials, repairing the instruments, and maintaining the labourers employed in producing the wealth of the community.

But the expenses of distribution must be paid out of the Profit-Fund; hence we see that the Distributive-Fund not only does not add, in any way, to the gross produce of the community, but serves rather to decrease

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the national profits, and so to diminish the stock out of which the Productive-Fund alone can be increased. The Distributive-Fund, therefore, limits both the Productive and the Profit Fund; that is to say, the entire national income is composed of three elements—the Productive-Fund, the Distributive-Fund, and the Profit-Fund; these three parts being exactly equal to the whole, and the increase of any one of them necessitating a corresponding decrease in either or both of the others. The national income is said to be 300,000,000*l.*; assuming, therefore, that the three funds are respectively equal, it follows that 100,000,000*l.* will be devoted to Production, and 100,000,000*l.* to the Distribution of the Produce, thus making the National Capital amount to 200,000,000*l.*, while the remaining 100,000,000*l.* will constitute the Profits on that Capital. If, however, the cost of Distribution be increased from 100,000,000*l.* to 150,000,000*l.*, then it follows either that the Productive and Profit-Funds must be both reduced to 75,000,000*l.* each, or that the Productive-Fund must be reduced to 50,000,000*l.*, while the Profit-Fund and the gross amount of Capital remain the same. The latter is by far the more probable result of the two; for since the strength of the desire to save depends in a great measure on the amount of Profit or reward for such saving, it follows that to decrease the Profit-Fund would be to diminish the disposition to set aside a portion of the present produce with a view to future production and future gains, and consequently to reduce in a like ratio the gross savings or Capital of the community. Supposing, therefore, that the savings remain the same, viz. 200,000,000*l.*, it is manifest that, if a larger proportion of those savings be devoted to the distribution of commodities, there must necessarily be a correspondingly smaller amount expended upon their production. But since the gross Profit continues unaltered, and this Profit depends upon the quantity of commodities produced over and above those spent in production, it is demonstrable that the Material-Fund can be in no way reduced. It follows, therefore, that the Wage-Fund alone must bear the burden of the diminution, and that *by just as much as the cost of distribution is increased must the remuneration of the producers be decreased.* Hence we see that not only does the augmentation of the Material-Fund give rise at once to a reduction of the Wage-Fund, as well as to an increase of the cost of Distribution; but *vice versa*, an increase of the cost of Distribution necessitates not only an augmentation of the Material-Fund, but a reduction of the Wage-Fund. Anything therefore which tends to increase the amount of Capital expended upon Distribution tends, in a like ratio, to decrease the amount of remuneration coming to the producers; while, for precisely the same reason as Capital sunk in the instruments of production requires a greater amount of materials to be made up (in order that the Capital so sunk may never be idle), so does the Capital sunk in the appliances of distribution (as ships and docks, railways and railway engines, canals and boats, turnpike-roads and carriages, warehouses and shops,) demand the transport and sale of an increased quantity of commodities. Consequently a greater number of such commodities must be produced, and, therefore, not only a larger amount of materials must be made up, but, being made up, must necessarily be attended with the same result—namely, a decrease in the amount of remuneration coming to the labourer. If in the tailoring trade, for instance, a double proportion of the Capital is expended upon cloth, of course there must be twice the number of clothes to be made up, and half the amount of wages to receive for so

be left for the subsistence of the workmen. Nor can the producers of wool and hides be benefited; and likewise for the same reason. The production of a greater quantity of commodities requires the consumption of a greater quantity of materials, while a greater quantity of materials necessitates a less quantum of subsistence accruing to the labourers. The Capital of every trade is regulated by the amount of wealth saved out of the *past* produce, and it is impossible to increase the gross Capital till the *future* produce is obtained. The *present* Capital must be limited by the *past* savings; and though it be impossible to increase the whole, still the holders of the supplies can augment any one part and diminish another at pleasure by the process of exchange.

To render this portion of the subject more clear, let us suppose that one-half of the entire corn produced be set aside for the production of the next year's crop; then the corn so set aside will represent the grain-capital of the growers, and this grain-capital, of course, will constitute the fund out of which, not only the seed, but the food of the labourers employed in sowing, rearing, and gathering the future crop, must be supplied. If, therefore, half of the corn so set aside were to be used as seed, there would be still half left for the labourers to live upon. But the holders of the accumulated stock of grain can do with it as they please; they may put any portion of it they think fit into the ground for the purpose of fructification, while the labourers must live as they can upon the remainder; for no more than what is left over and above the portion used as seed can they possibly get to subsist upon. Let us suppose, therefore, that two-thirds of the corn set aside for future production are used as seed, then it follows that the labourers will have only one-third, instead of one-half, left for their subsistence. But the quantity of seed regulates the quantity of work, while the quantity of food determines the amount of the labourer's remuneration; hence, it is manifest, that in the latter case the labourers will have more work to do and less to receive for it; and since the Capitalists' profits depend on the difference between the quantity of corn set aside for future production, and the quantity reproduced, it follows that the more grain there is used as seed, the greater must be the produce, and, therefore, the greater the Capitalists' gains. Now, if for seed in agriculture we substitute materials in manufacture, and if we convert the term Produce into Commodities, we shall readily and clearly perceive that if a greater proportion of the Capital of the country be devoted to materials, there necessarily must be a less proportion to be paid as remuneration to the work-people—in a word more work and less pay—greater profits and smaller wages, will be the inevitable result.

But if, in the tailoring and shoemaking trade, a double proportion of Capital is expended upon cloth and leather, and twice the number of garments and shoes produced (at half the wages), it follows that there must be a considerable increase in the appliances for distributing the extra quantity of goods; there must not only be a greater number of shops, but increased means of conveyance—a greater number of porters, carriages, or ships, must be employed; for if the amount of Capital expended upon materials is so great that more commodities are produced than are required in the immediate neighbourhood of their production, it follows that the market for such commodities must be extended; while, in order to do this, there must be greater facilities for transporting the increased produce to distant parts. Now that this augmentation of the cost of production, both in the appliances of transit and in the means of sale, has been going

doing; again, in the textile manufactures, if double the proportion of the capital be expended upon machines, twice the quantity of raw materials must be operated upon in order to keep those machines continually employed.

But it may be said that the production of an increased quantity of materials requires an increased quantity of labour; and that therefore to increase the Material-Fund or amount of Capital expended upon the substances to be operated upon, is to increase the Wage-Fund, or amount of Capital expended on the operatives. Let us see, however, whether such be the fact. To expend a larger proportion of the Capital belonging to the tailoring or shoemaking trades upon cloth or leather, is clearly to reduce the Wage-Funds of those trades in precisely the same proportion, and so to make more work and less pay. Thus it is manifest the tailors and shoemakers cannot but be doubly injured by such an arrangement; but it will be asked are not the woollen manufacturers and tanners proportionately benefited? No! they are not; and for precisely the same reason: to produce a greater quantity of cloth and leather, a greater proportion of the Capital of those trades must be expended upon wool and hides, and a less proportion consequently

on most rapidly of late years, no one, with his eyes open, can doubt. Within our own time shops have been changed into palaces; we have seen "extensive alterations" go on everywhere, and "premises" continually "enlarged," until retail "establishments" have swallowed up house after house, and eventually overrun entire streets. We have seen the number of assistants behind the counters of such establishments increase from units to hundreds—we have seen the main thoroughfares of our cities become daily more and more impervious, from the dense throng of wagons, and vans, and carts, and stages, and trucks, laden with goods—we have seen docks after docks, with their giant storehouses, built round our coast—St. Katherine's, Birkenhead, Great Grimsby—for the better transport and housing of our increasing materials and productions—we have seen our mercantile marine swell and swell, as our produce has grown greater, until we can almost bridge the Atlantic over with our ships—we have seen, moreover, the country scored in every direction with iron railroads, along which monster trains of goods are daily whirled from one end of the kingdom to the other. These changes have all been wrought in our own time, while the majority of our canals and our turnpike roads date scarcely beyond our fathers' time. The

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"It becomes interesting," says Mr. Babbage in the fourth edition of his "Economy of Machinery and Manufactures" (p. 163), "to trace the various proportions in which the material and the labour unite to constitute the value of many of the productions of the arts."

But if the arguments advanced by Mr. Mayhew, in these pages within the last few weeks, be correct, it becomes something more than "interesting" to do this,—it is absolutely essential to the welfare of the workman that the relation between the labour and material be known; for if wages are inversely proportional to the sum expended on the substances upon which the labour is exerted, the relative values of the materials and the work will tell us immediately the arts in which the operative is comparatively well or ill paid.

But important as the knowledge of this subject is, not only to the workman, but to society in general, scarcely any attempts have been made to collect facts bearing upon the point, and the following table, as to the comparative price of labour and of raw materials entering into certain French manufactures, which has been ascertained with great care by M. de Villefosse, in his "Statistical Researches upon the Metals of France," is extracted from Mr. Babbage's book, in the hope of inducing working-men to do the same thing for English products—each dealing with his own particular handicraft—so that we may really have some accurate data concerning this most vital question; for every working-man will be able to perceive, immediately he devotes his mind to the subject, that the relation between the materials and the labour expresses precisely the difference between the amount of capital expended out of his trade, and the amount coming to himself and his fellow-operatives.

M. de Villefosse, in the subjoined table, however, does not give the sum paid to the workman, but merely the selling price of the manufactured commodity; nor does he tell us whether that selling price be the wholesale or the retail charge. This is unfortunate, because, according as it is one or the other, so will the cost of distribution and the gross profit be increased or diminished; but as it is we are left to infer from the selling price the sum paid to the labourer. Still, deficient as the table is, it is better than none, and is here inserted as a nest egg, in the hope of obtaining, by means of the imperfect article, others more full of life and intelligence from working-men themselves. Those operatives who may favour Mr. Mayhew with any such information, need not trouble themselves to reduce the respective amounts paid for labour and materials, into the proportions below given. They should, however, be most particular in describing the quality of the materials and giving only their wholesale price; they should also add the wholesale price of the manufactured article, as expressing the more uniform value, and affix to the retail price the character of the shop (whether 1st class, 2nd, or 3rd,) whereat it is so charged. It will be better in all instances to give, if possible, the sum paid for materials by the employer, as well as the sum received by him for the manufactured article, adding at the same time a note so as to show whether the employer engages society or non-society hands; and if the latter, whether he may be fairly ranked as belonging to the second or third class of employers (always considering those who pay "society" wages as of the first class). It is to be hoped that, in order to prevent the possibility of evil, workmen sending such information will in all cases of doubt give the benefit of it to the employer; for it is much better that the case should be under rather than over stated. All that it will be necessary for working-men to detail will be (1) the sum paid to them for the making of a particular article, (2) the wholesale cost of the materials entering into that article, and (3) the wholesale (and, if possible, retail) price of such article when finished. If several workmen be employed upon the different parts of any one article, then the wages paid for each and every of such parts should be stated, together with the price of the materials for the whole. And if the workmen are paid by the day rather than the piece, then the wholesale price of the materials that one can operate upon in the course of a given time, the wages he would earn in that time, and the wholesale value of those materials, after being so operated upon by him, should be one and all accurately set down. If the working-men will but continue to assist Mr. Mayhew in his undertaking, he hopes before long to collect such an overwhelming mass of facts as must cause justice to be done to them.

In France the quantity of raw material which can be purchased for *l.*, when manufactured into

	£	s.	d.
Silk goods is worth	2	7	4½
Broad cloth and woollens	2	3	0
Hemp and cables	3	12	9½
Linen comprising thread laces	5	0	0
Cotton goods	2	8	9½
Sheets or pipes of moderate dimensions ..	1	5	0
White lead	2	12	0
Ordinary printing characters	4	18	0
The smallest type	28	6	0
Copper sheeting	1	5	2½
Household utensils	4	15	4½
Common brass pins tinned	2	6	9½
Rolls into plates covered with 1-20th silver	3	11	2½
Woven into metallic cloth, each square			
inch of which contains 10,000 meshes ..	52	4	7
Leaves for silvering glass	1	14	7
Household utensils	1	17	0
Vermilion of average quality	1	16	2½
White oxide of arsenic	1	16	7
Sulphuret (orpiment)	4	5	2½
Household utensils	2	0	0
Machinery	4	0	0
Ornamental, as buckles, &c.	45	0	0
Bracelets, figures, buttons, &c.	147	0	0
Agricultural instruments	3	11	4½
Barrels, musket	9	2	0
Barrels of double-barrel guns, twisted and			
damasked	233	1	7
Blades of penknives	637	2	9½
— razor, cast steel	53	11	4½
— sabre, for cavalry, infantry, ar-			
tillery, &c.	16	1	4½
— of table knives	35	14	0
Buckles of polished steel, used as jewel-			
lery	896	13	2½
Clothiers' pins	8	0	7
Door-latches and bolts	8	10	0
Files, common	2	11	0
— flat, cast steel	20	8	9½
Horse-shoes	2	11	0
Iron, small slit, for nails	1	2	0
Metallic cloth, iron wire, No. 30	96	14	2½
Needles of various sizes	70	17	0
Reeds for weaving 3-4ths calico	21	17	4½
Saws (frame) of steel	5	2	4½
— for wood	14	5	7
Scissors, finest kind	446	18	9½
Steel, cast	4	5	7
— cast, in sheets	6	5	0
— cemented	2	8	2½
— natural	1	8	4½
Sword-handles, polished steel	972	16	4½
Tinned iron	2	0	0
Wire, iron	10	14	2½
The present price (1837) of lead in England (adds Mr. Babbage) is 13 <i>l.</i> per ton, and the worth of <i>l.</i> of it manufactured into			
Milled sheet lead	becomes	£1	1 7
The present price of cake copper is 84 <i>l.</i> per ton, and the worth of <i>l.</i> of it manufactured into			
Sheet copper	becomes	£1	2 2½

The above table enables us to see at a glance the relative sums expended upon materials and labour in different handicrafts. In the case of "polished steel sword handles," for instance, we perceive that for every *l.* laid out in steel, not less than 97*l.* 16*s.* 4½*d.* goes to the workman; whereas in the case of milled sheet-lead the workman gets only 1*s.* 7*d.* for operating upon the same amount of materials. In the first instance, therefore, the labourer receives very nearly 99*l.* out of every thousand composing the Capital of the trade; whereas in the latter instance he gets only *l.* in every 12*l.*, or but little more than 8*l.* out of 100*l.*

The following table expresses the only facts that Mr. Mayhew has been able as yet to obtain respecting the relative quantity of materials made up, and the prices paid to the operative for so doing, in a given trade in England. It will be seen from the subjected exposition, that whereas the materials in the cotton trade increased upwards of sixfold between the years 1815 and 1844—the quantities imported in those years being respectively 100,000,000 lbs. and 640,000,000 lbs.—the prices paid for weaving decreased very nearly threefold, or from 3*s.* to 1*s.* 1½*d.* Hence it is evident one of four things must have ensued, either (1) a greater proportion of the Capital employed in the trade must have been expended on materials, and a correspondingly less proportion have accrued to the workmen; or (2) the gross sum paid for

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materials remaining the same (the price of cotton having fallen sixfold) the operatives, if not increased in number, must have had more than six times more work to do for nearly three times less wages; or (3) the operatives must have increased threefold (while the gross amount of the Wage-Fund remained the same), and so have had each twice as much work to do for three times less pay; or else (4) the Wage-Fund must have been doubled, while the operatives increased six times in number, and so got each three times less pay for the same amount of work.

The facts of the subject appear to be that the hands increased 120 per cent., while the price of cotton fell upwards of 600 per cent. The total number of hands employed in manufacturing in 1801 was 1,377,107; while in 1841 it had risen to 2,251,927; and the price of cotton in 1814 was 2s. 6d., whereas in 1844 it had fallen to 4d.

Years.	Weight of Cotton Wool Imported.	Prices paid for Weaving a piece of 72½ Calico.	Years.	Weight of Cotton Wool Imported.	Prices paid for Weaving a piece of 72½ Calico.
	lbs.	s. d.		lbs.	s. d.
1790	22,640,000		1820	222,767,411	1 4
1800	30,640,000		1830	263,661,452	1 4
1815	100,709,146	3 0	1831	228,674,853	1 4
1816	95,230,965	2 6	1832	226,832,525	1 4
1817	126,303,689	2 6	1833	303,656,837	1 4
1818	178,745,577	2 6	1834	326,375,425	1 4
1819	151,153,154	2 0	1835	363,702,963	1 4
1820	151,672,655	2 0	1836	406,959,057	1 4
1821	132,536,620	1 8	1837	407,286,783	1 4
1822	142,837,628	1 8	1838	507,850,577	1 3
1823	191,402,503	1 8	1839	389,396,559	1 3
1824	149,330,122	1 8	1840	592,488,010	1 3
1825	228,005,291	1 8	1841	487,902,355	1 2½
1826	177,607,401	1 6	1842	531,750,096	1 1½
1827	272,448,909	1 6	1843	673,193,116	1 1½
1828	227,760,642	1 4	1844	646,111,304	1 1½

TEMPUS FUGIT writes from Bristol as follows:—

"My dear Sir,—I should feel obliged by your informing me whether you intend making any distinction between each Volume of your Work ('London Labour and the London Poor'), or whether parties can have them bound as they please."—Subscribers can have them bound as they please.

MR. MAYHEW prints the following entire, because it shows how erroneous a view some persons may take as to the object of his labours.

"Sir,—I cannot deduce from your 'London Labour' what is the ultimate object intended by you—the good of the street-seller or his injury.

"The expose of the tricks of their trade in the several numbers already issued will surely injure far more than enhance the profits derived by the poor individuals seeking an existence by the sale of various articles in the streets of the metropolis.

"Since the appearance of the number of your work referring to the sale of oranges, I have heard parties exclaim, when the orange-seller has offered his or her fruit for sale, 'Oh no! they've been biled;' and with various other articles doubtless the same thing occurs.

"The real cause of persons purchasing articles in the thoroughfares or environs of London is the hope of obtaining them much cheaper than by patronising the tradesmen, who certainly has his rent, together with many other expenses, to cover before making a profit; but if your publication benefits him (as I fear it may do), is it not to the injury of a very industrious hardworking class, who probably would be in the workhouse if not in the streets earning their 'half profits'?"

"The deep distress and misery which many have to undergo, and which has been faithfully described by you, may have done some good, as they have been relieved by contributions from the charitable and well-disposed; but this I fear would be found to be the exception, not the rule.

"Excuse me, therefore, when I say, that in my humble opinion your work tends to the injury rather than the welfare of the Street-Poor.

"Your obedient Servant,

"G. N."

Mr. Mayhew's aim in the investigations that he is now making into the condition and earnings of the several classes of society is simply to *come at the truth* respecting them. It is impossible to benefit any class or any individual by falsity. If there are customs and practices among the street-sellers that are unjust, the mere fact of making them known will put the public on

their guard against them, and so bring them to an end. It is the dishonest portion of the street-folk who injure the more honest members of that body. "How is it possible for us," said a costermonger, "to be just and fair in all our dealings, when, by using slangs, any of our people can sell twice as cheap as those who carry fair weights and measures, and get all their custom away from them." There are many of the street-sellers who mean well enough, but who are compelled to compete with the tricks of the unprincipled. Then again, the lurkers and sham street-sellers lead the public to look upon the street trade generally as a cloak for beggary, and an encouragement to idleness. The exposure of the lurkers' tricks will be sure to render them abortive, and then, and then only, they will be abandoned.

Moreover, Mr. Mayhew has no desire to depict the street-sellers other than as they really are. Were he to canonize the whole race of costermongers, and to paint the patters as angels, what good could possibly come of such sickly sentimentalism? It is high time that the truth concerning all classes should be known, so that what is right among us may be cherished, and what is wrong put an end to as soon as possible. This was and is the sole object of beginning and continuing the inquiries concerning "Labour and the Poor."

OMICRON is thanked—a list of the Errata will be published at the conclusion of each volume. Any blunders that may be detected—and such things are inevitable where so much is to be done in so short a time—should be made known, so that they may be corrected in due time.

E. C. R. makes the following offer:—

"Sir,—I have felt much interested in some of the cases mentioned in your valuable work, 'London Labour and the London Poor,' and beg to ask you whether you could undertake to distribute to such persons as you consider worthy of help, a few small articles which they might dispose of in their usual way. If so, I propose to send you a small lot of Cheap Fancy Articles, which I would leave to your discretion to divide into such portions as you think would be best likely to suit the persons for whose relief they are intended: so that they might, by the disposal of the gift, be put in possession of stock-money. Some articles I could send might be rather superior to those generally sold, but that would be no objection, I conceive, but probably an advantage, in selling them. An early answer will oblige. I enclose my card, but do not wish my name made public."

To *give* goods is the same as *giving* money, and Mr. Mayhew objects, he repeats, to gifts of all kinds. The best way of serving any man is to teach him to trust to himself—and certainly not to others—for a living: the more one does to inspire a person with faith in his own powers, the greater the benefit that we confer upon him. Mr. Mayhew desires that every man in the kingdom should be able to live in comfort on the fruits of his labour—and most certainly not on the labour of other people. These who cannot labour, we, who can, are bound in charity, and indeed justice, to assist; but those who *can* labour we injure rather than benefit by helping them to live without labouring. All, it seems, that we should do to the able-bodied who are in want is to put them in the way of working for what they want. To do other than this is to destroy a man's self-reliance; and this is perhaps the greatest injury that can be inflicted on the poor, being often the main cause of their poverty. If the goods are to be advanced as loans of stock to needy street-sellers who have been forced to live upon their stock-money, no objection can be raised; for the same plan has been found to succeed among the Jews most admirably.

The subjoined is from the landlord of the Low Lodging Houses spoken of in a former Number. It is printed here entire, so that if wrong has been done, reparation may be made:—

"Sir,—As the Landlord of the Houses referred to in page 317, I would beg to call your attention to the remarks of your Correspondent. I am there described as being 'a member of a strict Baptist Church, living in great splendour,' &c. Now, I am not a member of that community, never have been, nor in fact, am I a member of any Dissenting Body; as to my living in great splendour, &c., I can assure you, from statements which I have enclosed, that my average profits do not exceed 2l. 10s. a week. I am also reported as paying my Deputies 1½d. a day: now this is correct, in one instance; but as the House does not average more than 3s. a week, I think it sufficient; if the returns increase, his pay increases; to another I pay 9s. 4d. a week, and find him all the requisites; the whole of the others are rented at so much a week, allowing the party who rents them a comfortable income. The Deputies are reported as

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

dealing in Stolen Goods, and taking in couples for short periods, to increase their incomes. Now, this must be made in ignorance; and all I can say is, that if they do so, it is quite unknown to me; and I judge that I am correct in this remark from my knowledge of their character and general conduct. They are charged with harbouring the worst class of characters, and such as I have repeatedly told them I would not allow; I have no need thus to caution them, from there being such persons in the Houses, but as the poor are of such a migrating nature, continually changing their Lodgings, and almost next to an impossibility to know all their characters and occupations, I endeavour as much as possible to enforce this on them, as well as the admission of Stolen Goods into the Houses, which would be followed with instant dismissal, but which I have never had occasion to carry out.

"But let me ask, who is to provide for these unfortunate persons? Are they to be left to the Streets, because we have no Model Lodging Houses that will meet their case? Have you not, in your valuable work, shown that there are thousands who are wanderers and unprovided for, who know not in the morning that they will earn enough to pay for their Lodging; let them apply to the Model Lodging Houses now in existence: their abject condition and the price (a week in advance), would soon settle the question: we do not want Model Lodging Houses for the mechanic and the artisan; we want Model Lodging Houses for the ragged, shoeless, shirtless, unwashed, hungry, and destitute of our streets. We want a Model Lodging House that shall provide for the separation and classification of the sexes; where can a poor man and his wife find a refuge, but in the Common Lodging House? There now appears to be a movement in the right way; but these Models must be, as your correspondent wisely remarks, conducted on a different footing: the poor must find and feel that they have liberty in these Model Lodging Houses; till the difficulty has been met and grappled with, and other accommodation supplied, Common Lodging Houses as necessary evils will exist; when that period comes, I shall be happy to relinquish mine for a more honourable occupation.

"I cannot conclude without observing, that, from my knowledge of many of the characters described in your work, your statements are unfortunately too correct. If I can afford you any further information on the subject of Lodging Houses, I shall be most happy. Trusting you will do me the favour of correcting the mistakes referred to by inserting a part or the whole of this in your answer to correspondents,

"I remain, sir,

"Yours very respectfully,

"L. H. R."

Mr. Mayhew regrets exceedingly, that any of his correspondents should have led him into error, as they appear to have done in this instance; for he has no reason to doubt the truth of the counter-statements contained in the preceding communication. Touching the advantages of the Model Lodging Houses referred to at the close of the above epistle, Mr. Mayhew, speaking before investigation, and merely drawing his conclusions from facts communicated to him concerning the conduct of those establishments, must confess he has not much hope of any direct good accruing from them. He believes, however, that they will ultimately give rise to some better devised and more liberal plan for the improvement of the low lodging-houses of the metropolis. To put the poor in the leading-strings of lords and ladies, appears to Mr. Mayhew to be almost as ill-advised as to leave them in the hands of mere mercenaries. There is after all but one way to help the Poor, that is to teach the Poor to help themselves; and so long as committees of noblemen have the conduct of their household affairs, so long as my Lord This or That is left to say at what time they shall go to bed and when they shall get up, there can be no main improvement in their condition. The Curfew Bell, even though instituted by the most zealous benevolence, is still as irksome as that enjoined by the most arrogant despotism. As was before said, the Poor are poor generally from a want of self-reliance; any system therefore (however well intentioned) which deprives them of all voice in the management of their own affairs, can but tend to increase their helplessness and poverty, and to keep them the same perpetual slaves of circumstances.

It is but right that the following should be given entire. It will be seen that it goes to contradict the account recently printed as to the condition of the Model Lodging House in Drury Lane. It will be observed, however, that in the letter above given from the landlord of the Lodging House in Thrawl Street, the writer asserts that from his own experience he can corroborate the greater

part of the statements made in "London Labour" concerning the Low Lodging houses of London. Nevertheless partial errors may doubtless have been committed, and perhaps the description of the Charles Street Lodging House may be included among the mis-statements—at least such would appear to be the fact, from the subjoined document. The correspondent alluded to gave his impression of the condition of that establishment, but the majority of the inmates seem to entertain very different opinions from himself on the subject:—

"Model Lodging House,
"2, Charles Street, Drury Lane.

"Sir,

"We, the undersigned inmates of the above Model Lodging House, collectively beg to be allowed to disburden ourselves of the undue odium heaped upon us so mercilessly in the invidious aspersions of your correspondent last week. If the mis-statement of your informant is not refuted, the public will naturally infer that the common habits of the Lodgers present a scene of savage life, and that the interior displays the constant aspect of a perfect Babel; being, as erroneously asserted, 'the scene of dirt and disorder, with noise, confusion, and intemperance abounding from morning till night.'

"Though there is no separate Reading Room, yet we have a small library, composed of books (presented by members of the Society, by whom the house was established) which, though not engaging the taste of all, is at times resorted to.

"The books most in request being Chambers' Information and Tracts. Besides this, however, we have a list of Periodicals subscribed for by the Lodgers—these are eagerly and attentively read as they appear. The character of these works will, we think, sufficiently speak in our defence, for whilst occupied in their perusal, which happens at all spare intervals of leisure, the time so spent must prove the untruth of the alleged disorder, &c.

"The following is a list of Weekly Publications taken in, viz:—

- "London Labour—from the first.
- "Household Words.
- "Tomlin's Help to Self-Educators.
- "The Builder.
- "Mechanics' Magazine.
- "Knight's Cycopaedia of the Industry of All Nations.
- "Expositor.
- "Chambers's Journal.
- "The People's and Howitt's Journal.
- "Family Herald.
- "London Journal.
- "Weekly Dispatch.

"With these few remarks we leave this statement in your hands for candid inquiry, which if resorted to will assuredly reverse the unfavourable impression your strictures are calculated to produce on the public mind.

"We remain,

"Your constant Readers,

- | | |
|--|------------------|
| "J. Johnson. | Thos. Passmore. |
| "W. R. Robinson. | J. E. Aubrey. |
| "Lodgers resident between three and four years. | |
| "A. Kates. | Wm. Smith. |
| "John Smith. | H. Powell. |
| "Fredk. Harcourt. | Jas. Taylor. |
| "Lodgers resident between two and three years. | |
| "Joseph Yates. | E. Wolstenholme. |
| "George Hunt. | W. Hind. |
| "Lodgers resident between one and two years. | |
| "F. Smith. | Thomas Trotman. |
| "J. Green. | J. Lush. |
| "Lodgers resident between six and twelve months. | |

"The above list of names might have been considerably extended had it been requisite."

Since the above was forwarded, a letter bearing the signatures of the first two persons named in the above list, has been received, stating that there is "not a single scintilla of truth" in the information furnished me respecting the Model Lodging House in Charles Street, Drury Lane, and adding that the doors of that particular Model "are never even nominally closed till midnight, and never rigorously at that hour."

The following sums have been received for the Crippled Seller of Nutmeg-Graters:—M. M., 2l.; E. S. M. A., 5s. in postage stamps.

W. M. B. (Edinburgh).—5s.

S. E. K. (Pevensey), Post-office order for 1l. 10s., for Cripple, and 10s. for Reduced Tradesman.

THE POET'S acknowledgment will be inserted in the next number.

E. F. R. P.—"Yes." This answer was omitted last week.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

BEFORE proceeding to the consideration of the relation between Wages and Profits there are a few points which require further elucidation, in order to impress them firmly on the mind.

We are told in Political Economy that the remuneration of labourers is regulated by the demand and supply of labour, or by the proportion between the circulating capital and the number of labourers. These two determining circumstances, which are thought to be one and the same, are essentially distinct; for the demand for labour, or quantity of work to be done, is very different from the amount of circulating capital, or gross sum set aside for the remuneration of the labour; and by themselves they are incomplete, each omitting an essential condition; for the law of demand and supply, *per se*, takes no notice of the amount of remuneration coming to each labourer, but merely expresses the relation between the quantity of work to be done and the number of hands to do it, while the law of population and capital (as it is called) leaves out all mention of the quantity of work to be done for a given amount of pay, expressing solely the relation between the labourers and the gross sum devoted to their remuneration.

But the Wage-Law of the Economists is not only untrue theoretically but practically. In the London Cabinet Trade, for instance, the demand for labour increased considerably from 1831 up to the present time (200 miles of houses having been built in the Metropolis within that period), while the supply of labourers decreased during the same time no less than 33 per cent., and yet the wages were in 1831 as much as 400 per cent. better than at present. The Cotton Trade, again, may be cited as an instance of the insufficiency of the above law. The materials used in that trade we have seen increased between 1814 and 1844 from 100,000,000 lbs. to 646,000,000 lbs., that is to say, the demand for labour increased very nearly 650 per cent.; while on the other hand the number of labourers engaged in manufacture in 1801 was 1,377,107, whereas in 1841 it was 4,129,034, or, in other words, the supply of labour had increased only 120 per cent. within that time; and yet Wages in 1814 were nearly 300 per cent. better than in 1841—the prices paid for Weaving being 3s. at the former period, and 1s. 1½d. at the latter. If the law of supply and demand were true, and wages rose in proportion as the quantity of work to be done increased, and the number of hands to do it decreased, the weavers should have received in 1844 not less than 5s. for the same quantity of labour as they got 1s. for in 1814; whereas the fact is, they were paid in 1844 only 1s. 1½d. for that for which in 1814 they had 3s.

But the Wage-Law as evolved by the Economists is not only untrue as regards the demand and supply of labour being the sole circumstances regulating the amount of remuneration for a given amount of work, but it is equally false when looked at in another aspect; for it is just as incorrect to say that the reward of labour depends upon the proportion between the number of labourers and the amount of circulating capital. The facts of the Cabinet Trade are sufficient to assure us that the decrease of wages was in no way due to a corresponding decrease in the amount of circulating capital employed in that trade; nor could it be ascribed to an increase in the number of operatives among whom the capital was to be shared, for, as we have seen, the hands decreased during the fall of wages no less than 33 per cent., so that the decline could not be owing to an increase of labourers. Nor was it owing to a decrease in the amount of circulating capital, because, as the work increased considerably during the period, it is evident that a larger proportion of such circulating capital must have been expended on the materials used in the trade, so that while the Wage-Fund was considerably diminished, the Material-Fund on the other hand must have been considerably augmented, and hence the gross amount of circulating capital must have remained very nearly the same. The alteration of the relation between these two Funds, however, would naturally induce a greater quantity of cabinet work, and a less sum to receive for it, so that while the number of pounds sterling spent on materials was largely increased,

it is clear that the amount received for making up every one pound's worth of such materials must have proportionately decreased, and consequently that wages would have fallen even while the amount of circulating capital remained the same, and the number of labourers was lessened.

But let us, for the sake of greater clearness, put the question arithmetically. Let us say that at a given period the number of operative Cabinet Makers was 10,000—that the amount of the entire circulating capital employed in the business was 2,000,000*l.*, and that of this the sum of 1,000,000*l.* was expended in the purchase of wood and other materials for the trade, while the remaining 1,000,000*l.* was devoted to the payment of the operatives engaged in fashioning the wood, &c., into furniture. In this case it is plain that the operatives would have received 1*l.* for every 1*l.* worth of materials made up by them. But now let us suppose, while the circulating Capital of the Trade and the price of materials remained the same, that the portion of the capital expended on materials was increased to 1,600,000*l.*; then, of course, there could have been but 400,000*l.* left for the workmen, and they consequently would have received only 5s. (instead of 1*l.*) for every 1*l.* worth of materials made up by them. Hence it is a matter of demonstration, that though the gross amount of the circulating capital remained precisely the same, the wages paid for a given amount of labour must have fallen 75 per cent., or, in other words, the remuneration of the labourer must have been 400 per cent. better at the former than at the latter period. Nor could the number of labourers have influenced the result further than as regulating the average quantity of work, and the gross annual income accruing to each. In the first instance it is clear that, assuming the work to have been equally distributed, and the number of workmen to have been 10,000, while the sum spent on materials amounted to 1,000,000*l.*, each of those workmen must have had in the course of the year 100*l.* worth of materials to make up, and have received the same sum for his labour. In the second instance, however, the number of hands in the trade having decreased 33 per cent.—that is to say, having fallen from 10,000 to 6666, while the amount devoted to the purchase of materials increased 60 per cent., or from 1,000,000*l.* to 1,600,000*l.*, it is evident that every one of the workmen must then have had very nearly 250*l.* worth of materials to make up, and have received only about 6*l.* for so doing; that is to say, each would have been required to do more than twice as much work for little more than half the pay. And such appears to have been the real fact of the case.

The Wage-Law has two distinct forms: 1st, the particular amount of remuneration for a particular amount of work is *inversely* proportional to the quantity of circulating capital expended in the purchase of materials. 2nd, the aggregate amount of remuneration or annual income of each labourer is *inversely* proportional; (a) to the number of labourers, the hours of labour, or the rate of labouring; and (b) to the relative amount of the Material-Fund.

The following table expresses the various operations of the Wage-Law, resulting from the increment of any one or all of the three elements—the Material-Fund, the Wage-Fund, or the number of Labourers, either with or without the increase of the circulating Capital. The National Income is reckoned by McCulloch and others at 300,000,000*l.*, of which 100,000,000*l.* is said to represent the amount of profits, 100,000,000*l.* the amount expended on materials, and 100,000,000*l.* the amount paid to the labourers; hence the circulating Capital of the country would appear to be about 200,000,000*l.* The total number of the working classes would seem to be, according to the returns of the last census, about 4,000,000. The first column below represents the gross Wage-Fund of the country expressed in millions of pounds sterling; the second column the gross Material-Fund; the third the number of working-men; the fourth the average income of each of the operatives; the fifth the average number of pounds' worth of materials made up by each of such operatives; and the sixth the amount of wages paid for making up every one pound's worth of materials.

THE LONDON LABOUR AND THE LONDON POOR

LONDON
LABOUR
AND THE
LONDON
POOR
BY HENRY MAYHEW

OFFICE REMOVED TO No. 18, UPPER WILKINSON STREET.

OFFICE REMOVED TO No. 18, UPPER WILKINSON STREET.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

I. THE CIRCULATING CAPITAL REMAINS THE SAME.

1. The amount of the Wage-Fund in Millions.	2. The amount of the Material-Fund in Millions.	3. The number of Labourers in Millions.	4. The average amount of Income obtained by each Labourer.	5. The average quantity of work done by each Labourer expressed in pounds sterling.	6. The Pay given for making up £1 worth of Materials.
1. { A £100 |	£100 |	4 |	£25 0 0 |	£25 0 0 |	£1 |
{ B £100 |	£100 |	Increase of Labourers $\frac{1}{2}$. 6 |	£16 13 4 |	£16 13 4 |	£1 |
		Increase of Materials $\frac{1}{2}$. 4 |	£12 10 0 |	£37 10 0 |	6s. 8d. |
2. { A £50 |	£150 |	Increase of Materials and Labourers $\frac{1}{2}$ each. 6 |	£8 6 8 |	£25 0 0 |	6s. 8d. |
{ B £50 |	£150 |	Increase of Wages $\frac{1}{2}$. 4 |	£37 10 0 |	£12 10 0 |	£3 |
3. { A £150 |	£50 |	Increase of Wages and Labourers $\frac{1}{2}$ each. 6 |	£25 0 0 |	£8 6 8 |	£3 |
{ B £150 |	£50 |				

II. THE CIRCULATING CAPITAL IS INCREASED $\frac{1}{2}$.

		Increase of Materials $\frac{1}{2}$ each. 4 |	£25 0 0 |	£37 10 0 |	13s. 4d. |
1. { a £100 |	£150 |	Increase of Materials and Labourers $\frac{1}{2}$ each. 6 |	£16 13 4 |	£25 0 0 |	13s. 4d. |
{ b £100 |	£150 |	Increase of Wages $\frac{1}{2}$. 4 |	£37 10 0 |	£25 0 0 |	£1 10s. |
2. { a £150 |	£100 |	Increase of Wages and Labourers $\frac{1}{2}$ each. 6 |	£25 0 0 |	£16 13 4 |	£1 10s. |
{ b £150 |	£100 |	Increase of Materials and Wages $\frac{1}{2}$ each. 4 |	£31 5 0 |	£31 5 0 |	£1 |
3. { a £125 |	£125 |	Increase of Materials, Wages, and Labourers $\frac{1}{2}$ each. 5 |	£25 0 0 |	£25 0 0 |	£1 |
{ b £125 |	£125 |				

* N.B.—A decrease in the price of Materials is the same as an increase in the amount of the Material-Fund.

Now, referring to the above table, we perceive two different operations of the same law: the first of which has relation solely to the pay given for making up a certain amount of materials; and the second to the average amount of income obtained by each labourer; and directly contrary to the law of supply and demand, or that of population and capital, it may be now seen that the number of labourers in no way influences the pay of the labourers, but solely the average income of each; that is to say, it affects nothing but the share of the Wage-Fund accruing to the labourers respectively. The reader is requested to pay particular attention to this point, for if the law, as here expressed for the first time, be correct, it follows that our legislation is conducted on entirely false principles, and that all the popular theories and remedies respecting low wages are based on groundless assumptions, as an increase in the number of labourers cannot reduce wages—such a result being producible only by an increase of the sum spent on Materials.

Concerning the amount of Pay coming to the Labourer for a definite amount of work, we have the following canons:—

Capital remaining the same.

If the Material-Fund be increased one-half, the Pay will be decreased two-thirds. (See A 2, in above Table.)

If the Wage-Fund be increased one-half, the Pay will be increased threefold. (See A 3.)

If the number of Labourers be increased one-half, the Pay will remain the same. (See B 1.)

Capital increased one-fourth.

If the Material-Fund be increased, one-half the Pay will be decreased one-third. (See a 1.)

If the Wage-Fund be increased one-half, the Pay will be increased one-half also. (See a 2.)

If the Material-Fund and the Wage-Fund be both increased one-fourth, the Pay will remain the same. (See a 3.)

If the Material and the Wage-Fund and the number of Labourers be severally increased one-fourth, the Pay will still remain the same. (See b 3.)

Concerning the average amount of Income obtained by each labourer, the results are materially different.

Capital remaining the same.

If solely the number of labourers be increased one-half, the income of each will be decreased one-third, while there will be one-third less work for each to do. (See B 1.)

If the Material-Fund and the number of Labourers be respectively increased one-half, the income of each will be decreased two-thirds, while there will be the same quantity of work for each to do. (See B 2.)

If the Wage-Fund and the number of Labourers be

respectively increased, one-half the income of each will be the same, while there will be two-thirds less work for each to do. (See B 3.)

Capital being increased one-fourth.

If the Material-Fund and the number of Labourers be respectively increased, one-half the income of each will be decreased one-third, while there will be the same amount of work for each to do. (See b 1.)

If the Wage-Fund and the number of Labourers be respectively increased one-half, the income of each will be the same, while there will be one-third less work for each to do. (See b 2.)

If the Material and the Wage-Fund and the number of Labourers be respectively increased one-fourth, both the income and the amount of work accruing to each will remain the same. (See b 3.)

Or, to reduce the above laws to a formula, we may say let C represent the Circulating Capital; M, the Material-Fund; W, the Wage-Fund; L, the number of Labourers; I, the average Income obtained by each labourer; Q, the average quantity of work performed by each; and P, the Pay for making up a certain amount of materials: then we have the following results:—

$$(1) C - M = W.$$

$$(2) C - W = M.$$

$$(3) \frac{C - W}{L} = Q.$$

$$(4) \frac{C - M}{L} = I.$$

$$(5) \frac{C - M}{L} \div \frac{C - W}{L} = P.$$

It will be now seen that the Wage-Law of Supply and Demand takes notice only of that peculiar form of it expressed in No. 3, while the law of Population and Capital recognises only the phase set forth in No. 4; but these, it is evident, relate solely to the average income and the average quantity of work done by each labourer—they do not in any way refer to the amount of pay accruing for a definite amount of work, nor can this possibly be arrived at by either of them alone. That which concerns the pay, however, is, after all, the principal Wage-Law, expressing, as it does, the relation between the remuneration and the work, that is to say, the quantity of money received in exchange for a definite quantity of labour, which is all that is meant by the term Wages.

