

Juvenile depravity ... / By Rev. Henry Worsley.

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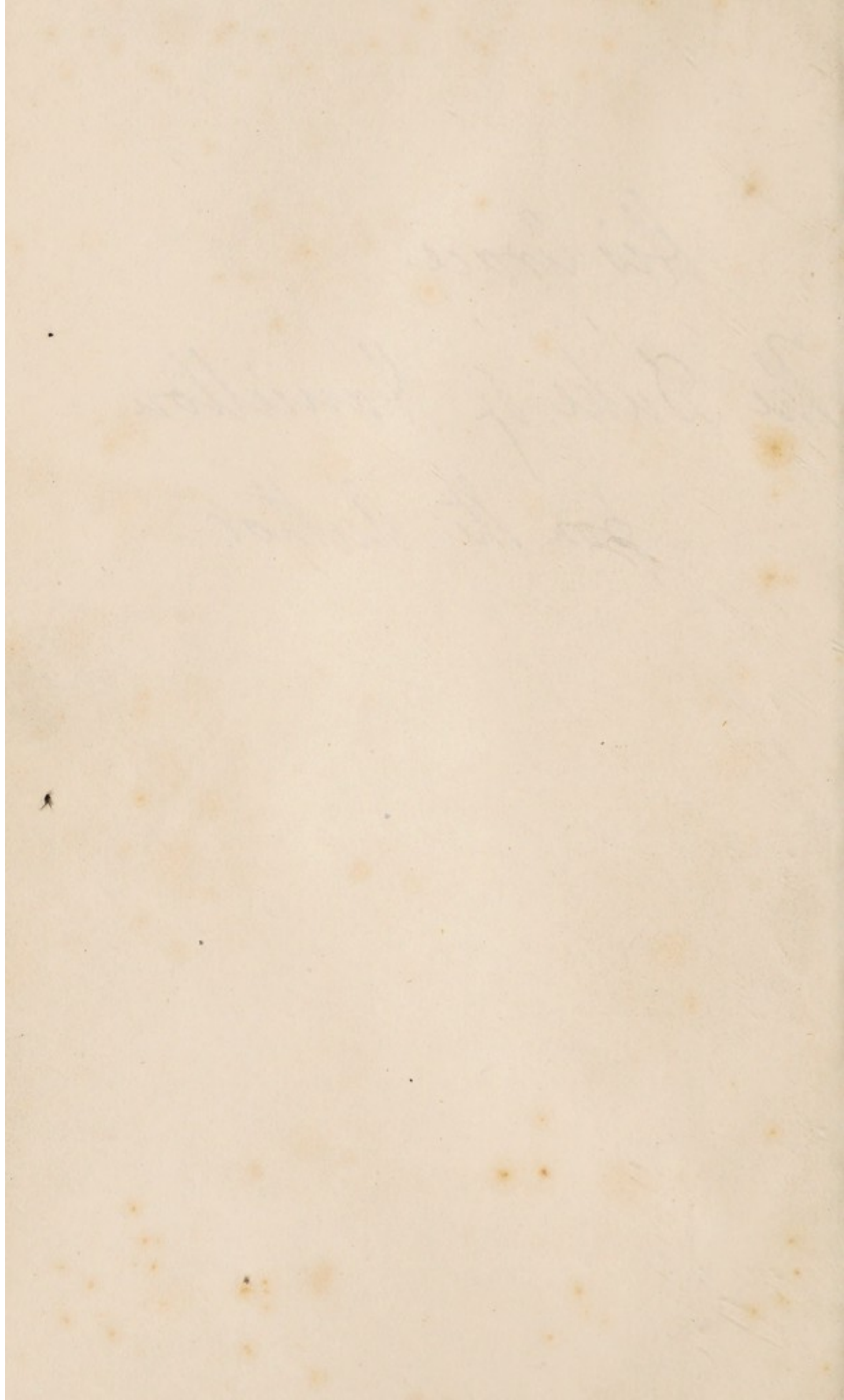
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55164/13

His Grace
The Duke of Hamilton
from the Author -



JUVENILE DEPRAVITY.

£100. PRIZE ESSAY.

BY REV. HENRY WORSLEY, M.A.,

LATE MICHEL SCHOLAR OF QUEEN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD,

RECTOR OF EASTON, SUFFOLK.

DEDICATED BY SPECIAL PERMISSION TO

THE LORD BISHOP OF NORWICH.

L O N D O N :

CHARLES GILPIN, 5, BISHOPSGATE STREET WITHOUT.

1849.

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“MANY examples may be put of the force of custom, both upon mind and body : therefore, since custom is the principal magistrate of a man’s life, let men by all means endeavour to obtain good customs. Certainly custom is most perfect, when it beginneth in young years : this we call education, which is in effect but an early custom. . . . But if the force of custom, simple and separate be great, the force of custom, copulate and conjoined and collegiate, is far greater : for there example teacheth, company comforteth, emulation quickeneth, glory raiseth ; so as in such places the force of custom is in its exaltation.”—BACON’S ESSAYS.



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The following Advertisement, by which the subject of the Prize Essay was first introduced to Public notice, appeared in Ten London Papers :—

£100. PRIZE ESSAY.

THE fearful and growing prevalence of Juvenile Depravity, and the inadequacy of the various means hitherto employed to meet the evil, have long challenged inquiry, both as respects its causes, and the nature of the most probable and efficient remedies. No one conversant with the evidence furnished by our judicial tribunals, and with that accumulation of facts which is now accessible to every inquirer, can fail to corroborate the testimony of the highest authorities in the land, that the monster evil of our country, and the source, directly or indirectly, of the greater portion of Juvenile Depravity and Crime, is Intemperance. It is this tremendous agency which perverts, where it does not prevent, the benefits of Education, and is continually training up a succession of victims for the jail and the scaffold. It is a

vast national evil, which, in whatever light it is viewed, has long demanded a searching investigation. With a view, therefore, to engage an amount of labour and talent commensurate with the importance of the inquiry, a premium for the best Essay on the subject, is offered, of *One Hundred Pounds*.

ADJUDICATORS' ANNOUNCEMENT.

THE circumstances in which this Essay originated are stated in the preceding Advertisement. Having consented to read the Essays which might enter into the proposed competition, we considered our duty to consist in the selection, not of such an one as should advocate the particular opinions which we might entertain on any of the subjects discussed, but of that which best satisfied the conditions stated in the Prospectus. In no other sense than this, do we hold ourselves responsible for the opinions advanced in the successful Essay.

Fifty-two Essays were sent in; and the usual precautions were taken for preserving the *incognito* of the writers, till we had given our decision. Some of the treatises were found to be elaborate and valuable, and it would give us pleasure to hear of their publication. But, taking into consideration its merits as a whole, and especially its general adap-

tation to the avowed purpose of the liberal projector of the Prize, we had no hesitation in giving the preference to the following Essay; which we trust will prove serviceable to the great object contemplated by the Donor,—the direction, namely, of public attention to the fearful prevalence, and the possible amelioration, of the evil here exposed.

CHARLES JOHN VAUGHAN, D. D.

JOHN HARRIS, D. D.

JAMES SHERMAN.

TO THE RIGHT REVEREND
THE LORD BISHOP OF NORWICH.

MY LORD,

Since my endeavour in the following pages has been to discover the true source of an extensive and increasing Juvenile Depravity, in order that, the cause of a notorious evil being clearly ascertained, the remedy may be equally apparent, I know not any one to whom I could dedicate the results of my inquiry, although imperfect in many respects, and not free, doubtless, from various blemishes, with more propriety than to your Lordship. Not only is your Lordship in a position of high authority in our church, and under God the Episcopal superintendent of the diocese in which the sphere of my own ministry is situate ; but your Lordship's christian character, as remote from hot party zeal as from slothful lukewarmness, and the deep interest invariably taken by your Lordship in every effort to improve the condition, temporal and spiritual, so nearly linked together, of our poorer classes, are too well known to need even this brief allusion.

Where should we find among our living prelates, one who has followed at least more consistently than yourself

that warning injunction—in the observance of which lie the fulfilment of the Pastor's duty, and the real secret of his influence—with which the Apostle Peter closes his exhortation to Christian ministers, that they should demean themselves, “neither as being lords over God's heritage, but being ensamples to the flock?”

In the humble but sincere hope that the accompanying pages may impress some at least of my readers, with the necessity of adopting that one remedy and preventive check which most effectually meets the extremity of our national degradation; and this, as forcibly as a careful examination of the subject has brought conviction to my own mind; and with the prayer that the Almighty may employ even such feeble means as my own labours in this Essay, to the advancement of his glory in the salvation of souls.—

I have the honour to be, my Lord,

With great respect and esteem,

Your Lordship's obliged and faithful servant,

HENRY WORSLEY.

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JUVENILE DEPRAVITY.

CHAPTER I.

STATISTICS OF CRIME—PARTICULARLY JUVENILE—
INCREASE OF EDUCATION CONSIDERED, &c.

THE mind of the statesman and the philanthropist, in considering the future destinies of a nation, its prospects in regard to domestic industry, comfort and happiness, naturally turns to the moral condition of the rising generation, and accordingly as this is good or bad, anticipates an increase of general prosperity and happiness, or the reverse. Those who are now the youth will, in the course of a few years, form the manly strength and vigour of their country. If in the period of youth, and up to the very verge of maturity, they are degraded by vice and crime, it is but natural to suppose, that their confirmed manhood will be only the completion of their rudimental course ; for the contrary supposition is manifestly absurd, that he whose youth was stained by vice, will, in the transition to manhood, or by gradual process afterwards, be metamorphosed into a virtuous and useful

member of society. The exact converse is usually the case: it cannot be otherwise; the progress is onwards in the first direction; from petty delinquencies to greater and more heinous crimes, until he who stole as a boy, reared and matured in the school of vice among such associates as are there found, his capacity for mischief gradually, and at length fully developed, becomes the daring depredator,—the burglar or murderer. Even if he stop in his career before the commission of any such extreme act, he is scarcely less dangerous to the real prosperity of the community: corrupt himself and corrupting others; a centre to which those, whose dispositions are similar, are naturally attracted, and round which they congregate; a bane to society, which like an ulcer on the body, is continually enlarging, and distributing far and wide its noxious influences.

But there is another point of view beyond the injuries inflicted on society. The relation of the present to another world as a preliminary and probationary stage of existence is a revealed truth, which no serious mind could wish to be excluded from that prominence in the discussion of such a subject as the present, which is intrinsically due to it. If youthful depravity could spring up, advance through all its stages, ripen, and die, without leaving behind it (as it must do) the seeds of future and more widespread evil, the awful reflection would still remain, that so many souls endowed with immortality are gone to their last account, unprepared; that over their memory there hardly lingers a feeble ray of hope in regard to their destiny in that other world; that so many, through the

neglect of those in responsible situations, the corrupt usages of society, or whatever cause, have perished eternally ! So that although a general and latent depravity, which a large extent of juvenile crime seems to indicate, is a state, under which the manufacture of a nation must eventually decline, agriculture languish, and commerce disappear ; yet, there is another consideration more overwhelming to the awakened mind, than even this.