To tell us what will be the amount of the average income of each labourer, without telling us how much work he will be required to do for such income—and this is all that the Economical law of Population and Capital can be said to achieve—is to give us no knowledge on

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

the subject of Wages; while to inform us, on the other hand, that the quantity of work to be done, and the Number of Labourers to do it, regulates the Wages accruing to each, is to *beg the whole question*, seeing that it makes no reference to the Wage-Fund out of which the labourers are to be paid: as the former dogma ignored the *work*, so does the latter the *pay*. And yet these are the laws by which, according to the *dicta* of such men as the Editor of the "Economist" and the Manchester School, as well as those most shallow and most ignorant pretenders—the Free-trade gentry—tell us that the welfare of the working classes must for ever be regulated.

To reduce the subject, however, down to the level of the intellects of these people, let us put the following case:—Let us assume that the gross grain produce of this country is 100,000,000 quarters, and that one-half of this quantity is consumed, while the other half is set aside for future production; and that of this again, one-half is used as seed for the next year's crop, and the other half as food for the labourers engaged in sowing, rearing, and reaping it; let us assume, moreover, that there is an unlimited supply of land, and that the increase on the seed is always twenty-fold, while the quantity devoted to feeding the labourers is never augmented—then we have the following expression:—

	Gross amount of the Produce of the previous year in Millions of Quarters.	Quantity consumed in Millions of Quarters.	Gross quantity set aside for future production.	Quantity devoted to the feeding of the Labourers.	Quantity used as seed for Future Crop.	Gross Quantity produced.
1st year	100	50	50	25	25	500
2nd „	500	250	250	25	225	4,500
3rd „	4,500	2,250	2,250	25	2,225	44,500
4th „	44,500	22,250	22,250	25	22,225	444,500
5th „	444,500	222,250	222,250	25	222,225	4,444,500

By this table it is evident, that the profits of those who hold the capital may increase at a most enormous rate, even while the amount devoted to the labourers remains precisely the same, and while their work increases in almost an equal ratio with the profits of their employers. According to the above exposition we perceive, that in five years the net income of the profit-mongers would have increased nearly five thousand-fold, or from 50 million quarters to 222,250 million quarters; while the work (which of course would be regulated by the quantity set aside as materials for the future produce) rose nearly ten thousand-fold, or from 25 to 222,225. The sole objection to such a state of things being possible, lies in the productive power of the labourers. In ordinary circumstances, of course, the same number of workmen could not be made to do such immensely different quantities of work; but it is evident that any increase in their productive powers must necessarily be attended by a corresponding increase in the profits of the capitalists, for since profits are but the surplus which remains after replacing materials and paying for the keep of the labourers, it follows that the greater the quantity of materials that can be operated upon by a given amount of labour, the greater will be the produce, and consequently the greater the profits. Hence it is plain, that what is called the economy of labour, or the production of an equal amount of wealth with a smaller number of labourers, or a larger amount of wealth with the same hands, is the greatest possible good to the employer, and the greatest possible evil to the employed; for the products are directly proportional to the materials, while the wages are inversely proportional to them. Any process therefore which tends to economize labour, tends at the same time to increase the proportion of capital expended on materials, and thus to decrease the sum accruing to the labourer; so that, unless the market can be widened to the same extent as the labour has been economized, the labourers must necessarily be injured precisely as much as the profit-mongers must be benefited by the change.

Hence it becomes highly important in an inquiry like the present to ascertain the several means by which labour can be so economized—or, in other words, how a greater quantity of commodities can be obtained for the same quantity of labour.

There are, strictly speaking, but two modes of arriving at such a result: the first is by making the men work longer time, and the second by causing them to get through more work in the same space of time. Under each of these modes of economizing labour are included several distinct means of obtaining the same end.

I. We may economize labour by making the men work longer time, either by

1. *Increasing the hours of labour.*
2. *Increasing the days of labour,* and so making the men work on Sundays.
3. *Increasing the seasons of labour,* and so making the men work at times when the business would naturally be slack.

II. We may economize labour by making the men get through more work in the same space of time, either by

1. *Causing the men to work quicker,* which may be

effected in several ways, as (a) by increasing their interest in their work, as by piece-work; (b) by reducing their wages, and so making them strive to do more work in order to get the same amount of money; (c) by attaching some premium to the greatest quantity of work done by a number of men, or some penalty to the least, as in what is called "the Strapping system," where men are set to race against each other, the slowest being dismissed; and "the Bonus System," where those who do the greatest quantity of work in a given time are encouraged with some reward for their extra exertions; (d) by requiring a certain quantity of work to be executed within a certain time, as in task work; (e) by dividing the work into a number of distinct parts, and so increasing the facility of the workmen, as in the division of labour.

2. *By omitting certain details from the work,* as in "scamped work," in which either less care is devoted to the finishing, fitting, or joining of the various parts of the work, or else some of these parts are entirely omitted. The Messrs. Nicolls' head workman told Mr. Mayhew that his employers having reduced his wages one third, he put two stitches into his work instead of three.

3. *By increasing the facilities for receiving and returning the work,* as by arrangements for shortening the distance to be travelled in large factories, and by the intervention of middlemen in the "domestic system" of manufacture.

4. *By the invention of tools and machinery* for expediting the several industrial processes, as a plough which will enable a man to turn up ten times the quantity of land in the same space of time as he could dig over with a spade; or a lathe which will turn a banister rail in ten minutes, and a thousand-fold truer and better than could be done by a file and chisel in a day; or by a "mule jenny," by which one person spins as much yarn as 300 individuals could by hand.

5. *By abridging or improving some of the processes of labour,* as the hot blast for the smelting of iron, and the chemical methods of tanning, &c., &c.

The above appear to exhaust the several means of economizing labour, or, in other words, of enabling the same number of hands to operate upon a greater quantity of materials. And we are now in a position to see how the Wage-Fund is regulated by the Profit-Fund; this will be set forth in the next Number.

J. S. (Huddersfield).—Post-office order for 1*l.*, to be applied towards increasing the Loan Fund.

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.—3*d.* in postage stamps, for Crippled Seller of Nutmeg-Graters.

10*s.* 6*d.*, collected at St. John's Gate, by W. C., for Crippled Seller of Nutmeg-Graters.

C. J. R. (Kilburn), A Correspondent (Macclesfield), W. D. A. (Bond Street), E. D. (Westminster), C. M. (National Philanthropic Association), Mr. A—n, Olive Leaf, H. H., and W. C., will be severally answered in the next number.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

OLIVE LEAF suggests that a portrait of the Editor of "London Labour" should form the frontispiece of Vol. I. This is impossible at present.

Another letter from the same gentleman says:—"I am indebted to you for the address of the Poor Poet. I have by this evening's post forwarded a donation of 10s., expressing a wish that it might be employed as stock money in purchasing some saleable articles which his son could dispose of, and which, under the Divine blessing, might enable him to get a better living."

"Could you oblige me by stating in your next what time you are likely to treat of the subject of Apprentices and Journeymen?"

Mr. MAYHEW purposes giving the results of his inquiries into the state of the working classes immediately the excitement of the Great Exhibition has lulled a little.

G. R. L. makes the following benevolent suggestion:—

"You mentioned in one of the late Nos. of 'London Labour and the Poor' the injury inflicted on the eyes of the tailors who make soldiers' coats, by the bright scarlet colour of the cloth. There can be no doubt this is the case, as any one may convince himself who will look for a short time at a scarlet shawl or other article in a good light. But would it not be an alleviation of this injury if these tailors, when at work, would wear spectacles of flat glass, and of such a colour as, combining with the scarlet, would produce a dark or neutral tint? The colours on the enclosed card will serve to illustrate my meaning. Such spectacles, needing no grinding, might be made very cheap; and though I well know how difficult it would be to most of these poor men to raise a single shilling, yet whatever sacrifices they might make for that object would soon be repaid by the increased quantity of work they would do, setting aside the saving of their eyes. I make the suggestion, and shall be very happy if it prove of any value."

"The colours on the enclosed card are very smeary, because laid on too thick and very unskilfully, but they will show my meaning."

The best tint for the glasses would be green, as being the "complimentary" colour to red. The suggestion, though excellent, as offering a simple remedy for the evil, is rendered valueless by the fact that a workman wearing spectacles in a workshop is instantly dismissed.

H. H. writes:—

"The 'Times' says, 'The only political chloroform under which British industry is suffering just now is full employment, with abundance of bread, and meat, and drink, and other necessities of life.'"

"Might I ask, in three words, whether this is true of slopworkers and needlewomen generally, taking those classes as the types of labour-suffering?"

The *Times* and other free-trade journals of course have an interest in making the working people appear as well to do as possible. As a sample of the peculiar "arguments" by which the welfare of the operative class has been attempted to be demonstrated, we may cite that which endeavours to prove, by the increase of the excise returns, that workmen must be better off because they can afford to spend more money on spirituous liquors. Now it has been long known to statisticians that such a circumstance is due to a precisely opposite cause. "It is a fact worth notice," said a statistical journal, entitled "Facts and Figures," published in 1841, "as illustrative of the tendency of the times of pressure to increase spirit drinking, that whilst under the privations of last year (1840) the poorer classes paid 2,628,238s. tax for spirits, in 1836, a year of the greatest prosperity, the tax on British spirits amounted only to 2,390,188s. So true is it that to impoverish is to demoralize."

A Friend sends the subjoined derivation:—

"As you say you have been unable to find the etymology of HABERDASHER, I inclose you the following from an old dictionary, published 1693.

"HABERDASHER (q. Haberdas?) Gc., Have you that? or, Avoir d'acheter, F., having to buy; or, Kooperda-seer, D., a merchant of toys or small wares."

The latter is doubtless the true root of the English word.

The subjoined requires no comment, seeing that it speaks well enough for itself and others too.

"National Philanthropic Association,

"40, Leicester Square, April 29th, 1851.

"Dear Sir,—Allow me to suggest, in aid of your most laudable endeavours in favour of the Poor, that much

good may be done to the STREET-SELLERS, whose condition you are so well describing, and whose interests you are so ably advocating, if you will give a hint in the proper quarter, that such persons (under due restriction, and under the observance of the Police) may be safely—nay, advantageously—permitted to vend their little wares within the inclosure of Hyde Park during the approaching Exhibition. Their exclusion is without reason and without justice; and they now congregate in the approaches, so as to have already become a positive nuisance to the Inhabitants. What must they be before the end of May?

"A paved Court leading from near the principal (I think it is called the *Victorial*) entrance to Knightsbridge, is so crowded by stalls, &c., as to be absolutely impassable. Why not let them wander over the Park, to enliven it by their invitations to buy, by their varied cries, and by the exhibition of their Engravings, Coloured Prints, Trinkets, Ginger-Pop, Lemonade, Oranges and other Fruits? Such permission would add to the picturesqueness of the scene, and assimilate it to the celebrated Fairs and Festivals of the Continent; the *coup d'œil* would rival the attractions of Kensington Fair (which I am glad to see announced for the entertainment of the Public at large), nay, it would be the best of all foils for the Crystal Palace itself."

"As I have stated, there is neither reason nor justice in the exclusion of these Bees from the Hive of Industry. Let the Police, therefore, admit all Vendors of Articles proper to be sold, who are clean in their persons, and somewhat decent in their attire, excluding gamblers and mendicants of every sort; honest and legitimate employment will thus be afforded to about three or four thousand persons, who, with their families, must otherwise remain in a state of semi-starvation, or become burthen-some to their respective Parishes."

"I am,

"Dear Sir,

"With the warmest esteem and respect,

"Yours very truly,

"C. MACKENZIE, Sec."

"H. Mayhew, Esq.,

"16, Upper Wellington Street."

If the case were properly stated to the Prince, there is little doubt that the necessary permission (under certain restrictions) might be obtained. Mr. Mayhew would be happy to co-operate with any persons towards such an object.

One of the Master Tailors alluded to in No. 19, as refusing the Blind Needle-Sellers admission to their workshops, states his reasons for so doing. He says:—

"In reading one of your able Pamphlets, entitled 'London Labour,' I was surprised and grieved to see my name mentioned in a way anything but creditable; and knowing your wish to do justice to everybody, I take this opportunity of addressing these few lines to say that I feel satisfied, if you had made yourself acquainted with my side of the story, you would not have mentioned my name in the way you have. My workmen are as much opposed to people coming in and hindering them from working as I am; and if you were to see the dirty filthy scamps that endeavour to come into my workshops, you would wonder how I could admit them. Most of them come from the Dials, and have been observed by my workmen covered with Vermin, begging of the workmen under the pretence of selling needles, &c., and they afterwards get drunk with the money. They have also sent their wives and daughters, when they know very well that they have liberties taken with them. One of my workmen was telling me, that a woman named ——— used to come round, and he has seen the men carry her round the workshop with her clothes over her head. I considered that I was encouraging such things by allowing these people to come in. You will perhaps say—but why not allow only one or two? I answer, if you permit one you cannot stop any, for when once it is known they are permitted, they are always in and out on some pretence or another. It is a well-known thing, that the men generally send for Beer when these people come in, which encourages drunkenness, profligate habits, &c., instead of their keeping their money to take home for their wives and families, which they do now. Am I to consider one or two poor needle-sellers, or fifty or sixty workmen, to say nothing of my own property, which I was continually losing till I adopted this plan? and last, though not least, the nuisance of these people bringing Vermin into the rooms where my Customers' Clothes are being made. If any deserving man wishes to sell needles or anything else, they can always see my men at the Beershop or House of

LONDON
LABOUR
AND THE
LONDON
POOR
BY HENRY MAYHEW.

Office Removed to No. 14, Upper Wellington Street.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Call. And in conclusion, I have but to remark, that everything ought to be done by a principle; mine is to conduct my business with comfort to all around me, and I flatter myself that my workmen (some of whom have been in our employ upwards of 30 years) are as respectable as any in their trade, and the pride of their employers. Hoping you will reconsider this, and do me justice in your next number,

"I remain, Sir,

"Your very humble servant,

"WALTER DANL. ALLEN,

"FOR ALLEN and Co."

The reasons above given must be considered to be sufficiently cogent if true. Perhaps the facts may have been observed in one or two instances, and have been inferred to be so in all. If every blind needle-seller, or indeed the majority were covered with vermin,

then how culpable must be those master tailors who admit such people into their establishments. The blind man whom I saw was scrupulously clean.

The Poor Poet thus rhythmically acknowledges the receipt of the money sent for him:—

To H. MAYHEW, Esq.

To the Labouring Classes
I know you are Kind,
And a Friend and Defender
In you They did find,—
For you've sought the Cot
Of the Wretched and Poor,
Where Merit sits shrouded
In silence obscure,
Oh would But the wealthy
Tread Those steps of thine,
What vice Might Be crushed—
And what Virtue Might Shine.
The Sixteen Shillings you sent
Our Wants did decrease,
To pray for your Welfare
I shall never cease,
Your kind Benefaction
I did not abuse,
From Your Bedridden Servant,
The Brazier,

JOHN HUGHES.

My Thanks are Sincere,
They are honest and true,
May Heaven Shower Blessings;
On Squire

MAYHEW.

C. O. U. P. (Macclesfield), sends post-office order for 7s. 6d.; and J. H., 10s., in postage stamps, for the Crippled Seller of Nutmeg Graters. A. B. C., 10s. for Blind Tailor. T. L., 8s. for Blind Seller of Tapes and Cotton.

A BELGRAVIAN.—5s. in postage stamps, for Crippled Seller of Nutmeg Graters.

W. C., a Brighton Correspondent, writes thus:—"I have been an attentive peruser of your valuable work, 'London Labour,' &c., and it has occurred to me that if you could publish the whole of your correspondence (except private), in the form of an appendix, at the end of each set, it would be an improvement, as otherwise it (the correspondence) would be all lost."

The evil, Mr. Mayhew fears, is a necessary one at present. In the next volume, perhaps, some alteration may be thought of. How the defect can be remedied, it is difficult to say. The Observations on Wages Mr. Mayhew purposes republishing in a book form when complete.

C. O. P. (of Macclesfield) says:—"Pedlars.—The following description of this class occurs in the 90th Canon of the Irish Church, A.D. 1634: 'Also they (the church-wardens) shall see that none of those light wanderers in markets, and peddling sellers, which carry about and sell pins, points, and other small trifles, whom they call Pedlars, set out their wares to sale, either in the Church yard, or near the Church, all that time;' i. e. of Divine Service."

"Qu.—Unde derivatur Pedlar?"

"Thank you for your political economy. I have now lived nearly ten years in this large manufacturing town, and what you state respecting material, produce, and wages, exactly corresponds with my experience. I should say that there are ten times the amount of raw material and machinery here that there were twelve years ago,—yet the wages of the workpeople have been steadily going down. I am nothing of a Political Economist, but I can judge of facts. If you want any Statistics, I think I can get them easily, as our operatives are a most intelligent race here."

Touching the Statistics, Mr. Mayhew would be especially grateful for them. They are the only guides we have in politico-economic reasoning. Will Mr. P. see No. 21, and collect a few facts after the manner there mentioned?

The derivation of Pedlar is said by lexicographers to be *peddling sellers*—others refer it to the Latin *pede*, from their travelling on foot; the passage above cited, however, would seem to connect the term "pedlar" with "pedling sellers." But then what is a "pedling" seller?

A LADY observes, with reference to the subject of harmless amusement for the Poor, that in a "Country parish, a Magic Lantern on a large scale, with dissolving views, and all kinds of changeable and amusing slides, has been found to answer, and prove an inexhaustible fund of amusement. The poor people," she adds, "delight in pictures, and the various transformations always meet

with the same applause; the more so as, from the great variety, all are not shown on the same night. It occupies their minds too to puzzle out what the transformations or views mean, and then there is the laugh, &c. It may be unfit for Mr. Mayhew's purpose, but she thinks the fact worth mentioning."

The following requires no comment:—

"Sir,

"Seeing in your periodical an account of street Ballad-singing, I have ventured to pen a few remarks relative thereto. I have often stood to listen to the rude music of those ditties, and it struck me they were not disagreeable, and, being a student of music, I committed to memory the tunes and wrote them on paper; if your correspondents, therefore, should feel desirous of obtaining the music (of any street ballad) they can by communicating with me.

I am, Sir,

Yours truly,

W. J. BARRETT.

"No. 2, Scot-street, North-street, Whitechapel-road." The annexed epistle is printed not only as a literary curiosity, but also as an illustration of the character and language of a most peculiar class.

"Dear Friend,

"Excuse the liberty, since I saw you last I have not earned a (thickun) we have had such a (Dowry of Parney) that it completely (stumped) or (Coopered) Drory the (Bossmans Patter) therefore I am (broke up) and not having another friend but you I wish to know if you would lend me the price of 2 Gross of (Tops, Dies, or Croaks) which is 7 shillings of the above mentioned worthy and Sarah Chesham the (Essex Burick) for the Poisoning job. they are both to be (Topped) at Spring-field (Sturaban) on Tuesday next. I hope you will oblige me if you can for it will be the means of putting a (Quid or a James) in my (Clye) I will call at your (Carser) on Sunday evening next for an answer, for I want to (Speel on the Drum) as soon as possible, hoping you and the family are quite (All Square)

I Remain Your Obedient Servant

EXPLANATION TO THE ABOVE CANT.

Thickun	means a Crown piece.
Dowry of Parney	a Lot of rain also water
Stumped or Coopered	Spoiled or no use
Bossman	a Farmer
Patter	a Trial
Broke Up	No Stock or the means to get it
Tops, Dies, or Croaks	An Execution
Burick	A Woman
Sturaban	A Prison
Quid or James	A Sovereign
Clye	A Pocket
Carser	A Gentleman's house
Speel on the Drum	going in the country
All Square	All right, all well.

"You can put this in your work if you think proper.

Yours Truly, &c. &c.

—"

The Manchester Bolt Makers send the following.

"Sir,

"I have been requested by a number of my fellow-tradesmen (bolt makers) to write to you, and get if possible your opinion upon the following question:—Is it possible to form a Loan Society in connection with the present Bolt-makers' Trade Society?

"We feel our present weak and powerless state, partly through a want of union among our members, and not being able to compete against our employers' capital.

"As a means of strengthening our position we thought of a Loan Society (our tradesmen do borrow of others), but will it be secure? Can we lend to a shareholder, and recover the money? We could put our money into the Bank, but for the sake of the interest given, it is no use

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Φ forwards 5s. worth of stamps, to be distributed as Mr. Mayhew may think proper.

SOME SERVANTS IN EATON SQUARE send 1s. 3d. in stamps, for the Crippled Seller of Nutmeg Graters.

F.—2L., to be distributed as Mr. MAYHEW may please.

W. L. H.—5s. in postage stamps, for the Crippled Seller of Nutmeg-Graters.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The Cases for binding Vol. I. of "London Labour" are now ready, and may be had of all persons supplying the periodical.

The Loan Fund account will be printed among the Notices to Correspondents in the next Number.

The under-mentioned sums have been received since the last acknowledgment.

Emily C., 3s. in postage-stamps for the Blind Seller of Small Wares :—

E. L., 3s. in postage-stamps for the Crippled Seller of Nutmeg-Graters.

M. H., 5s. in postage-stamps "for the Crippled Seller of Nutmeg-Graters, or any other poor helpless and industrious person whose condition may not have excited so much commiseration, nor evoked so many contributions."

The following is printed in the hopes of convincing the sceptical.

"My dear Madam,

"I have seen the poor Poet whose story Mr. Mayhew has told, in his great work on the lives of the poor. It was a grief to me to find, from the opinion of one of the first surgeons in London, who, to oblige me, visited him, that he is *incurable*. I had hoped that care and science might help him, but find that opiates are the only source of relief he can look for upon this earth. These my friend has supplied him with, for he found no respite to his agony in the paltry remedy upon which for five weary months he has depended to preserve him from 'going mad,' as he said. I have not felt myself at liberty to reveal the fact that I am acquainted with him, and that he is the original of that simple, touching, *truthful*, artistic picture found in No. 14 of 'London Labour.' What I read there, I saw in his room, and how much more, that a bungler would have caught at to work up into something that the world would pronounce exaggerated. As it is, there are people who presume to say this of some of Mr. Mayhew's tales, such classes as the ignorant, and even the good, who are ready to believe what they *hope*, namely, that they are overdrawn. To these, if I had permission, I would gladly speak, in justice towards a great power and a truthful accuracy which I never doubted, and of which it is almost a presumption in me to speak. I need only add the last words the poor Poet spoke to me, 'If Heaven had sent you to me a little sooner, I might have been saved.' Perhaps not, but he shall not be utterly neglected, even though his case is hopeless.

"I am,

"My dear Madam,

"Yours, very truly,

"F. C."

The poor harp-player has sent the subjoined :—

"B. Forster returns his most sincere thanks to the gentlemen that have been so kind to assist him with a harp, and begs to inform them that he goes out to evening parties for 5s.

"No. 46, Eagle-street, Red Lion-square."

"W. E. C. presents her compliments to Mr. Mayhew, and would be pleased (if it occasion no breach of confidence between Mr. Mayhew and his informants) to know whether the blind man whose portrait is engraved in the 'London Labour,' and with whose person W. E. C. is familiar, is the same man as he who gives so interesting an account of the loss of his dogs, in the same number of that publication."—Yes.

The funds entrusted to MR. MAYHEW being all lent out, the following letter is printed in the hopes of inducing some gentleman or lady to make the required advance :—

"Sir,—I am exceedingly sorry to trespass upon your valuable time, but knowing the great interest you take in the poor, I make no further apology. My name may probably be familiar to you as the author of a small work recently published, entitled 'Our Labouring Classes,' &c., &c., for which you kindly subscribed; and though this work may contain nothing new, yet it will at least be an evidence that I am also actuated by a desire to do good to those around me. I am not, sir, a street-seller at present, but how soon I may be obliged to adopt that mode of life I cannot tell, as I have a wife and four young children to keep, and not upon an average above 9s. per week to keep them with. I however manage to keep clear of debt, and am therefore thankful. But to the purpose of this letter—I have, sir, a brother-in-law, who has been for years idly wandering about the country and living in low lodging-houses, I fear no better than a vagrant. He is now, however, desirous of honourably earning his living, and as he has been living with us for a few weeks past, I sent him out last Saturday night with a barrow of old books (I am a bookseller), promising him a small commission on what was sold. The beginning was encouraging, as out of bad and small stock 6s. 1d. was taken. From this the rent of the barrow (6d.) had to be deducted. I believe therefore that a living might be obtained for him, and myself also find considerable advantage if I had a barrow of my own and a little stock to send him out every day. If, therefore, sir, you could by any means lend me, or obtain for me the loan of 2*l.*, i. e., 1*l.* 10s. for barrow and 10s. for stock, for a short time, I will faithfully return the same at about 1s. per week, with moderate interest. I can give you satisfactory references for myself, and no doubt obtain security. I will take the responsibility on myself, so there will be no risk from my brother-in-law, and it will save him from at least the workhouse. I have resided more than two years at my present address.—I am, sir, your obedient servant,
S. C."

The annexed is from the CRIPPLED NUTMEG-GRATER SELLER. It requires no comment :—

"24, Bond-street,

"June 2, 1851.

"MR. MAYHEW.

"Sir,—I cannot express my gratitude to you

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

in this letter, for while writing I am so different in my feelings to what I was before I saw you, that I am inwardly quite another being. Had I been like others, I should have had no difficulty in expressing perhaps what to them would have been but ordinary gratitude, but to you and those who, through you, have so altered my condition, I can but give you my blessings and my thanks; and at the same time let you know what I have done with the money sent for my benefit. I have bought a good suit of new clothes, furniture for my home, a donkey and cart, and am getting in a stock of goods, to leave off going about the streets as I did before you saw me.

"I am having some bills printed, and shall go round London in the General Line. I have written to the Superintendent of the L division for leave to have a stand of goods in Lambeth-walk on each Saturday night, having obtained the permission of two shopkeepers (Mr. Hall and Mr. Page) to do so. Returning my most sincere thanks to you and those who have so kindly assisted me, and also to Mrs. Mayhew for her very great kindness to me,

"I am,

"Your very obedient humble

"& afflicted Servant,

"CHARLES ALLOWAY."

"Sir,

"In looking over the number of your journal, as I cannot personally thank those who have

assisted me, I beg most humbly to acknowledge the following subscriptions from

	£.	s.	d.
D.	0	4	0
M. P.	0	10	0
B. W.	0	3	0
E. H.	0	1	0
A Comforter	0	1	0
A Purchaser from the first	0	2	6
E. J. S.	0	5	0
A Sympathizer	0	5	0
Two Ladies, Lymington	0	5	0
3 Sympathizers	0	4	0
R—, Liverpool	0	5	0
P. P.	1	0	0
Miss L. C. F.	0	10	0
C. E.	0	5	0
F. W.	0	2	0
E. F. R. P.	0	5	0
S. E. K., Pevensey	1	10	0
Newcastle-upon-Tyne	0	3	0
St. John's Gate	0	10	6
Some Servants in Eaton-square	0	1	8
C. O. U. P., Macclesfield	0	7	6
J. H.	0	10	0
A Belgravian	0	10	0
W. L. H.	0	5	0
A Lady left at 69, Fleet-street	0	5	0
By Mr. How (collected)	2	1	0
A Gentleman	0	7	0

This last subscription was given to me yesterday, for which I am truly grateful, and wish you to know that I have received it."

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The following is one of many similar inquiries:—

"DEAR SIR,—Might I trespass so far upon your valuable time as to ask you to oblige me with the address of some poor sempstresses or milliners who are known to you through the medium of your laborious and most praiseworthy investigations on behalf of the poor? Mrs. B. is anxious, as far as lies in her power, to employ some and induce her friends to do so, instead of proceeding to the shops. With many apologies for troubling you,

"Believe me, dear sir, yours very sincerely,
"C. J. B."

Mr. Mayhew objects, on principle, to comply with any such request as the above. The best way of serving the members of such trades as are underpaid is to encourage those shopkeepers only who are known to pay good prices for their work. The names of these it is Mr. Mayhew's intention to publish in his future inquiries, under the sanction of the several trade societies, so that those gentlemen or ladies who really wish to benefit the workpeople may have it in their power so to do. Were the public aware of the evils of the small master system, (or the chamber-master, or garret-master, or jobbing-master systems, as they are sometimes called,) that is to say, of converting workpeople into petty-traders seeking and obtaining employment on their own account, such applications as the present would seldom or never be made. The small master can only compete with the large by employing cheap labour or labouring himself under-price. The advantages that the large master derives from the extent of his capital, the small master can only seek to counterbalance by the use of inferior materials and workmanship. As society is at present constituted, the capitalist and the labourer are two distinct individuals. And the union of the two functions in separate persons is generally a great evil. The only mode in which the combination of the functions of capital and labour can be carried out so as to be able to compete with the large employers is by association; that is to say, by the aggregation of a number of small capitals possessed by working-men into one large "joint stock," so as to produce a sufficiently extensive capital to compete with the large masters. By these means, and perhaps by these means only, can operatives obtain *direct* employment for their labour without injury to their trades. That middlemen, whether in the form of employers or distributors, are great evils, there cannot be the least question; but assuredly it is a much greater evil to revert to the primitive economic principles, and employ the labourer directly, for the loss of time in seeking a market for that labour, and the precariousness of employment necessarily connected with such a mode of work, must entail a larger proportion of misery, as indeed may be seen in those trades where the system of small masters—that is to say, of the direct employment of journeymen—has been introduced. Until some system of association or co-operation can be successfully

carried out among operatives, it is better that people who wish well to the working-classes should give their work to those employers who are known to mean and do well to their journeymen. The names of such parties Mr. Mayhew will, so far as his knowledge goes, always be happy to supply. The names of journeymen, on the other hand, he must beg to withhold, especially as he has reason to believe that they are often requested with a view of getting work done at a cheaper rate than the ordinary prices of the trade.

E. T. forwards 1*l.* towards the General Loan Fund; 5*s.* for the Blind-Seller of Small Wares, in Leather-lane; 2*s.* for her companion, which, says E. T., "it is hoped may be considered as gifts, since these poor women are unable by any exertions of their own to improve their condition."

W. H. of Manchester says:—

"Sir,

"I am sorry to find that you take the Feargus O'Connor view of the machinery question, and seem to think we should be better off were it all destroyed; now suppose you had the power to 'smash' all the machinery in England to-night, I should like to know what the factory hands in this district would do for their wages *next* Saturday.

"I cannot see by your 'explanations' you have altered the fact, that 'wages are regulated by the law of supply and demand:' when there are two masters to one man, wages will be high, when there are two men to one master, they will be low.

"—"

The gentleman is under a mistake. Mr. Mayhew does not object to machinery in the abstract. To be able to produce a greater quantity of commodities with an equal quantity of labour, *should be* the greatest possible benefit to the producers; machinery, therefore, which enables us to attain such an end, *ought to be* the greatest blessing. As it is, however, it enables society to do its work with fewer hands, and so transforms those labourers who would willingly work for their living into either paupers or criminals. People who take the opposite view, that is to say, that machinery increases the demand for labour, have to prove how it is that, since machinery has been invented, crime and pauperism have increased at so fearful a pace. The machinery advocates have also to account for the fact that, since the establishment of the London Saw Mills, no less than 2000 workmen have been thrown out of employ. Admitting that the number of operatives in the cotton districts themselves have been increased, it still remains to be shown whether there are more hands employed in the spinning of cotton in Great Britain now than formerly. One hundred years ago the wife of almost every labourer throughout the kingdom followed this occupation, and at present there is not one so engaged. More cotton may be spun by steam, but are there more spinners? But, even though there *were* more spinners, and machinery, in this particular instance, had increased the employment—because the mar-

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

ket for cotton is infinitely extensible—there can be no question that, in the case of sawing by steam, it has pauperized a large proportion of the sawyers, and that simply because the market for sawn wood cannot be extended.

That wages are *not* regulated by supply and demand, the reduced payment for work in the London Cabinet Trade, where the hands have declined and the work increased, is *indisputable evidence*. Those who say wages are determined by the above law must show how the facts of this trade can be so explained. From 1831 to 1841 the number of journeymen Cabinet-makers in London declined 33 per cent. Work during the same period increased considerably, 200 miles of streets having been built, and, nevertheless, in 1831 wages were 400 per cent. better than in 1841. *Verbum sap.*: a word to the wise.

The following is from Guernsey:—

"Sir,

"In perusing your charming book on the 'London Poor,' for which allow me, as a clergyman of the Church of England, to thank you most sincerely, I perceived you somewhat hesitated to give a derivation for 'haberdasher.' Would you allow me to derive it from 'Girbzn' (haben), 'to have,' and 'Yüssur' (Tücher), 'clothes.'

"'Ich habe Tücher,' 'I have clothes'—i.e., 'Haberdasher.'

"By the by, 'Patter' is twice used by Sir Walter Scott, in 'Ivanhoe,' and 'Bride of Lammermoor.'

"Ever, sir, yours,

"NEMO."

"P.S.—Possibly 'Haberdashers' may have been the first retail sellers of 'Saxony cloths,' whence the German derivation."

The above etymology is ingenious, but, it is feared, incorrect—at least, proof is wanted. There are but two modes of derivation—the *historic* and the *dialectic*. Historic derivation traces the origin of words *within* the language itself. In this form of etymology the signification of the word is altered, but the mode of writing remains the same. In dialectic derivation, however, the origin of the word is traced outside the language, and the *mode of writing the word is changed* (according to certain canons) *while the signification remains the same*. The rules for the changes of consonants in dialectic derivation, have been laid down by Grimm, those for the changes of vowels by Bopp; and etymology is mere childish guess-work, unless made to conform to these laws.

The derivation of "Duffer" as well as "Haberdasher" are as yet unproven. The word "Pedlar" is derived from the German *Bettler*, and the Dutch *Bedelaar*, signifying a beggar. This is proved not only by the changes of letters (for the Saxon P equals the German B), but by the German *Bettel-Merck* (literally beggar's merchandise), signifying Pedlar's wares, trifles, &c.

G. P. writes as follows:—

"Sir,

"Being a subscriber to your valuable "London

Labour," I have taken the liberty of addressing these few lines to you, in order that I may obtain your advice on going to Australia. I have relations there that strongly recommend me to come out. I have not the means of procuring the sum required by the Emigration Commissioners. I am a cabinet-maker by trade, and can turn my hand to the carpentering, or make myself useful in anything connected with the wood line. I can be well recommended for ability from some of the best shops where I have worked, also for sobriety and honesty—if that be any good to a man. I am willing to work my passage over, or sign articles to any master for a term, as long as I can get to Australia. I am a married man and have got two children. I have sent two letters to Lord Ashley, but he has never taken any notice of them. Since then a gentleman has told me Lord Ashley never did any good, but where it was made *public*. I offered my services to him to go as assistant to a schoolmaster, as I heard he was sending out children from the ragged schools. Nothing, sir, would give me greater delight than to be placed in any position where my little abilities would be of service to my fellow creatures. Do you think if I was to advertise in the *Times* newspaper it would be any good, offering myself to an employer to go with him? I am out of work at present, therefore I am unable to do anything where money is wanted to procure my passage. You see, sir, I wish to get out of my misery as soon as possible. It is an old saying, "stare poverty in the face and it will turn its back on you;" but I've found it at times stick closer to me than a brother, though I am not so bad off as many I read of. My home is comfortable, but I often think when I read your book what a tale of poverty I could tell on my first coming to London; there are so many cases like my own—but perseverance has put me on a little better footing.

"Sir, whatever you should suggest would be my best plan to act on I will do it."

The best way of assisting the writer of the above is to print his letter. Some readers may perhaps have it in their power to obtain a passage for the poor fellow. That it is but prudent for a journeyman cabinet-maker to wish to quit a country where the remuneration for his labour is annually becoming worse, surely none can doubt; and were gentlefolks as intimately acquainted with the miseries and privations suffered by the cabinet-makers of London as the writer of these words, they would consider it but their duty to help to free the men from their present wretchedness. Mr. Mayhew will, of course, satisfy himself that the writer of the above letter is worthy of assistance, before extending him any aid that those who may have it in their power to help him may feel inclined to grant.

* * * The Loan Fund account is deferred till next week for want of space. The document is as interesting as it is curious, proving beyond doubt the honesty of the poor.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

A Subscriber at Gateshead makes the following inquiry:—

"Sir,

"Will you oblige by informing me what will be the probable duration of the issue of 'London Labour and the London Poor,' as the time it will be in finishing is of some importance, and I have a particular reason for asking, and one which will materially, in all probability, contribute to the sale of your exceedingly useful work. You will much oblige by giving an answer in the last number of your ensuing part, although I know it is perhaps not usual, but I have no doubt you will be kind enough to do so in this instance.

"I am, with best good wishes,

"Yours, &c.,

"BEAUGLERC."

It is impossible to return a definite answer; but it is believed some years—probably five or six.

F. C., Waltham Cross, sends 2s. for the Orphan Girl.

F. C. forwards a post-office order for 10s., "which," says F. C., "I wish to lend to the poor bookseller, who signs himself 'S. C.' in No. 1, Vol. II.; perhaps (adds the correspondent) other persons may advance the rest."

The following requires no comment, as no conclusions were drawn from the fact:—

"Sir,

"Having myself been a journeyman, and now being an employer, I feel great interest in the wage question now being discussed on the covers of your excellent work on 'London Labour and the London Poor.' In the Number for March 22, the establishment of M. Leclaire is referred to as an example of the 'Equitable Wage Principle.' As soon as I read this, it occurred to me, that I had seen it stated that M. Leclaire had either become bankrupt, or that his establishment was broken up, but I could not at first recollect where I had seen the statement; but upon reflection and reference, I found it so stated in the 'Art-Union Journal' for July, 1848, p. 213, near the bottom of the middle column, to which I beg respectfully to refer you. There is also another article on the Wage Question at p. 182 of the same volume.

"Yours respectfully,

"R. H."

The following account of the moneys entrusted to MR. MAYHEW, to dispense for the benefit of the poor, as well of the manner in which the trust

has been fulfilled, is presented to the readers of this periodical with considerable satisfaction; since it demonstrates what MR. MAYHEW has so often endeavoured to enforce—that the industrious poor of this country are as essentially honest as they are truthful, and especially to those whom they believe to sympathise with and to be anxious to relieve their sufferings. Of all people they have the keenest sense of and most lasting gratitude for benefits received—though this is but natural, seeing that the feelings and sentiments with them exist in all their native simplicity; and they are not sufficiently educated to indulge in the artifices and simulations of polite society. "When the terrible infliction of insanity," says Dr. Conolly, in his work "On the Construction and Government of Lunatic Asylums, p. 118, "falls upon the rich, it finds them more prepared to exhibit all its most varied and agitated aspects, and perhaps less open to consolation from sympathy or kind attentions than the poor; their intellectual faculties are more developed than those of the class living by manual labour, and their affections are less open to simple impressions." Two years' close association with what are called the "lowest classes" has proved the justice of these remarks; for it has been invariably found by MR. MAYHEW that "those who have seen better days" constitute the worst class of the poor. The experience of the *Morning Chronicle*, where £800 was dispensed, went to show that the least faith of all was to be placed in the "broken-down gentlefolks;" though they were the class that generally obtained the most sympathy. The comparative unworthiness of this class might, however, have been inferred *a priori*, seeing that, though originally possessed of friends who could assist them, they had, by their continued want of energy, or prudence, or principle, exhausted the patience and benevolence of their own kindred. The present account shows that £27 10s. have been received, £4 10s. of which have been dispensed as gifts, and £24 10s. advanced as loans to 19 people, to be repaid in small instalments, with interest, at the rate of £5 per cent. per annum. Of the 19 borrowers, it will be seen that only 4 are defaulters; a proportion so small, that when the precariousness of the pursuits of the people are taken into consideration, as well as the slight legal hold there can be upon persons whose lodgings are almost necessarily changed every few weeks, the honesty of the poor street-folk—beset with temptations as they are—must appear to strangers almost marvellous.

The books and vouchers of the above accounts lie at the office, for the inspection of any persons who may be interested in the matter. MR. MAYHEW would take it as a favour if some gentleman would audit them.

ACCOUNT OF LOAN FUND.

		Dr.			Cr.			Dr.
		£ s. d.			£ s. d.			£ s. d.
1851.	To Cash Received of		1851.	By Gifts to			Repayments on	
Feb. 8	L. C. F.	0 10 0		Poor Harpist, a harp	2 10 0		Account of	
	G. P.	1 0 0		Agnes M. and J. W.,			Loans:	
15	G. W. M.	0 5 0		two poor needle-				
22	E. B.	0 5 0		women	0 5 0			
March 1	C. B.	0 3 0		Poor Blind Tailor ..	0 7 0			
8	W. F. P.	0 2 6		Poor Poet	0 16 0			
15	Kilvarlock	0 5 0		Blind Tape Seller ..	0 8 0			
22	G. B.	0 2 6		Crippled Seller of				
29	F. P.	1 0 0		Nutmeg-Graters ..	0 4 0			
	Rev. J. S.	0 15 0				4 10 0		
	Stranger	0 2 6		By Loans to				
	An Old Harpist	0 5 0		a Reduced Tradesman	1 5 0			0 8 0
April 5	Cantab	0 0 6		b Costermonger	1 0 0			0 2 0
	C. A.	0 5 0		c Burglar	0 7 6			
	C. B.	0 11 0		d Toy Seller	0 5 0			0 2 6
	E. F. R. P.	0 5 0		e Tailor	0 10 0			0 10 6
	P. P.	1 0 0		f Showman	1 15 0			0 6 0
	Comforter	0 5 0		g "Flower-Girl"	0 10 0			0 0 6
	Parkins	0 10 0		h Reduced Gentle-				
	A Purchaser	0 2 6		woman	1 0 0			
8	B. W.	0 3 0		i Nutmeg-Grater Sel-				
	E. H.	0 1 0		ler	9 17 0			
	D.	0 4 0		j Blind Tailor	1 2 6			0 3 0
	E. J. S.	0 5 0		k Street Stationer ..	0 10 0			0 2 0
	Sympathiser	0 5 0		l Chair Mender	0 5 0			0 1 0
	O. E. W.	0 5 0		m Street Pen-seller ..	0 15 0			0 3 0
	F. W.	0 2 6		n Charwoman	0 10 0			0 3 0
15	L. C. F., 2nd sub-			o Street Rhubarb-				
	scription	0 10 0		seller	1 10 0			
	E. F. R. P., 2nd sub-			p Servant for clothes				
	scription	0 15 0		to obtain a place ..	0 10 0			0 1 6
	B. F. B.	1 10 0		q Dealer in Sausage				
16	Rev. Mr. B.	1 0 0		Skins	2 0 0			
19	A. B. C.	0 5 0		r Profile Cutter	0 5 0			
	M. C.	0 1 0		s Street Milliner	0 10 0			
	Two Ladies (Lea-					24 7 0		
	mington)	0 5 0		To expenses:				2 3 0
	Three Sympathisers	0 4 0		Books for Accounts ..	0 10 0			
	R. J.	0 5 0				29 7 0		
	J.	0 2 0						
	"No More, &c." ..	0 1 0						
22	E. S. M. A.	0 5 0						
	M. M.	2 0 0						
23	A. B. C., 2nd sub-							
	scription	0 10 0						
24	S. E. K.	1 0 0						
	W. M. B.	0 5 0						
29	Mrs. D. (Doneaster)	1 0 0						
30	Newcastle-on-Tyne	0 3 0						
May 1	W. C.	0 10 6						
2	C. O. M.	0 7 6						
6	J. S.	1 0 0						
	T. L.	0 8 0						
7	J. H.	0 10 0						
10	A Belgravian	0 5 0						
13	Some Servants in							
	Euston-square	0 1 6						
	C.	0 5 0						
	Rev. J. E.	1 10 0						
	H.	0 10 0						
	A Wellwisher	0 3 6						
	Rev. J. R.	0 2 6						
	W. L. M.	0 5 0						
	E. L.	0 2 6						
	Emily C.	0 3 0						
	F.	2 0 0						
	M. H.	0 5 0						
		27 10 0						
	To repayments as			Balance	0 6 0			
	above	2 3 0				29 13 0		
		29 13 0						

* At present three weeks in arrears on account of ill-health.

b Nine weeks in arrears.

c Mr. Mayhew has known this person for some time, and the loan was granted to enable the man to obtain an honest livelihood by selling pictures; he is now in the country trading with the above capital and it is believed leading a new life.

d Keeps up her repayments with regularity.

e Repaid the whole as promised—the loan was of great service.

f Pays punctually and is doing well.

g Has only made one repayment, now six weeks in arrear.

h To be repaid in quarterly payments, none due yet.

i Promised to repay 1s. per week; there are eight weeks due and no repayment made.

j Pays regularly.

k Ditto ditto.

l Three weeks in arrear.

m Pays regularly and is much benefited by the loan.

n Pays regularly.

o To be repaid in monthly instalments, the first not due yet.

p Pays regularly.

q Nothing due yet.

r Ditto ditto.

s Ditto ditto.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

W. H., of Manchester, sends the following reply to the remarks on machinery printed among the Notices to Correspondents in No. 28.

"Sir,—Though I am not convinced, I am much obliged for 'a word to the wise,' in the last number of your excellent work, and as I presume we both wish to arrive at the truth, I will take the liberty of making a remark or two on your notice of my letter.

"You state that when machinery is introduced into a business it at once throws a greater or smaller number of hands out of work, who immediately become either paupers or criminals, which I deny; for I find that in the year 1811, the proportion per head on the total population expended for the relief of the poor was 13s. 1d., whilst in the year 1841 it was only 6s. 2d. per head." [This is no argument, for, owing to the alteration effected by the New Poor Law, in 1834, the expenditure was in two years reduced from 6,000,000*l.* to 4,000,000*l.* In 1840, however, the ratio of the paupers, under the amended administration, to the gross population was 7·7 per cent.; in 1848 it was 10·8, and the increase was regular.] "I have not the criminal statistics for the same period at hand," continues W. H., "but I have no doubt they exhibit a similar falling off." [In 1811 the number of criminals in England and Wales was 1 in every 1883 of the population; in 1848 it was 1 in 570, an increase amounting to no less than 468 per cent.]

"As for the displacement of labour by machinery, I will give you an extract from a little work in my possession: 'If the case of the handloom weavers be adduced as an example of the permanent displacement of labour by machinery, and if it be contended that it is the natural result of machinery to diminish employment in other trades, we must necessarily infer that wherever machinery has been largely introduced into any trade, the number of persons supported by it must have been diminished. We should infer that the agricultural population of this country must have been rapidly increasing, while the population engaged in those branches of manufacture in which steam power is used, must have been falling off or increasing less rapidly.

"The correctness of such an inference may be estimated by the following facts. Between 1801 and 1841, Manchester increased in population from 90,399 to 296,183, or 227·5 per cent.; Liverpool, 231·5 per cent.; Leeds, 185·6 per cent.; Bradford, 440·5 per cent.; Bolton, 185·7 per cent., and so on." [But these statistics tell us only the numbers of those who have taken to spinning, &c., in the manufacturing districts; they do not show us the per contra side, viz.: *how many wives and daughters ceased spinning at home in the agricultural and other districts.*] "Let us now compare these places with those agricultural countries in which machinery has exercised the least influence, and let us see if the absence of machinery has been equally favourable to the support of a growing population. In the same period, 1801 to

1841, Devon increased 55·3 per cent.; Somerset, 59 per cent.; Norfolk, 50·9 per cent.; Lincoln, 73·5 per cent.; Essex, 52 per cent.; and Suffolk, 49·5 per cent. The average increase of these six agricultural counties did not exceed 50 per cent. in 40 years; while, setting aside the extraordinary increase exhibited in the towns already enumerated, the population of six manufacturing countries, viz. Lancaster, Middlesex, York (West Riding), Stafford, Chester, and Durham, *including all the agriculturists*, increased 112·5 per cent.'

"I hope, sir, these facts will set at rest your fears that England is going to pauperism and ruin in consequence of her immense productive power; and, for my part, I do not see how you can like machinery 'in the abstract' and not in any other shape. You appear to believe that machinery has been a curse to us instead of a blessing, and think it had been better had the steam-engine and the power-loom never been invented.

"I should like to know why 'the market for cotton is infinitely extensible,' and 'the market for sawn wood cannot be extended?' I can assure you that here, at least, the market for sawn-wood *has* extended considerably within the last ten years." [See below.]

"You will find that the general market rate of wages depends upon the ratio which the capital applied to the employment of labour bears to the number of labourers. If that ratio be great, the competition of capitalists must raise wages; if small, the competition of labourers amongst each other for employment must reduce them." [Did W. H. ever hear of the "relief in aid of wages" which was so general under the old Poor Law? If so, will he show how the reduction of wages which was the necessary result of such a system is explicable by the canon of supply and demand for labour. Given the same quantity of work to be done and the same number of hands to do it, and yet—supply and demand remaining the same—*wages fall.*]

"I must apologize for the length of my letter, but I venture to hope that you will be able to find room for it in an early number of your work.

"Believe me,

"Yours respectfully,

"W. H."

The above letter is printed entire, so that the arguments advanced may have their full sway. To estimate the validity of these proofs attention must be drawn once more to the distinction so often pointed out in this periodical between those productions for which the market is *infinitely* (or *largely*) *extensible* and those for which the market is *necessarily limited*, and then we shall be in a position to understand how machinery can be applied beneficially (to the workmen) *only in the former case*. It is because W. H. is unable to apprehend this difference that he finds so much difficulty in discriminating between the use and abuse of machinery. But seeing that the most acute of the economists are in the same muddle,

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

we can hardly wonder that W. H., who talks of supply and demand with true economical glibness, should be as confused on the subject as the gentlemen from whom he derives his ideas. That the supply of those commodities which serve to gratify *universal* wants and desires (such as articles of food, clothing, &c.) admits of almost indefinite increase, there cannot be the least question. Anything, therefore, which tends to decrease the cost of their production can but serve to extend the market for them, and so to give additional employment to the operatives engaged in their manufacture. If the diminution of the cost of production be brought about by a diminution of the labour, that is to say, by causing the workman (by means of machinery or some new tool) to produce a greater quantity of the commodities with the same amount of exertion, then the cheapening of the cost of production in connection with such commodities is a benefit both to producer and consumer, giving to the operative increased employment without decrease of pay, as well as the power of purchasing a greater quantity of necessaries at a less price. But if the cost of production be cheapened by making the workman do a greater quantity of work (without any mechanical aid whatever), and so causing him to give a greater amount of exertion for the same pay, or an equal amount for less pay, then the operatives are injured by the cheapness as much as the public and the moneymongers are benefited by it, *at their expense*. It is idle in such cases to say that diminution of the cost of production causes increased employment—since the pretended advantage merely amounts to the very questionable benefit, that *the working men have a greater quantity of work to do for the same wages*.

Such are the two opposite results of cheapness in connection with those commodities for which the market is *infinitely or largely extensible*. The one, cheapness, is as beneficial as the other is injurious to the working classes; and the cause of the difference should be continually borne in mind, viz., that *in the first case the workman is enabled to produce a greater quantity of goods with the same amount of labour; whereas, in the second, he is forced to produce a greater quantity by working both harder and longer*.

But if the introduction of mechanical aid is a benefit to the labourer in connection with those articles of which the supply admits of being *indefinitely increased*, it is far different with those other articles for which the market is *necessarily limited*. That there are such articles, and large classes of such articles too, it is highly important that we should bear in mind. De Quincey, in his "Logic of Political Economy," p. 231, has put this point so clearly and unmistakably, that it will be better to quote his words than run the risk of obscuring what he has rendered so distinct. "There are many articles," says he, "for which the market is *absolutely limited by a pre-existing system to which those articles are attached as subordinate parts or members*. How could we force the dials and faces of time-pieces, by artificial cheapness, to sell more plentifully than the minor

works or movements of such time-pieces? Could the sale of wine-vaults be increased without increasing the sale of wine? Or the tools of shipwrights find an enlarged market, whilst shipbuilding was stationary? * * * Offer to a town of 3000 inhabitants a stock of hearses, no cheapness will tempt that town into buying more than one." It is the same with all class productions. Publish "Fearn on Contingent Remainders" in penny numbers, and how many extra copies would be sold? Is it possible, by cheapening the cost of production, to get rid of more barristers' wigs than there are barristers, or to sell of dolls' eyes more than double the number of dolls? To use the words of De Quincey, "the articles are past counting which are so interorganized with other articles" that *no diminution in their price can possibly give rise to an extension of their sale*.

Now the market for such articles being *necessarily limited*, and the quantity required consequently *definite*, it follows that, in such cases, the application of machinery causing that quantity to be produced with a less amount of labour—or, what is the same thing, a smaller number of labourers—must necessarily have the effect of throwing out of employment a number of workmen, *precisely proportional to the amount of labour saved*.

W. H. will now be in a position to comprehend how the sawing of wood by machinery has been as great an injury to the sawyers as the spinning of cotton by steam has been a benefit to the cotton-spinners. The market for cotton goods is infinitely extensible; hence to cheapen the cost of production by enabling the workmen to produce a greater quantity with less labour, is to cause a greater supply to be required. Sawed wood, however, is one of those articles of which the supply does not admit of indefinite increase; the quantity annually required being necessarily limited by the quantity of houses and carriages, ships, furniture, &c., to be constructed in the course of the year. To saw more wood annually than is needed for the new buildings, vehicles, and vessels every year, would be precisely the same as to produce more than twice as many dolls' eyes as there are dolls. Hence the application of machinery to the sawyers' trade can but have the effect of enabling a smaller number of hands to execute the *requisite and fixed* amount of work; while the superseded hands must either seek employment at other trades or become paupers or criminals. If they do not or cannot work for themselves, they must, of course, live on the labour of others in one or other of the above capacities. Can any one with a thimbleful of brains in his skull believe that the threshing of corn by steam can *increase the employment* of the threshers? Surely the quantity of corn to be threshed is *limited* by the quantity of corn produced; and if by steam-threshing one man can do the work of a dozen, then, of course, eleven out of every twelve of the threshers must be thrown out of work by it.

W. H. should give over reading *little* works in his possession, and study Ricardo for a month or two. That W. H. *wishes* to go right, is evident.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The following is from one of the best known of the Street-Poets, of whose services Mr. Mayhew purposes availing himself when treating of the ballad-singers:—

"Trusting you will pardon the liberty I have taken in thus intruding on your valuable time and attention, I beg to say that some time since a person connected with your establishment called on me, and at the same time stated that probably I should hear from you, and I should have esteemed it a great pleasure to have had that favour granted me. Respecting your work of the 'London Labour,' &c., I have, sir, been connected with the street-labour 35 years, and, since 1818, written most publications, doggrels, &c., beginning with the last years of George the Third, the life of Thistlewood, Thurtell, Probert, Fauntleroy, &c., &c.; the Ascension of George the Fourth, the Life and Death of Queen Caroline, and continually up to this moment for London, Birmingham, Liverpool, Manchester, Norwich, Exeter, Plymouth, and for travellers in different parts of the country, so that I am acquainted, having been a street-labourer 35 years, with the greatest part of the street and country fraternity. Most of those who deal in writing-paper, trinkets, &c., have risen from ballad singing. The old ditties published for 30 years past are still in my memory, and might have proved useful to the work before the public; and if not too late, will now answer the same purpose. I have read and admire your work, as I consider it most useful information. If I can be of any service to you in giving any necessary intelligence required for the work before the public I shall be most happy, and consider it a great pleasure to render all the assistance in my power for the completion of your valuable work. During the past winter I had some poetry to get ready for Mr. —, and Mr. —, Fetter-lane, and gave them every satisfaction. Some years since I wrote the history of the river Thames from Sheerness to Hampton-court in verse, for a party; and I believe there is no one that has had any conversations with you respecting the street-sellers better able to give a fair, full, and satisfactory account of the same than myself. Should you, kind sir, feel disposed to grant me an interview, I will be ready at any moment it may be convenient to you to meet you. And as I am on the eve of removing from my present abode on account of the property being sold—the sooner the better, however—I would be thankful if you will be pleased to drop me a line in answer to this, let the consequence be what it may. Many of the verses of Queen Caroline, and up to the present day of most others, I can rectify. The lives of Corder, Greenacre, Good, &c., &c., were my simple production. Not wishing to intrude any longer on your notice, and fearing my long letter may tire you, the writing and legibility being not of the best description, I will for the present conclude,

"And remain,

"Your most obedient humble servant,

"—".

The following etymological speculations or guesses are printed with a view to excite attention to the subject.

Gray's Inn, 23rd June, 1851.

"Sir,—As the word 'Haberdasher' seems still to puzzle the heads of the learned, I beg leave to add my mite of authority and speculation with reference to it. I propose first to begin on classic ground, from which so many popular expressions have sprung, for the origin of the word, and, failing here, to search for it in the best sources at my command.

"First, then, the Greek word 'ἀβρός' (observe the flatus), luxurious or magnificent in apparel, seems to be allied with the word in question, hence 'ἀβρόστας,' magnificence or sumptuousness, from which might arise the verb 'ἀβροτάσσω,' to arrange or put in order gay apparel, with a 'dash' of the Saxon Shibboleth, you have the word, and perhaps pretty nearly the meaning originally. It is true that haberdashery has fallen somewhat from the magnificent, but the same may be said of 'togger,' the classical original of which cannot be doubted.

"Ash states the derivation of the word Haberdasher to be uncertain, and describes him as a dealer in small wares. Johnson, Sheridan, and Walker describe him, in addition, as a pedlar.

"In Shakspeare's 'Taming of the Shrew,' Katherine, in speaking of the cap which the Haberdasher brings" [in one old dictionary I find Haberdasher defined as "a seller of caps"], "says 'Gentlewomen wear such caps as these;' this was before the Sumptuary Laws, and speaks highly of the Haberdasher's wares. It is true that in Shakspeare's 'Henry VIII.,' the porter's man says that among the crowd trying to get into the palace yard, 'there was a Haberdasher's wife of small wit that railed upon me till her pink'd parringer fell off her head from kindling such a combustion in the state;' but he adds, 'forty truncheoners' (equal, it is presumed, to as many policemen) 'drew to her succour,' thereby showing that she was a person of some consequence, and probably employed upon some of the court pageantry." [But query as to the consequence and the court pageantry.]

"But, to descend a step in dignity, I find in the German and English Dictionary of Baily, Fahrenkrüger, the following derivation, which, if founded upon any authority, settles the question: 'Haberdasher (von *berdash* ein chemaligen Halstuchart), Anglice, 'derived from *berdash*, a kind of neckerchief formerly worn;' so that, according to these lexicographers, Haberdasher meant a seller of berdashers. When we consider the aspirated 'a,' so natural to the Cockney, and call to mind the fact that Piccadilly got its name from something similar, the derivation is not to be despised.

"N. Baily, φιλόλογος, as he calls himself, gives this definition: 'Haberdasher (Minshaw derives it from *habt tisher das*, Teut., will you have this? as shopkeepers commonly say), a seller of small wares, hats, &c.' I cannot agree with Mr.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Minshew. Dr. Srusler, following Baily, it is presumed, derives it from the modern German, *habt ihr das*.

"Admitting the accuracy of your position as affecting an entire language, that certain uniform changes take place, such, for example, as is the case in French, where, in words derived from the Latin, the Latin *p* is changed into *v*, while in Spanish it is changed into *b*; and as is the case in English, where, in borrowing from the Greek, the *upsilon* is uniformly changed into *y*, and the diphthongs *ai* and *oi* into *e* and *æ*; nevertheless, the rule is open to many exceptions, especially in popular language, where the sound of the word is often retained accurately enough, while the orthography has become incapable of recognition." [The "position" is not that of Mr. Mayhew, but the discovery of Grimm, and is now adopted by all philologists.]

"The word 'Sabretache,' or 'Saberdash,' as it is always pronounced by those who wear it, and is often so spelt, seems to afford some clue to Haberdasher. The word means a pocket appurtenant to a sword or a sabre. The 'sabre' is French, and the 'tache,' or 'tasche,' is German. Whoever has read the writings of Frederick the Great can readily understand how French and German can be mixed as easily as milk and water.

"The word 'Holborn,' for example, does not convey any idea of its meaning. It is, however, pronounced now, as it always was, 'Haut-bourne,' meaning the upper boundary, or city limits. 'Haut' was formerly written 'Hault,' retaining the 'l' of its root *altus*, in common with numberless other French words which now drop the 'l.'" [The change of *l* into *n* in French is perfectly regular, e.g. *Salvere*=*Sauver*, and *Saltare*=*Sauter*, &c., &c.] "If, then, 'Saberdash' means 'sabre-pocket,' why should not Haberdasher mean 'avoir-tasche,' a person having a pocket, i.e. for small wares. We have the verb used substantively in the words 'savoir-faire' and 'savoir-vivre,' so that a dealer carrying wares, such as threads, tapes, and what not in a pocket, would be called a 'pocket-woman,' in the same manner as one carrying her goods in a basket would be called a 'basket-woman.' Again, taking the word as entirely Saxon it would be 'Haber-der-Taschen,' or short, 'Habertaschen,' a haver, or possessor, of pockets; the same as 'Liebhaber' is a lover, or possessor of love. Again, 'Habe,' in German, signifies goods; 'Mein Hab und Gut' means all my personal property or goods; 'Habe-tasche' would thus mean 'a goods-bag,' as 'Sattel-tasche' means 'a saddle-bag.' The Spanish 'Haberas' also signifies 'goods,' and has no doubt a common origin with the German 'Habe,' viz. *Habeo*, to have. Again, 'Tauschen,' in German, signifies to barter or swap; hence 'Habe-Tauscher' would be a barterer or swapper, no improbable vocation for a Haberdasher in the olden time.

"Treating the word, however, as entirely French, a new field for speculation is opened, into which I will not advance further than the suggestion of 'avoir-tache,' to have a task or employment, i.e. being employed to execute commissions,

which was common with pedlars; or '*habit-détacheur*,' a clothes-scourer or cleaner: these are somewhat far-fetched, but are perhaps as good as some of the old lexicographers.

"If I have not thrown sufficient light upon the word to be able to say with the renowned Diedrich Knickerbocker:

"Die waarheid die in duister lag,
Die komt met klaarheid aan den dag,"

I am afraid that I have mystified it more than ever.

"The word 'Bummaree,' the derivation of which you state to be unknown, has excited my curiosity, and I subjoin what I can glean respecting it:—

"In the French Dictionary of 'Napoléon Landais,' I find the word '*Beaumaris* (prononcez Bô-ma-rie), gros poisson, espèce de squalé;' and the definition of 'squalé' is '(du Latin *squalus*, fait dans le même sens de *squalere*, être sale, crasseux, raboteux) genre de poissons cartilagineux. C'est dans ce genre, auquel appartiennent les requins, ou chiens de mer, que se trouvent les plus gros poissons connus.' Most probably the 'scyllium' or dog-fish of the British coast, which is of the shark tribe; hence the term 'Bummaree' may have been a term of reproach, equivalent to a 'shark,' or greedy man—the middlemen generally have been obnoxious to such epithets.

"Again, the word '*marée*,' in French, signifies sea-fish generally; hence the name in question may come from the cry '*Beau-marée*,' 'prime sea-fish!' As the fisheries were formerly almost entirely in the hands of foreigners, this derivation seems not improbable. The term sea-fish, as distinguished from fresh-water fish, was more common formerly than now, inland places seldom seeing sea-fish; the cry, therefore, might have marked this distinction. Lucullus, who was a great gourmand, had lakes of salt-water for his sea-fish at his villa in Tusculum.

"I do not know whether Beaumaris, in the island of Anglesea, is pronounced Bô-ma-rie, if so, it might have something to do with the name 'Bummaree.'

"I must apologize for the length of this communication; but you will readily understand that one accustomed to follow facts as a matter of business, is apt to be led into a similar train when pursuing anything by way of amusement.

"Yours faithfully,

"WORTENKRÄMER."

The suggestions above given are exceedingly ingenious, but unfortunately unproven in all cases. As was before stated, if the word be derived from without the language, then the foreign root must bear precisely the same signification as the English word, but be spelt differently. Unless this can be adduced, or proof be given for the corruption of the original meaning, etymology is about as rational as the derivation of *Gherkin* from *King Jeremiah*. Cognate languages are to etymology what comparative anatomy is to natural history.

The first derivation of *Bummaree* is very clever and almost satisfactory. What is a *berdash*?

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

L. J. sends 10s. for the Orphan Girl.

F. C. & S. C. will be written to privately.

A Friend at Lymington forwards 1*l.* 10s. "for loans."

The subjoined is printed entire, because it is thought right to append a few words in answer to it:—

"Sir,—I consider that the perusal of your interesting papers on the London Poor will have an injurious effect on the minds of your readers if they do not endeavour to relieve the mass of wretchedness which they so vividly delineate. Many who object to giving money to casual beggars have no other channel through which to relieve distress. As this is my own case, may I trouble you to receive the inclosed 1*l.* for the use of any deserving person, or to be added to the Loan Fund. I believe this to be far the best way of giving money to the poor, and I am not at all surprised at the honesty with which such borrowed sums are repaid. I believe this to be the uniform experience of all who have tried this method of helping the poor. Few individuals have either the time or the ability for doing it themselves. But I have often wished that such loan societies, either local or parochial, could be formed. The capital, I think, should be subscribed and lent out without interest.

"Yours,
"S. D."

Mr. Mayhew differs, he regrets to say, with S. D. on the subject of interest. To allow the poor the use of money at less than the fair market value is to bestow alms upon them to precisely the extent of the deficient interest. The loans are advanced with the view of putting an end to the enormous usury that the humbler classes are obliged to pay by those who are too ready to trade on their necessities, and *certainly not with the view of teaching the poor that interest for money is wrong.* Mr. Mayhew is aware that this doctrine is held by many, but the arguments adduced in favour of it have always seemed to him to be inconclusive. Interest is literally rent paid for the use of money, that is to say, it is a share of the proceeds given for the use of the capital which, it should be remembered, contributes as much to the product as even the labourer himself. Let us not, in our wish to have justice done to the workman, forget what is due to the capitalist, who supplies the materials, tools, and subsistence, without which the cleverest operative would not only have no work to do, but no strength to do it even if he had the work. If by means of a loan of 100*l.*, either in money or materials, I am enabled to produce, or obtain, something which I can exchange for 200*l.*, surely the person helping me to such a result should receive a *portion* of the proceeds. Both justice and gratitude would prompt to such an act. Interest has been well defined to be the reward for saving or abstinence; if there were no reward there would be no saving, and consequently no capital; while, without capital, there could be no work. Mr. Mayhew wishes the poor

to have the power of obtaining money at the same (but not a lower) rate than the rich. *At present it is precisely the reverse, for, though it is illegal to take more than 5 per cent. of a landlord, a pawnbroker is entitled, by Act of Parliament, to demand at the least 20 per cent. of the poor.* "I made a calculation," says Mr. Chadwick, in his report on the poor of London and Berkshire, "as to the interest paid for their trifling loans at the pawn-shops, and found it to be as follows:—

	Per cent.	Per cent.
A loan of 3 <i>d.</i> , if redeemed the same day, pays inter- est at the rate of .	5200	if in a week, 866
" 4 <i>d.</i> " "	3900	" " 650
" 6 <i>d.</i> " "	2600	" " 433
" 9 <i>d.</i> " "	1733	" " 288
" 1 <i>s.</i> " "	1300	" " 216

These are the iniquities that cry aloud for some remedy; and it is with a view to their abatement that the Loan Fund has been instituted.

W. H. retorts in the following strain concerning the remarks on his second letter printed in last week's Number:—

"Sir,—I am much obliged to you for the insertion of my last letter, and as I do not think you have adduced anything new in your answer to it, I must leave those to judge between us who take any interest in the matter.

"The little work from which I extracted is the 'Standard Library Cyclopædia,' in four volumes, and contains hundreds of extracts from Ricardo, Mill, and other eminent writers on political economy." [This disjointed and inconsecutive reading is the great vice of the age; producing in the world as much chattering, on matters of which the talkers have no comprehension, as there is in the parrot-room at the Zoological Gardens.] "I would recommend the work to your notice; possibly the study of it might remove some of your very gloomy ideas on the machinery question. I will observe, in conclusion, that I am sorry you should have thought it necessary to be severe in your remarks on my letter, for questions of this nature stand a much better chance of being properly discussed when treated of in a temperate manner."

Mr. Mayhew, intended nothing personal nor offensive to W. H. in the remarks appended to his letter of last week. If he have wounded the feelings of a gentleman whom he is satisfied *wishes* to go the right way, Mr. Mayhew regrets that he was not more guarded in his expressions. He is too happy at all times to attend to ideas in opposition to his own. All Mr. Mayhew requests is, that gentlemen with a taste for desultory reading will not occupy his time by repeating to him, for the thousandth time, the old opinions touching "supply and demand," and "machinery increasing employment," and such like dogmata. Any new fact or opinion he will be always ready to give every consideration to, but the continual disgorging of the *assumptions* of political economy, which Mr. Mayhew has

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

found to be in no way borne out by facts, requires the patience of a quaker to tolerate. That these assumptions should be true is beyond the bounds of probability, for it is well known that Adam Smith, the founder of the *pseudo* science, when about to develop the laws of capital and labour, retired to an obscure Scotch village, and there sat thinking about them in his arm chair for fifteen years. As well might we suppose a person capable of excogitating in a back parlour the laws of Chemistry, or Natural History, or any other of those systematic aggregation of facts which we term sciences. That the canon of supply and demand for labour does not regulate wages has been, it was thought, proved over and over again in this periodical; but, as some may still have faith in the dogma, it is requested that those believing will endeavour to explain by means of it the following facts.

1st. How came the relief in aid of wages under the old poor-law to reduce the remuneration of labour?

2nd. How was it that the number of London cabinet-makers, having declined 33 per cent. from 1831 to 1841, and work having increased considerably during that period, wages, notwithstanding, were 400 per cent. better at the former period?

3rd. The gross weight of the cotton imported into England in 1800 was 30,650,000 lbs., and in 1840, it was 592,500,000 lbs., or in 40 years it had increased nearly twenty-fold. In 1800 the number of hands engaged in manufacture was 1,877,000, and in 1840 the number was upwards of 2,250,000; so that while the quantity of labour, to be done, or what is the same thing, the quantity of materials to be manufactured had increased nearly 2000 per cent., the number of labourers, or operative manufacturers, had increased only 20 per cent. Hence it is evident that, according to the law of supply and demand, there being twenty times as much work to be done, and only one-fifth more labourers to do it, wages should have been one hundred times better in 1800 than they were in 1840; and yet the price paid for weaving a piece of calico (which may be cited as a type of the value of labour) in the cotton districts was in 1800 between 3s. and 4s., and in 1840 only 1s. 3d.; so that while the demand for labour had increased twenty times, and the supply of it only one-fifth, wages, instead of being one hundred times higher, were three times lower.—Or, taking W. H.'s increase of the total population of Manchester from 1800 to 1840 (viz. 200 and odd per cent.) as the increase of the cotton spinners and weavers, the facts would stand thus:—while the demand for labour increased 2000 per cent., and the supply of labourers only 200 per cent., wages, instead of rising ten times higher, fell more than half as low again.—Will the Editor of the *Economist* oblige Mr. MAYHEW by cracking these three economical nuts for him?

The following, from a medical gentleman, requires no comment:—

"Sir,—Allow me respectfully to add my own testimony to the correctness of your statements. In the course of professional duties I have paid much attention to the physiological characteristics of the lower classes, and am happy, most happy, that they have at length found a chronicler so truthful as yourself. There are good parts even in the worst pictures—there are pleasant sunbeams close beside dark shadows; and the generous fortitude, the unflinching integrity, which is frequently met with in the dismal alleys of London, stand out strongly in contrast to prevalent notions and bigoted opinions. The lean and gaunt inhabitants of rooms, where dirt usurps the place of light, may be vicious or uncouth, but they are so from *habit*, and their transgressions are often half redeemed by traces of a more exalted nature. Better it is that we should know all the misdeeds of a life, than that one, perhaps the only one, good action be passed over in silence.

"Your aim is great; your task of no ordinary difficulty; but it will form, when completed, a monument of individual research, rarely equalled, never surpassed! where the statesman may ponder ere he legislates, and the metaphysical mind may glean a solution to some of the problematical causes of human error. To me your efforts are of exceeding interest; not only from their intrinsic merit, but from the immense fund of statistics you adduce. And this is a point upon which no correspondent has yet done you justice. It is pleasurable likewise to observe that the higher classes are making themselves acquainted with the condition of their degraded brethren; and that your eloquent advocacy is leading to a better understanding between the patrician and plebeian.

"Permit me to express a hope that no sense of delicacy may prevent the publication of this letter. It is the humble tribute of one who is a personal stranger."

W. W. says:—

"Have you considered the Law of Marriage in connection with prostitution? I think it lies at the bottom of it; and in case it should not have occurred to you, I have taken the liberty of suggesting it for your consideration.

"I do not think that much can be added to what Milton wrote upon the subject, but as your papers will be so popular, and treat the subject so practically, it will be a good opportunity for making the public acquainted with the reasons which may be urged for a Law of Divorce more liberal than the present one, if we may be said to have one at all. I hope you will excuse my troubling you with this, but as I have not been able to think the subject out, I shall be very glad to see it done."

The subject will be attended to in its proper place and time.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Emily C., Edinburgh, sends 2s. 6d. in postage-stamps for the Crippled Seller of Birds.

Mrs. G. N. (left at the office).—1l. for loans.

A Lady forwards 5s. for the Crippled Seller of Nutmeg-Graters.

Will "VERAX" send his address, *in confidence*? Mr. MAYHEW cannot make use of any information on the subject on which Verax writes without receiving some guarantee of his informant's respectability and truthfulness.

The subjoined is philological, and evidently from a gentleman conversant with the historic mode of derivation.

"Although your work is hardly the place to admit of a philological discussion, even on its covers, yet to correct error is always essential. Your ingenious correspondent 'Wortenkrämer' has fallen into a mistake, which is not unfrequent with those who take sounds as the basis of etymological enquiry. His derivation of *Holborn* is of this character: the real meaning of the word is shown in old maps, deeds, &c., where it is written 'Old Bourne,' i.e., Old Brook, Bourne being an old Saxon term of that meaning (see Cole's Dictionary), and in the termination of many of our ancient towns, of which *Sherbourn* will answer for an example. Perhaps the signification of the word as a boundary might arise from streams being so often so used. The 'Old Bourne' was a stream which ran into the Fleet River.

"I am, Sir,

"Yours respectfully,

"J. G. W."

Correspondent Wortenkrämer had but little philological knowledge; that is to say, of the *science* of language. His letter was printed for its suggestivity rather than its etymological correctness.

The following is from a Veterinary Surgeon, and is printed here as an act of justice. The information on the subject in question was derived from the Parliamentary Report on the subject. Mr. Mayhew can vouch for the integrity of the writer of the subjoined:—

16, Spring Street, July 16, 1851.

"You have unintentionally been drawn into doing injustice to an honourable gentleman. I mean Mr. Bishop, the gun-maker of New Bond-street, in your observation on THE FORMER STREET-SELLERS, 'FINDERS,' STEALERS, AND RESTORERS OF DOGS.

"I will not repeat the remarks you make on Mr. Bishop's character, but will content myself with the assertion, that from beginning to end they are erroneous. The dog has not throughout the metropolis a firmer friend than Mr. Bishop, who alone got the Dog BILL introduced into Parliament, and himself paid every farthing of carrying that measure.

"That Mr. Bishop may know some men with whom he, nor I, would like to be seen abroad

with, is very probable, he being the disinterested medium of getting back one-half or more of the pets lost in London. This office he performs from pure love of the brute; and how he is mixed up with the people with whom he is obliged to treat, his BILL will amply testify.

"Trusting to your sense of justice for the insertion of this letter,

"I remain, yours, &c.

E. M."

The Crippled Street-Seller of Nutmeg-Graters writes as follows:—

"24, Bond-street, Boro'-road.

"Sir,—Notwithstanding all my exertions to forward myself in the general line of dealing, I have been unfortunate. I purchased a donkey with the view of hawking hardware through the country, but had scarcely provided the necessaries, when my donkey took ill, and broke out all over sores, and is now useless either for work or sale: this circumstance, together with keeping a boy and doing no business within the last month, has entirely deprived me of money and considerably lessened my stock. A friend of mine having a little pony intended for sale, would be glad to give me the preference, and take my donkey in barter, could I but pay the difference; he thinks he can cure the donkey and make him answer his business. Unless I dispose of him in this manner, I have no chance of selling him, unless at an enormous sacrifice. To complete my trouble I gave an order for a little cart, for which I paid 30s. in advance; the man moved away, and I have no clue to finding him or recovering my money. I have sufficient stock to go on with, but too heavy for a boy to wheel about with me as well. Sir, I have told you something respecting my father-in-law; he is since dead, and willed all his property to his granddaughters. I expected he would repent in his last moments, and in pity leave me something, but such was not the case, and those who now hold the property are equally heartless. I would wish that these lines may meet their eyes; they may do from shame what they ought to do from generosity. Sir, what money I have received through the medium of your work I have laid out to what I believed the best advantage; but misfortune will sometimes happen to those more capable of conducting a business than me.

"Sir, my best respects to you and Mrs. Mayhew, and my hope for your welfare,

"C. ALLOWAY."

The Nutmeg-Grater Seller has already received upwards of 9l., and it would be unjust to others to solicit any further aid on his behalf. The letter is printed in the hopes of shaming his relations into doing their duty to one whom Providence, for some inscrutable purpose, has almost deprived of the means of assisting himself.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

E. will feel obliged by Mr. Mayhew stating how he estimates the number of hands engaged in the cotton manufacture in the years 1800-1840, as stated in his numbers of the "London Poor," No. 32 and July 19. Are the numbers given those only employed in spinning and weaving, or what others are included, and from what source is the information collected?

The facts were taken (if Mr. Mayhew remembers correctly) from Messrs. Banfield and Weld's very useful "Statistical Companion"—the one for last year (a work of which W. H. and R. H., and R. B. B., and all others who speak without a knowledge of facts would do well to possess themselves). Not having the book at hand, however, Mr. Mayhew is unable to speak definitely on the subject. The weight of cotton imported was derived from Mr. Salt's "Facts and Figures," or "Statistics and Calculations," where a table is given for a series of years. The wages paid at the different periods were copied from the "Statistical Companion." Should E. not be able to find the facts, as indicated, Mr. Mayhew will be happy to refer specially to the returns for him.

R. H. (the right initials surely should be J. W.) commits a rash attempt, at the imminent risk of his "molars," to crack "the three economical nuts" presented to the Manchester Schoolboys in No. 32 of this periodical; but makes the same wry faces over them as the French toy nutcrackers assume when engaged in a similar act. They are evidently too hard for him. And yet it is very plain the gentleman has cut his wise teeth, from the fact of his dropping the nuts immediately he found that they were more than he could get through. He accordingly, with exquisite cunning, tries to open an entirely new subject for discussion, as witness his hand.

London, 21 July, 1851.

"Sir,—In your answers to correspondents, I notice that you are very much addicted to the habit of throwing out insinuations, both against the policy of Free Trade, and the motives of those who advocate it. Now, sir, may I ask you to state, in an early number, how Free Trade interferes with the Rate of Wages, or the Law of Supply and Demand, as you assert it does?

"Is the Free-Trade policy any other than that of declaring that the revenue of a country should be solely raised from property?

"Surely, the only just system of taxation is that founded on a Property and Equitable Income Tax combined, and, as you must be quite certain, that is the only object aimed at by those whom you sneeringly call "Manchester School," &c., &c., &c. How can you reconcile you inuendos against us with the assertion that you are labouring for the good of the poor? Certain I am, nothing will benefit the poor as a body so much as the adoption of a just system of taxation; and that those who, like yourself, sneer at the efforts of Free Traders or Economists are only apparently the benefactors, but truly the oppressors of the working classes.

"To pass to another subject, allow me to call to your notice some curious statements made by you in your answers to correspondents. *Ex. Gr.*—In the case of the receiver of stolen goods, the main iniquity consists in not paying a fair price for the labour of the article purchased."

"Now, sir, the main, nay, the only iniquity, consists in purchasing an article not honestly procured, and is as great whether the receiver gives $\frac{1}{2}$ d. for an article worth 100l., or 100l. for an article worth $\frac{1}{2}$ d."

"A railway does not add one single commodity to the riches of a country, it merely increases the facility of exchanging the produce of one district for that of another. Indeed, suppose a town so distant from another, that fish caught rots on the sea-shore for want of a market, if a railway finds a ready sale for it some 300 or 400 miles off, is not that *pro tanto* an increase in production, not a mere extension of the facility of exchanging commodities. You must be aware that 20 years past, milk, fish, and fruit, were daily spoiled for want of a speedy conveyance to a market."

"Will you give something more than mere assertions that crime has increased in a larger ratio to population since Free Trade has been partially introduced. Give us a correct comparison of crime in two or three periods, say 1600, 1700, 1750, 1800, 1850, showing how much of the apparent increase beyond the ratio of increase of population is owing to a greater efficiency in detection (amounting, I should say at a mere guess, to more than 50 per cent. of our whole crime)? How much to the number of new offences created by our various police and railway acts, and these points alone, truly estimated, would, I believe, make all candid persons say that your assertion was not founded on correct data."

"In conclusion, allow me, in the face of your three nuts to crack, to ask you, Do not the poor of this country consume more food per head, and have more comforts than they did 50 years past? I answer, Yes.—Your obedient servant, R. H., a constant reader and subscriber from the first."

The above letter really bristles with so many points, that one is as undecided as a dog with a hedgehog where first to lay hold of it. However, the good old proverb tells us—

"If you gently touch a nettle,
Lo! it stings you for your pains,
But grasp it like a man of mettle,
And it soft as silk remains."

Applying, therefore, the same rule to R. H.'s effusion, it may be said that Mr. Mayhew never as yet asserted that Free Trade interfered with the Rate of Wages or the Law of Supply and Demand; but as R. H. requests to be informed how Free Trade does interfere with the remuneration for labour, Mr. Mayhew (though, by the bye, he is far from ambitious of becoming teacher to the Manchester School) will just, as a lesson to the Cotton Academy, append the following facts collected by him during his inquiry into the condition of the labourers at the Timber Docks at the time of his engagement on the *Morning Chronicle*, the parts printed in italics being all studiously withheld from the public by the Editor of that Free-Trade Journal!

"I don't know what is the cause of the reduction of the wages," said a "rafter," "but the men think it is generally owing to the cheapness of provisions. They say, what's the use of provisions being cheap if they lowers our wages."

"The men are dissatisfied," observed a deal porter. "They say they would sooner have it as it was, because they say, if provisions comes up again, they won't get no higher price for their labour. The wages of the casual dock labourer have been reduced a great deal more than those of the constant men. Three months ago they had 18s. a week, and now the highest wages paid to the casual labourers is 15s. a week. This again the men say is all owing to the cheapness of provisions."

"We now have," said another of the labourers, "4s. 4d. a day of from eight till four (o'clock), and 5s. 6d. a day from six to six: it used to be, till four months back I think, 4s. 10d. and 6s. 4d. I haven't heard any particular reason for this lowering. Bread's cheap people says; but if bread fell 3d. a loaf below what it is, our wages would fall 3d. to keep up with it." The above are extracts from the copy supplied by Mr. Mayhew to the *Morning Chronicle* on the subject of the labourers at the Timber Docks (Letter LVIII.). The parts printed in italics, and all others of a similar character, referring the reduction in wages to the cheapness of provisions (even down to a single line), were excised by the Free-Trade Editor.

Now surely R. H. must allow that in this instance at least Free Trade has interfered with the rate of wages; and, if he would but take the trouble to inquire, he might find that a similar "interference" has taken place in many other trades—as for example the Market Gardeners. Mr. Mayhew mentions only these two instances, because he is acquainted with the facts above stated from his own investigations. Indeed, as has been before asserted in this periodical, if the price of coals be reduced, competition will of course cause steam-engines to work cheaper; and surely, by a parity of reasoning, if the price of bread be decreased, the same cause will have the same effect on the human engine. In the trades where the wages of the workmen are, from their superior skill, at "monopoly" price of course, the price of food will have little or no effect upon them; but wherever labour is at its minimum value, the market price will be regulated by the cost of production, that is to say by the cost of the food, which gives the labourer the power to labour. (R. H. should have a quiet day's study of Stuart Mill's chapter on "Value.")