It is manifest that the attention of the public, has been of late years, in an especial manner directed to this subject, from the fact that many Penitentiaries have been more or less recently established for the reformation of juvenile offenders, some of which are supported by voluntary contributions, while others are maintained by Government. To depreciate the value of such institutions is not my intention for a moment. They are, I believe, conducted with great ability, and in many instances, have answered the charitable purposes, with a view to which they were founded. They are public acknowledgments of the existence of an evil, which they attempt to remedy. Yet if the exertions of Christian benevolence are to be confined simply to the reformation of juvenile culprits, it may with justice be remarked, that such charity is at least defective—nay, further than that, that it is short-sighted, and inadvertently omits a yet more momentous and more obvious duty. It will be allowed to be a matter of more importance, to remove the causes of evils, than to remedy evils, when they have transpired ; a prevention is always preferable to a cure. The disposition observable at the present day, to

adopt remedial rather than preventive measures is explained by the consideration, which is undoubtedly true, that mankind are generally much more easily excited to action by their feelings than by their judgment. The sympathies are not enlisted, till the half-starved demoralized criminal stands prominently before the eyes in all the squalid misery of vice : and then commiseration is busy with attempts to rescue the youthful victim from the consequences of his depraved habits. It is surely the greater mercy to prevent the acquisition of such habits in the first instance. It is the wiser course, not to let the wound be inflicted, and then attempt to heal it ; but rather to strangle the serpent, which lies bloated with venom in secret ambush by the very cradle of childhood, before the poisoned fang is implanted, although such a deed may require the powerful grasp of an Hercules. It is not enough to “scotch the snake,” we must kill it.

One reason why the efforts of charitable individuals are to a large extent, thus in some measure misapplied, is unquestionably ignorance or misapprehension of the real cause or causes, to which the large growth of juvenile vice is attributable. If a cause be assigned for the evil complained of, it lies for the most part upon the surface : the cause which produces that more immediate cause is left unsought ; the entire series of connected causes is not explored, till at last the root of the mischief is found. It was well observed on this subject, by Lord Ashley, in a speech delivered in the House of Commons in February, 1843, that—

“The country was weary of mere palliatives: schemes of prison-discipline, and so forth; the evil was wider and deeper than could be reached by mere corrective processes, and if not grappled with, we might anticipate in twenty years a general convulsion and displacement of the whole system of society. There could be neither comfort nor peace, but in a virtuous and religious people.”

Without therefore at all underrating the necessity of remedial plans to meet the urgency of the present crisis, I believe it to be undeniably true, that the interests of our country essentially require, that the deep-hid source of mischief should be exposed. Till this be arrived at, the most active benevolence is labouring in the dark; but if the grand cause, the cause of causes, be detected, the endeavours of Christian philanthropy have a definite path marked out to work in. To ascertain this all-important point, is the object of the present Essay.

It will then be an important, as well as interesting subject of inquiry, what is the actual moral condition of the juvenile portion of the community at the present day? and if it be found to have been some time retrograde, to penetrate, if possible, into the causes of the evil. It is only by tracing these through the diversified course of their operation, and observing how they connect one with another, or all merge in some yet higher and paramount cause, that a remedy can be provided adequate to the mischief.

The first great question then must be,—What is the moral condition of the rising generation in this country?

What is the amount and proportion of juvenile depravity?

It may be observed, at the outset, that crime generally in this country has increased five-fold since the beginning of the present century; and, therefore, in an immensely larger ratio than the population. But with regard to juvenile crime—

1st. The relative proportion of juvenile offenders to those of adult age is very great. The distribution of crime to the different ages, in Middlesex and the Metropolis, for the year 1846, is as follows:—

	Total of Offenders.	Under 15.	Under 20.	Under 25.	Under 30.	Under 40.	Under 50.	Under 60.	Above 60.
Middlesex, including London. }	4641	382	1314	1039	605	669	364	143	64

There were, besides, 61 offenders, whose age could not be ascertained. This table shows the enormous amount of juvenile crime in the Metropolis. The period “aged 15 and under 20,” comprises more offenders than any other.

Nearly the same conclusion is derived from the statistics of offenders committed for trial in the county of Lancaster, in the same year.

	Total of Offenders.	Under 15.	Under 20.	Under 25.	Under 30.	Under 40.	Under 50.	Under 60.	Above 60.	Age not ascertnd.
Lancaster	3072	166	698	710	504	557	283	95	32	37

Hence it appears, that in Liverpool, and the manufacturing county of Lancaster, crime does not begin at quite so early an age as in London and Middlesex. But

the large amount of juvenile, in proportion to the number of adult offenders, is evident.

The following table shows the proportion of crime, at the same periods of age, in the three agricultural counties of Lincoln, Hampshire, and Devonshire:—

	Total of Offenders.	Under 15.	Under 20.	Under 25.	Under 30.	Under 40.	Under 50.	Under 60.	Above 60.	Age not ascertnd.
Lincoln .	419	16	85	122	60	70	39	15	5	5
South Hants	608	47	162	154	81	84	45	20	12	3
Devon . .	721	37	133	143	127	127	71	45	27	11

Very nearly the same result is obtained; but from the above table, as compared with the preceding, and an inspection of the proportion of juvenile crime throughout the agricultural counties, and of the proportion of the same in the manufacturing and commercial, we arrive at the inference which might have been anticipated, that crime is more precocious in the neighbourhoods of large towns, but most of all so in the Metropolis. The large proportion of offenders in South Hants, “aged 15 and under 20,” in which county are large maritime towns, points to the same fact.

The sum total of criminal offenders committed for trial in 1846, throughout England and Wales, distributed according to the same periods of age, is as follows:

Sum Total.	Under 15.	Under 20.	Under 25.	Under 30.	Under 40.	Under 50.	Under 60.	Above 60.	Age not ascertained.
25,107	1640	6236	5856	3655	3972	2120	859	456	413

The amount of offenders under 15 is large enough to excite our surprise; but the fact, that the largest number

of offenders throughout England and Wales, committed in the year last past,* were “aged 15 and under 20,” must be still more contrary to our pre-conceived judgment. The general conclusion to be drawn from our investigations is, that, although a slight variation occurs in some counties, the total number of juvenile offenders in the rural districts, is not in so great proportion to the adults as in the vicinities of commercial and manufacturing towns; but that, as a general statement, it is perfectly true that in this country juvenile crime holds a fearful preponderance.

This latter fact will be more deeply impressed on the mind, if we call into the account the centesimal proportion which juveniles bear to the adult population throughout England and Wales. I extract from “Tables showing the number of criminal offenders in the year 1846,” compiled and prepared by Mr. Redgrave, of the Home-Office, the following—

CENTESIMAL PROPORTION ACCORDING TO CENSUS OF 1841.

Aged under 15 years	.	.	.	.	36·0
„ 15 and under 20 years	.	.	.	.	9·9
„ 20 „ 25	„	.	.	.	9·7
„ 25 „ 30	„	.	.	.	8·0
„ 30 „ 40	„	.	.	.	12·9
„ 40 „ 50	„	.	.	.	9·6
„ 50 „ 60	„	.	.	.	6·4
„ 60 and above	.	.	.	.	7·2
Age not ascertained	.	.	.	.	0·3

The period of life to which the greatest amount of

* It should be explained, that this Essay was written in 1847.

crime falls is between 15 and 20 years of age. The sum of crime committed at that period to the sum total is, 6236 to 25,107. Its proportion, therefore, is very nearly one-fourth of the whole. The centesimal proportion of that period of life is only 9·9, *i.e.*, not quite one-tenth. In other words, the juveniles, “aged 15 and under 20,” form not quite one-tenth of the population, but they are guilty of nearly one-fourth of its crime. What more striking exhibition can there be, than is thus afforded, of the lamentable mass of juvenile depravity!

But, 2ndly, The number of juvenile offenders has gradually and progressively increased.

Centesimal proportion of Offenders in	1842.	1843.	1844.	1845.	1846.
Aged under 15 years . .	5·3	5·7	6 0	6·4	6 5
15 „ 20 „ . .	22·0	22·7	23 3	24·1	24·5
20 „ 25 „ . .	24·7	24·3	24·1	24·2	23·3
25 „ 30 „ . .	15·3	14·9	14·9	14·3	14·6
30 „ 40 „ . .	16·8	16 4	15·3	15·6	15 8
40 „ 50 „ . .	8·3	8·1	8·3	8 2	8·4
50 „ 60 „ . .	3·8	3·5	3 9	3·6	3·4
60 years and above .	1 8	1 9	2 0	1 7	1·8
Age not ascertained . .	2·0	2·5	2·2	1·9	1·7

This table is extracted from the same “Blue Book” as the preceding, and is headed with this observation:—
 “The following calculations mark the recurrence from year to year of the increased proportion of the offenders under 15 years of age, and of those ‘aged 15 and under 20,’—those, in fact, who are commencing a criminal course.” It will appear from this table, that the sum of offenders under 20 years of age has been, during the last five years, considerably more than one-fourth of the whole number; and that the year last past, it

reached the centesimal proportion of 31 to the whole. The increase of offences committed by those under 15 years of age is more than 1 per cent. ; and the increase of offences committed by those "aged 15 and under 20," is in much larger proportion, and as great as 2.5 per cent. during the last five years. Thus, the total increase of juvenile crime, if by that term we denote the offences committed by those under 20 years of age, is 3.5 per cent. on the whole number of offenders within the space of the last five years. Very considerable as was the relative proportion of offences committed by those of such youthful years to the remaining mass of crime, as was shown above, I am nevertheless of opinion, that to most minds this gradual and progressive increase, without even the slightest fluctuation during the last quinquennial period, forms a feature in the general aspect of the state of crime in this country yet more alarming ; and perhaps I may add, yet more surprising, if we consider the increase of schools, &c., and the means of instruction within the same limits of time.

Such is the brief statistical outline of the present moral condition of the juvenile portion of the community (of course in the lower grades of life) throughout England and Wales, by reference to our criminal calendars. In the classification of offences according to age, the period which shows the blackest, whether we look at the proportionate amount of crime, or its progressive increase, is comprised between 15 and 20 years of age.

It is a fact to be placed in juxtaposition with this

remarkable progressive increase of juvenile crime during the last five years, as deserving of notice, although in no way connected, that the progress of education has been considerable within the same space of time, and perhaps, if this point could be accurately ascertained, would be found to be in nearly the same proportion. This is indicated both by the statistics contained in the "Minutes of the Council on Education," and in the tables of criminal offenders before referred to. The former measures the progress of national education by the continually augmenting number of males who are able to sign the marriage-register ; which in a period of four and a-half years from 1839-40 to 1844, increased in the proportion of 1·2 per cent.* But as the average age of marriage in the case of males is 27, this is rather a test of the progress of education between the years 1812-13 and 1817. There is every reason to believe, that the progress of education in more recent years has been considerably greater than it was during that period. But a calculation proceeding on such a basis, must be an underestimate of the total progress of education, because it cannot completely take into the account the total increase of primary elementary knowledge ; and further, because some may have commenced learning to write, who yet from insufficient proficiency would not undertake to sign the marriage register. The tables of criminal offenders for 1846, give a more favourable view of the progress

* Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1846, p. 272. The increase among the women during the same period was 1·1 per cent. Committee of Council Minutes, p. 265.

of education. But here on the contrary, the increase of primary knowledge is alone indicated.