"Is the Free-Trade Policy," asks R. H., "any other than that of declaring that the Revenue of a country should be solely raised from Property?" Free Trade, Mr. Mayhew replies, is assuredly the liberty to search the world for the cheapest possible labour. Its effect on the revenue is a secondary consideration. The imposts on foreign commodities were neither instituted nor maintained as a source of income to the government, but simply as a means of protection to the home producer. This R. H. knows as well as Mr. Mayhew; and most assuredly Free Trade was neither advocated nor carried as an improved mode of collecting the revenue, but as a means of extending the markets for our manufactures. Mr. Mayhew must confess that, viewed as a working man's question, the weight of the arguments appears to him to

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lean towards the side of Protection; and that, viewed as a capitalist's or trader's question, the facts are in favour of Free Trade. To the monied classes, of course, it is the greatest good to get two commodities for the same amount of money as they got one for formerly. To the working man, however, Free Trade, that is to say *unlimited licence* to the trader, is far from being a blessing. Of course if wages are regulated by a natural law like Demand and Supply, it would be as insane to attempt to interfere with the rate of remuneration for labour by any pretended "protective" edicts, as it would be to regulate the rising and setting of the sun by Act of Parliament. Mr. Mayhew is most ready to allow that under such circumstances the only two modes of benefiting the working classes would be either by increasing the "Wage Fund," or decreasing the number among whom it is to be shared. But if the rate of wages is—as Mr. Mayhew believes all the facts of the labour question go to prove—in a great measure arbitrary and dependent mainly on the will of the Capitalist—then it would appear that some kind of restrictive laws is required for the protection of the working man against the greed of the trader. If the price of labour be regulated by supply and demand, why do free traders object so lustily to all trade societies, that is to say to all combinations of working men, designed to uphold the rate of wages. Surely if the remuneration for labour be governed by a natural law, then it is utterly beyond the power of a body of operatives to interfere with them; if, however, the real rate of wages consists of as little as the master can force the men to accept, or as much as the men can force the master to give—according to whichever is the stronger—then it would seem better that some steps should be taken to stay this continual war of class against class, and to prevent the one wronging the other.

"The only just system of Taxation," says R. H., "is that founded on a Property and Equitable Income Tax." As a source of revenue this is most readily admitted; but it should be remembered that until all taxes on commodities are abolished, those which consist of certain imposts, instituted with the view of preventing the untaxed foreigner from underselling the heavily-taxed native in the labour market of this country, are among the last of such taxes that should have been repealed. It is useless to say that food and provisions generally are cheapened by these means, because facts have proved that as fast as food is cheapened so will the lowest grades of labour be; and so long as there are excise duties, of which the working classes contribute the greater portion, there should likewise be custom duties, so as to make the foreign labourer, who is brought into competition with the English, pay his quota to the burdens of the country.

Let us put a case: there are three kinds of taxes on commodities, viz., taxes on articles produced within the country, taxes on articles imported into it, and taxes on articles conveyed from place to place, or sold in certain privileged parts of it. The first are excise duties, the second custom duties, and the third tolls and market dues. Now let us suppose that a certain gentleman—a free-trade enthusiast—who objected to every kind of impost on commodities, was to go to the Duke of Bedford and persuade him that all market-tolls were very pernicious things, falling as they did entirely on the consumer—that cheap fruit was the greatest possible blessing—and that instead of his forcing all who imported their commodities into Covent Garden to pay a toll before they were allowed to sell, it would be far more enlightened, and highly beneficial to the fruit consumers, if his Grace were to abolish every one of the tolls, and allow all fruit brought into the market to be sold without paying any market due whatever. Well, suppose the Duke became a convert to the new commercial principles, and proceeded to abolish the market dues on fruit brought into Covent Garden, but still to continue the high rents and taxes on those who lived in the market itself. Of course the dwellers in the market, heavily rented and rated and taxed as they were, would soon begin to find out that those who paid no toll whatever could undersell them, and that the whole of their business was rapidly passing into the hands of their more favoured competitors. In such a predicament, doubtless, those who were suffering from the heavy imposts on their industry would go to the Duke, tell him that it was impossible for them to compete with their untaxed neighbours, and beg that their burdens should be removed; whereupon the Duke would of course reply that his revenue must be collected and the expense of the market paid somehow—that cheap fruit was a great blessing—and that they could not possibly be badly off when fruit and vegetables were so much lower in price. Surely all the world but those

who were interested in the matter would be able to see the injustice of such a line of policy! And yet enlarge Covent Garden Market into the Labour Market of this Kingdom, and it is precisely what we have done to those who live in the market itself, and have heavy rent, rates, and taxes to pay in support of it. According to the most moderate calculation the working classes pay nearly one-half of the revenue of the country; they pay nearly the whole of the Malt Duty, which is in round numbers 5,000,000*l.*; the same with the Spirit Duty, which is 4,350,000*l.*; the Tobacco Duty, amounting to 4,250,000*l.*; the Sugar Duty, 4,500,000*l.*; and the Duty on Tea, which is 5,330,000*l.*; making altogether 23,430,000*l.*, out of about 50,000,000*l.*

The other points touched upon by R. H. hardly require any special notice. Concerning the *ethical* point, R. H. is unable to perceive the *iniquity* of not giving a just price for the making of an article. To give an *unjust* price is not *equity*, and therefore *in-equity*, or *iniquity*, if there be any meaning in words. But, says R. H., the *main* and *only* iniquity in receiving stolen goods consists in *purchasing* what is not *honestly* obtained. The law declares the purchaser in such cases is as bad as the thief—*particeps criminis*. R. H., the Free-Trader, however, says not. But why is what the "receiver" purchases *dishonestly* obtained? Simply because it has never been produced by the party selling, nor a due consideration given by him for it. In the matter of the railway R. H. confounds *exchange* with *production*; while, concerning the criminal tables demanded by him, he seems to be utterly unaware that the science of statistics is of comparatively modern origin, and that there are no data for making the collation he desires. But, even if there were such facts extant, could not R. H. make the comparison as well as Mr. Mayhew; though, to be sure, economists, from Adam Smith down to R. H., have shown the same aversion to collect facts as mad dogs have to touch water. It is so much easier to ensconce themselves in some snug corner and there remain all day, like big-bottomed spiders, spinning cobweb theories amid heaps of rubbish. If R. H. turns to "Porter's Progress of the Nation," p. 642, he will find that the number of persons committed as criminal offenders were, in 1805, only 4605; whereas, in 1843, there were 30,349, an increase of 482 per cent., or even deducting 50 per cent. (as R. H. desires) for greater efficiency in detection, of 432 per cent. in 43 years! whilst the population during the same period increased only 79 per cent. (see p. 654, same work). It is but right, Mr. Mayhew should add, that *previous* to his inquiries he believed in Supply and Demand, and Free-Trade, as religiously as R. H. himself does. Let R. H. go through the same course of education, and, as a honest man, he will assuredly arrive at the same result.

B. L. writes as follows:—

"Sir,

"I shall be happy if the enclosed 10*s.* may be applied to enable the Orphan Flower-Seller, mentioned in the July Part 7, of your 'London Poor,' to establish herself in some better line of business; or if you have already sufficient funds from other sources for this girl, then let it be applied to the use of the poor gentleman who can no longer follow her profession of music teacher, or as you think most proper."

The money shall be applied as requested.

G. H. says—

"You have promised an account of the Drapers, which has not yet appeared; I should feel obliged by your informing me when it is likely you will touch on them."

The Drapers, according to the Division laid down in the prospectus of this work, belong to the class of Distributors—including first sailors, bargemen, coachmen, carriers, porters, and all who are engaged in the conveyance of goods; and secondly, clerks, warehousemen, shopmen, and all who are engaged in the sale of them.

The subject of the Drapers' Assistants is a large one, and one which Mr. Mayhew is most anxious to investigate; for the trade is peculiar, being one in which competition and "pulling" and "pushing" are carried perhaps to the greatest extent, and consequently one from which a vast deal may be learnt. It is, moreover, one in which the health and mental improvement of the assistants are sacrificed greatly to the greed of the employers—owing to the tendency of the "cutting-shops" to keep open half through the night, so that no possible chance of custom may be lost.

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PARYUS encloses 2s. in postage stamps to be applied to the Loan Fund, adding, that he thinks if other young men situated as he is were to follow his example by contributing something, however small, towards so laudable a subscription, a vast deal of trouble might be averted from those poor creatures mentioned in "London Labour and the London Poor."

Due notice will be given of the republication of the required numbers, which are now being reprinted.

The following sums of money have been received:—

A. B. C. (for deserving objects), 10s.; J. S. (for ditto), 5s.; Annie (for Nutmeg-Grater Seller, 1s. 1d., and Tinker Poet), 2s. 6d.; collected by a Little Boy, 10s.

J. R. R., Clericus sine Beneficio, forwards 3s. in postage stamps, to be applied as Mr. Mayhew may deem most expedient.

The following is inserted here with the view of directing attention to the subject:—

"Sir,
"As I read in your Notices to Correspondents, in answer to my inquiry, that it is your intention to submit the Laws of Marriage and Divorce to an investigation, I will suggest for your consideration a few thoughts which occur to me on the subject. If you insert these in your correspondence I hope to send more.

"Marriage is a civil and religious institution; persons who marry enter into a contract with another, and also with the Deity, by which they are bound to the observance of certain duties; the contract made with another person the civil power can enforce, but not so the religious one; it is therefore advisable that legislatures should treat marriage wholly as a civil contract.

"By eliminating the religious element from marriage, as far as the civil power is concerned, and allowing each person's conscience to determine the nature of the duty it imposes on them, the civil power is enabled without obstruction to resume its ordinary duty of protecting the person and property of individuals without infringing on their rights.

"A contract is a thing so well understood that had it not been for the successful attempt of the Roman Catholic church to make marriage a sacrament over the whole of Europe for some centuries, which most Protestant countries have not generally considered it to be, we should now in England be in the enjoyment of a domestic liberty the absence of which is the cause of more crime, misery, and destitution than can be conceived.

"Yours obediently, W. W."

Mr. Mayhew abstains for the present from making any comments on the above opinions.

A. B. sends another conjecture as to the term *Haberdasher*:—

"Sir,
"You have referred to Baily, Johnson, Sheridan, and Walker on this word, will you allow me to present what a more modern lexicographer says about it. I give you the entire passage. The author's first quotation is from Chaucer's 'Prologue.'

"Yours, A. B."

"*Haberdasher*—Minshew, from Ger. *Habt*; *Haberdashery*, *thr das*, i. e. Have you that? or from the Fr. *Avoir d'acheter*, i. e. to have to buy. Skinner, whom Lye transcribes, runs far away. Gesenius—from the Ger. *Habe*, goods or wares—and *tauschen*, to exchange, as if a haberdasher were an exchanger of wares. Mr. Thomson constructs a German compound, *haabvertauscher*, of *haab*, goods, wares—and *tauscher*, *ver-taus* *chier*, a dealer, an exchanger. The French *Avoir de pois* we formerly wrote *Haber de pois*; a similar corruption may have occurred in *Avoir d'acheter*, *haber d'achat*, *haberdash*."—Richardson's *New English Dictionary*.

Mr. Mayhew has but an indifferent opinion of Mr. Richardson as an etymologist. His Dictionary, however, is invaluable, for giving, in the copious examples cited as to the uses of the words by the earliest authors down to the present period, the chronology, as it were, of the changes that the several terms have gradually undergone in the language. Mr. Richardson also appears to have had some clear notions as to the historic mode of derivation, but as to the dialectic etymology through the medium of cognate languages, he evidently had not the vaguest knowledge: indeed, the discoveries of Grimm and Bopp were not made known till Mr. Richardson had nearly completed his labours. Moreover, he was too intense an admirer of Horne Tooke to be able to add much to philological truth; for of all the plausible fictions of human ingenuity the "Divisions of Purley" looks perhaps the most like truth, and yet is the farthest

from it. Horne Tooke was essentially a theorist; every fact was made to accord with his preconceived opinions, rather than his opinions made to accord with the facts. To give but one instance. It is well known that he conceived an idea that all prepositions and conjunctions were simply the imperative moods of verbs. As for example:—If (which is in Anglo-Saxon *gif*), he said, was the imperative mood of the Saxon verb *gifan*, to give, grant, consequently, the meaning of the sentence, "If the law of Supply and Demand be true, then Protection for Labour is an absurdity," is, when literally translated, according to this philologist, "Give or grant that the law of Supply and Demand be true, then Protection," &c. Following up the same ingenious course he pronounced "else" (which is in Anglo-Saxon *ales* and *ale*), the imperative mood of the Saxon verb *alesan*, to let loose, to dismiss; so that when we say, "We will do what is right, and nothing else," the literal meaning of words is, according to him, "We will do what is right, and — dismiss that — nothing."

Now, that this is not the literal meaning of the words, but a mere exercise of verbal ingenuity, the most superficial attention to dialectic derivation is sufficient to assure us; for, on turning to the Latin language, we find that the cognate term in that tongue for the Saxon *ales* is *alias* (otherwise), and this we immediately know to be derived not from *alesan*, to dismiss, but from *alius*, another; so that the sentence really and truly means, "We will do what is right, otherwise nothing." Indeed, had Horne Tooke taken the trouble to trace the Saxon prototype *gif* of the English *if* up to the particle in the parent Gothic tongue, according to the historic mode of derivation, he would have perceived that even the term upon whose apparent identity with the imperative of the verb *gifan*, to give, he founded his whole philological scheme, had a very different origin from what he hastily assumed; and that really it was connected dialectically with the Latin *gice*, and ultimately with a Hebrew verb meaning to choose, its fundamental signification being "*whether*" (like the cognate Hebrew particle), and which is evidently the sense of it in the sentence, "I know not if it be right or if it be wrong;" that is to say, "I know not *whether* it be right or *whether* it be wrong."

The term *Haberdasher* is still a mystery.

R. H. (the nutcracker) has gone surly. He has evidently (poor fellow!) while trying to crack the nuts, bitten his fingers. He says:—

"In one portion of the lengthy—very lengthy—reply you have been pleased to make to my short letter, you say that I bristle at a great many points, but I am still as soft as silk; you rightly interpret my intention. I constantly notice that our opponents, Mr. Mayhew foremost amongst them, are accustomed to apply to us various appellations not used by ourselves, as 'Cotton academy,' 'Manchester school,' &c., &c., and which is applied by them in an invidious sense, as Socinian is applied to a Unitarian. Now I never allow these to be used without showing resentment; but I always do so in an inoffensive manner; whatever I say never rankles, and that is one great difference betwixt you and me. Your remarks on political opponents, persons as ardent in pursuit of truth as yourself, seem to me to have something in them destructive of character; e. g., 'exquisite cunning' is a term applied by you to me. I should say that a person of exquisite cunning was an exquisite rogue. I could pick out many more of the same sort.

"You say, 'R. H., surely the initials should be J. W.' I suppose by this remark you insinuate that I am J. W. writing under a different signature. There you are utterly mistaken; that practice I leave to authors who, writing for their bread, have no objection to take any side of a question, provided they are well paid for it. (And yet this gentleman always endeavours to speak of those who differ from him in opinion "in an inoffensive manner"!)

"I see in the Quarterly Report of the Registrar-General just published a large increase of marriages and births; this fact is generally considered an indication of prosperity, but I suppose if I advance it as such you will say, 'It is a cobweb theory spun amidst heaps of rubbish,' therefore I shall only repeat the question I asked before, 'Do not the poor of this country consume more food and have more comforts than they did 50 years past?'

"Your obedient servant, R. H."

There are at the Zoological Gardens some small animals who are particularly spiteful whenever any one attempts to have a bit of fun with them while they are cracking their nuts, and we strongly suspect, from the

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viciousness of the above letter, that R. H. is one of the breed. He must be the one "who had seen the world." However he is a very silly fellow; for assuredly we never meant, as the saying goes, to get the "monkey up" with him. But he *would* have a try to crack the hard things; and if he did find the nuts disagree with him (for they are very indigestible things, at best), why, he need not, because his bile has been stirred by them, so far forget himself as a gentleman as to utter things which, even if they were true, he would, in his lucid intervals, blush to repeat. But R. H. has clearly passed the greater part of his life, dormouse-like, in cotton, so that he can hardly be supposed to be wide awake yet to the requirements of polite society. R. H. knows, however, that Mr. Mayhew threw up his engagement on the *Chronicle*, because he *had* an objection to write falsities for Free-Traders.

When he understands the meaning of cunning, and finds out that it signifies literally kenning, or knowing, his good sense will, we are sure, lead him to perceive that there was no intention to insinuate the least "roguishness" or dishonesty to him. No! no! we are thoroughly satisfied R. H. is no knave; quite the reverse, we should say. He *will*, as Milton has it,

"Rush in where angels fear to tread."

If R. H. had only to write for his bread, he would have to seek parish relief before the week was out. It is quite plain that he gets *his* living in some other way than by the exercise of *his* intellect—very probably by the labour of some other person's hands. However, all we do hope is that he will not allow anything we have let drop to disturb his *peace* (we had almost written *piece*) of mind, and that on no account whatever will he visitate us with a reply. We have already afflicted our readers with two epistles of his lively pen, and we can assure him we have no disposition, whatever his sins may be, to make him do penance again in these sheets.

"Confess your faults" is a good round-hand copy, and we proceed to put the precept in practice.

"Sir,

"I have purchased from the beginning your valuable and interesting work, 'London Labour and the London Poor,' which I humbly consider to be one of the most important works ever published.

"Having just read your 34th number, I take the liberty of pointing out a mistake at p. 137, which, if left uncorrected, may afford ground for an attack upon you by some enemy or other. You allude to a *Neapolitan*, 'known some years ago as The Fish, who could remain three hours under water without rising to the surface to take breath.' The story applies *not* to a *Neapolitan*, but to a *Sicilian* swimmer and diver, *Nicolò Pesce*, in the time of Frederic, king of Sicily, according to the Jesuit, Athanasius Kircher, who *professed* to have taken the wonderful account of Nicholas the Fish from the archives of the kings of Sicily. Kircher not only mentioned the webbing of the fingers and toes of Nicholas, but that 'his chest became so very capacious that he could take in at one inspiration as much breath as would serve him for a whole day.'

"The story of this diver is beautifully rendered by Schiller, the German poet.

"It is utterly impossible for any human being to remain under water for three hours without taking breath.

The nature of man's respiratory organs renders this impossible. Three *minutes*, instead of three *hours*, would be much nearer the time that a man could remain under water without being suffocated. A minute or two is generally enough to cause insensibility, although animation may be restored after several (but not *many*) minutes of immersion. As to the webbed feet and hands of *Nicolò il Pesce*, I doubt the fact, in spite of Father Kircher.

"Be not offended at my freedom, for I can assure you that my intention is most friendly. The more free that your excellent work is from error, the greater will be its authority now and hereafter."

Mr. Mayhew is much obliged to his esteemed correspondent, but he is in no way disposed to admit the impossibility of any human being remaining under water for three hours. At the London Polytechnic Institution, some few years back, an experiment was performed by a gentleman, in the presence of all the *savans* of the metropolis (Professor Faraday being among the number), demonstrating that it is possible for human beings to remain under the water for almost any length of time; for the individual in question made a descent into the tank of that institution, and there remained visibly at the bottom, for upwards of an hour, it is believed, though the precise time is in no way essential to the argument. On coming up he declared that he could prolong his stay under water to an indefinite period. All he took down with him was a small box, about the size of the larger musical ones. On referring to the passage alluded to respecting "The Fish," it will be seen that the facts were not given with *implicit* credence. The sentence runs thus:—"The Fish could remain (at least so say those whom there is no reason to doubt) three hours under the water without rising to take breath." Surely the parenthesis indicates that Mr. Mayhew did doubt, even though the testimony appeared to be unquestionable; for such contradictions to experience require, he well knows, the strongest possible evidence. Mr. Mayhew, however, is far from wishing to set up experience as a surer guide to truth than testimony; all he desires to assert is, that in cases which are apparently opposed to known laws, the testimony should be of the highest possible character, and this is precisely what he meant *parenthetically* to imply.

An esteemed lady correspondent says—

"I fear the poor Nestie Man was ill-informed about the Kingfisher's nest. I, who have seen, nay assisted (with many a pang) at the taking of one, should say it is not a thing that could be taken in the hand and shown about, any more than a rat-hole. It was perhaps some other nest, therefore, that his informant pronounced a Kingfisher's. This bird cannot be said (I believe) to build a nest. In the sides of old gravel pits, near water, this bird will find, or perhaps even make, holes that run for several feet parallel with the surface and about a foot and more below it. To take the nest in such a case you must dig down to it, guessing the probable ending of the excavation, and you will come upon seven or more very pale pink eggs, lying in a bed of small dry fish bones, of which you may take up a handful. At least this is what we found, after watching a Kingfisher in and out of the hole many times.

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THE Pages at the back of the Statistical Tables inserted in the present Number are left blank for the purposes of binding.

The following extracts from a speech recently delivered at a public meeting are here inserted, because Mr. Mayhew believes that they express very clearly and simply one of the great evils of the time—an over large machinery for the distribution of our products, and the puffing, pushing, and cheating necessarily arising therefrom. If the country be over populated, assuredly it is so with traders, rather than workers; and yet we never hear of schemes for shipping off some hundreds of them. That the distributor is a very useful element in the economy of every State there cannot be the least doubt, serving both consumer and producer; but an excess of such people is, perhaps, one of the greatest evils that can befall a nation. That there are most honourable men connected with trade Mr. Mayhew most readily admits, having in the course of his investigations met with many such, but that the majority are compelled—by the very excess of the class, and the consequent struggle to live—to resort to frauds, cheats, and chicanery that they in their consciences must despise, all experience goes to prove.

“Mr. Woodin said:—I shall endeavour to show the true position which the class to which I belong holds under competitive arrangements. As shopkeepers it is our province to distribute the productions of others—we give no new intrinsic value to the articles that pass through our hands. We buy a stated quantity of goods for a given sum, and we sell a lesser quantity for the same sum—the difference is our profit, on which we live; the interests of the distributor and the consumer are therefore opposed to each other, because it is the interest of the consumer to get as much as possible for his money, and of the distributor to give as little as possible. Tradesmen are all well aware that their interests are opposed to that of their customers—they know very well that their only object in going into business is to get as much as they can for themselves, to give as little as possible to the producer for what they buy, and to take as much as they can from the consumer for what they sell, and the more they can take in this way, the nearer they are to their ultimatum—the realization of a fortune, and their retirement from business. This is the real and only object of the whole class; but in order to obtain this object in the most speedy and certain manner, and at the same time to conceal it as much as possible from the public, they assume to be actuated by principles of the purest philanthropy—they enter into business for the sole purpose of benefiting the community; ‘Pro bono publico’ is their motto—their own interest is only a matter of secondary consideration. Thus the tradesman pretends to one thing, and means to do and does do something very different. To ensure success it is necessary to be a good ‘story-teller.’ It is an acknowledged fact, that the men making the greatest professions and the most noise are the most dishonest, and the greatest cheats in trade,

but the most unfortunate feature in the case is, that the public generally give credence to those who make the boldest assertions. As an illustration of this fact I would mention, that the parties who were lately fined by government for adulteration were, without exception, making the greatest professions of the purity and cheapness of their articles, and of the fairness of their mode of doing business, and I may add that they were doing the largest retail trades, and receiving more patronage from the public than others who were less noisy but more honest; and the same view is borne out by the recent exposures in the *Lancet*—all the parties exposed are doing the largest trades, and they all make the greatest professions of the purity of their goods and the uprightness of their dealings. The object of these unscrupulous tradesmen is always to appear to be cheap; to maintain this appearance every article is adulterated that can be without being easily detected, and they are marked at such prices that their more honest rivals cannot compete with them. They put ground rice with their white pepper; a composition called P. D., costing about one penny per lb., with their black pepper; chicory with their coffee; and potato flour with their sugar; tea comes to their hand ready adulterated with starch, gum, dirt, and paint. Another trick resorted to, to gain an appearance of cheapness, is to sell some article which the public know the value of, at or below the cost price, and the public take it for granted that the person doing so is cheap in everything else. Goods sold in this way are called ‘leading articles.’ Calico is a ‘leading article’ with the draper; he sells this at a halfpenny a yard less than the cost; and this enables him to charge many shillings and often pounds more than the proper price for shawls and other articles that have no fixed standard of value. The grocer makes sugar his principal leading article, because the public can pretty nearly tell its value; he therefore sells it a halfpenny a pound less than it cost him. He thereby endeavours to lead purchasers to the conclusion that he is equally cheap in everything else—if he sells cheap sugar they think he must also sell cheap tea. This is called in the trade keeping a sugar trap to catch tea customers; but tea is a thing the public cannot so easily tell the value of, and in the sale of this article the grocer amply compensates himself for his losses in sugar. By these and similar nefarious practices he attains his object; he gets a name for cheapness, gets plenty of patronage, and speedily makes a fortune.” * * * * It must not be lost sight of that the distributor adds nothing to the wealth of the community, but subtracts from it; consequently there ought to be no more employed in that way than are sufficient to perform the duty efficiently. After due consideration, I am of opinion that one-tenth of the present persons so employed are sufficient for that purpose; the other nine-tenths are misapplying their labour, or at least their time, and the sooner that labour is directed to productive employment, the better it will be for themselves and for society.”

Mr. Vansittart Neale said:—“It had been cal-

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culated from the Post Office Directory for London and its suburbs in 1850, that the total number of retail tradesmen supplying certain goods was 4000, and estimating that each of them upon an average employed three persons besides himself, it would give a total of 16,000 engaged in the distribution of articles of grocery, or about one person to every eighty of the two millions and a half of all ages, which may be taken as the population of the district in question. This was a very much larger number than was needed for the purpose of distribution, and necessitated a keen competition among those engaged in it. When a tradesman with capital came into a new neighbourhood, and fitted up a shop with splendid plate glass front, ticketing all his articles at an apparently low price, and advertising them as the best and finest articles that could be sold, the consequences of such competition were perhaps to shut up twenty small shops; but in the course of the struggle fraudulent adulteration was carried on by all parties to a large extent."

18 Aug., 1851.

" Sir,

" I was employing a part of my leisure hours in collecting and arranging accounts of the earnings of persons engaged in the various branches of the manufacture of hats, both silk and stuff, but as you have requested me not to trouble you any more, in obedience to your wish I have ceased my labour; to show you, however, that I bear no malice, I enclose all I have ready.

" Your Obedient Servant,

" R. H.

" Cunning may *literally* mean kenning, but is never used now in a good sense, it would be a poor excuse to make, after calling a person *inquisitive*, to say you meant *enquiring*; or, after using the term *impertinent*, to declare that you meant not keeping to the question: cunning is in the same class with the above two and many other words, which are never used by persons of education in their literal sense."

R. H.'s temper is better than his philology.

One of the most elegant forms of literary art is the use of words in their literality; this was Sidney Smith's great charm. The philological rule, unfortunately for R. H., is the very reverse of that which he enunciates. Words are never used in their literal, and always in their conventional acceptation by persons of *deficient education*—for the simple reason that it is impossible for the uneducated to know their radical signification. Those who have such knowledge feel an exquisite delight in discriminating between the correct and perverted sense.

No literary man knowing how to handle his tools would ever dream of using any one of the words cited by R. H. in any other than their literal acceptation—the context would show whether the conduct to which they were applied was an offence against good morals or not. Surely R. H. has heard the phrase, "wrought with exquisite cunning," used even in common parlance. Does he fancy that this means wrought with a roguery quite *recherché* (to use the French equivalent to exquisite), or with unusual skill—a work of the most expert *craft* or handicraft—not craft roguery, but craft in its true Old English sense of creation, production, from the Saxon verb *creawian*? It was precisely in this sense that Mr. Mayhew applied the words "exquisite cunning" to R. H. The terms themselves prove whence the phrase was borrowed, and exquisitely "knowing" was all that was intended to be implied—that is to say, R. H. endeavoured to meet the argument like one *skilled* in the art of ratiocination, by *slily* proposing another.

Mr. Mayhew would not have condescended to have wasted so much valuable ink in explaining a matter that must have been patent to every scholar from the very beginning; but R. H. is clearly, from the tone of his last letter, too good a fellow to make an enemy of unintentionally. The Wage Table he sends is the best mode of argument after all.

* * * Replies to several letters are postponed till the next Number.

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The subjoined is worthy of attention:—

"Sir,

"I venture to make a suggestion in reference to your work 'London Labour and the London Poor,' which I trust will not be taken amiss by you, for it proceeds from one who appreciates the purity of your motives, and admires your untiring zeal and laborious efforts in behalf of so large a portion of the neglected and suffering population of London.

"My suggestion refers to that portion of the work on the 'Prostitution of the Metropolis,' shortly to appear in future numbers. Do you not think that it is likely to do less harm and more good if brought out in an entire volume, than in weekly numbers? Such a work is undoubtedly demanded. Nothing can be done to remedy an evil till the evil be fairly brought to light; but is there not danger lest the process of uncovering the evil, adopted by you, may aggravate instead of diminish its intensity? Will not the cheapness of a work, bearing a title unhappily so attractive to the young, the idle, the prurient, promote indeed its sale, increase the number of its readers, make it popular with the masses, but not thereby tend to the end designed by the author, the reformation of the present extensive system of evil?

"Such a work as you design, Sir, if brought out in one volume, would find a ready sale with such as are and ought to be really interested in the subject. The name and character of the author would at once attract the philanthropist, the statesman, the minister of religion, and all others whose callings and pursuits make such details necessary to be known. You need never fear a loss from the publication of the work in such a form. It would, indeed, present but little temptation to others, who might receive harm from its perusal, and its price would put it out of the reach of those to whom it might do most mischief—so far, the number of readers would be less, and its sale less extensive; but moderate gains, with the satisfaction of feeling that they were obtained without promoting evil, would (you of all men need not be reminded of this) be far more satisfactory than the richest revenue, clogged with but the faintest misgiving that it was gotten (partly) by increasing sin.

"Hoping you will excuse my freedom in thus addressing you, and believing you will take the hint in the same friendly spirit in which it is given,

"I remain, dear Sir,

"Your sincere Well-wisher,

"M. (a Curate of London)."

Mr. Mayhew regrets that he is unable to act upon the advice of his esteemed correspondent. To publish the account of the London Prostitutes complete in a volume would be, in Mr. Mayhew's opinion, to destroy a great part of the utility of such a work. Moreover, the price would render it available to those only who could afford to part with some 5s. or 6s. at once; whereas the great advantage of the "fascicular" mode of publication is, that it enables the poor to obtain expensive treatises by small instalments. But the London Curate sees great danger from the poor being allowed to read such books. Mr. Mayhew, however, takes a very different view; he believes that many young girls now go wrong thoughtlessly—that is to say, they are ignorant of the necessary consequences of unchastity. Many parents, too, are either imprudently lax, or imprudently strict in the guardianship of their children, because they are unaware of the result of undue indulgence or undue rigour.

Mr. Mayhew hopes to be able to teach both parties the *ordained sequences of events* in these matters. The London Curate, of course, would not object to instructing the very humblest as to the laws of combustion or the causes of the seasons; and yet surely the natural order of the phenomena of vice is equally if not more important for the poor to know. No man thrusts his hand into the fire because he is certain it will burn him; render the sequences of moral events as apparently invariable, and there will be the same aversion to brave them, for the Great Lawgiver has most benevolently made them all ultimately terrible. The erring err sometimes from a want of faith, and sometimes from a want of knowledge respecting physical and moral causation. Give them this faith or this knowledge—let the future result be continually present to them—let the escapes from evil be demonstrated to be the accidents, and the sufferance from it the natural consequences of a deviation from virtue, and depend upon it the poor will be as prudent and guarded in their conduct as even the most respectable of us. This is the education that is needed more than all by the uninformed and the unthinking,

and towards it Mr. Mayhew hopes to lend some little assistance. When "London Labour" is productive of misery the sooner the author converts his pen into "roast beef," as children say, by burning it, the better.

The following is printed here as one out of many instances of the wrongs of the London Clerks, who are a most important body of London Labourers, numbering some thousands. Mr. Mayhew is most anxious to begin investigating their condition at the earliest possible period.

"An admirer of 'London Labour,' and a subscriber to most of the numbers, is desirous of knowing whether the mass of poor half-starved legal and commercial clerks which are in this metropolis are to be set forth to the public eye—the writer thinks they ought; he is a clerk to a GENTLEMAN, who employs him about six hours per day in writing and as a messenger, at the liberal salary of 9s. per week. I am generally fully employed. I know there are very many in this city not paid much more than my pittance. I am a young man of good education and connections, but having been out of employment some time I eagerly snapped at the pittance I receive. My master is reputed to be very rich, and, I am sorry to add, very mean. You will scarcely believe that a security of 20% was required before I entered my present service, but no one would be security for me, knowing the trifling pay I was to receive; he therefore waived that. In more prosperous times I have received good pay, from 11 to 12.5s. per week. Both my parents are sick, my mother is dying, I believe, and out of my small salary I am compelled to aid them, for although their friends are able they are not willing, my father having been a very reckless man and a drunkard. They pay the rent and that is all, for they dislike him so much that they will not give to my mother for fear he should get a share. It is somewhat unchristian I must own, but his recklessness has been so great that I scarcely wonder at it. I should be glad to have employment in book-keeping by single entry, &c., &c., after 4 P.M., if I could get it, for a trifle. I hope you will excuse this scrawl, but it is written in business hours in a great hurry. I perceive from your work that the most ignorant and mindless of the lower classes realize more than many who have received a good education and possess ability. Hoping you will forgive my intrusion and bad writing—

"I am, Sir,

"Your obedient Servant,

"W. D. M."

The writer of the above speaks but the truth in saying that the most ignorant and mindless of the humbler class earn more than he does. A dustman, he will perceive, makes nearly double, and many of the street-traders (the coal-sellers for instance) about four times as much as W. D. M. If W. D. M. wishes to become rich he must give over working for himself and get to trade on the labour of others. This is the great evil of our social system. By industry a man can scarcely keep himself from starving, whereas, by scheming and trading, he may ride in his carriage and become one of the "respectable classes."

The following is from a journeyman tailor—a gentleman long known and respected by Mr. Mayhew:—

"DEAR SIR,

"Notwithstanding the many attempts to explain the meaning of the term 'haberdasher,' I observe that you say in your last number of 'Labour and the Poor,' that it is still a mystery. I don't know whether the following will throw any more light on the matter, but it struck me at the time as a still more curious application of the term than any that I have seen, so I transcribed it for you. It is from the 'Great Bible,' date April, 1540, in the British Museum, on vellum, presentation copy to Henry VIII., as is shown by the following inscription on the reverse of the fly leaf—'This Booke is presented unto your most excellent highnesse by youre loving, faithfull, and obedient subject and daylye oratour, Anthonye Marler of London. *haberdasher*.'

"In this case was the office, for such I presume it to be, of 'daylye Oratour' lay or clerical? if the former, what trade was Anthonye Marler? if the latter, how was it connected with the term 'haberdasher'?

"In an old dictionary, date 1701, I find three supposed derivations for it:—Habeidas, Greek, have you that? Avoir d'acheter, French, having to buy; or Kooper-daseer, Dutch, a dealer in small wares or toys, also a dealer in hats. In Boyer's French and English Dictionary, date 1747, it is used in the same manner, with-

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the addition of 'mercier' being included under the term as at present.

"I remain, my dear Sir,

"Yours truly,

"_____."

Will any clerical antiquary "enlighten our darkness" on this curious point? The "daylye Oratour" of course was a layman, but what was the haberdasher in those days? Mr. Mayhew has before stated that he considers the Dutch *Kooper-daseer* the most probable origin of the English haberdasher, for the consonantal changes are all in conformity with known laws.— $K = H$, and $p = b$, and $s = sh$; moreover, the signification, "a dealer in small wares," is precisely that of the term haberdasher in the present day. Hence all the requirements for *dialectic* derivation are fulfilled; but what is *daseer*? Mr. Mayhew can find this part of the Dutch compound in no Dutch dictionary. *Kooper* is a dealer, and the equivalent of our *chap-man*.

An Oxfordshire correspondent writes as follows:—

"Sir,

"As a constant reader of your publication 'London Labour,' I venture to address a few words to you. I am extremely interested in your work, and feel that the whole country is greatly indebted to you for your truth and honesty, and your manful advocacy of the labourer's welfare. It is, therefore, with no unfriendly spirit that I venture to criticise anything you put forth. I am not aware that any one can justly find fault with the body of the work, but I think it is occasionally otherwise with the fly sheets; to me, indeed, they are very interesting, and I should be very sorry if they were discontinued; but certainly they are your vulnerable part,—e.g., in your number of Aug. 2nd you say that taxes were in the first instance simply protection, and not to furnish the exchequer. I think you will find it quite the reverse as a general statement, or at least as regards the history of this country: the two objects were always contemplated as joined together in early times.

"But it is not as regards such questions that I find fault with your fly sheets. Early in the work you intimated that you might see cause to modify your views and perhaps change them considerably. Now, I ask in all friendship whether, then, it is right to put forth views (I do not say statements) calculated to be drawn in with avidity by classes who have great reason for discontent, and who, be sure, will not abandon a theory which attempts to explain the source of their wrongs, in the same philosophical spirit in which you and I might modify our views upon further investigation.

"Is it morally right to offer yourself as a leader of the blind, when you confess you may find out after a time that you yourself did not see quite clearly?

"If I have not altogether mistaken your character you will, I am sure, pardon this freedom of speech.

"Having said my say, allow me now to furnish you with a little fact of the working of free trade in Oxfordshire.

"Turnip hoeing is reduced this year from *four to three* shillings an acre in consequence, it is avowed by the farmers, of the cheapness of provisions."

Mr. Mayhew does consider it *morally* right to say *honestly* what he *thinks* upon all matters upon which his *opinion* is solicited. In so doing his usual practice is to cite a reason or determining cause for his judgment, so that others can receive his ideas for just what they are worth. Mr. Mayhew aspires to no leadership, nor even dictatorship, in social and political matters. He is a person who presumes to inquire and think for himself on such subjects, and he wishes others to do the same. In the early numbers he stated that he should appropriate the fly leaves of "London Labour" for the publication of certain *speculations* on economical and other subjects, candidly warning the readers that the opinions there expressed were nothing but speculations, and reserving to himself the right of changing such opinions as often as he found *reason* to do so. Surely this is the very reverse of leadership or dictatorship, and it is in precisely the same spirit that Mr. Mayhew continues the publication of his sentiments from time to time. The passage referred to concerning the taxes is as follows:—
"The imposts on foreign commodities were neither instituted nor maintained as a source of income to the government, but simply as a means of protection to the home producer." Surely our Oxford friend will admit the truth of this statement as regards what were specially called "protective duties," and that it referred to nothing else is self-evident.

The following, from a clerical correspondent, requires no comment. It is printed here as a record of the fact:—

"Sir,

"It may perhaps afford some trifling illustration of the subject of 'Hot Cross Buns,' in your valuable work, to state that I well remember, when a boy about twelve years old (now *sixty* years ago), the distich you quote was set to music, and sung as a catch or glee; the several voices being so humorous and modulated as to produce a *comic* effect. Another of the same character began, 'The last dying speech and confession;' another, 'Ah, how Sophia,' but these words, being rapidly and humorously sung, caught the ear as 'A house o' fire, a house o' fire!' Such music was then much in fashion.

"I am, Sir,

"Yours most respectfully,

"R. W. N."

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The following finds fault, under a mistaken idea, with the criminal statistics as given in No. 37 of this work :—

"SIR,

"Having completed, a fortnight ago, a work embracing the statistics of crime in England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, in reference to the social state of the population, and seeing your advertisement, I sent for No. 37 of your publication, with which I was very much pleased—but in reference to the maps, if given at all with a view of being of service, they certainly ought to be correct.

"Let us examine Map 1, on the density of the population.

"You have computed the number of persons to each statute acre whether it is capable of being cultivated or not; consequently it is no criterion to the means of employment afforded to a given population—you could not, for instance, compare Lincolnshire with North Wales or Cumberland—indeed, out of the 32,342,400 acres on which your table is computed in England, 3,256,400 acres of land are *incapable* of improvement, and ought to be deduced; and in Wales, out of the 4,752,000 acres, 1,105,000 acres are *incapable* of improvement, and the residue ought to be the foundation of the table in order truly to arrive at the density of the population to a given quantity of land—for if you gave five men an acre of land in Norfolk, they might obtain their subsistence, but certainly not on the top of Snowden or Shap-Fells.

"Again, as to Map 2, in reference to crime.

"*Flintshire* is placed in the *black book*. It is a great pity you did not keep to the text '*each county in England and Wales*'—for Wales is lumped together. The average also is taken from England and Wales, while in truth all the *black part* is in England, therefore an average ought to have been taken for *England only*, or England and Wales *separately*. In that case Kent, Surrey, Suffolk, and Sussex, would have been above the average. You cannot truly deal with England and Wales as *one*, without doing injustice to Wales, Scotland, and Ireland; to illustrate this take the year 1849, and we have those committed for trial, &c. :—

"In Ireland 1 in 194 $\frac{3}{4}$ of the population.

"In Scotland 1 in 601 $\frac{1}{2}$ ditto.

"In England and Wales 1 in 571 $\frac{3}{4}$ ditto.

"Thus, placing England as 1 in 571 $\frac{3}{4}$ instead of 1 in 556 $\frac{1}{2}$, and placing Wales as 1 in 571 $\frac{3}{4}$ instead of 1 in 1070 of the population, the true gradation of crime would be thus :—

"In Ireland 1 in 194 $\frac{3}{4}$ of the population.

"In England 1 in 556 $\frac{1}{2}$ ditto.

"In Scotland 1 in 601 $\frac{1}{2}$ ditto.

"In Wales 1 in 1070 ditto.

"My sole object in writing is to call your attention to these matters.

"I am, yours,

"W. B. Prichard, C.E., F.S.A."

The above objections are of two kinds—those which refer to the mode of estimating the density of the population, and those which refer to the mode of estimating the comparative criminality of the several counties.

As to the density of the population, Mr. Prichard urges that this should be calculated *not* according to the entire area of the county, but according to merely that portion of it which is capable of cultivation. Now, with all deference to Mr. Prichard, the relative number of the population to a given quantity of arable land, or meadow land, has no connection whatever with the purposes for which the table was given, these being to arrive at definite notions as to the crowding of the people into a given space with the view of ascertaining whether the law be *generally* true that the greater the number of people congregated in a particular locality, the greater the crime. Of course the quantity of land capable of affording subsistence to the people must be less in the metropolis than in any other part of the kingdom—less even perhaps than "on the top of Snowden or Shap-Fells," and yet surely Mr. Prichard would not cite the deficiency of cultivatable land in London as the cause why there are 24 criminals in every 10,000 of the metropolitan population and only 7 criminals in the same number of people in Cumberland. Some say the excess of criminality in the capital is due to the greater crowding of people; others that it is due to the greater temptation arising from the large amount of property existing there; others again that it is due to the greater poverty of the "lower orders" in that quarter. The object of the maps and tables is to put each of the criminal theories to the test of statistics. If it be true that the greater crime of London is due to the greater mass of people there congregated, then should those localities where the population is most dense have the greatest number of criminals. The tables and maps speak for themselves on this point.

As regards Map No. 2, Mr. Prichard errs in saying that Flintshire is placed in the *black book*; surely Flintshire is part of North Wales, and this he will see is left virgin white as indicative of its relative purity. Then, with all a Welshman's pardonable love of country, Mr. Prichard urges that the criminal average should have been taken for England alone, saying that the whole of the *black part* is in England. This might have been gratifying to Mr.

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Prichard's nationality, but it is quite unusual and in no way necessary. Surely the honourable virtue of the Welsh is sufficiently evident. The Welsh counties would have been calculated separately, but the returns of the Registrar-General did not admit of this being done. Mr. Mayhew will be happy to give every attention to Mr. Prichard's book when published.

Mr. Prichard, it will be seen, estimates the relative criminality of each county according to the *whole* of the population. This, with all deference, is a less simple method than the proportion to a *fixed quantity*. By Mr. Prichard's method the ratio is contrary to the numbers; that is to say, the intensity of the crime in North and South Wales is in the inverse proportion of 1370 to 1186, so that the district bearing the highest number has the fewest criminals, whereas, by finding the ratio to a constant quantity (say 1000 or 10,000 of the population in each county) we arrive at an immediate or less "roundabout" method of comparison: thus the relative criminality of North and South Wales is *directly* as 7 to 8 (of every 10,000 of the Welsh people). Mr. Prichard, moreover, appears to draw his conclusions from one year's returns only (1849). No averages can be depended upon under ten or five years at least. If from an urn filled with different coloured balls,

I draw only one ball, I can from that obtain no knowledge of the proportionate number of different coloured balls contained in the urn; but after a *series* of drawings, I shall be enabled to conclude (with more or less certainty, according to the extent of the series) the relative quantity of balls of each colour within the vessel.—See *Quetelet on Probabilities*.

The Rev. E. H. forwards 5s. in postage stamps for the "Loan Fund."

Irving, One of the King's Own, sends 2s. 6d. for the Crippled Seller of Nutmeg-Graters.

26th August, 1851.

"SIR,

"Seeing by last week's number of your most valuable work 'London Labour and the Poor,' that it was your intention of treating of a fourth class, viz., 'Those who need not work,' I should be much obliged by your informing me at what period of the work you intend entering on it; and also if it is your intention of giving portraits to illustrate the present subject of 'Those that will not work.' Hoping to have an answer, when convenient, in 'London Labour,'

"Your most obedient Servant,

"R. S.

("A reader from the first.")

Portraits of all the classes treated of will be given. It is impossible to say when those who *need not work* will be treated of, seeing that the Operatives and the Distributors have not been as yet entered upon. Mr. Mayhew hopes to pay his attention to all in good time, though really the subject he has undertaken is so vast that it becomes almost fearful to contemplate.

The following is etymological, and worthy of attention:—

"Liverpool, 26th August, 1851.

"SIR,

"Reading the part of your work of July 5th, including Bird-sellers, &c., I found, at page 70, your opinion that the word 'Duffer' appears to be connected with the German 'Dürffen,' to want, to be needy. I am a German myself, and as I know you are always willing to take a correction, where you find it founded on reasons, I take the liberty to give you my opinion concerning the origin of 'Duffer.'

"There is a word in German spelled 'Duff, Duffen,' to make something blind (windows), to make it looking better as it looked before; and, figurative, to cheat somebody, and to change the appearance of something in any way.

"Is it not more likely that word Duffer is connected with this word Duff? Besides, the word 'Dürffen' is spelled in German 'dürffen.'

"Sir, yours,

"A German.

("Constant reader of your work.")

The German *Duffen* is connected with the Anglo-Saxon *Dufian*, to dive. Mr. Mayhew prefers the derivation *Durfen* as being connected with

that of *Pedlar*, but still the matter is far from being proved. For dialectic derivation we require to find the word itself (not the root of it) differently spelt, but having the same signification. The conditions are fulfilled by neither of the derivations of *Duffer*.

The following speaks for itself. It shows how the accursed cheap system is maintained, and how the wives of working-men are invariably used to degrade the value of labour for the production of slop goods of all kinds. Mr. Sidney Herbert told us some eighteen months ago that the only remedy for the lowness of women's wages was to ship off our female-workers to the colonies. 20,000% were subscribed for this purpose; some half-dozen ship-loads have been sent out—and yet it would appear from the subjoined that the remuneration for female-labour is not a farthing-piece the better: when *will* these Political Economists see their mistakes?

"SIR,

"I have read many of your details, and have felt shocked at the statement given of the condition of many of the labouring population. You have done good service to humanity in exposing the tyranny and oppression of such employers as Moses, Hyams, &c., and I trust you will give the publicity of your pages to every case of extortion and defrauding of the poor. The following statement will show that in the 'lowest depth' of low wages there is 'a lower deep.' A Jew, or converted Jew Printer, trading not a hundred miles from the Farringdon-street end of Ludgate-hill, is now paying 1d. a thousand for cutting labels by scissors—formerly he paid 3d., then reduced it to 2d., and it is now at the sum I have named. He gives the work to the wives of the men in his employ, who dare not

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The subjoined table of wages, which, if correct, is highly valuable, has been kindly furnished by R. H. Mr. Mayhew prints it here to preserve it, but he in no way pledges himself as to its accuracy. It is the production of a gentleman who is utterly unknown to him, and who gives no voucher for his respectability. The author is further a gentleman with a strong "economical" bias, and this alone Mr. Mayhew (without wishing to impute the least wilful perversion of the facts) is well aware will always give the mind a warp towards the interest of the employer, for Political Economy as it stands is super-eminently the science of trading.

The rate of remuneration for the working man, we are told, is to be tested simply by what may be termed a scramble—the law of supply and demand—without any regard to the subsistence of the labourers or the share they contribute towards the increased value of the materials on which they operate, though the rate of profits among traders, we are told, is to be determined by the cost of living. For instance, “in a small sea port town,” says Adam Smith, “a little grocer will make 40 or 50 per cent. upon a stock of a single hundred pounds, while a considerable wholesale merchant in the same place will scarce make 8 or 10 per cent. upon a stock of ten thousand. The trade of the grocer may be necessary for the conveniency of the inhabitants, and the narrowness of the market may not admit the employment of a larger capital in the business. *The man, however, must not only live by his trade, but live by it suitably to the qualifications it requires.*” A new Political Economy, one that will take *some little notice* of the claims of labour, doing justice as well to the workman as to the employer, stands foremost among the *desiderata*, or things wanted, in the present age. As the science now exists, Ikey Solomons, the Jew Fence, is the perfection of its principles. He buys in the cheapest market and sells in the dearest, and he is regulated in all his dealings *solely* by the principle of supply and demand. Were there more thieves and less receivers, of course he would give even less for the stolen goods than he does; and were there more receivers and fewer thieves, of course each receiver, by the principle of competition, would give more. Nor can the fence’s exorbitant profits be quarrelled with “economically.” They are, thus viewed, merely greater remuneration for greater risk, and *perfectly justifiable*. Has any economist, however, the courage to justify them, and say that the market should be thrown open, and free trade, *without any restrictions whatever*, allowed to the receivers of stolen goods? W. B. B., the economist, has told us, in these pages, that “justice” and “right” and “conscience” are mere conceits, having no foundation in nature—moral bogies, as it were, invented by old women to frighten the naughty, and surely after this Ikey, the economist, will be one of the forms of his hero-worship, at least if there be any worship in the gentleman at all. All this, however, but little concerns the Wage List of R. H., which, as was before said, is given here with a view to its preservation.

WEEKLY WAGES OF STUFF HAT FINISHERS.

[illegible]

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The above statement of wages is, however, objectionable on other points besides those before raised, and as employers often deceive themselves, and the public too, respecting the earnings of their workmen, Mr. Mayhew will here append a short account as to how wage statements should be made out *in fairness both to employer and employed*. Of course it is to the interest of employers to make it appear that their workmen earn as much as possible, and of working men to make out that their wages are as little as possible. There is a natural tendency to exceed the truth on both sides, and this tendency, even without wilful dishonesty, will necessarily incline to exaggeration. For instance, an employer asserts that the wages of a working tailor are 36s. a week, and instantly the public conclude that the operatives in that trade have little to complain of. But in receiving this statement, we have first to inquire whether the operative earning this amount of money belongs to the better or worse paid class of workmen, and if to the former, what are the wages of the latter, and what proportion do the worse paid men bear to the better paid. But even suppose this done, it would still give us no accurate knowledge on the subject.

Wages are strictly remuneration for work done. Hence it is useless to tell us merely what the remuneration has been (for this is but the employer's side of the question); for a full and fair account, we should know how much labour has been given or exacted for the stated amount of pay (this is the working man's part of the subject). If the men are paid by the day they may, by extra supervision, be made to do double the amount of work usual in the trade (when their wages will be virtually reduced one-half). Such is the case in the

day's work, and employed "seconders" to finish the work for them, while the average wages of *all* the hands were proved by this employer's ledger to be less than Mr. Mayhew had declared.

But even after all this sifting, we shall have arrived only at the *nominal* wages of the workman, and these *nominal* wages are often merely a blind to the public and the trade, being widely different from the *virtual* wages, or sum really received by the operatives. The fashionable mode of proceeding among employers at present is not to reduce wages directly, but indirectly, by laying some extra charge upon the men—that is to say, to increase their burdens by a kind of *indirect* taxation as it were. Hence it behoves us to set forth most particularly in every trade what are the *deductions to the wages* said to be received.

Now these deductions Mr. Mayhew finds to be of several kinds. (1.) Fines or stoppages for positive or assumed misconduct. (2.) Rent charged for use of tools or implements of trade, as in the system of pence among the sawyers, and the frame rents among the stockingers. (3.) Cost of such appurtenances as the workman is made to find, as trimmings, in the cheap tailors' trade. (4.) Rent for gas. (5.) Rent for shop, occasionally introduced among piece workers as a fine for absence from work, on the plea that "the rent is going on all the same." (6.) Bonus paid to foreman in order to obtain work. (7.) Sum paid to middleman from whom the work is obtained. (8.) Stoppages for benefit or provident fund, to which the workman loses all claim in case of being discharged. This is not at all an unusual trick among employers. If, moreover, the work be done at home we must deduct all the necessary

expenses in connection with it, which are thus forced on the workman. These are: (1.) Candles and firing, used expressly for the work. (2.) Rent where the work is carried on in a distinct place. But these and the foregoing are only the more direct modes of reducing wages indirectly. The more indirect modes of lowering the remuneration for labour are: (1.) Reducing the quality of the provisions among those who board and lodge with their employers, as milliners, &c. (2.) Forcing or expecting the men to deal with the employer for their provisions, and charging them an undue price for the same. (3.) Forcing or expecting the men either to take lodgings of their employers which they do not use, or for which they are charged an undue price, or to rent houses of their employers on the same terms. (4.) Forcing or expecting the men to have their drink of their employer, and favouring those who expend the most of their earnings in this manner. (5.) Forcing the workpeople to find security for the work they take out, and thus to pay an undue price for their food or drink to those bakers, butchers, or publicans, who make a trade of "standing security" for the poorer workpeople. But the *aids to wages* are quite as necessary to be ascertained as even the *drawbacks*. These aids are of two kinds, according as they consist of either direct or indirect additions made

strapping shops of the carpenters' trade. Or the men may be worked over hours, as by the "scurf employers" in the scavengers' trade. If, on the other hand, the men are paid by the piece, the price should be given as well as the ordinary rate of working, that is to say, the time that each piece occupies an *average* hand in making. A "quick hand" may work twice as fast as a slow one, and it would be unfair to cite this as the average earnings of the several hands in the trade (though this was done to Mr. Mayhew by an army clothier respecting the "loopers"). It should also be stated whether the work is done at home or on the employer's premises. If on the employer's premises the ordinary hours of labour should be set forth, and if at home, or any work be taken home to finish in after hours, not only the same statement should be given, but mention should be made whether the workman employs any one else to assist him. An employer, in contradiction to a statement made by Mr. Mayhew, that those who "loop" the soldiers' coats earn on an average 3s. 6d. a week, asserted that he was paying some of his hands as much as 15s. a week for the same work, and account books were proffered in proof of the correctness of the assertion. On inquiry it turned out that the 15s. had been received only by the quickest hands, who often took two coats home with them after their

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The following curious document has come to hand. Mr. Mayhew will inquire into the facts, and report accordingly.

"September 6th, 1851.

"Sir,

"In page 418 of your first volume, you speak of a meeting consisting of *thieves*.

"It has been agitated, time out of mind—Reform! Reform! Reform! has been posted in every hole and corner, for some political or great social purpose, and conceiving the idea that yours was a reform of the above class of outcasts, which has made me trouble you with these few lines; and also in bringing under your notice a case, which is worthy of your consideration, as well as every lover of his species, and of which I am afraid is not a solitary one.

"The case I am about to show is thus:—a young couple which are married, and both of which has led a dishonest life for many years, and both of which have refrained from those practices these twelve or fourteen months past; the husband has held a situation as a conductor of an omnibus. The proprietor, whose name is Bennett, and to whom he gave every satisfaction while in his employ, having to renew his licence, it was refused him, although there was not a stain on his character, nor a complaint laid against him during the time he was a conductor; but it was refused him on account of his former life, and having been convicted, he has been out of a situation this last four or five months. His master is willing to take him on again as soon as he regains his licence.

"Sir, could you tell me how a government can keep a man from getting an honest livelihood, or a nation can be justified in so allowing it, as it is done in their name, by those who represent them (or ought to). We are not all demigods, nor heroes in honesty, nor do I believe we all would go through the fiery ordeal of dying by starvation sooner than doing worse. If this young man of whom I speak can attain his end, he will become an honest man and a good member of society; such is my hopes, at any rate. All that is left now is a little of your valuable advice. 'Do good to all men' was the spring that moved me to this act, humble as it is, but still hoping to do more,

"I remain, yours, &c.,

"T—A—, a constant reader."

Mr. MAYHEW has to acknowledge with thanks returns from the authorities of the undermentioned places, in answer to the following queries:—

Number of prostitutes well-dressed living in brothels?

Number of prostitutes well-dressed walking the streets?

Number of prostitutes, low, infesting low neighbourhoods?

Number of brothels where prostitutes are kept?

Average number of prostitutes kept in each house of ill fame where prostitutes resort?

Average number of prostitutes resorting to each?

Number of houses where prostitutes lodge?

Average number of prostitutes lodging in each?

The localities from which answers have been received are as follows:—

Metropolitan Police.

Dudley.

Dewsbury.

Reading.

Northampton.

Chesterfield.

Hertford.

Brecon.

Forebridge (near Stafford).

Newcastle (under Lyne).

Margate.

Bolton.

Dublin.

Canterbury.

Merthyr Tydvil.

Leicester.

Carlisle.

Belfast.

Wakefield.

Dorchester.

Huntingdon.

South Shields.

North Shields.

Warwick.

Halifax.

Manchester.

Borough of Lancaster.

Bath.

Leeds.

Glasgow.

Edinburgh.

Bristol.

Nottingham.

Liverpool.

Birmingham.

Plymouth.

Newcastle-on-Tyne.

Mr. Mayhew has also to acknowledge the receipt of Reports from the following Societies:—

Guardian Society for reclaiming females who have deviated from the paths of virtue.

British Ladies' Society for promotion of reformation of female prisoners.

British Penitent Female Refuge.

London Female Penitentiary.

Refuge for the Destitute.

Answers have likewise been received from several of the Metropolitan workhouses.

Returns have also been forwarded from some of the London hospitals.

The returns from the governments abroad, have not yet come to hand.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The following is sent to correct an error :—

" Sir,

" In your Answers to Correspondents in the 36th No. of 'London Labour,' &c., which has just reached me in Part 9, there is an error of the press, which renders the two first lines of my communication unintelligible. They should stand thus :—

" Haberdasher	} <i>Minshew, from Ger.</i>
" Haberdashery	
<i>Habt ihr das, i.e., Have you that, &c.</i>	

" In your estimate of the value of Richardson's Dictionary on account of the copious examples it contains from the earliest to the latest authors, and also of his notions as to the historic mode of Etymology, you concur in, I believe, the general opinion. I am aware the work has been censured as wholly deficient in what you term 'dialectic Etymology, through the medium of cognate languages.' But it is only fair to keep in mind that the author considered *Researches into the Affinities of the Indo-Germanic tongues* (the cognate languages, to which, I presume, you allude) to be the peculiar province of Comparative Philology, and quite out of place in an English dictionary. Thus, he observes of the display of Oriental reading made by Dr. Webster in his Preliminary Essays, 'that as introductory to a dictionary of the English language, it seems as appropriate and useful as a reference to the code of Gentoo laws to settle a question of English inheritance.' Whether right or wrong in this opinion, I do not discuss.

" I am sufficiently national, notwithstanding my pride and joy in the Crystal Palace Exhibition, to wish the names of Sir Wm. Jones and John Horne Tooke not to be overlaid by those of Geisner and Bopp, great as they undoubtedly are.

" With respect to Horne Tooke, allow me to say, that I heartily subscribe to the following words of Lord Brougham, 'As everything that was done before' (the '*Diversions of Purley*') 'was superseded by it, so nothing has been effected since, unless in pursuing its views and building upon its solid foundations.'—*Statesmen in the Time of George III., Second Series.*

" I remain, yours, &c.

" A. B."

" What is meant," adds the same correspondent, "by 'the Latin *give*' in the seventh line from the bottom of your second paragraph, col. 2?"

The word should have been *sive*; give was an error of the press. Surely Lord Brougham, great man as he is, is not the best possible authority to quote upon a matter of Saxon philology; but A. B., if he pushes his etymological researches a little farther than Horne Tooke and Anglo-Saxon, will see that comparative philology is to the true understanding of languages, what comparative anatomy is to natural history. Without this all is vain conjecture, and the derivation of Gherkin from King Jeremiah, represents very truly the fanciful part of the science. Upon Horne Tooke's plan any derivation may be given, as witness his explanation of the origin of poltroon.

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QUERY asks, If wages are not regulated by the law of Supply and Demand, on what *do* they depend? Wages depend, or *should* depend, upon the share of the produce justly accruing to the working man. Production is generally a joint affair; one party contributing the materials, tools, shelter, food, and superintendence necessary for the due performance of the work, and the other contributing the work itself. These are the two elements which make up the real value of every article produced, and common equity demands that each of the contributors should share in the result according to the proportion in which his contribution serves to increase the ultimate worth of the produce. The inquiry, therefore, into what regulates wages, resolves itself into a second inquiry, what regulates the share of the produce *justly* accruing to the working man. At present this is determined by a continual struggle between the two contributors as to how much the one can extort from the other, and how little the other can be starved into accepting. This is called the law of Supply and Demand, or the relation between population and capital; and is about as just a means of deciding what is essentially a point of simple equity, as a standing army is of settling the *rights* of nations. Neither numbers nor power have any connection whatever with a matter of abstract justice.

The many discontents prevailing among the labouring classes of this country arise mainly from the present mode of regulating wages. Socialism, chartism, communism, are all necessary consequences of the infraction of the fundamental law of the true economy of national wealth, viz., that production is a partnership, and that the labourer is *therefore* entitled to a fair share of the produce. Give him this share, recognise his claim to *participate* in the wealth that he creates, and you not only stop all cause for grumbling, but you put an end to all new-fangled principles of society (for this is the foundation-stone of every "model city")—you make the interest of employer and employed one and the same; whereas now they are diametrically opposed, and so you destroy all that bitter enmity between classes which is ready at any moment at present to burst forth into physical fury. It wants but this fusion of interests to wed the two great clans of this country—the savers and the workers—into one united family.

But what regulates the share of the produce accruing to the workman? This, as was before stated, is determined by the additional value that the labour of the workman confers upon the materials supplied by the capitalist; the conferring of such additional value being the sole reason why the employer pays any wages at all to the labourer. It is no matter to the capitalist whether there be 10,000 or 100,000 labourers in the trade; he is determined in the price he pays for so much work by the price he will receive for it. Economists, however, deny that prices can in any way regulate wages.

Formerly the workmen of this country were all villeins—either "villeins in gross," performing the lowest household duties, or "villeins regardant," attached to the soil, and being specially engaged in agriculture. The services rendered by them were either arbitrary, that is to say, dependent on the mere will of their lord, which constituted a state of "pure villeinage"—or certain and defined, which constituted privileged villeinage, or "villein-socage;" but in either case the person and the property of the villein belonged entirely to the lord, for the labourers were *incapable of acquiring anything for themselves*.

We have put an end to the villeinage system of labour, thank God! but we have transferred the labourer from the tyranny of the noble to the greed of the trader, who, aware of the absence of all *legal* right on the part of the workmen to obtain any *share* (saving the barest subsistence) out of the wealth they produce, takes care to perpetuate the wrong that the labourers shall have no power to acquire anything for themselves.

After the villeinage system of labour came the hiring system, by which the compulsory villein of old was changed into the voluntary bondsman—the serf into the servant; the sole distinction being that for the sake of a small pittance over and above his subsistence (and often not that), the workman was made to part with all right to participate in the wealth he created, *for so long as he continued the servant of his master*. And this is the system which remains in force to the present day. The workmen of this country are all hirelings, selling their services for a little present subsistence, rather than being the just participators in the riches they produce. There are but two objections possible to the above line of argument: the one is that by the present arrangement under the law of Supply and Demand, the labourer *does* obtain his fair share of the produce; and the other, that the labourer has *no right* to any such share. The latter objection is, of course, a justification for pure villeinage, the wrong of which consisted mainly in depriving the labourer of the property he inherently possessed in his labour. The former objection is, however, of a different kind. It admits the right of the labourer to share in the wealth he creates, and asserts that by the law of Supply and Demand he obtains this share in as equitable a manner as possible.

The reply to this, objection is first by the fact so often quoted here in illustration of the injustice done to the operative, viz., that the padlock which sells for a shilling the workman receives but a half-penny for making, and this surely even the most unconscionable would not attempt to justify as a *fair* division of the proceeds between the capitalists, the distributors, and the producers.

A second answer to the same point is that the law of Supply and Demand cannot possibly be a *fair* method of testing the amount of the share of the produce accruing to the labourer;

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seeing that it pays no regard to the value of such produce, but merely to the sum set aside by the employers for the remuneration of their workpeople during the performance of the work. By the law of Supply and Demand the workman's wages are made to depend solely upon the WAGE FUND, whereas they should, in justice, be regulated by the PRODUCE FUND, which are two very different things. The share of the Wage Fund accruing to each of the operatives depends simply on the number of workpeople among whom that Fund is to be divided, and pays no regard to the produce or value of the work; whereas it is here maintained that the operative should be remunerated in proportion to the amount of wealth which his labour contributes to the Produce Fund. This is the law of justice, the other the law of necessity. The workman creates so much wealth; he, by the exercise of his skill, gives to one pound's worth of materials the value of two or three pounds; and, doing so, a certain proportion of the extra value belongs to him by the most cogent of all rights to individual possession—the right of creation. Deny this right, and you deny the very foundation of the rights of property. You may, by the communistic theory of society, dispute his title to participate in the wealth he creates; but, under the present system of things, it is impossible that you can do otherwise than admit it. "The property," says Adam Smith, "which every man has in his labour, as it is the original foundation of all other property, so it is the most sacred and inviolable. The patrimony of a poor man lies in the strength and dexterity of his hands."

Wages, then, depend upon the increased value that a workman, by the exercise of his skill, gives to the materials on which he operates. The rate of remuneration for labour should be determined by the amount that the materials will sell for after being operated upon by the workman over and above their original cost and the ordinary rate of profit on the capital employed; and they certainly should not be regulated by what the employer can induce or compel the workman, through his necessities, to accept. The relation of the employer to the workman is that of a pawnbroker making an advance upon so much property deposited with him; and the employer, like the pawnbroker, is bound in justice to hand over to the workman the amount that the goods realize, when sold, over and above what he originally advanced upon them, and minus the ordinary rate of profit on the capital employed. And as the pawnbroker has no right to force the starving man to accept what he chooses (or the funds of his trade will allow him) to advance in full of all demands on the property when sold, so the employer should not have the power, because he advances the subsistence of the workman, to appropriate to himself the whole of the after proceeds of the labour. Who would say that the law of Supply and Demand would be a just means of regulating the amounts to be given by pawnbrokers to the poor, in exchange for their goods (without regard to the ulterior proceeds of their

sale)? Does not the pawnbroker know that the poor hungry wretch is at his mercy, and will take whatever he can get? and what are the slop employers of the present day but labour pawnbrokers of the very worst kind, advancing what they please on the work, and over whom the poor workpeople have no control whatever?

The only true and equitable system of wages is the tribute system; or that which makes the remuneration of the workman depend on the value of the produce of his labour, and which is opposed both to the hireling system, which pays no regard to the produce or just property of the labourer, and the villeinage system, which regards neither his property nor his liberty. As a villein, the workman is the slave of the capitalist; as a hireling, he is the servant of him; while as a tributer, he is his partner, having a common interest with him, and consequently being as anxious to promote his employer's welfare as he is his own. As yet we have only reached the hireling system of wages; when the tribute system will be universally adopted throughout the land, of course, it is impossible to predicate; but until this is done the same poverty, the same discontent, the same class enmity, and the same danger to the community, must continue to exist as now prevails among us.

Mr. MAYHEW has to acknowledge the receipt of E. B.'s communication. The valuable table of wages and expenditure which he forwards will be given in as early a number as possible. Will E. B., however, oblige Mr. Mayhew by stating whether he is a quick hand or not, and the usual hours of labour with him, both of which conditions he will perceive are necessary qualifications for an individual statement? Are there also any deductions to be made from the wages given? and have the prices paid for his labour remained the same through the series of years indicated?—if not, please name the difference.

R. H.'s communication has been received with thanks. It shall appear in an early number.

D. W., of the Aberdeen Working Man's Library, will be written to privately.

B. H. G. D. (Liverpool) is thanked for the preferred information. Will he let Mr. Mayhew know the nature of his promised communication? The numbers have appeared.

J. M. G. (Northampton).—The subject has already appeared.

X. Y. Z.'s communication has been received with many thanks. It shall appear in an early number.

W. L. Y. (Woolwich) shall be written to if he will forward his address. The parts are now reprinted, and may be had by ordering them.

J. T. (Liverpool).—The statements are always taken down word for word from the narrator, when possible.

G. W. is thanked. Mr. Mayhew will attend to his communication at an early date.

A. B. C.'s letter shall be printed, and doubtless many street-sellers will be glad to avail themselves of the offer therein made.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

In the last number of "Those that will not work," a letter was printed from T. A., who wrote on behalf of two thieves who were inclined to lead an honest life, and one of whom had been refused his licence as an omnibus conductor, on account of his previous career. Mr. Mayhew promised to institute inquiries as to the facts of the case, and to report thereon. He has accordingly placed himself in communication with the Commissioners of Police, from whom the following reply has been received:—

"Metropolitan Police Office,
"4, Whitehall Place,
"24th Sept., 1851.

"SIR,

"I AM directed by Mr. Mayne to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 22nd instant, and to acquaint you in reply, that after repeated careful considerations of the circumstances of the case of the party mentioned, he felt it his duty not to grant him a licence as conductor of an omnibus, and that Mr. Mayne regretted he was obliged to come to that conclusion; but he cannot enter into any statement of the grounds upon which he acts in executing a very responsible, discretionary power.

"I am, Sir,
"Your most obedient Servant,
"C. YARDLEY,
"Chief Clerk."

By the above it will be seen that the Commissioners assert themselves, in as delicate a manner as possible, to have had sufficient cause for the refusal of the licence; let us, therefore, look calmly at the case. It may, doubtlessly, be a great evil that those who have adopted criminal courses as a means of subsistence should, when they may be disposed to reform, be denied by the government authorities the means of earning an honest livelihood. But suppose for a moment that the police were to grant licences to men whom they knew, and whom it is indeed acknowledged, to be thieves, to act as omnibus conductors; that is to say, to fill situations not only of great trust to the omnibus proprietors, but of no little temptation to the conductors themselves, as well as involving a continued intercourse with the public, and consequently requiring persons of at least civil, sober, and honest habits! What would the public say if the police were to take this privilege upon themselves, and, believing in the tales of repentance urged by old offenders, they were to elect persons of known dishonesty to fill situations of considerable temptation, and requiring no little command over the temper and habits? T. A. forgets, in his zeal for his friends, and his desire to see an opportunity for reformation afforded to all those who have led a dishonest life, the peculiar nature of the duty confided to the Police Commissioners. The police have a very onerous and ungrateful office to perform, and to those who have not had occasion to see them other than in their public capacity, it

may appear that they sometimes carry out the authority entrusted to them with undue harshness, but to others who, like Mr. Mayhew, have had repeated occasions to seek from them information on subjects connected with the poor and the criminal classes, they are most certainly a body of persons actuated by every desire to benefit and improve the condition of the people generally. Mr. Mayhew *knows* this from his own experience, and indeed he is most glad to be called upon to make this public expression of his opinion on the matter. For many months now he has been in frequent communication with the heads of the police force, receiving important information from them, and, as a man wishing to do justice to all parties, he must confess that they are a body "more sinned against than sinning." That there may occur among members of the force repeated instances of a tyrannical use of the power entrusted to them, Mr. Mayhew does not attempt to deny, but assuredly these are the exceptions; and, so far from their being in any way countenanced by the Commissioners, he *knows* that no persons regret or censure them so deeply as they do. People are apt to forget the benefits they owe to the vigilance of the police—the protectors by night and day of our persons, property, and liberties, from undue aggression; we should remember, when we lay our heads down on our pillows, to whom we owe the security of our slumbers.

Mr. Mayhew is well aware that the police appear to working men to be a force instituted by the rich against the poor, and created to maintain the laws, in their oppression of the humbler classes. That the duty of the police is to maintain the laws, there cannot be the least doubt. If we are to have any laws at all, there must be some force to see them executed; a lawless community is neither desirable, nor, thank Heaven! possible for any length of time. The error of the poor people generally lies in considering the harshness of some of our laws to be the harshness of those who execute them. The street-sellers are an instance of this mistake; they visit the errors of the street acts on the heads of the force which carries them out, and so get to regard the police as the great enemies of the people and themselves. And so T. A., thinking only of the injury done to the conductor who has been deprived of his licence on account of the dishonesty of his past career, and forgetting the duty the police owe to society in general, upbraids them with a tyrannical exercise of power. The Commissioners dare not make any such hazardous experiments as to delegate situations of trust to those who are known to them to be untrustworthy.

Suppose T. A.'s friends, after receiving their licence, were to lapse into their former malpractices; and let us say, for the sake of the argument, that they were to avail themselves of the situation of conductor to pass counterfeit money, and it then came out that the police, from bene-

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

volent motives, gave licences to known thieves—what would parliament and the press have to say on the subject? Or suppose the temptation of continually receiving large sums of money for the proprietor of the omnibus was to prove too strong for those who had once subsisted by thieving, what would their employer say to the police for licensing, and so tacitly vouching for the fitness of known bad characters to fill posts of trust?

But though the police, as government officers, cannot grant to persons of notoriously dishonest propensities the opportunity of leading a new life when they are so inclined, Mr. Mayhew, who stands in a different position with the public, will be happy to interest himself on behalf of the two persons mentioned in the letter of T. A., and if they can assure him of the sincerity of their desire to reform, he will do all he can to put them in the way of carrying out their resolves. Will T. A. communicate again with Mr. Mayhew on the subject?

The following is very valuable, as correcting a derivation given in this work. A. B., who ob-

jects to the use of anything but Saxon in the etymology of the English language, will here see how important it is that all languages (as proceeding from one parent stock) should be consulted for the complete understanding of our own:—

in some foreign language, differently spelt, but meaning the same thing, there can be no error. The subject of the slang or cant language of a country is most peculiar; and all countries seem to have a distinct criminal or mendicant phraseology; even the Hottentots have their "cuze-cat." The "argot" of the French, the "roth-sprach" of the Germans, &c., all seem to be formed on the same basis—partly metaphorical and partly by the introduction of such corrupted foreign terms as are likely to be unknown to the society amid which the slang-speakers exist. There are several Hebrew terms in our "cant language," obtained, it would appear, from the intercourse of the thieves with the Jew fences; many of the cant terms, again, are Sanscrit, got from the gypsies; many Latin, got by the beggars from the Catholic prayers before the Reformation; and many, again, Italian, got from the wandering musicians and others: indeed the showmen, of whom we shall have to treat shortly, have but lately introduced a number of Italian phrases into their cant language. The slang of this country, of which there are several varieties (Mr. Mayhew once was

in company with a crossing sweeper, who could speak three distinct kinds of cant, and who was evidently not a little proud of his learning), is a most interesting subject, and one which will occupy us largely when we come to treat of the thieves and their ways. Some of the slang phrases are merely old English terms, which have become obsolete through the caprices of fashion. For example, the slang phrase, "that is not the cheese," expressive of something not approved of, and which was supposed to have some fanciful reference to the caseous comestible, being occasionally Frenchified by the wittlings of the day into "c'est ne pas le fromage," and occasionally paraphrased by them into "it is not the precise Stilton," was, or rather the cheese was, nothing more nor less than an old English term, meaning choice. Chaucer says,—

"To chese (choose) whether she wold him marry or no." And the Anglo-Saxon *cyst* (from *ceosan*, to choose) means not only choice, election, but what is or would be chosen for its excellence; hence, "it is not the cheese," signified, simply, it is not what I should choose. So again, "that's not the ticket," meant merely, that's not etiquette. Those who know the derivation of the word etiquette itself (having the same origin) will not hesitate to adopt this rendering, strained as it may appear to others. But the whole subject of "cant" is, to the philologist, replete with interest of the most profound character.

Mr. Mayhew has to acknowledge, with thanks, returns from the authorities of the undermentioned places, in answer to the following queries:—

Number of prostitutes, well-dressed, living in brothels?
Number of prostitutes, well-dressed, walking the streets?
Number of prostitutes, low, infesting low neighbourhoods?
Number of brothels where prostitutes are kept?

The above is conclusive, and proves to us that nothing short of direct dialectic derivation is sufficient to satisfy the mind. All indirect and conjectural etymology (as derivation from supposed roots) is mere waste of learning. Indirectly, almost any etymology may be given, but directly, that is to say, by finding the exoteric term itself

"I remain, Sir,
Your obedient Servant,
"E. L."

The above is conclusive, and proves to us that nothing short of direct dialectic derivation is sufficient to satisfy the mind. All indirect and conjectural etymology (as derivation from supposed roots) is mere waste of learning. Indirectly, almost any etymology may be given, but directly, that is to say, by finding the exoteric term itself

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

A working man sends the following extraordinary illustration of the boasted principle that machinery increases employment, and so, by extending the demand for labour, raises the wages of the workman:—

"Sheffield, September 22, 1851.

"Sir,

"I beg to be excused in the freedom I take with your patience in the perusal of these few humble lines, but having been a constant and an attentive reader of your valuable work, 'London Labour and the London Poor,' I should like to hear the opinion of R. H. or J. H., of the Manchester school, on this question. I ask what is the cause of reduction in the price of railway-spring making? We well know that railways keep continually increasing, consequently the demand for those articles must be greater; and, on the other hand, it is perfectly well known that there are no more manufactories of them than there were a few years ago; but the supply is on the increase, and is now wanted to be made cheaper. Three or four years since there was no machinery; and since its introduction it has completely put away with the practice of forging the work. The price of forging railway-springs was 1s. 10d. per cwt., at which rate two good workmen would earn about 12s. per day; but now the same work that they used to get 12s. for is done by machinery at the cost of not more than 3s. or 3s. 6d. It seems most singularly strange to us where the profit goes to if the proprietors do not get it. So much for the forging. A strike has recently taken place to maintain the price of fitting railway-springs; and appeals to the public have been circulated through the town of Sheffield, of which I inclose one for your inspection, merely to show you and the public that the produce of the Cyclops Works (specimens of whose manufactures occupy so large a space in the Great Exhibition) is procured from the working men with a great deal of tyranny by the rich capitalist. I beg a thousand pardons for intruding on your patience, and remain

"Yours,

"A WORKING MAN."

The inclosed bill is as follows:—

"THE APPEAL OF THE RAILWAY SPRING MAKERS TO THE INHABITANTS OF SHEFFIELD AND THE PUBLIC GENERALLY.

"FELLOW TOWNSMEN,

"Our present condition and circumstances impel us to submit for your inspection the following facts, in the hope that they will excite that sympathy and good feeling which we think we are deserving of, and which have often been displayed in cases similar to ours.

"We, of course, are a class of artizans who are placed in the unenviable plight of having to resist most unjustifiable aggressions on the part of certain capitalists, in the price of our labour. We are precisely in that condition when self-defence not only becomes a duty, but even a moral obliga-

tion. The facts we are about to state in support of the above assertion are simply these:—About four years ago the price of railway springs fitting and vicing were 5s. per hundred weight, this was the current price: but the following year a reduction was attempted at by one of our greatest employers, which eventually succeeded. The consequence of this was, the price of our labour was reduced from 5s. to 3s. 6d. per hundred weight. We submitted tamely to this reduction, as we wished, if possible, to preserve harmonious relations with our employers, and especially with two principal ones, with whom the present contention has arisen. But mark! the reduction which we assented to was not doomed to rest there, for it gave a stimulus to the rapacity of the two manufacturers aforesaid, for they shortly afterwards made a further attempt, which, if quietly submitted to, will take at least from 30 to 40 per cent. from the price we have previously been receiving; but this is not all: from the disposition which is manifested towards us, we have no guarantee when this cheapening process is to terminate. Since the time that we suffered our work to be lowered to 3s. 6d. per hundred weight, the grinders receive at the rate of 3d. per hundred weight out of it, and the benefit that we derive from their services in this respect does not exceed 6d. per man per week; and it is an important fact to state, that there are men belonging to us, who have worked for the two employers aforesaid, for scanty wages, and the same men, in consequence of having to perform their work with very bad materials, have been subjected to all the insults and tyranny that the cruelty and selfishness of man towards his fellow man can possibly devise. But perhaps it may be said, 'there is a numerous class of artizans in other trades who are working for very low wages, and therefore they are equally deserving of public sympathy.' If such remarks should be made, we shall here beg to state the following appalling facts relative to our trade. It is indisputably one of the most laborious description, and we almost venture to challenge the ingenuity of man to produce one of a more pernicious tendency, or one that has a more destructive influence on the human constitution than ours. We not only work in one of the hottest atmospheres, but we have to breathe a sulphurous and poisonous blast, arising from the material that we work with. Men of the most robust constitution scarcely attain the age of 50, and in no one instance can we find a man who has attained the age of 60. We can further state, as a positive fact, that scarcely any man can follow our trade for the space of a dozen or fourteen years, without being completely emaciated, and consequently unfit for labour.

"Fellow Townsman, we will not trespass too much upon your patience by presenting to you a large number of harrowing details, affecting our welfare. You will perceive by the above description, that we, as a class of artizans, are fairly entitled to some consideration; you will also perceive, that in consequence of our lives being so

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

much embittered, and shortened, that we can put in a strong claim for living wages, as some compensation for the miseries we undergo, resulting from our employment. A little timely aid on your part will put a check to the insidious designs of two rapacious employers, who care nothing about moral obligations, justice, or humanity; who look upon the human machine as a means only of procuring for themselves the lion's share of the good things of this life, and who, in short, feel not half the tenderness towards human beings as they would towards inanimate machinery. The present struggle we have with them is a most important one; it is almost a case of life and death. When it is considered that our calling has contributed largely to the triumph of mechanical science, whereby stupendous machinery outstrips the celerity of the wind, or almost equals the rapidity of lightning, and whose beneficial influence is felt by all classes of the community; surely a combination of circumstances like these, entitles us to no small share of commiseration. Every dodge, no matter how mean and artful, has been tried by the two employers alluded to, to effect our downfall. They have tried to engage men from London and elsewhere to take our places, and as an inducement have offered them the same price as we are struggling to maintain, but they have signally failed in their object. They have also tried to effect their selfish designs by the means of articulated apprentices, &c., but this, we have no doubt, will prove a decided failure. We have the proud satisfaction of stating that all our other employers are quite willing to give the prices which we consider it our duty to uphold, and we have still the greater satisfaction of knowing that our men are firm.

"Once more fellow Townsmen, we say a little timely aid on your part will very quickly terminate a struggle which is at war with humanity and justice, and be assured that you will have the pleasing satisfaction of rescuing one of the most useful class of artizans that the community can boast of from inevitable ruin.

"Yours, very respectfully,

"THE COMMITTEE OF RAILWAY
"SPRING MAKERS.

"The Committee will sit at the house of Mrs. Johnson, Railway Hotel, Wicker, at half-past Seven o'clock every Saturday evening, and close at Ten, they will also sit every Monday evening at half-past Seven, and close at Ten, when the

subscriptions in aid of our cause will be thankfully received and gratefully acknowledged."

"Sept. 18, 1851."

Mr. Mayhew has been informed upon unquestionable authority that, owing to the cheapness of provisions, a general reduction of wages is contemplated by the manufacturers throughout the country. Should this be the case, it will, at least, open the eyes of the people generally to the Manchester motives for carrying free trade. The benefit derived from the alteration of the corn-laws will then stand thus:—20,000,000 quarters of corn reduced from 50s. to 40s. per quarter = 10,000,000*l.* sterling gained by some class or other. By whom, is the question? Certainly *not* by the landlords, or farmers, or agricultural labourers; and if the wages of working men be generally decreased, in consequence of the cheapness of food, which was said would be such a benefit to them, it certainly cannot be alleged that the operatives will have ultimately gained one penny by the measure; and since neither artizans nor agriculturists will have benefited by the change, who must have pocketed the 10,000,000*l.* saved by it, but the very manufacturers and traders who advocated the alteration, and used the poor merely as a stalking-horse to cover their own dishonest ends. Of course, to capitalists cheapness is the greatest possible blessing—to cause a sovereign to exchange for twice the previous quantity of commodities is to double the income of each capitalist through the country; but since this very cheapness is now brought about by the cheapening of the labour upon which alone the working man has to live, that which is said by economists to be the greatest possible benefit to the *community*, is a gain only to the small portion of it termed the moneyed classes. Assuredly were it not for the trade societies, the country would have been destroyed by the greed of the capitalists long ago.

Will W. P. (who sends Post Office order for 2*l.*) forward his address, so that Mr. Mayhew may communicate privately with him?

T. L. L., A. C., W. T. S., G. W. S., will be answered at the earliest opportunity.

T. A., who writes in answer to the reply of the Police Commissioners, will be communicated with privately.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The following is an offer of assistance for which Mr. Mayhew is much obliged, and of which he will avail himself when required.

" Wednesday Morning.