Centesimal Proportion of Criminals in.....	1837	1838	1839	1840	1841	1842	1843	1844	1845	1846
Unable to read and write	35.85	34.40	33.53	33.32	33.21	32.35	31.00	29.77	30.61	30.66
Able to read and write imperfectly	52.08	53.41	53.48	55.57	56.67	58.32	57.60	59.28	58.34	59.51
Able to read and write well	9.46	9.77	10.07	8.29	7.40	6.77	8.02	8.12	8.38	7.71
Instruction superior to reading & writing well	0.43	0.34	0.32	0.37	0.45	0.22	0.47	0.42	0.37	0.34
Not ascertained	2.18	2.08	2.60	2.45	2.27	2.34	2.91	2.41	2.30	1.78

This table may be accepted as a rough indication of the progress of primary elementary knowledge in England and Wales. The number of offenders designated as "able to read and write imperfectly," has increased 7.43 per cent. within the last ten years; and at the same time, the number of those comprised in the class "unable to read and write," has diminished within the same period 5.19 per cent: it is plain therefore, that the latter class is gradually absorbing in the former. If we add to the gradual increase of primary education, the progress made in the diffusion of knowledge of a more advanced character among the lower orders, it may, I think, be safely asserted that the increase of education has been not less than the increase of juvenile crime during the last five years.

It is a fact as certain as it is deplorable, that the degree of education among the working classes in this country is in general still very incomplete and imperfect. The causes of the deficiency are, however, obvious. In the first place, the too frequent inadequacy of schoolmasters and mistresses to convey even correct elementary knowledge is allowed. I have been informed on compe-

tent authority, that few, if any, classes of candidates for the office of lay readers, &c., have been found on examination, to be educationally so deficient as National and British schoolmasters, even although they may have been employed in teaching for years, and presented the highest recommendations. The desideratum on this head is indeed so much felt, that active exertions are making towards its supply. The efficiency of the schoolmaster, is of course, in other words, the efficiency of the school system. But there are other and even more obstinate impediments in the way of more extended and advanced education besides this very important one. From the statistics furnished by Joseph Fletcher, Esq., the Government Inspector of Schools on the British and Foreign system, it appears that in such schools, only one-half of the children entered upon the books are in regular attendance ; and that the average age when one-half of the children leave school, is from 10 to $10\frac{1}{2}$ years of age.* A remark to very nearly the same effect, is made by the Rev. H. Moseley, Government Inspector of the Elementary Schools of the Midland District. " It is a general impression," he writes, " amongst those persons who are likely to be the best informed on the subject, that the average age of the children who attend our elementary schools, is steadily sinking. We may be educating more, but they are, I believe, younger children, and stay with us a less time." He adduces the following table as the result of his investigation in regard

* See Minutes of Committee of Council on Education, 1846.

to the ages of the children taught in 27 Boys' schools and 20 Girls' schools.

		NUMBER PER CENT.				
2044 Boys in 27 schools.....		under 7	under 9	under 11	under 13	under 15
944 Girls in 20 ditto						
Boys		22	28	32	14	4
Girls		19	27 $\frac{1}{3}$	25 $\frac{1}{4}$	18 $\frac{1}{2}$	10
Total		21 $\frac{1}{2}$	27 $\frac{1}{2}$	28 $\frac{1}{2}$	16	7

And adds, " From the above it appears that half the boys in these schools were under 9 years of age, and that only one boy in twenty-five was above the age of 13, and one in four, above the age of 11."* The low rate of wages for work, especially in the agricultural districts, may be alleged as the reason of the diminished term of a child's continuance at school; in some instances, perhaps, with justice: but the general conclusion cannot be eluded, that parents place very low value on the education of their children. A very small pecuniary gain to be derived from their children's labour, immediately outweighs, with the majority, all the benefits of instruction. Such low appreciation of a chief blessing, is not confined to agricultural or to manufacturing districts, but is common to all. The labourer who can procure for his son employment with a farmer, of the most trifling emolument, will at once remove him from school. The practice of what is called crow-keeping in country districts, in which small boys are mostly employed, to defend the newly sown-corn, or ripe-grain from the

* See Minutes of Committee of Council on Education, 1846.

attacks of birds, is a serious obstacle to the advance of instruction. During the whole of the Lord's Day, the poor little fellow will be stationed in the corn-field ; and must, of course, be absent, not only from the Sunday-school, but also from church ; and he may be thus occupied for months together. After so long an intermission of secular and religious instruction, (for in nine cases out of ten, it cannot be supposed that he will be taught at home,) the boy returns to the Sunday, perhaps weekly school, manifestly no whit the better in his general conduct for this long cessation from school duties, and with his small stock of previously obtained knowledge almost sheer forgotten. Could not some substitution, perhaps of a mechanical nature, be adopted, by which the services of the boy might be dispensed with ? The present system is replete with evils, as those acquainted with the custom and its results will bear witness. When will our farming class be roused to a due sense of their duties and responsibilities ? In the manufacturing districts, it is remarked, that the numbers of the scholars is mainly dependent upon the high or low state of wages. The effect of any sudden rise, is to reduce the school in point of numbers immediately. There is also observable in manufacturing neighbourhoods, a great readiness on the part of parents to shift the children from one school to another ; so that at the end of two years, as has been stated, very few of the original scholars, in any school, will be remaining—strange faces will have succeeded to the old—in short, within that time, the scholars of different schools will have ex-

changed school-rooms.* This circumstance sufficiently evinces the unsteady state of the parent's mind. In the opinion of those acquainted with the subject, it is not satisfactorily explained by the shifting nature of residence on the part of the manufacturing population, but is chiefly attributable to whim and caprice. The parent would maintain that the child is better taught in the new school than in the old, and that he removed him on that account. Those who are aware of the contradictions of human nature, will not be surprised to find that such proneness on the part of parents to discover blemishes in a system of instruction, is co-ordinate with an almost universal disregard to the interests of their children, on the grand topic of education. If we put together these three particulars, so abundantly demonstrated in the statistics of all schools of whatever denomination, 1st, the irregular attendance of children at school ; 2ndly, the early age at which they are removed ; 3rdly, the disposition on the part of parents, and where such a course is practicable, to shift their children from one school to another ; we shall find the present state of education in this country, inadequate and imperfect as it truly is, only what might have been expected from a careful review of the great difficulties that oppose themselves. It may even be doubted, whether the zeal of those who have laudably supported the cause of instruction in towns and villages, may not have added to the sum of difficulties, by the effect of their anxiety and entreaties upon the parents' minds. These last very often

* See Minutes of Council on Education, 1846—p. 262.

misunderstood the motives by which such advocates of the cause were influenced; and while they sent their children to school, as a favour which had been extorted from them, overlooked the rich blessedness of the privilege.

That the increase of crime is in no way connected with the increase of education, is evident from the statistics presented above. The proportion of criminal offenders able to read and write well, is exceedingly small as compared with the large sum of those who cannot read at all, and of those who read imperfectly. The sum of these two last-mentioned classes yields a proportion of 90·17 per cent. to the whole number of offenders. Even this seems scarcely so great as the true proportion of these classes to the whole really is, because those whose attainments could not be ascertained are excluded from them, though in all probability belonging to them, and thrown in among those who could read and write well, or possess superior knowledge. It is however even thus sufficiently proved, that in almost all cases (at least in more than nine cases out of ten) crime and ignorance are in close alliance; go hand-in-hand together. An additional fact, to which I would draw attention is, that the proportion of offenders able to read and write well, exhibits, with a trifling variation, a small decrease during the last ten years. Now we know that education, extended as far as good reading and writing, has not itself absolutely declined in this country; but on the contrary, although in less proportion than could be wished, has in fact augmented. The class, therefore, of which we are speaking, has become more

numerous—of this there can be no doubt; yet the offenders who proceed from it are, relatively to the rest, fewer in number than formerly. Here, then, is no insignificant proof of the great advantages to be derived from advanced education. The reason why education, although increased, appears to have had little tendency (that it has had some is now shown) to check the progress of crime, or countervail the opposing tendencies to evil, is obvious. The reason is found in the imperfect and incomplete character of our national education.

If this term, “education,” be used in its proper and true signification, a great deal more is implied in it, than can fall under the denomination of instruction. Education is the drawing out, directing, and maturing all the powers and faculties of the child, mental and spiritual: it is that course of preparation by which the child is gradually expanded to all the completeness of which his nature is capable: it regards not merely the development of the memory, of the taste, of the reason, but the development of the whole man in his entirety, as an intellectual, moral, and spiritual being, accountable for his actions to his Creator, destined for another state of existence hereafter, of infinitely greater happiness, or more degraded than his present condition, according to his behaviour here. If this is the only true and enlightened view of education, we may be allowed to remark, that the present system of educating the upper-classes, of both sexes, is even yet, after great improvements, defective. Our public schools have not yet unanimously recognized the importance of exercising all the

powers of the mind, of cultivating the whole range of mental capability: it may be doubted, whether they have had full recourse to all the appliances, by means of which morality may be enforced, and depravity checked; and it may admit a doubt, how far the true basis of all moral training, and just formation of virtuous character, is laid by the inculcation of *Christian* motives and principles. The same may be stated of our universities as of our schools. A hasty glance at the condition of female education would convince us that, although very considerable improvement has taken place, much yet remains to be accomplished. The author of the popular tale of *Sandford and Merton*, was at pains to represent in that work, the false impressions regarding female education common in his day. He decried the rage for accomplishments, and accomplishments only; and possessing little predilection for music, inveighed against the frivolity of the age, which devoted the most valuable hours of female childhood to learning "the art of making a noise." At the present time, mere accomplishments are too frequently pursued to the neglect of more solid and useful knowledge. The plastic development of the mere body, the tuition of the hands, of the feet, the ability to twist the latter to the infinite varieties of the newest dancing steps, the skill to ramble with the former over the piano-notes, whether there be a native taste for music or none at all, these are the objects of the greatest part of female instruction in our own times. Too often, the mind, or at least the nobler faculties of the mind are neglected: the fact of the

existence of an immortal soul, to be trained for a more exalted life in a future world, is forgotten. I have made this hasty notice of these points, because the education of the poor is intimately connected with that of the rich. No one will bestow on another what he values little for his own children. The more complete education of the upper classes of both sexes will naturally lead to the better instruction of those in the subordinate ranks of life. Again, many of the poor are employed in the domestic office of servants: these form a channel of communication through which the notions and estimates of the upper classes are transmitted to the lower. Intercourse with the rich thus forms part of the education of the poor. When the blessing of instruction, and the value of mental cultivation in general, is better appreciated by the rich; then we may hope that the facilities for supplying to the poor man's children this important requisite, will be increased.