" My dear Sir,

"Whilst returning last night from Hackney, I happened to fall into conversation with the driver of the 'bus by which I travelled. Amongst other things, I asked him if the fraternity to which he belonged had as yet been honoured with a visit of inquiry from you. He told me *no*, but that he had heard of your benevolent labours, and that he should be most happy to give you any information that he could in reference to his calling; and that, if you wished it, he would gather together, to meet you at any place you might appoint, a number of drivers whom he evidently regarded as the cream of his profession,—to use his own words, "a set of gentlemanly, educated, intelligent men." He said, moreover, that he was very pleased to find that your researches would embrace his class, because the result of your investigation into its condition would enable the public to distinguish between the persons to whom he had referred, and those who by their misconduct, brought reproach on the whole guild. I, accordingly, asked him for his name, and said that I would forward it to you. It is ———: he drives one of the *Clapton* omnibuses. You will find him a civil, pleasant fellow, with some good-humoured, old-fashioned prejudices against trains and their congeners, steam-boats. He says that he has never been on a railway, and does not intend to go on one, unless forced to do so by business; and he edified me with an account of a trip to Gravesend which he took some time ago, driving down thither in a pony-cart in two hours from Cornhill, and then quietly seating himself at the window of his inn to enjoy simultaneously his shrimps and porter and the chagrin—as they came up from the pier—of some friends who had started from London Bridge by boat, at the same time that he left Cornhill, and who were both astonished and mortified to discover that he had got first to the common goal. I trust you will pardon my intrusion: my only motive for obtruding this scrawl upon your notice was the hope that I might be able to save you a little trouble; a service which I think all your readers are bound to render you, when in their power, in return for the weekly treat with which you furnish us, and for which we look forward as longingly as the city clerk for his Sunday pine.

"X. Y. Z."

Mr. Mayhew in the *Morning Chronicle* treated of omnibus drivers and conductors, but very briefly and imperfectly. Before long he purposes dealing with the Transit question again, and then will be thankful for such information as the friend X. Y. Z. can give him.

The following extract is from a pamphlet forwarded to the office of this work, and entitled "A Lecture by William Tweedie, on the subject of Total Abstinence from Intoxicating Beverages, a practical and efficient Remedy for Scarcity of Em-

ployment and Low Wages, lessening fierce competition, and relieving commercial depression :"—

"How far," inquires the lecturer, "will temperance principles add to the remuneration of the labourer, or increase the profitable labour to be performed? This can only be shown by an appeal to facts.

"First, I invite your attention to the following table, which shows the amount of labour employed in the production of several articles of manufacture, in daily consumption by the people. And here I would explain, that to enter fully into an examination of all the elements of production would be a tedious and unnecessary task ; inasmuch as both the preparation of raw material and retailer's profit involve much the same amount of labour in the several articles enumerated. I have, therefore, fixed upon some raw material. I have taken the article when it comes into the hand of the manufacturer, as raw material ; and, when it is manufactured, I have done with it. For instance, I take wool (when the manufacturer buys it) as raw material ; I have done with it when it is cloth ; consequently, I exclude the grower and the retail seller. It is the same with ale or beer. I consider the malt, hops, yeast, and fuel, all as raw material ; I have done with them when the liquor leaves the brewery, and is sold to the retailer.

“TABLE I.

“Amount of labour given in the production of—

	Value of the labour employed.			Value of goods.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Books, A	0	16	0	1	0	0
Silk, B	0	10	0	1	0	0
Blankets, C	0	10	0	1	0	0
Copper household pans, D	0	15	0	1	0	0
Tin " " D	0	9	0	1	0	0
Broad cloth and Wool- len, D	0	11	0	1	0	0
	<hr/> £3 11 0			<hr/> £6 0 0		

A Babbage's Economy of the Arts and Manufactures, pp. 205, 317.

B Howard and Co., silk manufacturers, Macclesfield.

c From an extensive firm in Witney.

d Babbage, 166. The average taken from present prices.

TABLE II.

"Amount of labour given in the production of—

	Value of labour.			Value of goods.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Ale or beer* . . .	0	10	6	6	0	0
* From an experiment on a small scale.						
10½ bushels of malt, at 8s.	£4	4	0			
Hops		0	19	0		
Fuel		0	2	0		
Yeast		0	0	6		
Brewery expenses		0	4	0		
Labour		0	10	6		
				<hr/>		
				£6	0	0

If carried out on a large scale the labour would be less. The articles in the first table are all taken from large manufactories.

LONDON
LABOUR
AND THE
LONDON
POOR
BY HENRY MAYHEW

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ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"From this table it appears that a man who spends 6*l.* a year upon books, blankets, broad cloths, silks, and saucepans, gives employment for 20 days, at 3*s.* 6*d.* per day; while, by spending the same upon ale, beer, or stout, he can only give employment for three days at the same rate of wages. Take the facts in another way, and they show that 21 persons now in the habit of spending 2*s.* 4*d.* per week upon intoxicating drinks—that is a QUART of porter daily—could, by transferring that sum to the articles I have enumerated (and the like returns may be also procured for shoes, hats, and furniture), give employment for a whole year to a man at a guinea per week. Thus something can be done at once. There are few who take these drinks at all who do not spend on them 2*s.* 4*d.* a week; and they thus prevent, during the year, 17 days' remunerative labour being performed, at the rate of 3*s.* 6*d.* per day, or 21*s.* a week; and this labour would not only add to the happiness of the labourer, but it would add to the real wealth of the community, for it would give the people more clothes, more shoes, more furniture; and few will be found ready to deny that such things are needed. When, indeed, everybody has plenty of such articles, we shall no longer think that want of employment is the greatest curse of the community. Until that happy period arrives, each and all of us must do what we can to lessen this evil. We can do much with present and permanent advantage to ourselves. But the money spent upon intoxicating drinks not only robs the artizan of his field of labour—the *poor man's capital*—but it does more, it robs him of his food. These drinks are not made of sea-sand, of sea-water, or any such article, the absorption of which we should not much miss; but they are made of the best grain which England produces. The effect of this is twofold: it first impoverishes the people who buy the drink, and it impoverishes those who have thus to pay an extra price for the food they require."

Mr. Tweedie's arguments appear to be sound enough; indeed, the drinking customs are among the most pernicious habits of the poorer classes. The misfortune is, that many operatives positively look upon beer as necessary for the performance of hard labour; whereas it is a physiological fact, that the stimulus derived from the imbibition of fermented liquors is followed by a corresponding amount of depression, so that just as much as a man gains in energy at one time does he lose at another. The poor man's energy is his sole patrimony; so that to spend money upon stimulating beverages is not only to waste his hard earnings upon a brutalizing propensity, but to deprive himself of the power of getting more. This want of energy is a marked feature in every drunkard's character; the unshorn beard, the untidy home, the deferred work, are all proofs that the main evil of drink

to working men lies in the destruction of those energies from which they derive their subsistence; and it is curious to note how many of the men who have fallen from a state of comparative competence to positive indigence, owe their degradation to the moral and physical apathy induced by the continued indulgence in stimulants. The teetotallers have done the State great service in making known the injurious effects of what they call "intoxicants;" and Mr. Mayhew, though not himself convinced of the necessity of *total* abstinence, will always be happy to aid the teetotallers in their endeavours to instruct the people on this point. Mr. Mayhew's inquiries among the coal-porters convinced him that it was possible for operatives to perform the severest labour on water. One pound of meat is, *staminally*, worth a hogshead of the best beer ever brewed; and, what is better than all, the *stimulus* derived from it is *continuous*.

Mr. Tweedie, who derives the argument above cited from what has been stated in this work concerning the apportionment of the circulating capital of the country into two funds, viz., that devoted to the purchase of materials, and that devoted to the payment of wages to the workpeople—the one rising as the other falls, and *vice versa*—appears to have discovered another very cogent reason why the working classes should desist from beer drinking; for if it be really true that the labourer gets only 1*s.* 8*d.* out of every 20*s.* spent in the manufacture of beer, the remaining 18*s.* 4*d.* going for the purchase of materials; whereas, in the case of books and copper pans, he gets at least 15*s.* out of every 20*s.*, and in silks, blankets, and broad cloth, not less than 10*s.* out of the same sum,—then it is clear, that working men should do all that lies in their power to discourage the consumption of an article which yields so little to the labourer and so much to the capitalist.

Police returns, as to the number of Prostitutes, have been received, with thanks, from Cambridge and Douglas (Isle of Man).

The Superintendent of the Cambridge Police will be written to privately.

W. G., Jun., (Glasgow,) is thanked. The information he forwards is peculiar, and will be used at a future period—of course without names. Mr. Mayhew hopes to be able to propose some plan for the mitigation of the evil of which he is at present treating, but so few facts have been collected on the subject in this country, that in the present crude state of our knowledge it would be rash indeed to theorise.

H. B. T. T.'s (Birmingham) communication has been received, and will be attended to as early as possible, but it is one of the most difficult matters upon which to advise.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

R. H. sends the following qualification of his statement of wages concerning the stuff hat finishers.

"Remarks intended to have accompanied the table of wages of stuff hat finishers.

"The workpeople are all paid by the piece; the exceptions to this rule are rare, and are generally learners, who receive a stipulated but varying portion of their wages.

"The prices paid are as under:—

"Finishing stuff hats, 11d., 1s., 1s. 2d. each, according to quality.

"Finishing plates (a coarse hat), 6d., 7d., 8d. 10d. each, according to quality.

"Finishing wool bonnets, 8d. each.

"Finishing stuff bonnets, 1s. each.

"Finishing Naples hats, 5d., 6d., 10d. each, according to quality.

"Altering old bonnets, 6½d. each.

"Altering old hats, 8d., 10d., 1s. each, according to quality.

"These are London prices.

"It is seldom the case now that a workman is confined to the stuff hat finishing alone, the majority of finishers being both silk and stuff. The persons whose wages have been given you have been employed solely on beaver hats, and as that is a rarity, I thought it would be acceptable to you when you came to treat on the condition of the persons engaged in the manufacture of hats.

"When silk hats were first introduced the stuff men would not allow the masters to finish them in the same shop with beaver hats; but as the stuff trade declined they were glad enough not only to relax this rule but even to learn the trade themselves. There seems every probability (unless fashion, omnipotent in everything, intervenes) that beaver hats will cease to exist as a manufacture; they are certainly more comfortable to the head, but the impossibility of imparting a good or permanent colour to them is a sad drawback to their use; besides which, the beavers have so much decreased in America that it is doubtful if a sufficient quantity could be imported to supply the demand that would arise if they should ever again supersede the use of silk hats.

"In the finishing of stuff hats, a girl or woman is employed to pick out those coarse hairs that the clearing machine has failed to remove from the beaver. She is paid 1d., 1½d., 2d. per hat, according to quality, and this must be added to the prices given above, making 1s., 1s. 1½d. or 1s. 4d. per hat.

"In most cases the workpeople employ their own wives or daughters to pick for them, each finisher employing a different person, sometimes one picker working for two or more men. Under these circumstances there is not anything like full employment for them. Since 1846 the picker for the men in the table sent you has been paid by the employer. During 1846 her wages were as follows:—highest week, 16s. 11d.; lowest

week, 2s. 11d.; average throughout the year, 9s. 9d. per week, with about half employment. At present, the girl who picks in our shop fills up her time with trimming hats, and averages 10s. or 11s. per week.

"The wages given you are net wages; if you will multiply the average by 52, you will have the yearly wages.

"There are no deductions beyond these. The men employ a boy to run errands for them, and look to the fire; the practice is, for each man, in turn, to light and keep it up; this they find troublesome, and therefore get a lad to do it for them, but if they like to take their turn, and fetch their beer or dinner themselves, then they do not pay him*. All tools are found by the employer; no rent is charged for standing room, or gas, or anything whatever; there are no fees to foremen; and the employer finds soap and towels for the men to wash with.

"In our place a fire is found for the men to cook their meals on.

"With the above wages an average workman, fully employed, could earn 50s. per week, say from 8 A.M. to 8 P.M."

The above is given without comment. R. H. sends also the earnings of silk hat finishers, and promises other statements of the earnings of men—all of which will be most acceptable; but he persists in withholding his name or address, saying, of course Mr. Mayhew will make inquiries into the truth of his statements, and that is all that is needed. Since the above was in type R. H. has forwarded several valuable averages of wages. They are of the greatest service, and Mr. Mayhew is much obliged for them.

The following letter has been received from the Director of the Anti-Truck Society at Derby. It treats of the stoppage of workmen's wages; so often touched upon here, that it requires no comment. Those who think well of the object, and feel inclined to forward it by their subscriptions, can send them to the address of the writer, 28, Iron Gate, Derby.

"THE LABOUR QUESTION.

"DEAR SIR,

"I regularly read your replies to the questions put to you by the political economists, and am satisfied therewith. QUERY asks, 'If wages are not regulated by the law of supply and demand, on what do they depend?' now I myself say, they should depend on supply and demand, but do they? I say they do not, and I will tell you why. The fraud practised by the manufacturer on the LABOUR of the working man by stopping a part of his LABOUR is the awful cause of all the working man's present misery. LABOUR is an element of itself, to be paid for by itself unconnected with the

* Each man pays the lad about 1s. per week; sometimes there are more than one—at present, in our shop, there are four lads at 8 or 9 years, all children of the workmen, and they earn perhaps 2s. a week.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

property and machinery of the EMPLOYER—the STOPPAGE system is the *fraud*; how can wages depend on supply and demand, if by a *fraud* of the EMPLOYER he stops any part of the WAGES? and what are wages but the *earnings* of LABOUR? Therefore what a man earns for labour is his wages; keep the word *labour* distinct, and distinctly understand that wages are the earnings of labour, and then let the employers answer you, how labour can depend upon supply and demand unless the *entire* amount of the labour is not paid for without any stoppages. There are two ways in which the employers defraud labour; one is the STOPPAGE system, and the other is the TRUCK system.

"If a PRINTER employs a man to print for him in his press, he pays him for his labour; if a HOSIER employs a man to make stockings for him, in his frame, he stops the labour for the rent of the frame. This *fraud* of the hosier is a mixing up of the relation of landlord and tenant with the employment of a workman to a master; now one negatives the other; for if a master employs a man to work for him, in his frame, how can the workman have the frame to his own use, which he must do, if he is to pay a rent for it?—if not, there can be no rent at all.

Wages are the *earnings* of LABOUR; keeping that in view, and never losing sight of it, nothing short of the UNIVERSAL ANTI-TRUCK LAW can save the working man from the *fraud* of the employer, or secure him the full reward of his LABOUR.

This, and this only will remedy the destroying of man's labour; no one has so wisely gone into the question as you have: you see the right of the

labourer to share in the production, and you will now see that it is a *fraud* only that prevents him doing so; it is the *fraud* of the master mixing up his own machinery with the man's labour, and STOPPING from the labour a rent of the machinery, instead of keeping the labour distinct and paying for it, the labour, without any stoppage: can QUERY reply to this, or does he admit that the Universal Anti-Truck Law ought to be passed next session?

"It is absolutely necessary, then, I say, to pass the UNIVERSAL ANTI-TRUCK LAW, for the sake of the 'Existence of Life' to the working man; unless every workman is paid the ACTUAL EARNINGS of his labour, he can have nothing to live on; what is to become of the children and wife of a working man, if he is not to be paid what he *actually* earns? The employers only pay them *by the piece*, that is, the quantity they actually do; surely, then, that *actual* earning ought not to be STOPPED by reason of *finer* or *frame rent*, or *charges*; the working man simply asks to be paid for the *actual earnings* of his labour; such a request is just, holy, and right, and no one can stand in the way of it, without offending against the law of God and the interest of his country. Labour is an *element of itself*, to be paid for *by itself*, unconnected with the *property* or *machinery* of the employer; what law can be so just, as that which secures to the working man his *actual earnings* without any deduction?

"On the other side, I give you the UNIVERSAL ANTI-TRUCK LAW, the *first* clause of which is the principle thereof, viz:—

"That the *ENTIRE* amount of all WAGES, the *earnings* of LABOUR, shall be *actually* and *positively* PAID in the current coin of the realm, without any deduction or stoppage of any kind whatever.

"The *second* clause is the security that no employer shall offend against it; if he does he shall be punished in the County Court.

"The *third* clause declares that no employer shall mix up anything with labour, but shall simply pay for the labour when done and earned.

"The *fourth* clause is against set-off. The *fifth* against any trickery to avoid the law; and the *last* clause to show workmen that they shall not neglect their work; existing laws are very strong against neglecting work. I humbly and earnestly pray you will assist to pass this law; it will do more good for England than all the laws besides; what is so natural and simple as the UNIVERSAL ANTI-TRUCK LAW, and why do employers want to evade it? The *system* of stoppages is deplorable, because of employers stopping their men's *actual* earnings. Wicked employers make a profit out of their men's wages that they may undersell their neighbours; this works the most frightful of evils—this is that baneful and pernicious evil, called *unlawful* and *unholy* COMPETITION.

"Honest EMPLOYERS are content with making a profit on their goods after the labour is paid for; but *unprincipled* and *wicked* EMPLOYERS try all they can to undersell their neighbours by getting a profit out of their workman's wages, by paying

them in goods, so as to get a double profit; or, by stopping their wages for fines, or frame rent, and charges, so as to get their work done for little or nothing; no consideration whatever being had as to how the workman is to subsist, or what the state of starvation and misery the wife and children must be in. Nothing can cure this frightful evil, but the UNIVERSAL ANTI-TRUCK LAW, that the *actual earnings* of labour shall be paid for, without any stoppage whatever.

"I am, Sir,

"Your obedient Servant,

"J. BRIGGS.

The following comes from the Correspondent who furnished the facts printed in No. 39 concerning a certain Jew printer of Farringdon-street. Certain parts are omitted touching the printer's past career, with which Mr. Mayhew has no desire to meddle.

"I have not yet done with the Jew printer of Ludgate-hill; I have waited patiently to see if he would offer any reply to the statement made in your Number of September 6th. I have taken care that your Journal should reach his hands. This person on the most trivial reasons discharges men on the instant, and when asked for the required usual notice, sneeringly replies, 'you may summons me;' his motto is (and he openly avows it), 'wages are too high and must be reduced,' and for this end he employs a host of boys at 4s. and 5s.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"R—— street, Glasgow.

"Sir,

"During a recent visit, about two months ago, to London, some things came under my observation, which I have thought I might send to you, as they may be of use in the course of your exposure of London prostitution. I give you real names and addresses, as a guarantee for the strict truthfulness of what I write.

"One Saturday evening I alighted at the Quadrant, Regent-street, from a Bayswater omnibus, about nine o'clock. I was immediately struck by the number of well-dressed young females loitering on the pavement of the Haymarket; two especially attracted my attention; both young, good-looking, and apparently intelligent; one—I can't say both—*rouged*. I watched them for a little, saw them laughingly address one or two gentlemen, and then I walked slowly close by to give them an opportunity of speaking to me: this they were not long in doing. I at once found they were French girls, speaking English imperfectly. They said to me, "we come from Paris, have been here about three months, and are going back soon." I urged them to give me their address, but they would not, pressing me to go with them to where they lived, which they said, "was quite at hand, and you will be gratified—have the pleasure immediately." Without heeding my refusal, they turned their faces towards the Quadrant and walked on at a pretty smart pace. I followed them a little behind; at last they stopped at No. —, U—— J—— street; one of them opened the door with a latch-key, and both entered, leaving it partially opened. I had gained my object, and without delay I walked off. Immediately after I saw them again on the pavement.

"The next day I dropped a parcel of tracts into the letter box of the house I saw them enter, and a day or two after I sent another package through the post.

"On the Monday afternoon I was walking on the north side of the Quadrant: on the balcony at the windows above M——, Milliner, No. —, I observed three ladies standing; one of them, noticing that I had seen them, beckoned to me with her finger. The day after I sent them, too, a parcel of tracts.

"In Regent-street and Piccadilly I strolled about till after dusk. I think I counted 'apartments to let' or 'furnished apartments' put in windows and on doors, by dozens, which I had not observed by daylight. In windows of coffee rooms, &c., I found 'private apartments for ladies.' This appeared to my mind an ambiguous intimation, and admitting a perfectly honourable interpretation. I came, however, at length, to the window of the — Coffee House, Piccadilly, across the whole length of which, at the bottom, there was a gauze screen, through which the light from the gas shone faintly; I observed something painted on it, and, on looking more closely, I read, 'private apartments for ladies,' and on a line below, in letters not quite so large as those above, 'and, for private apartments, ladies.'

"My mind was now fully interested in the

investigation, and I resolved to go to the Casino in Great Windmill-street, thinking that I should gain a little more insight into the horrid system: nor was I mistaken; the first thing that met me was, as I went in; the charge of admission is nominally 1s., but some ladies who passed in immediately before me laid down only 6d. Having entered, I found a large hall, brilliantly lighted, with a band on an elevated platform at the further end. I expected that there would be a stage and *professional dancers*; in this I was wrong—the dancers were the visitors, who each, according to his fancy, joined in the dance, the young women with their bonnets and shawls on, the young men with their hats on, and top-coats and sticks, if they chanced to have them with them. The attitudes were anything but decent. While I was there—about 30 minutes—the place was not very crowded, though the visitors were evidently coming in greater numbers; and I understand that as the evening advances, the attendance becomes very great.

The young women had, for the most part, gentlemen along with them; there was, however, a considerable number without any friend. I was standing near to one of these, a young girl, *rouged*, when a young man came up and said to her, 'may I have the pleasure of paying my addresses to you?' She, however, was at the moment joined by a gentleman whom she had evidently been expecting.

"I had for a short time previous been watching a girl whose whole appearance much interested me:—she was apparently under 20, not painted, tastefully and decorously dressed; she might be called beautiful, and there was an innocence about her looks which made me feel it strange indeed that she should be in such a place. She had stood alone for about a quarter of an hour; no one had spoken to her, she to no one. There was a liveliness in her eye, but a pensiveness at times crept over it. Poor thing, thought I, can I do anything to save you, if you are fallen? for had I met her anywhere else I should never have thought her fallen. I went to her and said, 'Have you no friend here?' She said 'No.' 'Do you expect any?' She replied, 'No, certainly, or he would have come along with me.' 'Will you go with me, then?' 'Where?' she asked. 'To my lodgings.' 'No,' she said, 'I cannot go to your lodgings.' I pressed her; she refused. 'Oh,' she said, 'we can find numbers of places in the neighbourhood; if you do not choose to pay for such accommodation, I cannot go with you.' I now requested that she would at least go out with me; she consented, and we left the Casino; I led her to my lodgings, which were at hand, but she would not go in; she said, 'No, I'm not so hardened; I cannot go into respectable people's houses; You will get plenty of girls in the Argyll rooms, who will go anywhere with you, but I am not so bad yet.' I tried to persuade her, saying I would take all the responsibility; but she was firm, and at last said, 'Let me go back to the rooms, my time is precious; I cannot go with you.' I then asked her to walk with me a little, to which she

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

agreed; we crossed to a quiet street and walked slowly down it. Now I told her why I had spoken to her and taken her away from the rooms; that it was for no improper purpose, but to see if I could not do her some little good. The conversation that followed I cannot detail; her history was this: she was the daughter of an officer, who after her mother's death had kept a mistress, under whose care she lived till the decease of her father. Immediately upon this event she was driven from the house; she went to an acquaintance's, a young woman, whom she accompanied the same evening to the theatre, the first time she had entered one: she was then under fifteen; she is now eighteen. They were spoken to by some officers who pressed them to have some wine in the refreshment rooms: she remembers going back to the theatre, *but no more*. Next morning she found herself in the barracks, in bed with one of the officers. She was now ruined, without a friend to whom she could go. She was kept by the officer while the regiment remained there. When it left she became the mistress of other officers in succession. At length she was induced to go to London, where for some time she lived in a *gay* house; till, going one evening about twelve months ago to the Casino, she met a young man, by whom she has been kept in lodgings since; she, however, with his knowledge, sees occasionally other gentlemen, as her *friend* cannot afford quite so much as will keep her. The house in which she lodges is kept by a woman, whose daughter is also *in keeping*.

"I have said I cannot detail my conversation with her—some of her expressions only can I give: 'Oh do not talk to me about serious things; I'm miserable enough already; my heart is often like to break when a smile is on my face; when sitting in my room alone, I am often like to go mad. I have had no Bible these four years—I could not read it and turn into that bed with a man in the evening. *I would do anything but starve, to get out of this life; but what can I do?*' [Mr. Mayhew has put these words in italics, to point attention to them.] "If I ask for work, I can give no character. Who will trust me? Oh, don't speak to me of what I may become, I know it all; but I hope something will turn up to en-

able me to better my condition. I was once a very good girl, never one Sabbath absent from the Wesleyan chapel." [Query? while she was living under the same roof with her father's mistress!] "I cannot swear and drink as others do; I am not yet so far gone."

"I made an appointment to see her next day, having made up my mind to make an effort, before leaving London, to get her into an asylum, if she were willing to go. But instead of meeting me she left a note for me, from which I learnt that her *friend*, having heard of our interview, had persuaded her to go and stay with him at his own lodgings for a little, and that if I had anything to say to her she would call for any note I might leave; I did write, and left it along with some tracts. Since my return I have addressed a letter to her at her old lodgings, but have received no

reply; if she had not returned to them it is not likely that such a landlady would make any efforts to have it sent to her. Her name was A— M— G—; her lodgings, No. —, J— street, —, Waterloo-road. Her *friend* whom she called James, was the son of a solicitor, in whose counting-house he is occupied; more about him she would not tell me.

"The evening of the day on which I hoped to have done something for her rescue, I left for home, thoroughly sickened by what I had seen of London life, on its dark and gloomy side.

"I make no comment on these facts. It is a naked recital of what I saw, and I leave it to you to make any use or no use of them, as seems to you advisable.

"Before you close, will you be able, think you, to do or suggest anything that will give good promise of abating, if not of extirpating, the frightful evil? I *almost* despair.

"This is written very hastily; you will, however, I think, be able to make it out.

"Yours respectfully,

"W. G., Jr."

The above account of the London adventures of a well-intentioned gentleman from the country are both interesting and instructive, and Mr. Mayhew is much obliged to the writer. They are instructive, as teaching us how ready the well-intentioned are at all times to magnify evils. Those who have paid attention to mental phenomena, know that it is the peculiar character of the feelings to distort, exaggerate, or highly colour, all objects upon which they are centred. W. G., jun., evidently came up to London from Glasgow, *prepared* to find the prostitution of the metropolis much greater than it really is, and hence his mistake as to the general character of the houses in Regent-street. To his inflamed imagination the whole of this locality seems to have appeared a colony of brothels and places of "accommodation." That there are in this street some few houses of an infamous character carrying on the worst possible trades, under the cloak of respectable businesses, Mr. Mayhew is fully aware, and purposes, when he comes to this part of the subject, to let the public see how the "market" for

prostitutes is regularly supplied from such quarters. But that it is the practice of the inhabitants of Regent-street *generally*—or even anything but exceptionally—to put out at night cards of "APARTMENTS TO LET," with the view of announcing that their houses may be used for base purposes, is a stretch of morbid fancy that is in no way warranted by the truth. The fact is, W. G., jun., on passing up Regent-street in the daytime had been diverted by other matters, and consequently failed to notice many of the announcements which at night attracted his attention, awakened as it then was to the subject. The gentleman is equally wrong concerning the coffee-house he mentions, and construes a harmless announcement into an immoral sign. Mr. Mayhew is also afraid that the distribution of tracts among the profligate is a pure waste of good

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

W. S. finds fault, and "suspects motives," &c. The gentleman can of course think as he pleases.

"Sir,

"In No. 42, page 230, of 'London Labour,' you give a table of a week's expenditure in the respective years 1845 and 1851, and I am surprised and sorry to see the unfairness of the comparison. In 1845 you charged for five loaves, but in 1851 only for four; you make a difference of one penny for tea, with which free-trade has nothing to do. You make a difference of twopence per pound on three pounds of meat, whereas your own two witnesses prove the difference to be only one penny; and in 1845 you set down a pot of beer, and in 1851 only a pint. Now, correcting these errors or misstatements, the saving is only five-pence instead of 1s. 5d., as you state the difference. You pretend to be impartial, but I fear it is not so, and I suspect your motives, which I regret, as I have been your subscriber and admirer from the beginning.

"Yours,

"W. S."

1st October, 1851.

The gentleman is in error. On revision, he will perceive, that the contrasted accounts went to show that the man had lost almost as much by free-trade as he had gained. If food had been cheapened since 1846, employment had become scarcer; so that he could afford to have five loaves per week before free-trade, and only four loaves per week since. Hence though the man had gained by the repeal of the corn laws one penny in every seven pence he laid out in bread, he had, nevertheless, been able to earn one loaf less per week since 1846 than he could before then, that is to say, he had gained 4d., and lost 7d. by the measure. In meat, however, he had gained 6d. a week; but then in rent he had lost 4d.; in potatoes, 1d.; in tea, 1d.; and in beer 2d. per week; that is to say, he had since 1845 been able to afford less of the three last-mentioned articles. Thus, the gains would appear to be—bread, 4d., and meat, 6d. per week, or 10d. altogether; whereas the losses are—rent, 4d.; potatoes, 1d.; tea, 1d.; beer 2d.; and bread, 7d.; or 15d. altogether; so that there would seem to be a net loss of 5d. per week to this man since free-trade. This should have been more fully explained in the article, though the whole bearing of it inclines to the same result. Mr. Mayhew was inquiring of a man who made soldiers' trousers what he had gained by free-trade. He was one of the very poor who were to be so much benefited by the measure. Meat he never tasted, and his weekly consumption of bread was two loaves per week, the saving in which was 2d. His wages had not been decreased, nor was his work less, so that he was a clear gainer of 2d. in about 7s. a week, or 1d. in every 3s. 6d. of his earnings!! It would appear that those who earn about 15s. a week, and whose wages have not yet been reduced, save perhaps 1s. by the change (see the article on

Street-Orderlies); and those whose wages have been reduced are, of course, considerable losers by the alteration. To the tradesman and capitalist, however, whose profits depend not, like wages, upon the price of food, the change of course is a clear gain; each pound being worth at least a guinea, since free trade.

G. W. says, Do you mean to notice "Medical Assistants" in your *exposé* of the working classes? Our twin sisters, too, the Governesses, claim a share of attention. I may be able to supply you with some information concerning the two TRADERS.

Mr. Mayhew will be happy to hear from the gentleman on both subjects.

Some reader, perhaps, will answer the following:

"Sir,

"Will you, or any of your readers, tell me to whom I can dispose of any quantity of rags (*all sorts*), brass, copper, lead, iron (cast and wrought), horse-hair, whalebone, bones, skins (*hares' and rabbits'*), paper (waste of all *sorts and sizes*). I should think some person—a buyer, for instance—would tell me. My reason for asking is this—I purpose buying such articles from hawkers and others; but before I do, I wish to be advised as to the amount I can realize for them, and from whom I can get it.

"I should much prefer being answered *per post*, and would gladly pay the postage or remunerate the individual for his trouble, and inclose my name for that purpose. If, however, the medium of your pages be preferred, or more practicable, let it be done so, to "News Agent."

Any letter addressed to the writer of the above, under cover to Mr. Mayhew, shall be forwarded to his address.

J. M., of Southampton, says:—

"Sir,

"Having read in your number of 'London Labour,' &c., for August 30, No. 38, a statement of the number of vehicles passing and repassing London Bridge every hour to be 13,000, thinking there must be some mistake, I would feel obliged by your giving the information."

The information was given on the authority of M. D'Arcey's Report to the French Government on the roads of London as compared with those of Paris. It will be seen, by the table printed in the present number of this work, that the amount referred to twelve hours instead of one.

The two following letters proffer information on a most important subject. The distributing of commodities is almost as important as the production of them, and any information on the subject will be most acceptable. Mr. Mayhew is much obliged to his correspondents for their promises of assistance.

"Sir,

"If you should find any difficulty in procuring information respecting the social, moral, and intellectual condition of the Drapers' Assistants, I

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should be most happy to give you any aid in my power, having been connected with the trade the greater portion of my life. The domestic comforts in some establishments, the bad living, shameful extortions, and tyranny in others, have so long been suffered to exist, that their magnitude has become diminished, and we rest contented under the worst form of oppression."

Letter No. 2 runs:—

"Sir,

"Having read your very excellent work, the 'London Labour and Poor,' ever since its first publication, I remember having seen in some of the back numbers an intimation to one of your correspondents that it was your intention in course of time to treat of that class of the London labour, the *Drapers*. I am myself a Draper's Assistant, and having some little practical knowledge of the business, I should feel a great pleasure in giving you any information on the subject, as far as my knowledge of the peculiarities of the trade goes, if you have not already completed your inquiries; and if what little assistance I can render you in your arduous undertaking is worthy of your acceptance, I should feel the greatest pleasure in

contributing my mite to the immense funds of information that you have collected. A letter addressed to me, or an answer in the next number of your 'London Labour and Poor,' stating the nature of the information you require on the subject, shall meet with my earnest attention.

"P.S. I have enclosed one of my employer's cards, to whose house, should you write, you will please address for me."

The information required upon this and, indeed, every other trade is, (1) the division of labour in the trade, citing the nature of the work performed by the different classes of workmen; (2) the hours of labour; (3) the labour market, or the mode of obtaining employment; (4) the tools employed and who finds them; (5) the rate and mode of pay to each different class of workmen, dividing the wages or salaries into two classes, the "fair" and the "unfair;" (6) the deductions from the pay in the form of fines, "rents," or stoppages of any kind; (7) the additions to wages in the shape of perquisites, premiums, allowances, &c.; (8) a history of the wages of the trade, with the dates of increase or decrease in the pay, and the causes thereof; (9) the brisk and slack season of the trade, with statement of the causes on which they depend, as well as the number of extra hands required in the brisk season as compared with the slack; (10) the rate of pay to those who are "taken on" only during the brisk season; (11) the amount of surplus labour in the trade and the cause of it, whether from (a) overwork, (b) undue increase of the people in the trade, (c) change from yearly to weekly hirings, (d) excessive economy of labour, as "large system" of business, (e) introduction of women; (12) the badly-paid trade—(a) the history and causes of it, (b) what is the cheap labour employed, or how do the cheap workers differ from those who are better paid: are they less skilful, less trustworthy, or

can they afford to take less, deriving their subsistence from other sources? (c) is the badly-paid trade maintained chiefly by the labour of apprentices, women, &c., &c.? (d) is it upheld by middlemen, "sweaters," or the like? (e) are the men injured by *driving* (that is, by being made to do more work for the same money) or by *grinding* (that is, by being made to do the same or more work for less money), or are they injured from a combination of both systems? (f) who are the employers paying the worse wages?—are they "cutting men," that is to say, men who are reducing the mens' wages as a means of selling cheap; or are they "grasping men," who do it merely to increase their profits; or small capitalists, who do it in order to live? Proofs should be given of all stated. Accounts of earnings and expenditure are of the greatest importance; also descriptions of modes of life and habits, politics, religion, literature, and amusements of the trade; estimates of the number in trade with the proportion belonging to the better and the worse paid class, and the quantity of surplus hands. If any trade and benefit society, an account of it would be desirable; if not, what do men, in case of sickness?

An eminent antiquarian has kindly forwarded

the following in explanation of the term "reredosses." He says:—

"Dear Sir,

"Thinking you might be anxious for an answer to your 'rere-doss' query, I have had copied from Parker's 'Glossary of Architecture' such portion of his explanation as I thought would answer your purpose.

"Yours truly,
"_____."

The extract is here appended:—

"Reredos, dossel (retable, Fr.; postergule, Ital.), the wall or screen at the back of an altar, seat, &c.; it was usually ornamented with panelling, &c., especially behind an altar, and sometimes was enriched with a profusion of niches, buttresses, pinnacles, statues, and other decorations, which were often painted with brilliant colours.

"The open fire-hearth, frequently used in ancient domestic halls, was likewise called a reredos.

"In the description of Britain prefixed to Holinshed's 'Chronicles,' we are told that formerly, before chimneys were common in mean houses, 'each man made his fire against a reredosse in the hall, where he dined and dressed his meat.'

This is all very satisfactory. The original word would appear to have been *dossel* or *rere-dossel*; for Kelham, in his 'Norman Dictionary,' explains the word *doser* or *dossel* to signify a hanging or canopy of silk, silver, or gold work, under which kings or great personages sit; also the back of a chair of state (the word being probably a derivative of the Latin *dorsum*, the back. *Dos*, in slang, means a *bed*, a "dossing crib" being a sleeping-place, and has clearly the same origin). A *rere-dos* or *rere-dossel* would thus appear to have been a screen placed behind anything; and,

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ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

MR. MAYHEW has to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of a letter from the Registrar-General. The corrections suggested by him shall be made, and the results printed, as soon as the necessary information can be obtained.

MR. MAYHEW has to acknowledge with thanks returns from the police authorities of the under-mentioned towns as to the number of prostitutes and brothels in those localities.

Coventry.
Blackburn.
Wolverhampton.
Oldham.
Warrington.
Durham.
Saddleworth.
Eccleshall.
Bilston.
Chester.
Macclesfield.
Stockport.
Dundee.
Huddersfield.

The subjoined are the speculations of a gentleman as to some of the antecedents of prostitution:—

“London, 6 Nov., 1851.

“Sir,

“Having read your letter from W. G., Jun., of Glasgow, printed in No. 47 of your work on London Prostitutes, I consider that it might not be amiss to give you the result of my experience of London during the last eleven years.

“I consider that girls, the daughters of small tradesmen and better class of mechanics, get seduced oftener from their great love of dress, and the erroneous desire to be thought *ladies*. Casinos, singing-rooms, and theatres, more especially those on the Surrey side, are frequented nightly by scores of these girls, accompanied by their sweet-hearts, who are generally clerks in counting-houses, shopmen, and others who are of no occupation, but only dress well. At those places a desire of gaiety is nourished in their breasts, and the glitter of the finery around them creates a longing for show of a like nature. Refreshments, of course, they must have; and these generally consist of either wine, gin-and-water, or other spirituous drinks, to which at home they are not accustomed; and, consequently, through false persuasions, promises of clothes, and to be taken again and again to these places of amusement, the minds of these girls, inflamed through the drink which they have been partaking, become

an easy prey to the designer.

“Now, who is to blame most, in cases of this kind? I think decidedly the parents, for allowing daughters too much liberty of intercourse with the male sex. The parent says, My daughter is now old enough to have a beau; and one is picked, or allowed to be chosen, amongst a class rather superior in condition to themselves. The girl has every opportunity afforded of meeting

her ‘young man;’ and the consequence is that, before many months, the girl is either seduced, or finds herself so unhappy at home that she throws herself into the arms of the first gentleman who will encourage her love of finery and pleasure. There are hundreds of girls in London, who can blush and look as modest as a maid, who are nothing but sly whores, for the love of gaiety and dress.

“How this can be cured, unless through the intervention of parents, I know not; but perhaps you, from having so many instruments as you must require in the compilation of a work like ‘London Labour,’ may obtain knowledge and experience enough to point out a preventive to this growing evil.

“I am, Sir,

“Your obedient Servant,

“J. B.”

“P.S. I may, on another occasion, renew my letter.”

This is neither the fitting place nor time for expressing how a particular condition tending to produce a particular result can be prevented or alleviated. All that can be attempted at present is, a short criticism on the contents of the above letter.

J. B., it will be seen, falls into the same fallacy as the Glasgow correspondent, assuming that girls are seduced through frequenting Casinos; surely the true rendering is, that they frequent such places either *because* they have been already seduced and have become shameless, or *because* they are of a *seducible* disposition. Is it compatible with the character of a modest girl, to visit a place which she knows is resorted to by women of loose character, and whither she is aware gentlemen go only to become acquainted with such people? and, even supposing her innocence led her to such a place (of which strong proof would be required), would she not, if really modest, and if she had not been previously depraved, object to dance with men whose acquaintance she had formed thus promiscuously? It would seem that we might as well believe that a girl who accompanied a man to a brothel was *seduced* by him. That there are many cases of heartless deception, no one can have the least doubt; but that modest-minded women visit Casinos, and that it requires much persuasion to induce a young lady who is in the habit of frequenting them to abandon herself to vicious practices, surely no man of common sense can believe. As was before said, girls who go to such places are *seducible*, and *therefore* seduced. Nor can Mr. Mayhew believe that it is *directly* a love of dress and gaiety that leads to

prostitution. Prostitution is really and truly woman's crime; and the same propensity as induces men to live by thieving, cheating, or begging, rather than labouring, disposes the generality of loose women to adopt prostitution as a mode of livelihood. The Constabulary Commissioners, who are the only gentlemen that have scientifically investigated the causes of crime, have laid it down, from the testimony and experience of the most

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The following communication from a literary gentleman requires no comment:—

"Dear Sir,

"I perceive (in your 48th number) a statement from an eminent antiquarian, that 'the open fire-hearth, frequently used in ancient domestic halls, was likewise called a *reredos*.' Such was the case (as I have seen in a local topographical history) with a '*reredos*' now to be seen in the extensive and beautiful ruins of the Abbey of St. Agatha, in the North Riding of Yorkshire. The ivy now hangs over and partially conceals this *reredos*; but its form is tolerably perfect, and the stones are still coloured by the action of the fire, which was extinguished, I need hardly say, by the cold water thrown on such places by Henry VIII.

"I am, dear Sir,

"A Reader from the Beginning."

E. F., of Islington, says:—

"The first volume of '*London Labour and the London Poor*' I have had bound up, and lettered simply, '*London Labour—Vol. 1.*'

"Will you be good enough to inform me how I had better number the second volume of that subject, and the first of that on Prostitution, as it appears that I should have classed the volume that is finished as the first of that particular division of the work."

The lettering on the back of the volume should have been, *LONDON LABOUR AND THE LONDON POOR—STREET-FOLK.—VOL. 1.* The next volume in connection with the same class will of course be similar, with the substitution of Vol. 2 for Vol. 1; while the volume upon the Prostitutes should be labelled, *LONDON LABOUR AND THE LONDON POOR.—THOSE THAT WILL NOT WORK—CLASS 1—PROSTITUTES.*

J. A. W. (Poland-street) will be answered in an early number.

W. D. M. The manager's answer shall be given in the next number.

E. Le B. will be written to privately.

J. B. (Woolbeding Rectory, Midhurst) forwards a post-office order for 2*l.*, "to be applied as Mr. Mayhew may think most beneficial to the objects of his researches."

A pamphlet "*On the Position and Prospects of the School-Assistant*, by Thomas N. Hammer," has been received. It contains curious disclosures as to the treatment of a class who are of essential service to the community, and whose remuneration is of the most inadequate character. The pamphlet will well repay perusal, especially with those who feel an interest in the class.

Mr. Mayhew has to thank Dr. T— for "the Twelfth Annual Report of the Liverpool Benevolent Society for Reclaiming Unfortunate Females." Any further information on the subject will be of service.