The average amount of scholastic attainments among the poor, up to the present time, is low and insufficient. No decrease of juvenile crime could be reasonably expected from the fact, that there are now a greater number of children in England and Wales, who can read words of two syllables than there were five years ago. I am not aware that any of the advocates of education expected grand results from an increased national proficiency in spelling dissyllables, and a rude delineation of the letters of the alphabet. We accept this progress as a necessary step to greater; but it is only a slight approximation to what (by God's grace,) we trust will

hereafter be. We have not yet realized the pious wish of George III. The advance of instruction is beset with difficulties, which have hitherto baffled, more or less effectually, the energies of untiring zeal. We have reason to be thankful, that the Government of this country seem to be awakening from a stupor of long continuance ; and are arming for the contest against Ignorance and all her train, with real ardour and discreet purpose of will. Their sympathies are at length excited for the thousands and millions of fellow-subjects and fellow-creatures round them who are perishing “for lack of knowledge.” In order to exhibit more forcibly the many blessings associated with education, I quote the following :—“All classes of witnesses, but more especially employers and their agents, universally state, that the best educated men are the most valuable workmen, the most regular in their habits, the most trustworthy, the most useful when any press of business arises, and in general the most prompt to understand and execute the directions given them, that they are more accessible to reason in the event of any discussion or dispute concerning wages, or any other matter ; that they often exert a highly beneficial influence over their less instructed and less intelligent fellow-workmen : and that they are invariably more respectful in their behaviour, less suspicious, and in all respects better disposed towards their superiors.”*

Little need be added to what has now been said on

* Report of “Children’s Employment Commission, Trades and Manufactures, 1843.” Conclusions, p. 203.

the beneficial results of extended national instruction. One of the chief powers which is in league with Vice, indeed by the help of which Vice and Crime maintain their empire, and enlarge their authority, is kindred Ignorance ; if Crime sweeps forward in advance, the kindred spirit follows with equal pace ; or if Ignorance precede, Crime travels after : their close alliance is easily explained by a fact known to both, that they live and perish together ; no sooner are the fetters which ignorance rivets on the world, shattered and broken by the dissolving agency of Divine light, than Crime must hide his head in caverns and dark recesses, and leave the lands on which the illuminating rays fall, for other regions overshadowed with darkness. There is an intimate connexion between intellectual and moral excellence. I shall not refer, for the confirmation of this truth, to heathen philosophers, and Plato their prince, whose system laid the foundations of vice of all kinds in misconception or ignorance : the rays of truth which came to these penetrated through darkness : they sometimes caught a beam of divine light, and as it were saw *lucem ex tenebris* ; but at the very best, their clearest visions were imperfect, and were a body of darkness traversed here and there with light. I appeal to the authority of the revealed word of God, and recall to the reader's memory, that to the wisest of mere men, the clear perception of truth and a ready compliance with its dictates appeared as synonyms—"The fear of the Lord is the beginning of knowledge, but fools despise wisdom and instruction."—"The fear of the Lord is the

instruction of wisdom.”* The testimony of our blessed Lord himself to the same truth is—“ This is life Eternal that they might know thee, the only true God and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent.”†

It may seem unnecessary to have lingered even thus long upon this point, in refutation of the ill-informed notions of some who dilate on the frequent perversion of education. That education is perverted, as a general statement is altogether false, as has been already seen. The gospel has brought “ life and immortality to light,” it influences the conduct of men through the most awakening doctrines impressed on their understandings and hearts. Let, then, its light penetrate to the darkest corners of our land ; let the children of our colliers and miners be early taught who made and who redeemed them ; let the blessings of scriptural instruction permeate as freely through our large manufacturing towns, and retired rural hamlets, as the common air of heaven, and be regarded as the birthright of every British child. Whatever are the causes which stay the progress of education, and there are some obstinate and intractable causes, the very same give strength to the dominion of vice in its various forms, and swell with a succession of victims, the yearly calendars of crime. The causes of ignorance are the causes of depravity.

The increase of crime is thus accounted for by Mr. M'Culloch, “ Much of that extraordinary increase of crime, that is said to have taken place in Great Britain within the last twenty years, is, there is good reason to

* Prov. i. 7 ; xv. 33.

† John xvii. 3.

think, apparent only, and is mainly occasioned by the bringing of more crimes to light through the superior organisation of the police, and the more rigid enforcement of the law.”* This reasoning must be acquiesced in with considerable caution, because on the face of the subject, the better organisation of the police would tend not only to the detection of crime, but, in many instances, to its total prevention ; and there can be no means of estimating whether the improved discipline and increased numbers of the corps would have greater tendency to one result than the other. But, further, the correctness of the statement is not borne out by an appeal to facts. The following is the notice of Joseph Fletcher, Esq., Government Inspector of Schools, “ The five-fold increase of criminal commitments for the more serious offences in England and Wales, during the present century, while our population has not doubled, is not seen to occur in greatest proportion in those parts of the country where the police has been most improved,”† &c. It is useless to pursue this question any further, because it is plain, that even if the enlargement of our police body be an explanation of the great increase of crime generally, it will not at all explain the extraordinary increase of juvenile crime, not only in itself absolutely, but relatively to the whole mass ; unless it be supposed that our police system is a fine-spun cobweb which catches the small offenders, but is of too slender

* M'Culloch's Statistics of the British Empire, published 1847.—Vol. ii. p. 481.

† Minutes of Council on Education, 1846.—p. 265.

texture to entangle in its net-work the bulkier criminals.

The extraordinary increase, then, of juvenile crime and depravity still remains to be accounted for, except so far as a general state of ignorance may be thought to explain it, which is rather itself a concomitant effect from one cause common to both : a sister stream whose turbid waters have their origin in the self-same well-spring. I enter on the task with few predilections. The rural scene is not to me a perfect Arcadia of sylvan joys, the haunt of fauns and satyrs, where Pan once piped and Dian danced : nor yet is the manufacturing centre to me, as to many moral and political writers, an accomplished Paradise on earth, whose very air is health and fragrance,

“ Sabean odours from the spicy shore
Of Araby the blest.”

It seems in general that poetry has long been crowned the tutelary goddess of agriculture ; while political economy of more recent birth, has ranged herself on the side of manufacture and commerce. But entering on the task of investigation, on the subject proposed, without sympathies or antipathies, or with either feeling in very moderate force, I trust to find the truth, and to have sufficient boldness to declare it, let who will be offended.

“ There’s nane ever feared that the truth should be heard
But they whom the truth wad indite.”—BURNS.

What if I am obliged to state that the present race of

farmers is a class for the most part misled by narrow views ; and that many of the early and later manufacturers had little share in benevolent and compassionate humanity, except the name of man ! The cause of truth is paramount.

What then is the widely pervading cause of the present demoralized condition of the working-classes, of the crime of the parents, and therefore by implication of the depravity of the children ? What cause at the root of our social fabric has been so productive of evil, that the progress of education has been impeded, and its growth stunted ? The cause must be peculiar to our own times, to which the amazing development of precocious crime is peculiar : and of universal agency in all parts of the kingdom, co-ordinate with the extent of juvenile delinquency.

CHAPTER II.

CONDITION OF LABOURING-CLASS BEFORE THE ERA OF MANUFACTURES—ALTERED CIRCUMSTANCES AT THE PRESENT DAY—RISE OF MANUFACTURES—EFFECTS ON RURAL DISTRICTS — ON COUNTRY GENTLEMEN — ON FARMING CLASS — ALTERED RELATION OF LABOURERS —NATURAL RESULTS, BAD HABITS, DRUNKENNESS, CRIME, &c.

THE first question which any one would naturally ask, to whom it was proposed to explain the reasons of an extraordinary increase of national crime, would be the following—"Has any material alteration taken place in the social condition of the people?" Now if we look back upon society, as it subsisted about the middle of the last century, and compare with that the present state of things, we find that a complete revolution, an entire change in the general character of ideas, in the distribution of property, and division of employment, has passed over us. Towards the close of the last century, previous to 1770, our manufactures were domestic—they were hand-manufactures; and those who conducted them, generally united the farmer with the manufacturer. The farms then cultivated were not generally of very large extent, except perhaps in the North of England, and in general less profit was derived from agriculture than from the

spinning-wheel and hand-loom. Besides, the community of small farmers collected together here and there among the cultivated lands, there was the labourer occupying a position, in many instances, not much inferior to that of his employer, helping out very frequently a comfortable subsistence by the same recourse to hand-manufactures; and there was, also, the country gentleman or squire, superior to both the preceding classes, distinguished for the most part by good-breeding and ancient blood, possessed of little learning, and desiring little; but not without a considerable stock, in many cases, of traditional lore and mother-wit. Such in brief description was the triple association of squire, yeoman, and labourer.

It will be interesting to consider the relation in which the farmer of those days stood towards his labourer. The superintendence which he exercised over his workmen, was more patriarchal than at the present date; farmer and labourers might be said with some truth to have formed, rather more than fifty years ago, one united family. Labour was shared in common very frequently by master and man; the single men lodged under the roof of their employer—there was no separation of the two classes—but one kitchen, with its brick floor, received all on their return from labour; and the conversation, such as it was, languished under few restrictions of ceremony or exclusiveness. At meals, the master of the house sat at the head of his own table, and carved for his domestics and the labourers who lodged in the farm-house, from the same viands on which he and his family dined and supped. While the master and his domesticated labourers

gathered round one board ; the threshers or other work-people who had cottages and families of their own, would be admitted to the kitchen fire, to expand their limbs to its warm blaze, and eat the dinner they had brought in a wallet, beside it. The aged hind, whose youth was spent while these primitive habits still continued, will glow with the ardour excited by reminiscence, as he relates to the inquirer the expired usages of happier times. But the season of the farmer's glory was the harvest month. Many were the festivities connected with that period ; many were the associations which made that season, though one of unusual exertion, dear alike to master and labourer. Throughout the harvest, the labourers were boarded, in most cases, by the farmer ; the last waggon, as it slowly left the field, with its nodding load garnished over with boughs, was accompanied with shouts and rejoicings : for at the conclusion of their hard labours the best cheer of the farm-house awaited those who had shared in gathering in the crop ; the master presided at the feast, and the old drinking-horn passed from lip to lip. The farmer of that day is immortalized in the national soubriquet of " John Bull." Doubtless there were facts in the personal history of many farmers of the past century, which helped to maintain a more intimate and friendly relationship between master and labourer, than exists at present : they had perhaps once been labourers themselves, or in a situation little superior ; but the true bond of union will rather be found in the spirit of the age. Fashion exerted a less tyrannical influence. The smocked farmer of the eighteenth century was

indeed distinguished rather by bluff hospitality than parlour refinement ; and, perhaps, his more modern successor, if the character could be recalled to the scene, would be shy to make his acquaintance.

The publican of that period was for the most part himself engaged in agriculture ; his house was opened for the convenience of passing strangers, or the entertainment of convivial neighbours ; the country gentlemen frequently resorted to it, and very often disgraced it and themselves with their rude debauch ; but it was not then so truly, what it has since become, the scene of the poor man's ruin—its owner was less skilled in the science of adulteration than his accomplished successor—it was not a modern beer-shop, much less a gin-palace, but the old public-house, where hospitality greeted a stranger's entrance, and the master was present to do the duties of host. The well-known quotation from Dr. Goldsmith's poem of the *Deserted Village*, which was published in 1769, will sufficiently show how distinct was its character from that of the modern beer-shop.

“ No more the farmer's news, the barber's tale,
No more the woodman's ballad shall prevail,
No more the smith his dusky brow shall clear,
Relax his ponderous strength, and lean to hear ;
The host himself no longer shall be found
Careful to see the mantling bliss go round.”

We next proceed to examine the position of the squire, or country gentleman, and his general demeanour towards the tenantry. In the middle of the last century, when the means of communication with the metropolis, and of

passage to and fro were slow and uncertain, the squire was resident on his own estate in the manor house ; there he received the parson of the parish to his convivial board, to talk over the day's chase, or ask his opinion on a knotty point for magisterial decision ; there he entertained his tenantry, and on the great festivals, assembled all classes without distinction of rank, to join in the hospitable repast, and amusements of the time. Of the merriment with which Christmas was kept, poetry has wrought a description in attractive colours—

“ The heir with roses in his shoes,
That night might village partner choose ;
The Lord underogating share
The vulgar game of ‘ post and pair.’
All hailed with uncontroll’d delight
And general voice the happy night,
That to the cottage as the crown
Brought tidings of salvation down.”

SIR W. SCOTT'S *Marmion*.

The same author adds (some lines intervening,) the following, which may have some truth, and much more than is generally supposed—

“ A Christmas gambol oft could cheer
The poor man's heart through half the year.”

The consequence which the squire conciliated to himself by a proper regard to the traditional duties of his station, was considerable : his authority interposed to settle village disputes ; he dealt with many offences summarily by recourse to the stocks, or in the case of a juvenile delinquent to flagellation : there was a halo of dignity round an Allworthy, or a Sir Roger de Coverley

in the baronial residence of his ancestors. In one particular, the example of the squire was eminently useful : to omit attendance at the parish church would have been an offence noted by all ; and this custom on his part, imitated by all classes, though it may have had more to do with ceremonial than vital religion, according to the error of the times, had an inherent tendency to produce subordination, respectability of appearance and behaviour, and therefore to improve the condition of the poor. " Sunday was a day for the display of sanctity and parade, the Lord of the Manor repairing to church in great state, through a lane of uncovered and bowing peasantry, who took this opportunity of craving indulgences, and showing respect, receiving favours or kind inquiries in return : after which the squire entered the hereditary pew of the manor house, whence he carefully looked round to see which of his dependants were absent, as well by that, as by the loudness of his responses during the service, to impress those present with respect."* The Old English Gentleman was the growth of that period, a more noble character, (I am quoting the sentiments of Dr. Arnold, expressed in one of his letters) than ever flashed across the imagination of a Sismondi or a Guizot.

But every character and every period has its dark as well as its bright sides. The virtue of the age, which was most highly appreciated, was conviviality ; the pleasures of the table were keenly relished, and the October ale flowed freely ; the bestial vice of drunken-

* Wade's History of the Working Classes, c. ix.

ness was a stain upon the upper classes generally ; and from indulgence in intoxication duels were frequent and often bloody ; the average amount of education was indisputably low—it was a qualification held in little esteem ;—incontinence, but under a particular modification, degraded the villager ; the standard of religion was nearly reduced to a bare observance of ceremonial decencies. If, when a fair balance is cast, we can have no reasonable wish to recur to the state of society and mode of life which prevailed a century ago, it is at the same time indisputable, that the relation between squire, yeoman, and labourer, was at that period far more friendly, and that such a circumstance must have operated very advantageously upon the class, the lowest in the scale. The labourer, having some one above him to respect, was taught to respect himself ; and the subordination of the different members of a poor man's family, the inmates of the cottage, to the master of the household, was on the pattern of the ascertained gradations and obedience to the presiding head, which obtained among the village community.

The condition of the labourer of that date was, moreover, superior in the important article of wages. Arthur Young writes, “ There is now living (1801) in the vicinity of Bury, a person, who, when he laboured for 5s., could purchase with that 5s. a bushel of wheat, a bushel of malt, 1 lb. of butter, 1 lb. of cheese, a pennyworth of tobacco.”* Mr. Wade remarks on this notice that “ to enable the same man to purchase the

* Annals of Agriculture, vol. xxxvii. p. 265.

same articles at the present moment, his wages ought to have risen from 5s. to 22s.”* The following is the computation of the expenses of an agricultural family near Newbury, consisting of a man, his wife, and six children.†

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
7 gallons of bread	9	11
1 lb. of sugar	0	6
2 oz. of tea	0	8
Soap	0	4
Candles	0	4
Salt, pepper, mustard, vinegar, &c. .	0	2
2 lbs. of bacon	1	4
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	13	3

In the year 1833, the price of wheat was only 52s. 11*d.* per quarter, a very low price as compared with that of recent times. The computed expenditure upon bread would be much greater, if the calculation were made upon the basis of the average price of wheat during the last five years. Take, however, the weekly expenses of an agricultural labourer, with a wife and six children, at the sum of 13s. 3*d.*, as computed. The average of agricultural wages is below 10s. per week, and is reduced still lower in some counties by the farmer deducting for time lost in rainy weather. Thus the miserable condition of our rural population, if the price of labour be compared with that of food, is clearly represented.

* “Wade’s History of the Working Classes.”—Appendix, p. 167.

† Report of the Poor Law Commissioners, 1833.

A bad effect, at once observable, consequent on the low rate of agricultural wages at the present day, is the out-door employment of women and children in pulling up turnips, or other field labour. The mixture of males and females, in any work, has been proved universally to be prejudicial to morals. But the evil of such a system is by no means confined to the demoralizing results of this association, and the natural bad consequences of hard labour imposed on females ; but besides, home duties must necessarily be neglected,—an omission involving the worst effects. In the cider-drinking counties, it is, that the employment of women and children in the fields is most productive of evil.

But not only have the wages of the labourer been diminished, but also an advantageous arrangement which usually subsisted between the labourer and his employer in the last century, has now wholly ceased. It was customary in that period, throughout, I believe, all parts of the country, to permit the labourer to buy his flour, butter, cheese, &c., of the farmer whom he served, at a reduced rate ; and however the price of wheat, and the other articles of food, might fluctuate, the same sum was still paid by the labourer. Such a system as this must have been as favourable to the poor as a considerable increase of wages. At the beginning of the present century, this kindly custom expired,* together with the other parts of the old *régime*. So changed is the relation between the employed and his employer, that in

* It still subsists in Dorsetshire, in a perverted form.

these days the labourer would be scouted from his master's door, if he were observed near it. It would be immediately conjectured that he harboured some fraudulent design.

Another important consideration is, the alteration for the worse in the dwelling-houses of the poor. A cottage erected in the last century will be generally found to be commodious and roomy, very different in the supply of comforts and conveniences from the hovels which are now ordinarily appropriated to the labouring class. At the present day, the narrowness of the poor man's cabin, the fact found to be almost universally true, that however numerous the inmates may be, one small bed-room is deemed sufficient to accommodate all, imply so much domestic discomfort, that the natural impulse of the mind is to fly from misery at home to the village beer-shop. Besides this effect on the father, mother, or both, ruinous in itself to family peace, the congregating of so many into one sleeping apartment, very frequently of two whole families, or even more, is destructive of all sense of modesty. The condition of the poor, in regard to house accommodation, thus described, is well nigh general ; it is common to the agricultural and manufacturing parts. During the present century, we have been building dwellings for the poor, as if we were running up sties for pigs.

It is only the introduction of the allotment system which has rendered the poor man's condition, in these altered times, even bearable ; but this improvement, introduced of late years, is only a substitution for the

garden, or garden and orchard, which, in happier days, were generally annexed to the cottage.

Some aver that the present poor are better off than their forefathers, in regard to the greater cheapness of articles of dress. It may be so. It must be remembered, however, that the old leather breeches and buskins, and also the stuff gowns of our grandams, were more durable, if of higher price, than the articles which have displaced them. The facility of obtaining tawdry finery has, moreover, created a love of dress among the poor, even in country villages, which before cheap ribbons were wrought of all the hues of the rainbow, and the market glutted with cottons, was less likely to be called into play. The labourer's daughter, now-a-days, will often have her best bonnet decked with artificial flowers, purchased at some cheap repository. It is matter of common observation, and has come under my own notice, that in whatever country town or village, ribbon-weaving is practised, there the moral condition, particularly of the juvenile population, is at a low standard: and this effect is traceable in a great measure to the fuller development of the taste for fine clothes.

The changed circumstances of the labourer in regard to his relation in the present day to the other parts of society, and the pecuniary compensation for his services, which has gradually diminished, as well as the other alterations in village life for the worse, must be supposed to exert an injurious influence upon his character, and yet more so upon the pliable disposition of his children.

The period when an encroachment was made perceptibly upon the old state of things, until at length an entire revolution was effected, must be referred to the end of the last century. But the nascent germ of the change from which a complete new system was subsequently developed, was the invention of the spinning-jenny in 1767, by James Hargraves of Blackburn. The elaboration of a mechanical contrivance by an ingenious carpenter, was the pivot on which the entire re-modification of society turned ; the small, and scarce calculable commencement, from which there finally resulted a total remodelling of the political constitution, the social life, and the general tone and character of ideas in this country. It may be doubted whether any previous revolution was so entire and complete as this which we are now contemplating : none has been so sudden and rapid in its progress. The chains of the feudal system were unfastened link by link, during the course of several centuries of time ; and its eventual dissolution produced no novel arrangement in the local residences of the several classes of inhabitants. The historical parallel which appears to me most complete to our present point, will be found in the history of ancient Athens. The king of that country, Theseus, dissatisfied with the numerous territorial and municipal privileges which conflicted with his own supremacy, forced the inhabitants of the country, to submit to one uniform rule, and collected a large proportion of the rural out-dwellers into the city ; and by this centralizing system aggrandized Athens itself, and probably laid the foundation of its

future eminence in trade and commerce.* But the movement under Theseus was compulsory, and therefore less complete ;† the revolution in our own country of recent times, has been owing to the natural sequence of events.

It appears that there was a great demand for cloth about the middle of the last century, and the spinners were unable to prepare the yarn so quickly as the weavers required it : accordingly the human mind was stimulated to discover means for expediting the process of spinning ; and hence the invention, first of the spinning-jenny, then of the spinning-frame, and subsequently, of the mule-jenny.‡ The profits of weaving now became very considerable ; it is calculated that a family of four adult persons, with two children as winders, could earn at this period £4 a-week ; and hence arose a new division of employment. The profits of agricultural labour were not nearly so great as those of weaving : accordingly many who had hitherto combined the two occupations, now relinquished agriculture as the

* “ Επειδὴ δὲ Θησεὺς ἐβασίλευσε, γενόμενος μετὰ τοῦ ξυνητοῦ καὶ δυνατοῦ, τάτε ἄλλα διεκόσμησε τὴν χώραν, καὶ καταλύσας τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων τὰ τε βουλευτήρια καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς, ἐς τὴν νῦν πόλιν οὔσαν, ἐν βουλευτήριον ἀποδείξας καὶ πρυτανεῖον ξυνώκισε πάντας κ. τ. λ.” *Thucyd. ii. 15.*

† Τῇ τε οὖν ἐπὶ πολὺ κατὰ τὴν χώραν αυτονόμῳ οἰκήσει μετεῖχον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ξυνωκίσθησαν, διὰ τὸ ἔθος ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς ὅμως οἱ πλείους τῶν ἀρχαίων καὶ τῶν ὑστέρων μέχρι τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου πανοικησία γενόμενοί τε καὶ οἰκήσαντες οὐ ραδίως τὰς μεταναστάσεις ἐποιοῦντο κ. τ. λ. *Id. ii. 16.*

‡ Mc Culloch's Statistics, i. 677.