The curious letter from "a Clerk in the City"

will be inserted at the earliest opportunity. Mr. Mayhew has no wish to pry into matters of privacy, but the communication would be more valuable if some reference could be given as to the credibility of the writer. Mr. Mayhew does not seek to know the name of his correspondent in a case of so delicate a nature, but merely asks for some guarantee that the whole story is not pure fiction.

W. J., of Kendall, shall have a copy of the questions forwarded to him. Mr. Mayhew is much indebted to him for his courtesy. His letter touching Divorce shall be inserted in an early number.

Returns as to the number of prostitutes have been received, and are acknowledged with thanks, from the police authorities of the following towns:—

Aberdeen.

Exeter.

King's Lynn.

A CONSTANT READER puts a curious question. He says:—

"Can you, or any of the numerous readers of '*London Labour*,' explain why a police magistrate is called a *beak*?"

There are two explanations that may be given as to the meaning of the slang term "*beak*," but both requiring proof. The one is, that in accordance with the *metaphorical* origin of many of the words in the slang language, the term may have been formed from the beak being the organ of seizing or apprehension with birds, and so have been whimsically applied to the functionary connected with the apprehension of criminals.

The other derivation is referrible to the principle laid down by Dr. Latham, that the "lower orders" are the conservators of the Saxon part of the English language—a point which all those who have looked even superficially into the construction of their native tongue will readily admit. Assuming then the word *beak* to be of Saxon origin, we find the Anglo-Saxon term *beag* to signify, among other things, a necklace or ornament to hang about the neck, a collar of state; and when we remember that in Saxon times the aldermen were the sole magistrates (*ealdordom* means authority, magistracy), and that part of the aldermen's insignia of office consists of a chain or collar similar to this *beag*, the transition becomes easy from the emblem of the office to the office or officer himself; even as the "gold-stick-in-waiting" is the title given to the functionary occupying that post; and the policeman is called a "blue-bottle," from his blue uniform; and a soldier a "lobster," from his red coat. Hence a *beak* would mean simply an alderman or magistrate decorated with a *beag* or gilt collar, as indicative of the magisterial office. As was before stated, however, proof is required; and perhaps some "constant reader" may be able to cite something tending either to confirm or set aside the above suggestion.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"Waltham Cross,
"Nov. 10, 1851.

"Sir,

"Observing in your London Labour of the 8th, an enquiry as to the derivation of the word 'mort,' I take the liberty of mentioning that it is an old French word which I can only translate by 'vulca.' You will find it so used in the 'Moyen de parvenir,' said to be written by Beroald de Verville, in 1558, or thereabouts. It is there spelt 'morte,' and the expression is still used by the French as argot, or slang, for a prostitute, as well as in the other sense.

"I am, Sir,

"Your obedient very humble Servant,
"E. C."

The above derivation fulfils all the requirements of the dialectic process. The Italian cognate term is "il mozzo," which has the same double meaning as the French "morte." An eminent philologist suggested that the English term "mort" might be connected with the Norfolk word *Mawther*, a wench; but, on hearing the explanation of E. C., admitted that the matter might be considered as settled at present.

Our friend Wortenkramer attempts to give a different origin to the term, dealing rather with the term "mort" which he appears to consider as the same word as "mort;" but this seems rather doubtful at present.

"The word, respecting the derivation of which you require the assistance of your etymological friends, appears to be 'mort,' although commonly pronounced 'mot.' N. Bailey has the word, but he does not give its etymology, and he thus states it: 'a mort, a doxy, or whore. Cant.' Just above he has the same word, 'a mort [*amort*, F.], a great abundance. Lincolnshire;' and, below, the phrase 'to blow a mort [hunting term] is to sound a

and in Italian is 'amorazzo,' the letter 't' being involved in both of them" [not so, they are two different affixes]; "the addition of *t* to *r* is also etymologically regular, as *Mors* from *Mors*, death, and the cutting off of the 'a' at the beginning is a common case, as in Greek *μαρτός* for *αμαρτός*, or English mend for amend" [*a* is a prefix]; "we here also retain the meaning of the word. 'Amourette' is thus defined in Lauda's French dictionary 'diminutif d'amour. Attachement passager et sans grande passion: il a toujours quelque amourette.' The French courtizans call themselves 'filles d'amour' and I think we must look in this direction for the derivation of *mort* rather than to *mors* or any of its inflections, for there seems no such necessary connexion between death and harlotry, as there does between love and the sexes." [The two words, however, have evidently different origins.]

"I, at first, thought that the name 'mort' might be a proper name, and have some such origin as the appellation 'Cyprians' commonly given to the nymphs of the 'paré' because Venus was the Cyprian goddess, whose first temple was in the island of Cyprus. *Morta* was the name given by some to one of the *Parcæ*. The Greeks called the *Parcæ* *Μοῖραι*, Fates; hence, *morta*; and when we bear in mind that the *Parcæ* were the daughters of *Nox* and *Erebus* (night and darkness), there does seem a ground for conjecturing that the name might have so arisen; I, however, incline to the other etymology.

"By-the-by you have fallen into a little error, p. 183, vol. ii.; 'jardin' is not the root of our 'garden,' but 'garten,' Germ., is the root of both. Pudding is derived from 'Boudin,' not 'Poudin.'

"Yours obediently,

"WORTENKRÄMER.

"Gray's Inn."

particular air called a *mort*, to give notice that the deer that was hunted is taken and is killed or killing.' Shakspeare has the word in the latter sense, in the Winter's Tale, 'and then to sigh as 'twere the *mort* o' the deer.' The English dictionaries, in general, only notice the word in the latter meaning, and its derivation from 'mors' is sufficiently plain. In Bailey-Fahrenkrüger's German and English dictionary, the word is found with the German definition thus 'mort (von mors) der Stosz ins Hifthorn nach Erlegung eines Hirsches: die Menge, der Haufe (Isl. margr); ein dreijähriger Lachs; volkspr. Weibsbild, Dirne, Mädchen.' Anglice, 'derived from mors, the blast in a hunter's horn after the death of a stag; abundance (Icelandic, margr), a three-year-old salmon; popularly, a woman, a wench, a girl.' This is all I can make out from the dictionaries at my command, and it does not amount to much, but the same word with a different meaning, derived from the French 'amort,' as above mentioned, according to N. Bailey, affords, I think, some clue to the word in question.

"It appears very probable that 'mort' is a contraction of a diminutive of *amor* or *amour*; we have the diminutive in French, in 'amourette,'

The French *jardin* was given rather as the cognate of the English *garden* than its root, which is from the Saxon *geard*, a yard, enclosure; whence *ort-geard* and *wyrt-geard*, and our *orchard*, *wyrt* signifying a root or herb, and *wyrt-geard*, a garden or yard for fruit (Lat. *hort-us*). The term *poudin* was cited as the modern form of the old term *boudin*. The term *mort* appears to be still of doubtful origin. The derivations above given are ingenious, but far from satisfactory.

The subjoined, from G. H., is etymological:—

"With regard to the derivation of the phrase 'that's the ticket' (No. 43), I venture to remark that I have always understood the complete phrase to be 'that's the ticket for soup.' If my reading be the original one, this slang, perhaps, has not so refined an origin as you suggest; probably some one can tell us the date of its introduction. By the way, about preserving the wrappers of your wonderful work: the Notices to Correspondents are far—very far—too good to be lost, and to bind up your title-page and the advertisements will give the book, when complete, a very awkward appearance. Can not you do something to obviate this latter feature?"

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Wortenkramer writes:—

"As I can, I think, answer two questions at once in a satisfactory manner, viz., the origin of the word 'Haberdasher' and the meaning of the 'Daylie Oratour,' I again offer my mite to the valuable information contained in your interesting publication. In a foot note to my former letter on the word 'haberdasher,' you inquire 'What is a berdash?' As I could give no further elucidation of it than my letter contained on the authority of the German Dictionary of Bailey, and Fahrenkrüger, viz., a neckerchief, formerly worn (*eine chemalige Halstuchart*), I did not further trouble you, the more especially, as I certainly had not followed dialectic or any other scientific mode of derivation, conceiving that those means had been previously tried unsuccessfully, and that the derivation must be looked for in some such corruptions of sound as 'hocus pocus,' from *hoc est corpus*. In turning over, however, the pages of N. Bailey's Dictionary, I stumbled upon the word 'Tatch, a sort of fastening, a loop or button, &c.,' and it occurred to me that the answer to your question, what is a 'berdash?' was here solved, and that the true meaning of berdash is a beard-tatch; that is, a beard-tie, something tied under the beard, or, in other words, a neckerchief. This agrees with the definition in Bailey and Fahrenkrüger's Dictionary, the English-German part of which is so excellent that I cannot for a moment suppose the derivation to be fanciful. The change from beard-tatch into 'berdash' does not violate any rule of etymology, and if I have at last set the origin of the word 'haberdasher' at rest, it is somewhat curious that the ladies' girdle and the gentlemen's neckcloth should have given names to the Haberdasher's and Girdler's Companies of the city of London.

"As regards the 'Daylie Oratour,' it is merely a form of petition, as one of your correspondents suggests; it is nearly disused; but I have within the last year seen a bill in the Irish Court of Chancery, beginning in the old form 'Your suppliant and daily orator sheweth unto your Lordship.' In England to this day, the bills begin, 'Your orator sheweth.'

"Your obedient Servant,

"WORTENKRAMER.

"Gray's-Inn."

The above derivation of berdash is unfortunately neither dialectic nor historic, but purely conjectural. In this manner, with the exercise of the least ingenuity, almost any origin may be ascribed to words. When Wortenkramer finds the word "berdash" in a foreign tongue, differently spelt, but with the letters changed according to the Phonetic Canons laid down by Grimm and Bopp, and meaning literally a neckerchief, then will he have troubled himself to some purpose; as it is, he is quite at sea. Berdash and beard-tash, or beard-tie, for neckcloth, is very

much in the "king Jeremiah" style of philology. The historic evidence concerning the meaning of the phrase "daylie oratour" is of a different nature, being at once explanatory and sound.

The subjoined is from a working tailor, who sends an account of his wages and expenditure for several years—statistics which are of the utmost possible importance, especially when the writer accompanies them with vouchers for his credibility. It were indeed to be wished that all trades would do the same; for it is only in this way that any proof as to wages can be arrived at. A workman's actual weekly wages are often so different from his nominal weekly wages, and his casual receipts per week frequently considerably less than his constant income, while the gains of a particular individual cannot possibly form a criterion of the general earnings of the whole trade; so that it is solely by the collection of a large number of facts any accurate and comprehensive result can be obtained. There are no less than six different kinds of wages in every trade, and it is absolutely essential that each be distinguished from the other. The two first kinds refer to a man's weekly wages. To ascertain a man's actual weekly wage, we deduct all fines and stoppages from his nominal weekly wage, or else we add to it all perquisites, allowances, and the like; the nominal wage being what he is said to receive per week for his labour, and the actual what he really does receive from his employer. To arrive at a man's constant (or average casual) wage, we must multiply his actual weekly wage by the number of weeks he has been employed, and divide by 52 (the total number of weeks throughout the year). A man whose actual weekly wages amount to 1*l.*, and who is casually employed for six months in the year, will have had only 10*s.* for a constant (or average casual) wage throughout the year. The general wage of a trade is to be arrived at solely by dividing the gross amount paid for labour in the course of the year—first, by the entire number of labourers; and, secondly, by the total number of weeks in the year. The better paid journeymen tailors may earn, on an average, 1*l.* a week the year through; fully employed and casual men as well; and the slop-tailors, 10*s.* a week; and thus the general wages, as contradistinguished from the individual, will be 15*s.* per week. It is highly necessary for a right understanding of the wage question that each form of wage be distinguished, for one kind of wage is no guide to the other.

"DEAR SIR,

"Reading in your work, 'London Labour,' No. 40, an account of wages by R. H. (though I do not quite like the way he averages it, but which supplies some information as far as it goes), I beg leave to send you an account of mine, as journeyman tailor, for the last ten years, the time I have been married (my wedding-day

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

was Dec. 25, 1840). We have now four children, and we have buried one. My wife does nothing towards a living except look after the family, which I consider is quite plenty. I came to London on Nov. 8, 1837, and went to work at my present employer's, Feb. 13, 1838, where I have worked ever since (except five months at the end of 1839, when I was in Paris). I have always made it a rule from the time I commenced as journeyman to keep an account of my earnings, and the principal items of expenditure, so you may rely on their accuracy; if you require proof you can call on me any Sunday evening, and I shall feel great pleasure in showing you the way I keep my accounts. With respect to beer, &c., in the other sheet, I keep no account of my expenditure that way, but I think 4½d. a day is as near the truth as I can come without regular accounts.

"My employer's name is J— H—, and a good master he is. I wish all were like him; but if you should make any use of any part of this paper be sure you do not mention his name. My native county is Cambridgeshire. I left home March 21, 1837, and 'tramped' to most of the principal towns in the north of England during the summer and autumn of that year, when I came to London to see the Queen go to Guildhall, on Nov. 9, 1837, and here I have been ever since, and here I suppose I am likely to remain; but I am perfectly satisfied. If I have work as I have had heretofore I shall be a lucky man.

"I beg to remain

"Your obedient Servant,

"E— B—.

INCOME.

Date.	Weekly Average.	Weeks.	Highest Week.	Weeks.	Lowest Weeks.
1841	£ s. d. 54 13 3	s. d. 21 0½	s. d. 33 0	4	Nil.
1842	59 1 3	22 8½	36 0	6	Nil.
1843	62 13 4½	24 1¼	36 0	3	Nil.
1844	69 7 1½	26 8	36 0	1	Nil.
1845	66 18 3	25 8¾	36 0	3	Nil.
1846	73 8 9	28 3	36 0	1	Nil.
1847	73 2 9	28 1½	35 6	2	Nil.
1848	64 5 10½	24 8½	36 0	2	Nil.
1849	66 13 7½	25 7¾	36 0	4	Nil.
1850	67 0 6	25 11½	36 0	1s.	
	657 4 9	25 3½	52	26	

EXPENDITURE.

Rent.	Firing and Candles.	Bread and Flour.	Meat and Fish.
£ s. d. 10 8 3	£ s. d. 2 18 3	£ s. d. 5 12 4½	£ s. d. 9 10 4
10 15 0	3 4 2½	5 17 4½	9 16 6
11 8 3	3 10 4	5 11 10½	10 14 0
10 8 0	4 0 4½	7 3 0½	11 9 6
10 14 3	3 12 0½	7 16 10	10 12 0
11 1 0	3 9 0	8 5 10	12 3 4
11 1 0	3 13 11	8 18 9	10 12 8
11 1 0	4 0 10½	8 11 10½	11 18 4½
11 6 3	3 1 2	8 5 3½	10 18 4
11 4 3	3 15 4½	8 7 5½	10 6 7
109 7 3	35 5 6½	74 10 8	108 1 7½

SOME OF THE PRINCIPAL ITEMS OF EXPENDITURE FOR THE TEN YEARS.

	£ s. d.
Rent	109 7 3
Firing and candles	35 5 6½
Bread & flour	74 10 8
Meat, fish, &c.	108 1 7½
Soap, soda, &c.	7 6 9½
Clothing for family (six persons)	62 5 1½
Doctors' bills for family (six persons)	13 12 9
Trade and benefit society and fire insurance	45 1 2½
Household furniture	38 16 9½
Beer, &c., I only suppose at 4½d. per day, or 7l. per annum	70 0 0
	564 7 9

Income 657 4 9
Expenses 564 7 9

It leaves for groceries, fruit, and vegetables... 92 17 0
Or about 9l. yearly.

AVERAGE PER WEEK.

	£ s. d.
Rent	0 4 2½
Firing, &c.	0 1 4½
Bread	0 2 10½
Meat	0 4 1½
Soap, soda, &c.	0 0 3½
Clothing	0 2 10½
Doctors' bills	0 0 6½
Trade society, &c.	0 1 8½
Furniture	0 1 5½
Beer, &c.	0 2 8½
Grocery, &c.	0 1 7½
	1 3 10

"The above is a correct account of my income as a journeyman tailor, in full work, at a full-priced shop, on the best work, on the employer's premises; the average number of men about ten.

"I have not included in the above an account of a trifle I make by a little 'crib' at the shop, or a few shillings by doing a job of my own, which I lay out in books; the account as I have given is for purely domestic purposes. Books by some are considered a luxury, or things that can be done without, so I did not include them; but I can vouch for the accuracy of the accounts.

"E— B—."

The following explains and qualifies some of the above statements:—

"I beg leave to supply you with the other items that you require to my statement. I will take them as they stand on the cover of No. 42. 1. Am I a quick hand? I can safely say that I am quicker than the average by a good deal, when there is plenty of work. I earn more money than the rest in the shop, except one; but when it is slack time we share the work amongst ourselves as fair as we can." [E. B. should have said how much quicker he was in his work than an average hand; that is to say, how much more

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Mr. Mayhew acknowledges with thanks the receipt of returns from the police authorities as to the number of prostitutes in the subjoined towns:—

Brighton.
Stoke-upon-Trent.
Sunderland.
Gateshead.
Wigan.

The following communications on the etymology of the slang term *Mot*, are all curious, and some very useful:—

"Albany-street,
"Dec. 2nd, 1851.

"Sir,

"It has often happened in the course of your most useful and interesting publication, 'London Labour and the London Poor,' that I have seen words used for which I could have given an explanation, but have deferred doing so till I have seen some one else come forward—then it would be needless. In the last number, in reference to the word 'mot,' your correspondent properly states it as coming from the old French word *motte*. This is the true orthography, and has reference, as he translates it, to the *vulva*; but its origin in the slang, or argot, is from *motte*, turf.

"I am, Sir,

"Yours most obediently,
"T. S. B."

[In the country the mark in quoit-playing is termed a "*motte*," probably from the above signification; but the slang term "*mot*," a low woman, is clearly another word.—H. M.]

"Sir,

"In a former number of your valuable work, 'London Labour,' &c., you made an inquiry concerning the derivation of the word 'mot,' as popularly applied to prostitutes. I did not doubt that, among the answers this inquiry would elicit from some of your numerous readers, the meaning which I have always heard abroad attributed to that term would have been mentioned; but as I do not find it in the replies of either of your two correspondents, E. C. or Wortenkraemer, I venture to suggest that this word, like so many of the same class, *argot*, or slang, adopted in our *vulgar* tongue, is derived from the Dutch, and was perhaps introduced thence by our sailors; for it is still used by the lower classes in Holland to express the same meaning as that of *mot* in English slang. Thus 'een mot' means a low prostitute; 'een mottekast,' a brothel (*literally*, a chest or case infested with moths). The primary and real signification of the word 'mot,' in Dutch, is the same as *moth* in English. It is, therefore, there applied to this class of women as a vituperative term, designating them as foul agents of corruption and destruction, even as the *moth* is to woollen cloth.

"Etymologies, I am aware, are generally fanciful, and sometimes even border on the ridiculous.

Still, when we find in so many living languages this word applied to express the same reproachful meaning in all of them, the explanation above given may not perhaps appear to you altogether improbable and unworthy of notice. Possibly it may be the real one.

"The French derivation given by your correspondent, E. C., seems also to point to the meaning of corruption, because the term *vulva*, or rather what it is *intended* to designate thereby, being common to all the sex, cannot in a vituperative sense be applied to the dissolute part of them exclusively, but must be intended as expressing (in a coarse manner) the meaning of a foul and corrupt *vulva*.

"I am, Sir,

"Your obedient Servant, and
Constant Reader,
"D.

"Upper Clapton,
"Nov. 29th, 1851."

The above is useful, as giving another dialectic explanation of the term "*mot*." The question consequently becomes, are the Dutch words "*mot*," a moth, and "*mot*," a low woman, etymologically the same words, or do they proceed from different roots? I suspect they have not a common origin for the following reasons. The Saxon term *moth*, a moth, is evidently another form of the Saxon *mot*, a mote, *atomus*; and hence an insect, gnat or moth. This, again, is connected with the Anglo-Saxon *mite*, and Heb., מוֹת, moth, a little thing. The latter is probably from some root to cut, to divide; as *in-sect*, from *seco*.

Now the Dutch term *mottekast*, for a brothel, has evidently, to those who have any knowledge of the cognate languages, a less fanciful origin than that supposed by D. In Anglo-Saxon, the equivalent for the Dutch *mottekast* would be *mot-hus*, that is, a moot-house, or meeting-house, a place of assembly; and hence a brothel, a place of assembly for men and women, a meeting or "assignation-house;" and hence *mot* would be a low woman in the habit of frequenting such places, the frequenter of brothels.

The Saxon term *mot*, or *gemot*, is an assembly, a meeting—as in the old Saxon parliament or witenagemot, i. e., the assembly (*gemot*) of the wits or wise men (*witena*). This *mot*, a meeting, was a substantive formed from the verb *metan*, to meet, meet with, find, obtain, get. Hence a "*mot*" would mean either a woman in the habit of frequenting a *mot-hus*, or house of assembly for men and women, a brothel; or a woman accustomed to make appointments and meet gentlemen.

The low French term *motte*, signifying *vulva*, and the Italian *mozzo*, are more likely to be connected with *moth* and *mote* than with *mot*, a prostitute. The derivation of *mot*, a low woman, from *mot-hus* and *mottekast*, a brothel, appears to be conclusive.

There is another term, *trull*, applied to the lower order of prostitutes. This is the Saxon term *thral*, and old German *trulle*, a slave, one in

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thral-dom. The old Dutch *drille*, from the same root, is explained—*mulier vaga, levis meretrix*. The Icelandic cognate is *threll*, servus. Hence the word *trull* is the Saxon equivalent for the modern term “*slavey*,” the appellation given to that class of prostitutes who are, as Duchatelet expresses it, “subject to the mistress of a brothel;” that is to say, those who have to give up the whole or a portion of their gains to the bawd, in return for their board and lodging and clothes, in contradistinction to the “*femmes libres*,” or those who trade on their own account. The French term for the former class is “*esclaves*,” the English “*slavey*,” and it is curious not only that the same vile mode of traffic should be common to both countries, but that they should be expressed by the same term. The word *trull* has a similar signification to “*slavey*.”

Still there is the word *mort* to be explained. Is this the same term as *mot*? I suspect not; but the following letter gives the ingenious speculations of a gentleman who has evidently paid some little attention to the subject of comparative philology.

“Ashby-de-la-Zouch,
“Dec. 4, 1851.

“Sir,

“I am engaged on an etymological cant or slang vocabulary, and have been hesitating whether to connect the word ‘*mot*’ with *mate*, a companion, &c., or with *mother*; I find you suggest the latter, and I have almost made up my mind to adopt it. I must confess I should be better satisfied if I could prove it from the Anglo-Saxon *maca*, a *mace*, a husband, wife, mate, or companion, or could I establish that this *a* had the broad sound; this latter circumstance would, I think, decide it, *mace*, make, mate, mort, mot. [The writer should study

Bopp’s “*Vocalismus*.”]

“The word *mort* is used in several of our dialects for a great quantity; the Anglo-Saxon for lump is *mace*; one might almost be tempted here to compare the French argot word *lague*, which means a woman, a doxy. I think, however, that the Anglo-Saxon *mace*, lump, and our *much* are connected.

“Turn now to the Sanscrit, *matar* (mother); Slavonic, *mater*; Lithuanian, *moter* (a woman, a mother is *motina*), and Lettish, *mate*; now the broad sound being immediately given to the *a* where it occurs, and the accent being on the penultima, the last syllable would be faint and at last disappear, so that we have not much difficulty in arriving at *mort*, *mot*; and, probably, it came thus to us through the Gypsies, whether Bohemian or German.” [But see the extract here appended from Borrow.] “In ‘*Witt’s Recreation*’ a collection of epitaphs, epigrams, fancies, &c., a Gypsy sings—

“And for the Romi-morts,
I know by their ports,
And there jolly resorts,
They are of the sorts
That love the true sports
Of King Ptolomæus,
Or great Coriphaeus,
And Queen Cleopatra,
The Gypsies’ grand *Matra*.”

“You will find in the song of the old and

young courtiers, inserted in Percy’s “*Reliques of Ancient Poetry*,” the word *madam* used for kept woman—

“‘Like a flourishing young gallant newly come
to his land,
Who keeps a brace of painted madams at his
command.’”

“Also in ‘*Witt’s Recreation*’ there are some lines on a patched up “*madam*,” and, again, the common people in this part of the country frequently call such persons madams.

“I am, sir, yours truly,

“T. L. L.”

T. L. L. will have seen that the term *mot* has a wholly different origin from that originally conjectured. The word *maca*, a mate, wife, is connected with the verb *macian*, to make, form, *match*, but *mace*, a lump, is connected with Latin *massa*; *much*, on the other hand, is related to Latin *magis*, and *more* with *major*, and these all with the Latin *magnus*, and the Saxon *mag-en*, Anglice, main strength, power; whence the Saxon *mageste*, greatest, most powerful; *max-imus*, and *mag-ester*, a master, *magister*. It is difficult to say whether these words are derivatives of *macian*, to make, or the verb derived from them. Be this as it may, however, it is manifest that from *macian*, to make, comes *mæden* (Ger. *magd*), a maiden, made, even as *mate* gives *made* in the past tense; and hence, too, the Saxon *mag*, a relation, son, daughter, a friend, male or female, a woman: the Scotch *Mac* has the same origin. Hence, again, we have *modor*, mother, and *mater*; and the several cognates for the same word, all meaning, simply, *mactor*, a maker, even as *father* is from *factor*, a maker, and *author* from *auctor*. The dropping of the *c* in all these words is by no means uncommon; *c* and *g* in

former times had, probably, the sound of *y*, or guttural aspirate. Blodig, in Saxon, is the original of our bloody, and so, in the French, *éloigne* and *boulogne*. Thus the Latin *factum* becomes, in French, *fait*, and so our verb *make* in the past tense gives, *made* for *maked*, the *c*, *k*, or *g*, having a tendency first to pass into *i* or *y*, and then to disappear altogether. The ordinary derivation of *father* is from *feeder*, he who supplies the food, because *fedan*, in Saxon, is to feed, and *fæder*, a father; but the Icelandic *fædi*, at *fæda*, is *generare*, connected with *fio*, *φω*, and *facio*. Webster strives to connect *mother* with *mud*, the earth, as when we speak of our “mother earth,” but such derivations are all fanciful, and words have a far more simple and less metaphorical origin than is ordinarily believed. The word *man*, again, is from the verb to make. In Saxon *man* means—1, a man; 2, one of the human kind, a woman! while the plat. Dutch *māken* means a maid, maiden, so that it would appear that the word *maken* (i. e. *mak* + *en*) originally signified any created thing, and then one of the human kind, a man or a woman; and, lastly, a man proper; while the term *maid*, *macod*, came to be restricted to a young woman. The names Meg and Madge have the same origin, and meant, originally, merely a woman, a relation, even as *John* means in Sanscrit, a man, and Jane, Jinny (*juv*), a

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D. S. (Birmingham) shall have Mr. Mayhew's opinion as to the best mode of publishing the poem.

A Commanding Officer's letter shall be inserted in the next number of "Those that Will Not Work."

A. C. (Hadleigh), and a City Clerk, shall be answered in an early number.

F. C. R. M. (M.D.) will be written to privately.

The late remarks on machinery in connection with the increase of surplus labour have brought a small avalanche of letters down upon us. Some are from those who are known, and whose opinions are esteemed by us; while some of the writers are unknown to us, but their opinions are worthy of respect, as they have evidently been endeavouring to think out the subject for themselves. It will, perhaps, be better to give the letters *seriatim*, and reply to them collectively. The first refers to the use of machinery in connection with the scavaging of the streets.

"Sir,

"Having read your remarks upon machine and pauper sweeping in No. 44 of your most interesting publication, permit me to ask you one question on the principle you advocate therein.

"You are against employing machines and paupers, because of the number of men thrown out of labour by them; for upon employing them a vast amount of labour which was formerly profitable to the community becomes unprofitable, and therefore is not employed.

"The labour in question is surplus labour, and is over and above what is required for the good of the community.

"Now if individuals are employed in unprofitable labour, so that it only be innocent labour, I do not see that it matters what the nature of it is. If, then, instead of employing individuals to sweep, the machines were used, and the men thus thrown out of work were to be employed in digging holes and filling them up again, in building houses and knocking them down again, or any other work equally unprofitable, and the wages saved by the machines were expended on this, so that there would be exactly the same amount of labour employed, and the same amount of wages expended as if no sweeping-machines were used, then it seems as if it would be exactly the same as if no machines were used.

"My question, then, is this—Whether you are in favour of the community finding unprofitable labour for the surplus labourers, and paying them for the same?

"I am,

"Your obedient Servant,

"Liverpool."

"T. A."

The second is from a friend, and relates to the use of machinery in connection with the printing trade. It runs as follows:—

"I have been pondering a good deal at various times about your theory of the 'Wage Fund,' and am inclined to think you are mistaken in supposing that money is taken from it in order to erect machinery. Of course I look to the process in my own case as that of thousands of others. I was a hand-press printer, and made, we will say, 500*l.* per annum. Of this I spent 250*l.*; 250*l.* I invested in 3 per cents., or bank stock, or railway shares. As a hand-press printer I could not further extend my trade. I could only do this by producing books at a much cheaper rate. I then, with the accumulated savings of several years, or by other means, purchase machinery; my trade increases, and, instead of discharging men, I employ a great many more. Is not this the case with the cotton and woollen manufacturers? The only difference with them was, that they threw a number of hand-loom weavers out of employ, and instead paid a *greater amount of wages* to women and children than were paid before to the men. Unless you could show that less was paid in wages after the introduction of machinery than before, you cannot prove that the 'Wage Fund' has been abstracted from and thrown into fixed capital. You will recollect that without machinery we should have little or no foreign trade."

Another refers more particularly to the use of machinery in connection with the stocking trade.

"Nov. 25, 1851.

"Sir,

"In your recent discussion on the wage law and your sweeping remarks on machinery, you seem to forget the good that machinery has done. If you look at the present time, and compare it with 50 years since—those 'good old times'—you will at once be struck with the marked improvement that has taken place. I do not deny that machinery has thrown a great many men out of employment; but you must recollect that a few must suffer for the good of the many, and that if a man is ground down by machinery, he has to pay less both for clothing and eatables. That the introduction of machinery in our manufactures has, on the whole, done more good than harm, there can be no doubt.

"You say that the machinery in England is equal in power to 600,000,000 men: in one sense so much the better; it enables the large capitalist to compete with other countries. I could adduce several instances in support of this, but will content myself with the following:—A short time ago Saxony monopolised nearly the whole of the American stocking trade; but since the recent improvements in stocking-machinery at Nottingham, we have been able to successfully compete with that country. Hoping you will excuse my freedom in writing you,

"I remain, Sir,

"Yours respectfully,

"J—C—."

Now in the above letters, it will be seen many different arguments are used in favour of machinery.

The first is, that if we can discover the means of doing a given quantity of work with fewer hands, that to employ a greater number is to employ them as fruitlessly and unprofitably as if we were to set them "to dig holes and fill them up again."

The second is, that it admits of the market being extended.

The third is, that in the cotton trade the wages of the hand-loom weavers alone have been decreased, while those of the "power" operatives have been raised.

The fourth, that it increases the foreign trade of the country, or, as one gentleman expresses it, "enables the large capitalist to compete with other countries."

These appear to exhaust the reasons above given why machinery is to be regarded as a benefit, in the present state of our social institutions. The fallacy of the whole appears to consist in ignoring the existence of the labourer, and not paying the same regard to his interests as to those of the capitalist class. This seems to be the fundamental error of all party reasoning. Each person considers the community to be made up of that class with which he is the most concerned; and when he speaks of the community being benefited, we shall find, if we probe him well, that he means merely the increase of the worldly advantages of that particular section with which he may happen to be connected. This is a natural source of prejudice; indeed, all those who have paid attention to the laws of suggestion know the tendency of every feeling to give rise to ideas and opinions in accordance with it. Hence it will be found, that when traders speak of the community being benefited, they mean, generally, that the profits of trade are to be increased; so with the landlords, when they say that the country is to derive some special advantage from a particular condition of things, the meaning is, too often, that rents are likely to be improved; and so, again, with the working men, the good of the nation signifies, in nine cases out of ten, the improvement of their own condition. Now, by the benefit of the community, we are to understand the benefit, if not of every individual member of it, at least of the greatest number. The labouring population and those who are immediately dependent upon them, necessarily make up the majority of this kingdom: the benefit of the community, therefore, involves the improvement of the condition of the labourers more particularly than that of any other section of society; and by consequence, that which tends to impoverish them, however much it may be to the advantage of any other class, must be said to inflict a national injury. A certain mode of production may tend to increase the stock of national wealth to a considerable amount, but the increase of the riches of a country is no benefit to the people *unless those riches be distributed, and the people themselves obtain a due share of them.* The ma-

chinery question consequently resolves itself into a matter of fact—do the people, that is to say, the labouring population, become possessed of a greater amount of comforts and commodities by mechanical contrivances for the economy of labour? This must necessarily depend upon the extensibility of the market for the commodities to the production of which the machinery is applied. If there be only a definite quantity of such commodities required—as, for instance, of hearses—that is to say, if the demand for the articles be dependent on some circumstance which no cheapness could possibly influence, then of course the economy of labour in connection with the production of those articles cannot but be attended with the displacement of just as much labour as is economised; and thus, though the capitalist class would be benefited by the cheapening of the commodity, the labouring class would be injured to the extent of the economisation of the labour: for if the condition of the capitalist class depends on the quantity of commodities they can get in exchange for their capital, that of the labouring class depends on the quantity of commodities they can get in exchange for their labour;—hence the economy of labour must in all cases, where the market is circumscribed, be as great an evil to the poor as it is a gain to the rich. In other cases where the market is extensible, it must be admitted that the labourers may be benefited by the economy of labour: for since the value of those commodities the supply of which can be indefinitely extended is generally determined by the cost of production, it follows, that to economise the labour of producing such commodities is to decrease the cost of production, and so to extend the demand for them, by which means a greater quantity of labourers may be employed. There can be no doubt that a greater number of workmen are employed in producing copies of writings by means of moveable types than ever could have been employed had the scribe not been superseded by the compositor. The cause of this is to be found simply in that cheapening of the article (owing to the diminished cost of production), which has naturally induced a large increase of demand. In such a case, machinery, it must be confessed, has been a good to both classes, the producers and the consumers being equally benefited by it; but has this been the case with the cotton-manufacture? It would appear *not* by the statistics of that trade—which must be reserved till the next number—when it shall be demonstrated to all those that are open to reason, that precisely as the capitalists in that trade have been enriched, the working classes have been impoverished by it. Who can explain that the poverty and crime of this country advance at the same rate with our wealth, by any other means than that the capitalist class have learnt by the economy of labour to obtain a greater quantity of riches with a less sum paid to the labourers? Those, however, who are interested in the question, will find this part of the matter more fully discussed in the publication entitled "Low Wages" than it is possible to do here.

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According to promise I return to the consideration of the opinions which have been forwarded to me by several correspondents in favour of machinery as applied to the purposes of manufacture in *general*. These are as follows:—

1. That if we can discover the means of doing a given quantity of work with fewer hands, to employ a greater number is to employ them as fruitlessly and unprofitably as if we were to set them to dig holes and fill them up again.
2. That machinery admits of the market being extended.
3. That in the cotton trade the wages of the hand-loom weavers alone have been decreased, while those of the "power" operatives have been raised.
4. That machinery increases the foreign trade of the country, or "enables the large capitalist to compete with other countries."
5. That the capital required for the purpose of constructing machines is not taken from the Wage Fund.
6. That the capital which is saved in wages in one trade must go to increase employment in another.
7. That labour is a curse, and consequently the saving of it must be a blessing.
8. That machinery, by diminishing the cost of production, admits of the labourer obtaining an increased supply of commodities for less money, so that even if his wages be decreased by it, he cannot be said to be a loser.

This surely is a full and fair statement of the question. The above arguments may be grouped into three classes: the first including those which uphold machinery in the abstract, on the ground that, since labour is an evil, the economy of it must be a good, and that to employ labour which can be done without is to employ it uselessly; the second class are those which uphold machinery not so much for itself as for its results, saying that it admits of the market being extended, of the increase of our foreign trade, and of the labourer obtaining increased comforts for less money; while the third class comprises those which are of a negative character, denying what has been asserted, and declaring that the capital applied to the construction of machinery is not drawn from the funds devoted to the payment of the labourers, and that the wages which are saved by mechanical appliances in one trade, go to increase employment in some other; and lastly, that the wages in the cotton trade, in particular, have not been diminished by it.

Let us first deal with the arguments which refer to machinery in the abstract. There cannot be the least doubt that labour is an evil, since it is that which all the world pays to avoid, and which to undergo all people require a reward of some kind as an *inducement*. Were toil, rather than ease, a pleasure, gentlemen would give a certain sum to be allowed to work, instead of parting with a portion of their wealth to servants to save them the

trouble of doing the least thing for themselves. But if labour be a curse, at least it is *the means of living*—"in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread;" and the majority of the people—the community, indeed—have no other means of subsistence. In all primitive states this is the sole means of continuing existence; nature supplies the wealth, and man has to collect it; the seeking and the gathering being then the only labour that he is called upon to perform. For this little or no capital or saving is required, provided the spontaneous productions of the earth are sufficient to enable a man in the course of each day to find and collect enough to maintain himself till the morrow. In other conditions of society, however, when or where the earth, in the common course of nature, does not yield sufficient for the support of the people located upon it, other forms of labour are obliged to be adopted, and, instead of *collection*, men then have to resort to *production* (and *extraction*, for the purpose of obtaining the minerals essential for the perfection of the productive process).

Now the difference between these several forms of labour lies in the *time* required for a return to the industry; in collection the return is almost *immediate*, the labour of each day generally yielding sufficient food for the performance of the next day's labour. In production, however, the labourer has to remain some considerable time unrewarded; he must wait until the seasons return before his exertions can meet with the least reward. But during this time he must live; hence in all productive states saving is necessary; for since the return to the labour is *not* immediate, and the necessity for food is continually recurring at short intervals, it is evident that without a stock of provisions sufficient to keep him until the earth yields him the produce of his industry, the labourer will be unable to protract his existence. But immediately society passes from a state of collection or *immediate* returns to industry, to a state of production or *deferred* returns, it necessarily changes from the condition of mere labour to one of labour and capital—for capital is simply saving with a view to production; that is to say, in the latter condition not only labour, but a sufficient stock of provisions, is required to keep the individual while labouring. And since this stock could only have been obtained by the abstinence of some of the labourers, that is to say, by their living on less than they had previously acquired, and since all men are not equally provident, it follows that some would possess such a stock, while others would be without the means of supporting themselves in the intervals of production; hence society in such a state would necessarily divide itself into two distinct classes: that of the capitalists or possessors of the stock necessary for the performance of the labour; and the mere labourers deficient of all provision for the future. The consequence, of course, would be, since the capitalists possessed the sole means of obtaining the future produce, and without which the others could not possibly prosecute their la-

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bour, that the labourers would gladly consent to allow the capitalists to share in the proceeds of their industry, provided the capitalists would allow them to share in the proceeds of their abstinence; and hence we arrive by easy gradations at the state of employer and employed, in which the capitalists possess everything, and the labourers have nothing but their labour to give in exchange for a portion of the savings of the others.

Now, the capitalists being, in such an arrangement of society, the possessors of all the wealth, and requiring the services of the labourers to operate on the *materials* of the future productions—whether seed to convert into crops, or wool into cloth and coats, or hides into leather and shoes, or cotton into calicoes and shirts, or wood into ships and houses and furniture, or iron into tools, weapons, and machines; of course it follows that the *less they part with to the labourers for so doing, the greater will be their gain*, that is to say, the *more commodities they will obtain from their materials at less cost*. The labourers, however, having nothing to depend upon but what they receive in exchange for their labour, it equally follows, that the less they obtain for their work the worse will be their condition. The smaller the quantity of labour, therefore, that is required, or what is the same thing, the fewer the labourers that are needed to make up the materials of wealth into commodities, the less stock the capitalists will have to part with, and the more commodities they will obtain; for what they save in labour they can, of course, exchange for a greater quantity of materials, and so get a greater number of commodities at a less expense; hence anything which tends to make each of the workmen do the work of one hundred must necessarily tend to increase the gains of the capitalists as much as it does to decrease the income of the labourers in the aggregate, and to give the possessors of the stock or materials one-hundredfold more articles of utility or enjoyment for the same outlay, while there must necessarily be one-hundredfold less employment for the labourers. It should be borne in mind, that the stock possessed by the capitalists is the result of saving out of the *past* produce, and consequently *cannot possibly be increased* till the next year's returns are obtained; hence this is the whole that in the interval of production can be used for the enjoyment of the capitalists, the supply of materials, and the maintenance of the labourers; so that the increase of the funds required for either of these results necessarily involves the decrease of those needed for the others, that is to say, if a larger portion of the stock be devoted to materials for the future produce, there will be less left for the maintenance of the labourers; hence it follows that to enable the workmen to convert more materials into products in the same time, is to cause a greater proportion of the stock of the capitalists to be devoted to materials, and a correspondingly less proportion to be devoted to the maintenance of the labourers.