less lucrative, and devoted their whole time to weaving. Hence the first introduction of a new order of tenants : the chain of succession of father and son, who had followed one another as uniformly in the farm as in the manor-house, was now for the first time interrupted. This was a great change in the relations of society. The new tenants entered upon their farms in general, on a different understanding with the landlord ; they adopted an improved mode of cultivation : their character was widely removed from their predecessors' ; many labourers too, by the great profits of weaving, were elevated to an equality in circumstances with the yeomanry. The industry with which agriculture now began to be pursued, and the improved method of cultivation under the new farmers, soon drove a large portion of the remaining yeomen, whose long-continued habits little qualified them to compete with the new comers, to embark some portion of their means in the purchase of spinning-machines. Many debts were contracted to enable them to make the purchase, which turned out but ill ; for the ruin of the spinners was near. This was partly effected by the great alterations and improvements in the construction of the spinning-machines following in rapid succession ; but chiefly by the establishment of mills, containing machines for carding and spinning, erected in the neighbourhood of towns, and propelled by water power. The quantity of yarn thrown off in this way being very considerable, and the process completed in a much shorter time, the profits of the domestic manufactures immediately fell ; and as in a large proportion of cases, debts had been already con-

tracted, ruin was irrecoverable. Upon this followed a great change in the occupants of farms: the transfer of lands from old to new hands, already begun, proceeded with precipitated rapidity. Some of the old yeomen, driven from their farms by the approach of the new system, resorted to the mills which had been established, or assisted in erecting new ones; and engaging extensively in manufacture, more frequently as associates, seldom as principals, were among the early successful manufacturers. Up to this period, the condition of the weaver had been prosperous; indeed, all the successive alterations and improvements had been favourable to him: his occupation was somewhat below that of the spinner in respectability, the employment in which he was engaged being more laborious, and requiring a smaller outlay: he was now raised in the scale of public estimation, by the overthrow of the class immediately above him. But his own downfall was at hand. Monied men began to turn their attention to manufactures; the mills were augmented in number; greater capital was employed in working them, and the natural consequence was, an enormous increase of yarn, much beyond what was ordinarily required by the weavers. At this period a new order of weavers, less respectable than the former, were induced to migrate to the vicinity of the mills, and were satisfied with smaller profits. This occasioned the first considerable depreciation in the advantages derived from hand-loom labour; but the ultimate ruin* of the

* The invention of the power-loom might have been mentioned as occasioning, in the first instance, what the steam-loom completed; but this was not till 1787, and for some time the original machine was very imperfect.—*M'Culloch's Statistics*, i. p. 678.

more respectable weavers was accomplished by that mighty element in modern civilization, whose effects have been felt in every occupation and employment, and are still producing formidable changes,—the powers of steam applied to machinery. The first steam-looms were erected in 1806, and their introduction was the signal for general and continued riots ; but the efforts of the suffering class were unavailing, and their destruction was speedy and inevitable.

We have now to consider the effects of this revolution, brought about by machinery, upon the condition of country life. It is impossible that great alterations can take place in any one department of human industry, without producing correspondent effects on all the rest ; and such was the case at the crisis under contemplation. The progress of manufacture had interrupted the even tenor of country life ; the general improved state of the roads at this period was a coincidence that offered the desired facilities to the spirit of the age ; large towns had sprung up in the vicinity of the original mills, and the continued accessions of capital stimulated exertion ; commerce with foreign nations was enlarging ; luxuries were becoming necessities ; and thus a large home-market was opened to manufacturing skill ; population rapidly increased ; and the surplus labouring class flocked in numbers to the thriving centres of busy industry : the die had been cast, and England had become the great commercial and manufacturing country, the grand mart and workshop. The ultimatum of modern activity was the acquisition of wealth : the money-

making mania spread through all ranks of society, it penetrated even to the sylvan recesses of rusticity, and made the very heart of the country squire beat with unwonted emotion. London had become the dilating centre of trade, intelligence, and fashion ; the permanent place of residence, or temporary resort of multitudes of every class and rank ; his worship of the manor-house was attracted thither by the magnetic influences of the age. Better rent was received from the new tenants ; but the old familiarity and friendly interchange of kind offices between landlord and tenant were extinct : the latter was one of a new race, and felt to be such ; economy was the order of the day—more industry, and less conviviality—the associations of rural life were interrupted, and the manor-house vacated by the squire, or abandoned at his decease by the son, was let to a tenant-farmer, or wholly deserted, perhaps pulled down. Modern dwellings sprung up in desirable neighbourhoods, better supplied with the accommodations and comforts of modern enlightenment. The march of intellect once begun, was extended into every department of research, and even the minutiae of domestic life. The stupidity of the preceding age became a byword with youth and boyhood. Centralization, the prominent feature of the altered system, by removing the gentry from their ancient haunts, operated disadvantageously upon the character of the new farming-class, who were now very frequently the most important in the scale of village rank, and perhaps were incited to assume airs above their station, by the successful examples of manufacturers and

traders, whose wealth elevated them to the level of the gentry. In other respects, however, the new farmer was inclined by the pressure of circumstances to estrange himself from the labourer—he had economical arrangements ever in view—he introduced machinery into the changed system of agriculture—he was for the most part a farmer on a larger scale, for there had been a general consolidation of small farms—he ceased to board and lodge those whom he employed; such a plan was rendered almost impossible by their increased number: in short, the farming class were somewhat raised in station above their predecessors, and the obvious consequence was the depression of the labouring population. The relation of the agricultural employer and the employed was changed, (at various periods indeed the change was effected, in different parts of the country, until a general alteration passed over the whole, or nearly the whole,) and much to the disadvantage of the latter, as regards his social condition.

Before considering the results of the new system upon the morality of the lower orders, and the state of crime, I shall refer to the notices of the change in contemporary authors. “A neighbour of mine in Suffolk,” writes Mr. Young, “who inherited considerable landed property, informed me, that in various conversations which he had between thirty and forty years ago, (between 1770 and 1780,) with a relation far advanced in years, and from whom much of that property was derived, that much surprise was expressed at the *rise* of *rents* which *then* began to take place. Through the long period of

his relation's experience, no rise was ever thought of ; and lease after lease, in long succession, was signed, without a word passing on the question of rent—that was an object considered as fixed—and grandfather, father and son, succeeded without a thought of any rise. In many cases, landlords were much more apprehensive of losing a tenant at the old rent, than having the smallest conception of raising it to a new one.”* The rise of manufactures and consequent increase of population, and in a different way the application of machinery to agricultural ends, gave an impetus to cultivation ; and at the period under review, both the price of wheat rose and the labourer's wages, as the following table extracted from Wade's History (Appendix) shows :

Year.	Wheat per Qr.		Wages per Week.	
	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
1751	32	0	6	0
1770	47	8	7	4
1790	50	0	8	1
1796	64	10	8	11
1803	91	8	11	5

In the year 1811, in an advanced period of the war, husbandry wages reached their highest point, 14*s.* 6*d.* per week : but wheat was at the time 96*s.* 8*d.* per quarter : since that period, agricultural wages, with small variation, have declined up to the present hour ; the labourer, Mr. Wade writes, has been “mutely sinking.”

It cannot be supposed that such startling changes in

* Inquiry published in 1812.

village life were accomplished without some notice and allusions to passing events and shifting manners in the pages of poetry. Shall the country squire, the ancient presiding guardian of the village, leave his ancestral halls, desert the scene consecrated to memory by oft-recurring merriment and Christmas festivities ; and shall the woodland pipe of poetry—“ *agrestis avena*”—sound no lament for his departure, no requiem over the buried usages of former times ? I must ask the reader’s pardon for intruding on him some rather lengthy quotations from cotemporary poets. It is the muse’s province to survey the varied scene of human action, to notice the rise of customs and manners, commend or satirize ; she is privileged ; it is her proper task ; and I therefore refer to our English poets for the description of a former period, and the contrast offered to it by our own ; as I should to Aristophanes, to trace the broidery of colours flung upon the scene of Athenian life, or to Horace to compare Rome in his days with Rome as it was once. The features of the time are characterized upon the cotemporary page—“ *Votivâ veluti patent descripta tabellâ.*”

Cowper’s *Task* was composed in 1783-4 ; in it the rush to the metropolis and desertion of rural seats by their owners are mourned ; and the change of manners in the farming class is depicted with graphic accuracy.

“ The town has tinged the country ; and the stain
Appears a spot upon a vestal’s robe,
The worse for what it soils. . . .

.

The rich and they that have an arm to check
 The license of the lowest in degree
Desert their office ; and themselves intent
 On pleasure *haunt the capital*, and thus
 To all the violence of lawless hands
 Resign the scenes, their presence might protect."

Winter Evening.

The change in manners, ideas of station, &c., is thus described by the same poet :—

"No : we are polished now. The rural lass,
 Whom once her virgin modesty and grace,
 Her artless manners and her neat attire,
 So dignified, that she was hardly less
 Than the fair shepherdess of old romance,
 Is seen no more. *The character is lost !*

.
 She might be deemed
 (But that the basket dangling on her arm
 Interprets her more truly) of a rank
 Too proud for dairy work, or sale of eggs."

Winter Evening.

The Scotch bard in his warm-hearted zeal for the welfare of his own class, has not left the distinguishing features of the times he lived in, the rush to the centres of trade, fashion and pleasure, unmarked or unlamented.

"O would they stay aback frae courts,
 An' please themsels wi' countra sports
 It wad for every ane be better,
 The laird, the tenant and the cotter."—BURNS.

But Bloomfield was as a boy himself a labourer under the old system ; and lived to see the introduction of the new. His poetry is dressed in peasant-garb, but is invaluable to our present purpose, because he enters

more into the particulars of the altered relation between farmer and labourer ; and must be supposed to express the common sentiments of his class at the change.

“ A barley loaf, ’tis true, my table crowns,
That fast diminishing in lusty rounds,
Stops nature’s cravings ; yet her sighs will flow
From knowing this,—that once it was not so.
Our annual feast, when earth her plenty yields,
When crown’d with boughs the last load quits the fields,
The aspect still of ancient joy puts on,
The aspect only, with the substance gone :
The self-same horn is still at our command,
But serves none now but the plebeian hand :
For home-brew’d ale, neglected and debas’d,
Is quite discarded from the realms of taste.
Where unaffected freedom charm’d the soul,
The *separate* table, and the costly bowl,
Cool as the blast that checks the budding spring,
A mockery of gladness round them fling.”—*Summer*.

Our poet goes into the cause of the change he so much regrets, and although the passage is as long as the preceding, I must offer it to the reader, as very important and striking.

“ Such were the days—of days long past I sing,
When pride gave place to mirth without a sting,
Ere tyrant customs strength sufficient bore
To violate the feelings of the poor :
To leave them distanced in the madd’ning race,
Where’er refinement shows its hated face :
Nor causeless hated ;—’tis the peasant’s curse,
That hourly makes his wretched station worse ;
*Destroys life’s intercourse ; the social plan
That rank to rank cements, as man to man.*
Wealth flows around him ; fashion lordly reigns ;
Yet poverty is his, and mental pains.

Methinks I hear the mourner thus impart
 The stifled murmurs of his wounded heart,
 ' Whence comes this *change, ungracious, irksome, cold,*
 Whence the *new grandeur* that mine eyes behold ?
 The *widening distance* which I daily see—
 Has wealth done this ? then wealth's a foe to me.

.
 Can my sons share from this paternal hand
 The profits with the labours of the land ?
 No : though indulgent Heaven its blessing deigns,
Where's the small farm to suit my scanty means ? "—*Summer.*

I have been thus diffuse in quotations, in order to contradict a prevalent opinion, that the condition of the labourer and his relation to his employer is not worse now than formerly—such a position is altogether incorrect—it has been spread by commercial writers, such as Mr. M'Culloch, who have founded their mistake upon the fact, that the working-class can now indulge in wheaten bread, instead of rye-cake or oatmeal, and sip fragrant tea, coffee, or cocoa. But surely this is a very imperfect criterion by which to measure and compare the condition of the labourer's family in the two periods. Surely, the greater or less facility of making the two ends meet, would be a safer clue to the truth of the case ; and under this view of the subject, how wretched is the position of the labourer generally at the present day !

Another item in his state to be particularly observed, is the regard in which he is held by the class immediately above him, for even a clown has feelings, and in this point, what a change is there for the worse ! The ignorance and narrow views of the farming-class are, I

believe, the frequent theme of censure ;* but is not the cause apparent? Are they not the necessary consequences of the absence of a proper controlling and directing influence? It is a general remark, that, wherever there is a resident squire, *i.e.*, wherever such an influence is present, a different tone of feeling is found to pervade this body. The parish clergyman, in a majority of cases, is the only person of more humanized views, whose influence can in any degree be brought to bear upon the farmer; and he, from his position and widely different occupation, cannot possess the same amount of authority which would be at once allowed to a landlord resident among his tenantry. It is not that I hold up past times to admiration, to the discredit of the present; but I am unwilling, in a blind adoration of our intellectual advantages, increase of external comforts, and enlarged political freedom, to forget the points in which any candid judge will acknowledge the manifest superiority of the past century; and in an investigation of the causes which have conspired to produce the unhappy increase of juvenile crime, which is a blot upon the age, the altered relations of village life cannot be overlooked. Were the parish clergyman removed, as well as his old associate the squire, the evil would be yet aggravated; alone, as the former is in too many villages and towns, he exerts at least the authority of his office (I speak generally) over farmer and labourer, and promotes education, which the changed circumstances of country life

* In all my remarks upon the farming-class, I speak of the class, not of individuals. I am acquainted with individual farmers of the most benevolent views.

imperatively demand, to the utmost of his power. The farmer unhappily is, for the most part, opposed to the spread of education: it is his calamitous lot to be left to the guidance of a half-instructed mind, without, for the most part, any presiding and superintending influence; but even where such is present, there is not the same familiarity and interchange of kindly offices—not the same friendly relation—and, therefore, not the same connexion of ideas, and similarity of sentiment, between landlord and tenant, as subsisted formerly. The squire is to blame for the distance which he maintains, as well as the farmer for the supercilious pride of a station somewhat more elevated, with which he eyes the poor: the fault attaches to the age.

But, with the altered and degraded condition of villages and country towns, is it surprising that the labourer too often spends his week's earnings, which in their integral amount would be barely sufficient to support a family, unchecked, unadmonished as he often is, unincited to good by kindness on the part of those above him, at the beer-shop, among such profligate characters as there resort to drown care in liquor, or plot some future fraud or villainy! Is it not, on the contrary, most agreeable to all our notions and reasonings, that on the withdrawal of the kindly influence which a class of resident gentry must, to a certain degree, extend over the rural population, both farmers and labourers, and in past times did so extend; and by the altered relation which now subsists between the two last classes, since the creation, in the convulsion of social change, of a new order of farmers, the working-classes should have generally deteriorated in

moral condition ; and, in spite of increased education, to supply the place of the old check now removed, have swelled the calendars of crime with a fearful accession of juvenile depravity ?

I before appealed to contemporary writers in proof of the great alteration that has taken place in country life ; but the change is marked upon the very face of the rural districts. The geologist infers, from the remains of various animals deposited in certain strata, adapted by their organization to a different physical state of external nature, that the earth, at the period when they were living upon it, must have been under a condition of temperature widely removed from the present. We have evidence of a similar nature in proof of the great social revolution under review. There are the manor-houses, scattered here and there in all parts of the country. It is evident from their size, their internal arrangement, and architectural decorations, that they were once the dwellings of country gentlemen, the lords of the surrounding lands, and the heads of the several communities of farmers in that by-gone age. Some of these are to be discovered in districts almost unfrequented at the present day ; some are in ruins ; many, no doubt, have been pulled down, and every vestige cleared ; others are converted into farm-houses ; but wherever they are standing, there is universally an air of gloom around them ; they point back to a past stage in our history ; they linger on in silent dreariness, the monuments of an old-fashioned period,—land-marks, which attest where the tide of civilization and periodical mirth once flowed, and flows no longer.

The consolidation of property is a badge of the present times. It is stated, that about the year 1770, the lands of England were divided among no fewer than 250,000 families ; but at the close of the revolutionary war, in 1815, they were found to be concentrated in the hands of only 32,000. Property and wealth naturally draw more property and more wealth to them. A large snow-ball, if rolled along the whitened ground, will collect much more snow, every turn it makes, than a smaller one. That property should gather in large masses, is according to the natural tendency of things ; and every obstruction and hindrance to the operation of natural causes has in recent times been removed. Not only, therefore, is the small farmer extinct, but the small landed proprietor belongs to an order which is rapidly vanishing, and has in a great degree already disappeared. The tradesman, moreover, who has little capital, is now contending at a ruinous disadvantage with outbidding rivals. The trade which prospers most in villages and small towns in these times, is, it may well be feared, the publican's. All classes are merging in one of two, the indigent and the opulent ; the chasm between rich and poor has widened, and is widening. England's greatest splendour, and England's most abject poverty, are admirably adapted as subjects for the display of the artist's skill in painting contrasts ; and two such pictures well executed, would present a powerful practical illustration of the poet's

“ First and last—the immensely distant two.”

The labourer's hope of rising in the world is a forlorn one. There is no graduated ascent, up which the hardy

aspirant may toil step by step with patient drudgery. Several rounds in the ladder are broken away and gone. A farm of some hundred acres, requiring for their due cultivation a large capital, would be a day-dream too gaudy ever to mix itself with the visions of the most ambitious labourer, earning on an average, probably less than nine shillings a week. The agricultural workman's horizon is bounded by the high red-brick walls of the Union-house ; his virtual marriage settlement can only point to such a refuge, if troubles arise : his old age may there have to seek its last shelter. None can starve in England, thanks to the benevolence of our laws : but would we could indulge some hope of the poor labourer rising to comparative independence by thrift, industry, and a proper regard to the moral duties of his station. As his case now stands, his choice vacillates between the Union and the Prison.

“ It should ever be borne in mind,” observes Dr. Arnold, “ that history looks generally at the political state of a nation ; its social state, which is infinitely more important, and in which lie the seeds of all the greatest revolutions, is too commonly neglected or unknown.”*

I proceed to the statistical proof of the influence of a body of resident gentry upon the morals and respectability of the labouring class. Wherever the proportion of resident gentry is great, there crime is less frequent ; in other words, the amount of crime can be proved to be in inverse ratio to the number of residents of independent means. Wherever the influences of the more enlightened classes are permitted to descend upon their humbler

* Arnold's History of Rome, vol. ii. c. 34.

The degree of education is tested by the proportionate number of those who sign the marriage register, *i. e.* are able to write. The table is headed with this remark :—

“It will be seen that the favourable symptoms accompany rather the greater number of realized properties than the greater amount of real property in the several districts; and considering the influx of persons of vagrant character from the poorer and more ignorant into the wealthier and more instructed districts, the testimony afforded by this table in favour of the former is very marked.”

The district which is the most destitute of inhabitants of independent means, is comprised within the counties of Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, and Hertfordshire. The real destitution of those counties is not distinctly seen in the general table, because Somersetshire is united to them. I shall therefore give the statistics of those three counties separately in a table extracted from the same report.

	Population in 1841.	Real Property.	Realized Property.	Education.	Improvident Marriages.	Bastardy.	Criminal Commit- ments.	Savings.
Bedfordshire	107,936	— 11·12	— 43·1	— 53·0	+ 147·8	+ 15·1	+ 21·4	— 23·0
Buckinghamshire .	155,983	— 1·60	— 29·5	— 30·2	+ 69·0	+ 8·8	+ 20·0	— 43
Hertfordshire	157,207	+ 0·21	— 16·1	— 53·8	+ 112·5	+ 4·6	+ 14·2	— 46·2
Total	421,126	— 3·36	— 28·0	— 45·9	+ 109·5	+ 9·0	+ 18·2	— 39·1

* Minutes of Council on Education, 1846, p. 272.

It may be remarked that a comparison of these three counties in regard to crime, will tend to corroborate the principle we have laid down ; for in each the amount of crime is exactly in inverse ratio to the amount of realized property. In these three counties, the natural effects of causes are plainly discernible ; there are no disturbing agencies, as far as I am aware, at work. In no agricultural counties are the wages of labour lower than in Beds and Bucks ; in no other is the farmer more entirely lord of the village. I should be unwilling to hazard an opinion how far the absence of the upper class in society, and the domination of the farmers may be connected with the low price of labour ; but I should conceive that there is some connexion. The wages average from 7s. to 9s. a-week, and thus tend to perpetuate the physical and moral injuries of the practice of lace-making.

It is a point worthy of remark, that the almost total absence of a class of gentry from any county produces upon the inhabitants a peculiar and marked character ; a circumstance, which must have forced itself upon the mind of every one at all conversant with the counties I have particularized. In regard to Cornwall, it is expressly noticed.* “ Many circumstances have conspired to give a character of independence—something American—to this population. The mine adventurers, the real employers, are not brought into contact in any way as masters with the working-miners ; so that the agents,

* Report of Commission on Employment of Children, Trades and Manufactures. 1843, p. 165.

men taken for the most part from their own ranks, are the only superiors with whom they have to do." The nature of the crimes most usual in these districts takes a tinge from the general character of the population. The report says, "The faults of character most present among the miners are such as are usually found to prevail among half-civilized people. The rudeness which has been already noticed, is the manifestation of a temper which exhibits itself at times in savage outrage, and now and then in ferocious crimes. The offences against property, with the exception of small thefts in the mines, bear the same stamp, being for the most part highway robberies, which are rare—or larcenies, such as the stealing of poultry and fruit—and poaching, in which there is as much of lawless frolic as of dishonesty. It is *particularly among the young men and lads*, that the contempt of authority manifested in these and similar acts is prevalent; and it is *among these* that Sabbath-breaking, the cause and effect of bad propensities, is, in some districts especially, habitual. Drunkenness is universally stated to be less common than heretofore; but it is still a very frequent practice to hold carousals after the pay day, and fights and riots very often arise on such occasions."*

I subjoin extracts, marking the beneficial effects of the residence of individuals of the higher class upon their respective neighbourhoods.

"As to clothing, there is considerable difference accord-

* Report on Employment of Children in Mines. 1842. Bradford and Leeds.

ing to the habits of the mother of the family, and also perhaps according to neighbourhoods, the children seeming to be on the whole better clothed in those neighbourhoods where there is a larger proportion of the middle and upper classes."

"There was no resident gentleman at or near the large village of Seghill, until Mr. Carr came to reside there a few years ago. Until then, there was no control over the public-houses, which, he states, used frequently to be open all night. The custom also prevailed of paying one collier for twenty or thirty, all of whom met at the public-houses to divide their earnings, and spend a portion in drink."*

"In one part of the valley nearly every fourth house is a public house. In another, in the small hamlet of Cwmdu, about the upper works there are thirty public-houses. These were constantly open on Sundays, and at nights with scarcely any restriction. The parish church, and the residence of the clergyman, were at some distance from the works. Above five years ago, one of the proprietors of the Mæsteg Works resided near them; and at that time better order was kept in the village in many respects."†

But it would be easy to multiply quotations on this head without end.

In order to appreciate the better the influences of the old system upon the working-classes, I shall offer to the

* Report of Commission under Act 5 and 6 Vict., c. 99. Mines, p. 27.

† Id., p. 46. Llynir Iron Works, Glamorganshire.

reader's attention a parallel to the social condition of England in the last century, presented by a neighbouring country at the present day ; not indeed perfect in all respects, as perhaps no political parallel ever can be.