To put this clearly to those who are unused to such speculations, let us say that the national income of this country amounts to 300,000,000*l.*

that is to say, that the whole year's produce of provisions, clothes, furniture, implements, conveyances, ornaments, &c., &c., is altogether worth that amount of money, and let us say that 100,000,000*l.* were paid to 4,000,000 labourers while engaged in producing the wealth; that another 100,000,000*l.* expressed the value of the materials—the seed, the cotton, the wool, the hides, the wood, the iron—used in the production of the various commodities. The whole of the 300,000,000*l.* then would, of course, belong entirely to the capitalists; 200,000,000*l.* going to replace the capital employed in production, and 100,000,000*l.* being the profits on the transaction. The labourers own not one brass farthing of the produce; they have been paid for their labour in obtaining it, and are held to have no further claim upon it. Now let us suppose that by the invention of a certain machine the capitalists are enabled to convert the materials of the next year's produce into commodities with a less amount of labour, and consequently with fewer labourers, say with one-half, what must be the inevitable consequence? The result, of course, will be that only one-half the number of labourers being required, one-half less would be expended in wages, even supposing the same rate of remuneration to be paid to each (though, of course, wages would fall from the competition of those displaced), and thus the capitalists would have only 50,000,000*l.* to pay for the labour of the workpeople, while the workpeople, of course, would have 50,000,000*l.* less to live upon. But what, it may be asked, would be done with the 50,000,000*l.* saved? Why either it would go to increase the profits and enjoyments of the capitalists, or else it would be devoted to the purchase of an extra quantity of materials—of cotton, of wool, of silk, of wood, or what not, with the view of increasing the gross quantity of the future produce. Let us suppose the latter course to be adopted: then it follows that a certain portion of those whose labour had been superseded by the machine might be re-employed, and granting the same relation between the sum devoted to the purchase of materials and that devoted to the payment of labour, to hold good, about 17,000,000*l.* more might be paid for labour, and about 650,000 more labourers set to work, while the remaining 33,000,000*l.* would be required to obtain an extra supply of materials. Then how would the matter stand? Why, as 100,000,000*l.* worth of materials yielded a number of commodities which were equal in value to 300,000,000*l.*, increasing threefold, of course 133,000,000*l.* expended in the same manner, would yield such an extra number of commodities as, monetarily expressed, would be equal to 399,000,000*l.*; but the workpeople would have received only 67,000,000*l.* for their labour in producing them, so that the capitalists would have had their commodities and profits *increased* to the extent of 99,000,000*l.*, while the workmen would have had their income *decreased* to the extent of 33,000,000*l.*, and 1,350,000 of them would have been altogether deprived of their means of living. To employ these 1,350,000 people, a still further supply of materials must be obtained, and this could

be done solely by further drafts upon the stock set aside for the payment of the labourers generally; so that work could be found for the unemployed workpeople solely by decreasing the remuneration of those already employed. But since, by the assumption, 100,000,000*l.* worth of materials are from the economy of labour rendered sufficient to give employment to only 2,000,000 people instead of double the number, it follows that to fully occupy the 4,000,000 labourers, 200,000,000*l.* worth of materials would be required; but this is the whole capital of the country (the other 100,000,000*l.* being profits); so that there would, in such a case, be nothing left wherewith to pay the labourers. The workers, however, must live in order to do their work; hence wages might and would be driven down to the point of mere subsistence, but could not possibly go lower. All gained by the reductions to this extent might be devoted to procuring an additional quantity of materials; still the result would be that while those who were in work got merely sufficient for the protraction of their existence from their labour, numbers would remain unemployed, and those, of course, the capitalists would have to keep either as beggars or thieves; for since it would be impossible for the displaced labourers to subsist by their labour, which would be then no longer required, and since you could not exactly do with them as Mr. Carlyle humanely recommends, "shoot them and sweep them into the dustbin," why, it follows, that an armed body of police must be instituted to keep watch day and night over the possessions of the rich, lest those who had no means of sustenance but their labour, and who could find no employment for that, sought to steal the food they could not earn. Then, as a means of decreasing the expense of keeping those who were less daring, and preferred entering the workhouse to braving a prison, a minimized and terrible poor law must be established under which the relief given might be just sufficient to "ward off death from starvation." The curse was, formerly, that man should get his bread by labour, but nowadays the curse is, that men can get scarcely a mouthful of bread by labouring; so that what was once considered a curse would now be looked upon as a blessing, were it possible for the very poor to earn their bread by the sweat of their brow.

Those who maintain that machinery in the present state of our social arrangements is a good to the labourer are urged to reflect well upon what is here stated, for it is believed that this one simple fact must force itself upon all unprejudiced minds—as you save in labour you must either employ a smaller number of labourers or else reduce wages, so as to obtain a greater quantity of materials and give employment to the same number. To reduce the matter to a formula, let *C* represent the capital of the country, and let this equal *M*, the gross sum spent on materials, and *W* the gross sum devoted to the payment of the labourers, then it follows that—

$$\begin{aligned} \text{because } C &= M + W, \\ \text{therefore } C - M &= W, \\ \text{and therefore } C - 2M &= W - M; \end{aligned}$$

or, to state the matter arithmetically, we may say let *C* (the gross capital of the country) = 200,000,000*l.*,
and *M* (the gross sum spent on materials) = 50,000,000*l.*,
and *W* (the gross sum spent on labour) = 150,000,000*l.*,

$$\begin{aligned} \text{then, because } 200,000,000\text{ } &= 50,000,000 + 150,000,000, \\ \text{therefore } 200,000,000\text{ } &- 50,000,000 \\ &= 150,000,000; \end{aligned}$$

$$\begin{aligned} \text{and therefore } 200,000,000\text{ } &- 50,000,000 \times 2 \\ &= 150,000,000 - 50,000,000. \end{aligned}$$

Hence as much as you increase the materials for labour, just so much must you decrease the wages of labour. So, again, the increase of the rate of working or causing one hand to do the work of many, may be demonstrated to necessitate either the expenditure of a greater sum upon materials or the employment of a smaller number of operatives, thus:—since *O*, the gross number of operatives employed, must be regulated by *M*, the gross quantity of materials on which to employ them divided, *R*, the ordinary rate of working or quantity that each hand can manufacture in an hour, multiplied by *D*, the duration of the work or total number of hours employed, then

$$\text{because } \frac{M}{R \times D} = O,$$

$$\text{therefore } \frac{M}{2R \times D} = \frac{O}{2},$$

$$\text{and therefore } \frac{2M}{2R \times D} = O;$$

$$\text{and because } C - M = W,$$

$$\text{therefore } C - 2M = W - M.$$

or, reduced to figures, we should say let *O* (the number of operatives) = 1,000,000,
R (the rate of working or quantity of materials made up by each operative per week) = 1*l.*,
and *D* (the duration of the labour, or number of weeks' work done in the course of the year) = 50;

$$\text{then because } \frac{50,000,000\text{ } }{1\text{ } \times 50} = 1,000,000,$$

$$\text{therefore } \frac{50,000,000\text{ } }{(1\text{ } \times 2) \times 50} = \frac{1,000,000}{2} = 500,000,$$

$$\text{and therefore } \frac{50,000,000 \times 2}{(1\text{ } \times 2) \times 50} = 1,000,000,$$

$$\begin{aligned} \text{and because } 200,000,000\text{ } &- 50,000,000 \\ &= 150,000,000, \end{aligned}$$

$$\begin{aligned} \text{therefore } 200,000,000\text{ } &- 50,000,000 \times 2 \\ &= 150,000,000 - 50,000,000. \end{aligned}$$

Hence we see, that as the rate of working is increased so must either workmen be thrown out of employment or more money be spent on materials, and the more money there is spent on materials the less there must be left to pay the labourers.

I shall return to this subject in the next number of this portion of "LONDON LABOUR," for the economy of labour is the main difficulty of the time.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

THE whole of the back numbers are now reprinted, and may be had of any newsman or bookseller. Some correspondents complain that they occasionally do not obtain their copies of "London Labour" till three weeks after the date. The fault lies with the bookseller or newsman serving them, as the numbers are invariably published on the day of their date.

On the 1st of January, 1852, an extra part was published; so that the subscribers who receive their copies monthly may be supplied up to the current number. This is a necessity of the difference between the lunar and the calendar month; and were any other plan adopted, the price of the parts would be continually varying.

Several inquiries have been made for the index and title-page of Volume II.; but it will be seen, on reference to the paging of the alternate numbers of "London Labour," that two distinct volumes are in the course of publication. Neither of these will be completed for some weeks yet, when the proper titles, indices, and directions to the binder, will be issued. It is proposed to publish, as soon as convenient, an extra part in connection with each subject, so that the respective volumes may be made up with as little delay as possible.

The following letters, requiring no comment, are printed verbatim, with the grateful acknowledgments of the Editor:—

"Sir,

"Although brought up, in early life, in the school of *Irish Orangeism*, and sincerely opposed to many doctrines of the Church of Rome, as I am still more to the nondescript doctrines of the Tractarian party, a sense of justice constrains me to say I think many very unjust charges have been preferred against the English Roman Catholics; and I am pleased to find you do justice, in your work on 'London Labour and the London Poor,' both to their zeal and charity, and the sense of religion and chastity, which, with all their many faults, the poor Irish Roman Catholics for the most part evince in the metropolis.

"At Hammersmith, the nuns of the Convent of the Good Shepherd, twenty in number, take charge of about eighty professed female penitents, and endeavour to train them in habits of virtue, order, and industry. Of course they sometimes, as may be expected, fail, and meet ingratitude and calumny; but this can only cause surprise to such as are utterly ignorant of the depravity of the poor unfortunates whom they seek to reclaim. I believe the Convent of the Good Shepherd originated some 20 or 25 years ago, with two wealthy French ladies.

"Not very long since, Signor Palliano, formerly

master of the Sabloniere Hotel, Leicester-square, brought over six nuns from Brittany, and hired a house at Brook-green, Hammersmith, in which they received a few poor old women, whom they supported by soliciting food and clothing from the charitable. The establishment has since been transferred to Great Windmill-street, Golden-square, as larger premises became needful.

"I should feel greatly delighted if, when your present labours terminate, you would take up the cause of the Agricultural Labourers. The publications of the Society for promoting the welfare of the industrious poor (The Labourers' Friend Society) give ample details of the means by which crime and pauperism have been propagated in the rural districts; but we still want some popular serials on the subject.

"The educational establishments and charities of the Moravians, Quakers, and Roman Catholics, and the co-operative industry of the Moravians at Fulneck, Ockbrook, &c., are worthy of notice.

"Trusting you will excuse this liberty,

"I have the honour to be,

"Sir,

"Your most obedient Servant.

"JNO. A. W."

Mr. MAYHEW purposes an inquiry into the condition of the Agricultural Labourers at the earliest opportunity.

"Sir,

"I have lately met with a passage in Jeremy Taylor's 'Holy Living,' the introduction to the chapter on Chastity, which seems to me so well suited to be a motto to your publication on Prostitution, that I cannot forbear calling your attention to it. As you may not have the book at hand, I will transcribe the sentences I refer to on the other side.

"I am, Sir,

"Your attentive Reader and

"obliged humble Servant,

"—"

"Lincoln's-inn,

"Dec. 26, 1851.

"Reader, stay, and read not the advices of the following section unless thou hast a chaste spirit, or desirest to be chaste, or at least art apt to consider whether you ought or no. For there are some spirits so atheistical, and some so wholly possessed with a spirit of uncleanness, that they turn the most prudent and chaste discourses into dirt and filthy apprehensions; like choleric stomachs, changing their very cordials and medicines into bitterness, and, in a literal sense, turning the grace of God into wantonness. They study cases of conscience in the matter of carnal sins, not to avoid, but to learn ways how to offend God and pollute their own spirits; and search their houses with a sunbeam, that they may be instructed in all the corners of nastiness. I have used all the care I could in the following periods, that I might neither be wanting to assist those that need it, nor yet minister any occasion of fancy or vainer thoughts to those that need them not. If any man will snatch the pure taper from my hand,

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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

and hold it to the devil, he will only burn his own fingers, but shall not rob me of the reward of my care and good intention.' — JEREMY TAYLOR."

The following contains much truth, and evidences not only good feeling, but nice observation:—

"Sir,

"Considering it the duty of every well-disposed person to render you every assistance in their power, however trifling that may be, in your endeavour to investigate the habits and mode of life of the prostitute class, with a view to the mitigation of this giant social evil, I take the liberty of mentioning a few facts which have come under my own observation, as a young man living in London, and having for some ten years seen more or less of the class in question.

"We must all agree with your remarks on the letter of W. G., Jun., published in No. 47. He saw and heard nothing more than what every man who walks the streets of this town after dark must see and hear, but I fear much, even from his own narrative of the girl's story, that he was imposed upon. The tale is an old one, and what in the slang of the fast men would be called the 'officer dodge,' and I think had W. G. made the same inquiries of a dozen different women in the Casino, he would have heard the same story repeated, of course with variations, several times; at least I have myself; but it is quite impossible to place reliance on one word these women say, at all events until you have known them for some time, and had the opportunity of judging for yourself what degree of confidence can be placed upon their word. I have found them, without a solitary exception, utterly regardless of the truth in their assertions; but this cannot be wondered at.

"While on the subject of W. G.'s letter, I would call attention to the girl's words, 'I have had no Bible these four years,' merely to remark that I have been surprised at the number of cases in which I have found Bibles, Prayer Books, and other serious works in their rooms, and I may say the almost total absence of indecent prints and books. It is true some of the 'dress lodgers' and 'French women' make use of the allurements of 'pretty pictures,' &c., to induce young men to accompany them home; but I believe, in most cases, they would be disappointed when they got there, as none would be forthcoming. Lying, swearing, and drinking, are the three common vices of the prostitute, and from these or some of them none of the class are altogether free; they begin with their first fall, and lead to every other vice; but obscenity or indecency of language or action I do not think, on the whole, general amongst them, and kindness of feeling and attention to one another in case of illness exist, I think, to a considerable extent, where not interrupted by jealousy, or the ill-will springing from a sense of rivalry.

"I am led to think that superstitious ideas are more than usually prevalent amongst them, and that they are, in a great measure, the support of the fortune-tellers and so-called astrologers, who

haunt the low neighbourhoods in and about London.

"A woman to whom I recently spoke on the subject, told me she had been to most of these fortune-tellers of any 'note,' either alone or with other women, and had seen as many as a dozen 'gay women' waiting to have their fortunes told; that cards were usually used for the purpose, and the fee varied from 1s. to 2s. 6d. Others have told me much to the same effect, generally adding that they did not believe a word told them, but still—sometimes something came true, and—in short, they went again.

"If I recollect rightly, there is in the then rather celebrated 'Tom and Jerry; or, Life in London,' published many years back, a print of two courtezans having their fortunes told by an old woman.

"If this be so, what reason can be given? Is it that these poor creatures, their hearts not entirely deadened, seeking for some hope in the future, take refuge in the miserable tissue of falsehoods and absurdities uttered by these women?

"I have already trespassed too long on your time, and can only plead as an excuse, the wish to be of the slightest use to you; and if the publication of any part of this letter on the wrapper of your periodical induces other young men to communicate to you the results of their observations, I think it may be of some little service, as it is the experience of those by whom the class is supported, and by the majority of whom, I verily believe, the system is as much detested as it is by, Sir,

"Your obedient Servant,
"E. J. B."

The next treats of the causes and remedies of prostitution.

"Sir,

"In whatever light we may view the fearful increase of female criminality, we are equally baffled in our endeavours to find a remedy for so overwhelming an evil. The refined morality of the present day is not calculated to arouse and set in motion the higher and more virtuous feelings of human nature, but rather to produce a lethargic and inactive spirit of false pride and exclusiveness inimical to the best interests of humanity. If we look at the social position of women, the estimation in which they are held by the opposite sex, their treatment and helpless condition from infancy upwards, the limited choice of a profession, and the scandalous remuneration for their services, and last, but not least, the almost worthless education they receive, so ill-adapted to the requirements and bitter realities of every-day life,—how many of us, with natures less susceptible and confiding, placed in their position, would have fallen! To mitigate this crying evil we must raise women socially and physically, we must find a legitimate sphere of action adapted to their moral and physical capacities, and remove every obstacle and unjust oppression, in the way of living honourably and respectably in their several callings or pursuits. For we must bear in mind that few would choose

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a life that must bring ruin and disgrace upon them, and be but of short duration, were they not impelled to it as a last resource to escape aggravated distress and sometimes utter destitution.

"I am, sir, with much esteem,

"Yours respectfully,

"A. C."

The subjoined is from a former correspondent, treating of the same subject:—

"London, Nov. 14, 1851,

"Sir,

"I have been encouraged to accept your kind request to hear again from me (see your remark upon my letter of the 6th inst., published in No. 49 of your excellent work upon 'London Labour,') in the hope that it may induce others, more able than myself, to take up the various branches of the causes of prostitution, and thereby contribute to the suppression of that evil which it is the purpose of your work to expose and put down.

"In my last I attributed 'dress and love of gaiety' as some of the antecedents on seduction, and I quoted the frequenting of casinos and theatres, &c., as giving openings for the seduction of the daughters of small tradesmen and of mechanics of the better sort.

"It is quite true, as you say, that girls frequenting casinos must either have been seduced or be of a *seducible disposition*: with regard to the latter, *too many* are to be found amongst the class I then alluded to, and can it be wondered at! Children of small tradesmen and mechanics are generally comparatively uneducated, and their religious duties are very little impressed upon them. Now in my opinion nothing tends more to form a 'seducible disposition' than the want of moral education, and if parents allow their uneducated daughters to walk out with 'sweethearts,' or 'young men,' as they are called, and attend such places, it is, I think, not at all surprising that they fall a prey to the seducer.

"I may instance a case which came within my own knowledge, of two sisters, aged then about 16 and 17 years of age respectively, who were allowed to go out in the way before described. They some years ago went to one of those nuisances called a fair, near Camberwell, entered a dancing booth with their 'young men,' and what between dancing, refreshments, and amorous dalliance, when they left the fair they did not return to their parents' house till after they had been persuaded to sojourn on the way, viz., at a brothel. One of these girls keeps a brothel now, and the other is in 'splendid misery,' living with a gentleman.

"Now, in this case had the parents done their duty (and they could afford to look after their girls), such a misfortune would not, perhaps, have occurred; and if there were not such openings as dancing-rooms, fairs, &c., permitted, many girls in a similar class as the two above alluded to might be in a respectable position in society, and, instead of being the seducers of youth and inexperience, might have been the promoters of virtue and honour.

"I fear that I have intruded too much upon

your patience at this time, and shall conclude by wishing you every success in your endeavours to expose and lessen the prostitution in London.

"J. B."

The last communication tells one a tale of deep suffering and misery. Mr. Mayhew will be happy to furnish any subscriber who may desire a tutor for the French, German, or Dutch languages with the name of the writer of the following:—

"Sir,

"A young man, of highly respectable family, takes the liberty to address you a few lines. Perhaps you may consider it bold of me, respected Sir, I am so free to write to you, but the most dreadful distress makes me resolve to use those means. I am a native of Holland, and am born of Jewish parents. I had the privilege to get a most excellent education, and it pleased the Lord to let me come, eight year ago, to the conviction of the truth that the Lord Jesus Christ is the Saviour of the world. I was baptized February 17th, 1850, at Liverpool. I returned March 4th, 1850, to Holland, but was there so dreadfully persecuted by all my relations and the whole mass of the Jews, that I was obliged to fly, so that I went to New York. There I was till December 4th of last year, but I suffered also there the most dreadful privations. I arrived December 26th at Liverpool, and February 28th at London, and should have undoubtedly been admitted into the Hebrew College or Jewish Operative Converts' Institution, but for illness. I am now established as a Professor of Languages, but all my endeavours have till this time shipwrecked in getting a living. I am literally without bread, and exposed to the most dreadful hunger and cold. I am every day on the point of being turned out by my landlord, as I owe this gentleman already 1*l.* 14*s.* I happened to see your work 'London Labour and the London Poor,' and as I saw how much you do for suffering mankind, I made bold enough to address you those lines. Believe me, highly respected Sir, no trouble will be too great for me to get an honest living, and wherever you might think fit to place me in, all will be accepted by me with a thankful heart, and I shall always remember you have saved me from my ruin. In name of humanity, in name of the blessed Lord Jesus Christ, I pray and beseech you to help me in the one or other way, and you will not only have the satisfaction of having saved an unhappy young man of starvation, but also of having rendered him to human society. In the hope you may do something for me in the one or other way, I sign most respectfully,

"Your obedient Servant,

"S. M. B."

"I am ready to furnish very high references, if required."

The letters of the "City Clerk" and the "Commanding Officer" will be printed in the next number of "Those that Will Not Work."

Letters from A. B. (on Garden Allotments) and G. H. (Lincolnshire) have been received, and shall be printed as soon as possible.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

I RETURN to the consideration of the effects of machinery, or economy of labour, upon the condition of the labourers.

In No. 56 it was demonstrated that in the present arrangement of society it was physically impossible that machinery in the abstract could benefit the labourer. To perceive this clearly and unmistakably, we have but to imagine the mechanical appliances carried out to the utmost, and *all* manual labour superseded, with the exception of such as is needed to keep the machines in repair and construct new ones, for even the tending of them appears to be an imperfection which superior science may ultimately remove, as we have already had self-acting steam-engines which supplied their own boilers and fed their own fires. All that the labourers are at present required to do, is to convert the capitalists' materials into commodities; and if this can be done by mechanical power instead of manual, surely there can be no necessity for workmen; and when human operatives are rendered obsolete, will capitalists consent to feed *them* any more than they feed horses when displaced by the railway? A new element has been introduced into society within the last century—a labourer of brass and iron, one that knows no fatigue, and, consequently, requires no rest; one that cannot possibly "strike," or refuse to do his master's bidding; one that requires only coals and water, instead of bread and beer, to set him working. Six hundred millions of these steam-labourers have been created within the last 75 years; they have been made to compete with creatures of flesh and blood, and the consequence is, that the human labourer is being driven out of the field. *The steam-engine gets his share of the wage-fund*, it should be remembered; the capital that formerly went to find the muscular man and his family in bread, and to reinvigorate his frame, now goes to supply the steam man with fuel, and to pay for wear and tear. Those who are pleased with puzzles can amuse themselves by inventing some form of society in which the steam-engine and other mechanical contrivances for superseding human labour shall confer an equal amount of benefit upon the labourer as upon the capitalists. This is the great problem that requires to be solved. A Liverpool correspondent justly observes, that by the invention of a particular machine a vast amount of labour, which was formerly profitable to the community, becomes unprofitable, and therefore is not employed, and we consequently might just as well employ the labourers in digging holes and filling them up again, or building houses and knocking them down again, or any other useless occupation, so long as the same wages were paid for the unprofitable as for the profitable employment. If we can, by means of a machine, sweep the streets with 100 instead of 400 men, then, argues he, to employ the extra 300 is to waste so much labour. There is no gainsaying this point. But surely this wasting of labour regards only the capitalists, or the possessors of the entire stock of the country; to get this stock converted into commodities with as little

labour as possible, and, consequently, at as little cost as possible, is the greatest possible good to them, seeing that the same capital under such circumstances yields them a greater number of products. But how about the labourers? That which is the greatest good to the possessors of the stock is the greatest evil to the labouring class—those who possess nothing, and merely live by working up the materials of the others. The less labour there is required, and the less that is paid for it, the less, of course, they have to live upon. Hence we perceive that the unprofitable employment of workmen who would otherwise be unemployed, though the greatest evil to the capitalist class, is no evil at all to the labouring class, seeing that without it they could obtain no portion of the riches of the country. "Are you," says T. A. of Liverpool, "in favour of the community finding unprofitable employment for the surplus labourers, and paying them for the same?" Here we see that the general term community is used simply for the capitalist portion of it, and, consequently, the unprofitable employment of the surplus labourers must be admitted to be an evil, if regarded solely in that light; but it must also be admitted to be a good if considered with regard to the labourer; seeing that if it does not tend to increase the stock of riches, at least it does to distribute them, and distribution is often as great a good as production. But what moral right have we to deprive a number of labourers of their only means of living? The good of the community, is the "economical" answer. But in the case of railways, and improvements which are regarded as national benefits, we do not allow a private wrong to be done for a public good. Compensation is required to be made to every individual injured by the improvement. In the case of labour, however, we know no "rights of property." A man may have been all his life acquiring a certain kind of skill which a particular mechanical contrivance may render utterly valueless, and what recompense has he? Did he possess a park, a house, or even a business, and this had been in the least damaged by some projected public benefit, the amount of injury done would be valued by a jury of conscientious men, and adequate recompense awarded. The labourer, however, is beggared without a single voice being raised in his favour. His labour has, in the struggle to live, been rendered superfluous, and he may maintain himself as best he can. There is the workhouse open, for as yet economists do not admit the right of the "community" to wring the necks of the superseded labourers; and since the law of the kingdom still declares that every man, if unable to maintain himself by his own industry, is entitled to live upon the wealth of others, it is clear, if you deprive a labourer of the power of living by his labour, you must be prepared to keep him as a pauper. But supposing every inventor of a machine that superseded a particular class of labourers was bound to make the displaced workmen a yearly allowance out of the profits, by way of compensation to them—even if such an arrangement were in any

EXTRACTED, JAN. 17, 1852.

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way practicable—what kind of compensation could possibly be made to the future children of the labouring class—those who are born with no spoons at all, instead of silver ones, in their mouths, and have nothing to look forward to but their own labour as their means of life? How could they be recompensed—save by the work-house? If there were no labourers and labourers' children to keep, then machinery and economy of labour might be a national blessing, but so long as

society will permit labourers to have children—so long as the "painless extinction" of every poor man's child, as soon as born, which Mr. Carlyle advocates "in grim earnest!" is not part and parcel of the law of the land—so long must the invention of machinery and the economy of labour be a national curse instead of a blessing—that is to say, if the capitalists have been in the habit of paying 150,000,000*l.* a year as wages for the conversion of the materials of wealth into commodities, and they are ultimately enabled, by mechanical contrivances or otherwise, to do with two-thirds less labour, and consequently to reduce the sum spent in wages from 150,000,000*l.* to 50,000,000*l.*—surely it must be apparent to all but those who mistake the welfare of this one class for the welfare of the whole country, that the majority, or indeed the people generally, cannot have benefited by the change? And if we can conceive the economy of labour to extend thus far, why not much farther, till the sum spent in wages is reduced to a mere fraction, and the whole of the quondam working classes have become inmates of either our workhouses or our prisons. "By the year 2000," says an American paper, "it is probable that manual labour will have utterly ceased under the sun, and the occupation of the adjective 'hard-fisted' will have gone for ever. They have now, in New Hampshire, a potato-digging machine which, drawn by horses down the rows, digs the potatoes, separates them from the dirt, and loads them up into the cart, while the farmer walks alongside, whistling 'Hail, Columbia,' with his hands in his pockets."

In the next number I shall speak of the special application of machinery in connection with the cotton and other trades.

The following communication makes known a gross wrong:—

"I was last year employed as a canvasser for signatures to a petition to Parliament in respect of the total abolition of the duty on paper. The secretary of the 'Association,' who is also secretary of a Freehold Land Society, not far from Beaufort-buildings, Strand, gave as a return for that labour 2*s.* a day, the enormous sum of 12*s.* a week. Most of the canvassers were married men, and all highly respectable, and of course of good address and good appearance, otherwise they would not have been eligible for the employment. For that paltry sum I had to obtain at least 30 or 40 signatures, genuine ones of course. You are aware how long it would take to obtain that number of respectable business men's signatures.

Some conversation, of course, was necessary, and knowledge of the subject; and, therefore, the illiterate and uneducated would have been useless. This, in the absence of all other chance of work, I performed for that sum of 12*s.* weekly. That being finished, this kind, humane individual said he would give me further employment in the office. I, of course, having a family, was forced to accept of it. But as he was now employing me as a clerk, I of course never thought but that

I should have 1*l.* a week at the least.

"But no, although employed in writing letters, circulars, &c., from nine till seven, he, at the end of the week, put down half-a-sovereign and 2*s.* 6*d.*, telling me to return the 6*d.* on the Monday. I ask did that man deserve to be treated honestly? I answer, certainly not. I remained there about six weeks, of course. Although *obliged* to have a respectable exterior, I was, with my wife and family, starving and getting into debt. Now, sir, is not such treatment as this calculated to arouse feelings of hatred and contempt for those who will so inhumanly oppress their fellow man?

"But, in conclusion, I must inform you that this gentleman (*so he terms himself*) was merely paying me and others out of a fund contributed for the purpose, receiving a *good salary* himself, and expected by the committee to *properly* and adequately pay those he employed.

"Of course he charged them with about 4*s.* a day, and paid me 2*s.* *O tempora! O mores!* I consider, sir, this man robbed me and mine. Any one would think so. But I had almost forgotten this cruel treatment, had it not been that I called there the other day looking for employment, when this sage, sagacious, and humane 'gentleman,' in answer to my question, replied, 'No; *all* those who were employed last year on the paper duty must go and help the Kaffirs; they want all the money.' There was a kind, considerate reply to a man soliciting employment—to a man, who although now brought low and in poverty, had been brought up in a sphere of life and received an education far superior to his own.

"I should greatly wish to expose this heartless robber of the poor and industrious. Should this be unfit or too long for your publication, perhaps you would be kind enough to intimate to me how I could best publicly hold up this 'gentleman' to shame.

"I am, Sir,

"Yours respectfully,

"J. R."

"P.S. I am at present out of employment, with *good reference*."

The following corroborates Wortenkrammer's derivation of *Haberdasher*:—

"Sir,

"If I am not too late I gladly forward you the following solution (if it is one) of a controversy about the word '*Haberdasher*,' that I read in your excellent papers of '*London Labour and London Poor*.' It is extracted from the *People's Advo-*

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The letter here appended is of so curious a character that Mr. Mayhew was induced before printing it to request some voucher for the truth of its statements. The answer is appended. The letter professes to be written with the object of showing that all the public women are not so "bad" as certain correspondents have endeavoured to make them appear—a proposition which none can doubt. The writer seeks to prove the "goodness" of these characters by the sacrifices they make for the man to whom they become attached, and there are certainly many noble actions to be told concerning them in this respect. This, indeed, is but natural; for being shunned by the whole world, and feeling doubtlessly a supreme disgust and contempt for the sensualists who purchase their favours, of course they are easily "taken" with those who exhibit any real sympathy for them. Unfortunately, however, the "fancy men" of such characters are usually of the lowest possible stamp—though this would seem to be a necessity of the circumstances, for none other, of course, could bear to be the companions and dependents of prostitutes. Such men must necessarily be dead to all moral sense and deprived of all social position. It is peculiar, as showing that the love of woman to man is caused mainly by a feeling of her own weakness and consequent need for protection, that the fancy men of the prostitutes always belong to the powerful or reckless class of individuals, such as prize-fighters, thieves, cabmen, soldiers, sailors, and the like; these are by far the most usual characters, and all, it will be seen, are connected with some expression of boldness—either a disregard of danger, the pursuit of some perilous calling, or the possession of a certain amount of physical strength. The proverbial love of servant-maids for policemen is to be explained only in the same manner. The admirable with woman would thus appear to be the powerful rather than the sensuously beautiful; they seem to prefer bravery to symmetry. This, as it was before stated, seems to be a necessity of the weakness and timidity of the feminine nature, and the consequent craving for a protector. Of course, this feeling takes different expressions in different classes. Fashionable ladies admire officers, naval and military, noblemen, foxhunters, and indeed any of those classes who are distinguished either for the *disposition* or *power* to protect them. Women of a lower grade, on the other hand, approve of a lower grade of characters, but all remarkable for the same qualities. In the class of fancy men such attributes are found associated with the most despicable characters; but still they all show that the disposition or the power to protect constitutes the admirable with the female sex, whether high or low, chaste or unchaste. And fallen as are the class of women of whom we are here treating, still the same devotion and the same self-sacrifice is found in their love as marks the affection of the sex generally. Among the public women, however, this one gleam of beauty appears the brighter and the more admirable from the many loathsome qualities with which it is contrasted. The love of woman, indeed, is seen in all its perfection of

disinterestedness and devotion among those who appear to be destitute of all such qualities. This will, in a future number, form a most extraordinary chapter in the history of prostitution, perhaps the most extraordinary of all. The men, however, who are the objects of this love are naturally the most degraded and the most brutal of human beings. Why they *must* be so, it is unnecessary to say here; the reasons will suggest themselves spontaneously to every rightly-constituted mind, and common honesty requires that the writer of the following letter should be included in this class.

"London.

"Sir,

"Allow me to offer a few remarks on behalf of the unfortunate women in London and elsewhere. As none of your correspondents have yet been able to find good qualities in them, my experience may, perhaps, show they are not so bad as they seem.

"Some three years back I went to the Casino to have a look about me, and after I had been sitting upstairs for about half an hour, and was about to leave, a nicely-dressed good-looking woman came up and asked me if I would go home with her. I told her I could not. She said she had suddenly felt an insurmountable passion for me, and was determined to take me away with her. I told her flatly I could not go with her, and amongst other things said I had no money, upon which she gave me such a spurning look of contempt, and immediately walked away. I did not take any particular notice of this, and was walking out of the place, when she came up to me and said, 'Never you mention such a thing as money to me again,' and, taking my arm, walked out with me, when immediately a dashing brougham and pair came up, in which we got and drove off to her house in — place, where there was a good supper laid out. On leaving in the morning she gave me her address, and begged of me to come and see her again as often as I liked, saying that if I wished to be good friends with her I must never allude to money in her presence. After seeing her three or four times, of course I thought I must make some little return, and bought a bracelet to present to her. Judge of my astonishment, after giving it to her, to see her throw it behind the fire, saying that if I thought I must pay for her favours she did not want to see me, or words to that effect.

I left off visiting for about a month, and, happening to go to a ball, met her with her friend. Immediately she saw me she left him and came to me. I declined dancing with her, nor would she by any persuasion of mine leave me. Her friend, seeing this, came up and told her she need not trouble herself any more about him, and left the room. When we reached her house the key would not open the door, and as London is pretty full of accommodation houses we were not long in finding out one. I imagined what might be the consequence the next day, and appointed to meet her about two o'clock, whilst she went to her house. When she got there she found all her dresses packed up, and the servant had orders,

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directly she got there, to call a cab, put her and her things in it, and drive to where she pleased. In the meantime I had taken apartments, where we repaired to, and from that time to this we have lived happily together in a quiet way, and still do so—she improving her mind by reading. I have taught her to write, play the piano, and various little things. I perfectly believe her to be true to me, and can only say we are living as happily together, though not married, as any man could wish to live with his wife. She is not fond of dress or show; is punctual in all her payments, for which I give her money; keeps an account of all she spends, inviting my inspection of it; and is as good a companion to me as a wife could be, nor am I ashamed of being seen anywhere with her.

"Your correspondents should not condemn all by the many, but have the charity to suppose that there are a few good amongst so many bad. With many apologies for thus trespassing on your time, and trusting you will make what use you please of this,

"I am, Sir,

"Your obedient Servant,

"A CLERK IN THE CITY."

"A Clerk in the City,' whilst acknowledging the validity of Mr. Mayhew's remarks on his communication, thinks it will be sufficient if he states that his father was a well-known merchant in the City, keeping a good account at Messrs. Glyn's bank, and that two of his brothers are still carrying on the same business. Mr. M. can reject the communication (positively true) if he thinks fit, or only quote extracts from it relative to the fact of a 'woman' living quietly and respectfully with one man. The object of the writer was merely to say something good of women whom Mr. M.'s correspondents seem to think so bad of, and to show that, though all are bad, all are not equally so, and that there are a few good, comparatively speaking."

The City Clerk will doubtless be exceedingly wrath at being ranked among the fancy men of the metropolis, but common sense compels it. If he object to the position, he has it in his own power to remedy it; let him make the same sacrifice for the woman he degrades by living with as she has made for him. "She is," he says, "as good a companion to me as a wife could be." Then what a mere lump of selfishness he must be not to make a wife of her. Let him read his own letter calmly over, and then ask himself whether, if he possess the faintest spark of honour, he can do otherwise to one who has sacrificed for his sake all for which she once debased herself. For the character of his own sex it is to be hoped that the next letter from the City Clerk will contain an account of his marriage with the woman he here speaks of.

Here follows a letter that should have been inserted long ago:—

"Sir,

"I purchased Part 12 of 'London Labour' at a railway station, and read it on my journey.

"Do you really give credit to the statement of W. G., jun., of the seduction of a child, the daughter of an officer?"

"In the first place, no commanding officer of a regiment, or other officer, would permit an officer to keep a mistress with the regiment.

"An officer might do so, privately and unknown to his other officers for a short time, but it is impossible he could do so for a month without it coming to the knowledge of some of the officers, and consequently to the ears of the commanding officer, when he would immediately order the officer offending to send away the woman.

"And in so gross and beastly a case, as an officer keeping a mistress with his young daughters, he would have the offer of 'leaving the regiment' or a court-martial.

"It is not two years ago an officer was brought to a court-martial by his commanding officer for even bringing a prostitute into the barracks, and dismissed the service by its sentence.

"And sir, do you suppose, if a brother officer's family were left in a state of destitution, as W. G. states this child to have been, the officers of the regiment would not have provided for her, at least for a time? And only consider the seduction. A brother officer dies, leaving a daughter only fifteen, pretty and well-disposed, in a state of destitution. She is seduced by officers of the regiment (as the father, from his destitute state, must have been with the regiment) immediately after the father's death, in the barracks, and kept by the officer as long as the regiment remained there.

"If the officers did not bring this offender to a court-martial, the non-commissioned officers and privates would.

"What, an officer seduce or keep a child of fifteen, the daughter of a brother just dead!

"I am fully persuaded my denial that such a case is possible, that it could have happened in any regiment, will have little weight with you, as you have inserted the statement; but your examination of the persons you are writing of must have made you careful of dissecting their evidence, to sift what is probable and true from the improbable and false. I think, therefore, you ought to have been more cautious of giving credence to W. G., particularly as you see in what part of his statement 'he was over zealous.'

"Although a commanding officer, I have paid great attention to the state of the poor, from being generally quartered in manufacturing towns, and also having a considerable estate; and I read your statements with interest, until I came to this story of seduction, which I knew must be false. Others may see in other statements what they also know to be false.

"Thus discredit will be thrown upon the whole of your writing, which otherwise not only would incite the interest of those able to return it, but who would be ready to do so.

"Yours obediently,

"A COMMANDING OFFICER."

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The commanding officer (who forgets to send his name) is under a mistake. No credence was given to the story, as indeed was stated at the time; and the letter of W. G. was inserted merely as an example, not only of the gullibility of a well-intentioned class of gentlemen, but also of the tendency of the women of the town to lay the odium of their position on any person's shoulders rather than their own.

The following is from an esteemed correspondent:—

"Ashby-de-la-Zouch, Jan. 7, 1852.

"Sir,

"Where shall we find *môt-hús* with the meaning of brothel? I have searched and cannot find it; but that the verb *metan* is the root of *mot* I think very probable, notwithstanding our method of arriving at it may be somewhat different; for since writing my last to you I have made the following notes from various sources.

"Anglo-Saxon, *metan*; Mæso-Goth., *mot-jan*; Belg., *maeten*, *occurrere*, *concurrere*, *invenire*; hence past participle *gemet*, *gemæt*, *aptus*, *conducens*; and so our *mate* and *mot*—one exactly answering the wishes of another—one fit for some particular purpose, or to a thing—one matching another. Compare Alemannic, *mate*, *maes*; Icelandic Snio-Gothic, *mat*, *maet*; Teutonic, *maet*, *maet*, and modern German *maat*, *socius sodalis equalis*; and presuming that the Dutch *motte*, in *mottekast*, has the same Gothic verbal origin, then *mottekast* may equal a mating-house, or a house where mates may be had; and that *mate* is applied to a female, see Chester plays (the 'Creation'); nor do I consider that it is absolutely necessary to suppose that the word *mot* was always accepted in a bad or low sense, as at present. Compare the words *lewd*, *imp*, *villain*, *knave*, *harlot*, *quean*, this last being connected with *qūn*, and so with Sanscrit *g'ani*, and the verbal root *g'an*, to be born.

You know Horne Tooke's derivation of *trull*, could not the Dutch *drille* have come from the root he has selected? Again, is Mr. Borrow right, when he says the first cant vocabulary appeared in 1680? Harman's 'Caveat' first appeared in 1566; Rowland's 'Martin Mark-All' was published in 1610; and 'Dekker's Bellman,' and also the 'Bellman's Second Night Walk,' appeared before 1613.

"I have, I fear, trespassed too long and been very tedious, but I cannot conclude without thanking you for your several hints in your comments on the different speculations respecting the word *mot*. You have, I think, furnished me with a key to the etymon of *meg des megs*; the French *ayot*, word for *Dieu*; and I may say, in the words of Horace:—

"Ergo fungor vice cotis acutum
Reddere qua ferrum valet, exors ipsa secundi."

R. 55, 81.

"I am, Sir,

"Yours truly,

"T. L. L."

If T. L. L. will turn to Bosworth's "Anglo-Saxon Dictionary" (p. 47, col. G), he will find the

following:—"Mot, a moot, an assembly, v. *gemot*; *mot-bell*, a bell used to call an assembly, L. Edw. Conf., 35; *mot-ern*, a place of meeting, a moot-hall, C. Jn. 18, 28; *mot-hus*, moot-house, a house of assembly, R. 107; *mot-stow*, a meeting-place, R. 55, 81."

Surely this will convince T. L. L. that the verbal element *mot*, as here given, is directly from the verb *metan*, to meet, and only indirectly connected (if at all) with the word *mate*, which is from *maca* and *macian*, to make match (Icel., *maki*, an equal, a wife).

T. L. L. appears to be a little too much inclined to run into fanciful etymologies (he must pardon the remark), and hasty generalizations constitute the absurdities of all science. Horne Tooke, whom T. L. L. quotes, is utterly valueless as an etymologist, for his philological conceits. There are but two modes of derivation, be it observed, for the third time, the *historic* and the *dialectic*. Words that are not composed of any root within the language in which they exist must be looked for in some other tongue, and there found differently spelt (generally, if not invariably), but meaning the same thing. This is the dialectic form of derivation, in which the difference of spelling, that is to say, the changes of letters, must conform to regular laws—those laid down by Grimm for the consonants, and Bopp for the vowels. Words, on the other hand, the elements of which exist within the language, generally differ in meaning from those elements, but are similarly spelt, if we except the addition of certain prefixes and affixes. This is the historic mode of derivation, and is the simplest form of the two. The historic is indeed the intrinsic, and the dialectic the extrinsic method of deriving words, and uncertainty belongs chiefly to the latter form. No one doubts that *thunder-storm* is derived from *thunder* and *storm*; or that *bloody* is from *blood* and *y*, the adjectival termination (the Saxon equivalent of which is *ig*, and the Greek *ιος*); or that *whiten* is from *white*, and the verbal termination *en* (probably from *γιν-ναι*); or *badness* from *bad*, and the substantival termination *ness* (the Latin equivalent of which is perhaps *onis*). So again *dis-ease*, deprived of ease, and *dis-may*, deprived of power or might; so, too, *cunning*, from *kenning* or knowing. These are all historic forms of derivation—the elements of the word existing in the language, and expressing, when compounded, either some new idea, or some old idea differently.

As examples of the dialectic form of derivation we may cite *bishop* from *επισκοπος*; *tooth*, from the Saxon *toth*, which is from the Gothic *tunths*, and the German *zahn*, and the Latin *dente*, *dentis*, and the Greek *ὀδὸς*, *ὀδοντος*. So *mouth*, from the Saxon *myth*, which is again connected with the Gothic *munths*; dialectically, again, we have *angelus*, from *ἄγγελος*; and the Saxon *lang* and English *long*, from the Gothic *laggs*; and the English *who* from the Saxon *hwa*, which is connected with the Latin *qui*—for *q*, *h*, and *w*. Moreover there are the French words *guarantir* and our *warrant*, *guêpe* and *wasp*, *gueter* and *watch*.