The natural effect of large national wealth is the division of land into farms of considerable extent ; and on the other hand small capital has a tendency to the exact reverse. There was a time when the Netherlands were the site of numerous factories ; and the centre of an immense trade. Its commercial decline was coeval with the revolt from the Spanish rule ; and in the final subjugation of Belgium by the Duke of Parma, the most industrious manufacturers fled to Holland. Since that period in more recent times, both countries have suffered more or less by the increasing trade of the English. Hence, though manufactures still continue in Belgium in some small extent, (their cutlery for instance, is said to be preferred to the English in the continental market ;) there was in that country the unwinding of the system which we have seen gradually approximating to completeness in England ; and the result has been a condition at the present day in many points similar to our own before the era of manufactures.

“ The farms in Belgium very rarely exceed 100 acres. The number containing 50 acres is not great. Those of 30 and 20 acres are more numerous ; but the number of holdings of from 5 to 10, 15, and 20 acres, is very considerable, especially those of the smaller extent.”

“ The flax grown is heckled and spun by the farmer's

wife, chiefly during winter, and we were told that three weeks' labour at the loom towards the spring, enabled them to weave into cloth all the thread thus prepared. The weavers are generally a distinct class from the small farmers, though the labourers chiefly supported by the loom, commonly occupy about an acre of land, sometimes more, their labour upon the land alternating with their labour at the loom."

"As far as I could learn there was no tendency to the sub-division of small holdings ; I heard of none under five acres held by the class of peasant-farmers."

The condition of the Netherlands is thus far strikingly parallel to our own in the last century ; but it must be confessed, that in the momentous article of education it is so superior as to be above any sort of comparison. "In Haarlem, with a population of 21,000, we were informed there was not a child of ten years of age, and of sound intellect, who could not both read and write." After every allowance for the beneficial results of extended education, the general morality, and comparatively rare occurrence of crime, which distinguish the Netherlands, must be imputable in great degree to the social comfort and happiness of the labouring class under the old agricultural system. Their condition in regard to morality, pauperism, &c., is thus stated by Mr. Nicholls : * — "No drunkenness or disorder was anywhere apparent. The dress and the dwellings of the working people *showed the decent comfort in which they live*. Bastardy is less rare than in Holland ; and the tone of moral feeling somewhat less elevated.

* Third Report. 1838.

Mendicancy also is more common, but in both countries the *number of mendicants are small*. In Belgium a beggar may be occasionally seen at a church door, but very rarely at any other place, and mendicancy is not there practised as a profession."

I have endeavoured to prove, and I trust to the reader's satisfaction, that the condition of the English labourer, previous to the rise of manufactures in this country, was very superior to his present, both in regard to his relation to the other parts of society and the class immediately above him, and also in the article of wages ; that he was at that date subject to more control and supervision. The cottier population of that day, if I may be allowed to use the simile, nestled like birds under the manorial eaves ; their sympathies were drawn out in respect, obedience, and affection to those in a higher station ; they were more cared for, and cared for others more. The removal of the squire from the village, the substitution of a new order of farmers, different in their habits and feelings towards the working-class, in place of the old, have acted unfavourably upon the character of the peasantry—have loosened the previous system of subordination in their households, after the pattern of all they saw around them—have conspired, with other circumstances, to drive fathers, and even mothers of families, to the ale-house ; and, thus the old checks removed as well as the motives to good, have served to introduce general depraved habits, which have exhibited themselves in acts of crime, and more particularly in juvenile crime.

If we wish to see an extreme case of the results of

absenteeism on the part of landowners upon a country desolated by its effects—turn to Ireland. The vicious system of minute subdivision and underletting of land, is attributable to the carelessness and thoughtlessness of the landed proprietors. The very evils engendered in considerable degree by absenteeism, have now grown so rife that they almost preclude the adoption of a different course. But if ever Ireland be improved, as God grant it may ! it must be by the pervasion of those influences which are now exiled from their proper range and legitimate field of exercise. I quote from the same (Mr. Nicholls') Report :—“ The first impulse in the career of amelioration must be given by the gentry and landed proprietors, who must unite in promoting improvements among their tenantry, as well as in carrying out the provisions of the law. . . . It should never be forgotten that without such efforts on the part of the Irish gentry, the future presents but a dreary prospect of discord and demoralization.” May it not however be affirmed with truth, that the Irish are not the only landed proprietors who are negligent of the duties and responsibilities, which the very possession of landed property, its locality, and their own station necessarily devolve upon them ?

Having considered the great change which has passed over the face of rural life, it will be necessary to examine with more minuteness the actual state of crime, particularly juvenile crime, in country districts at the present day.

The sources of crime in rural districts are chiefly the four

following : beer-shops, the game laws, the tramp system, and the arrangements of cottages and lodging-houses.

Beer-shops very frequently do not exist in those villages which are under the immediate eye of some presiding tutelary guardian, or in other words, of a resident gentleman landowner : but wherever such influence is removed, they have sprung up with astonishing rapidity and in dense numbers. It is impossible to consider their effects on our rural population, except in connexion with the demoralizing habit of poaching. Intemperance and poaching act and re-act, the one vile habit on the other. "Poaching," says a witness examined by the late Select Committee of the Game Laws, "induces men and boys to be out at night, and brings them into connexion with individuals of very bad character, and carries them into those abominably bad places, the beer-shops. No crimes are so much on the increase as those against the game laws, or are so much affecting the condition of the rural population." It is in the beer-shops that individuals of notorious character meet, it is here they concoct their plans, and carouse before putting them in execution ; the beer retailer is very frequently associated with the poachers, and to him they dispose of their plunder in payment for liquor. Poachers are glad to enlist boys in their service, whom they think they can trust, and they lead on these juvenile delinquents by insinuating the hope that, even should they be detected, their youth will screen them from punishment. Thus early introduction to the beer-shop, connexion with profligate companions, and habituation to one crime, poach-

ing, demoralize and totally deprave a large portion of the youth among our rural poor. To steal game is not regarded as a sin among the villagers; and thus the precipice of crime is sloped to an inclined plane. From poaching the youthful delinquent proceeds to petty larceny, from this to some greater offence; the distinction in the mind between right and wrong once confused, to which the lax notion common to the poor on the subject of poaching very much tends, there is nothing to oppose the onward progress of crime until it issues in some most atrocious act. In proof of what I have advanced, the following is striking, written at the dictation of a poacher, and extracted from Prison Reports, 1846 :*

“When I first began poaching I lived with my father, and we had a dog that was much given to catching game. One time a man saw him kill a hare; this man kept a beer-shop; he said he would pay me well if I would let him have it. I was to go to his home at night. He gave me a glass of rum and 1s. 6d., and he wanted me to bring him another hare; I stopped drinking until I had spent the money. He told me I should get some snares, and he brought me some to look at, and showed me how to set them. I caught a hare that night, and took it to him, and I had it all in drink but 8d., and that I bought

* For the facts and statistics in the remainder of this chapter, I am indebted to a valuable Essay written by Miss Meteyard (Silverpen); to which Essay a second prize was awarded by the Adjudicators. Wherever throughout this Essay I have been indebted to the same source, I have acknowledged the obligation by prefixing an [S]. The facts thus obtained I have almost invariably embodied in my own language.

some wire with to make snares ; and then I got to going to his house constantly, and taking hares there, and drinking ale and spirits of all kinds ; and I think that beer-shop was the ruin of me."

One witness examined by the Committee on the Game Laws, 1845, says—" One case I knew of a man living on the borders of Worcestershire. He brought up four youths, his sons, to poaching ; they went on from bad to worse, till now only one son remains in this country."

In evidence of the notion which the poor entertain on the subject of poaching, I cite the following:—
" J. K., age 24, labourer, single. Three months, poaching. Been three times before for similar offences. *There is a difference between poaching and stealing. I should not steal myself.* Was never at school ; all that I have learnt has been in prison. I had no work ; they would not employ me because I had been a poacher. . . . I was caught with a leveret. I do not think I might have taken any thing else ; *the leveret is wild. Many people would be friends with a poacher, but would not like to be very great friends with a man convicted of felony.*"

Another witness before the Select Committee states:—
" When I was about twenty-two, I became possessed of very large farms in Wiltshire, to the amount of between 2000 and 3000 acres, and I detected a poacher, a man who was wiring hares. He was proceeded against, and committed to gaol for three months. He was bringing up a large family as a labourer, and without any

assistance from the parish, and, I believe, was only an occasional poacher. But as soon as he left the gaol at the end of three months, he became *a regular poacher, and an inhabitant of the public-house.*"

The noted Beer-shop Act of 1830, is, doubtless, one of the main causes of the increase of poaching ; but the fact, that at the present day there is the antagonism of class against class in our rural districts, the association in country sports no longer subsisting as it did once, many of the sportsmen visiting their seats only in the shooting season, and remaining there no longer than this continues, or only for a few weeks at its commencement, is a powerful auxiliary cause.

The ill effects, however, of beer-shops in the rural districts, extend beyond those connected with the breach of the game laws. One witness examined by the Parliamentary Commission, states, that three-fourths of the rural crime is caused by them ; and that the youngest boys, as well as evil-disposed persons, assemble there, and imbibe the rudiments of wickedness of all kinds. In another part of this Essay, the subject of beer-shops, and the deplorable effects of drunkenness in general, will be treated more at large.

I have classed the arrangements of cottages and lodging-houses under one head, as a cause of rural juvenile crime, because the moral influence of both is much of the same nature, the lodging-house being a more malignant form of the over-crowded labourer's cottage. The moral effect of both is the destruction of all modesty in either sex ; and the almost universal absence

of chastity and purity among the labouring-class, in our country villages at the present day, is notorious to every one at all acquainted with them. Between the lodging-house system, and vagrancy or tramping, there is as close an union as between the carouse at the beer-shop and the daring feats of the poacher.

The *Constabulary Police Report*, p. 35, informs us, that in Newcastle, some of these common lodging-houses have rooms frequently occupied by from fifteen to twenty persons each; and are usually scenes of the most horrible profligacy and depravity. At one visit of the relieving officers, a room was found containing four beds, in which slept two men, four women, and thirteen children. The lodging-house is described in the Report as the flash-house of the rural district, the most extensively established school of juvenile delinquency, and for the most part the most infamous brothel to be met with.

One boy who is a sheep stealer, (Prison Reports,) states, "I got acquainted with three men in a lodging-house: they told me I should always have plenty of money and nothing to do. I went on tramp with them. When lads run away from home, they go to lodging-houses; and if they (the parents) look for them, the lodging-house keeper hides them. If a lad once gets into one of them, its all up with him, for he sees them *drinking*, and card-playing, and hears them talking of the places they have been in. Young girls are enticed to these houses; many hundred lads would not go if it was not for them. I have seen nine beds in a room, and a lad and a wench in each. I was once in a lodging-house in Warwick,

where there were 130 men, women and children ; all loose characters."

Another offender states, "some of these lodging-houses have cards, dominoes, dice, and bagatelle boards."

The persons who frequent these nurseries and hotbeds of crime, men, women and children, are chiefly tramps, or, as they would call themselves, travellers. Some of them go about tinkering, selling matches and light articles, as laces and ribbons ; others are simple beggars. They swarm in the towns and villages of country districts, more particularly at stated times of the year, as during the hop season in Kent. The time of their periodical migrations into different parts of the rural districts is pretty accurately ascertained from the state of attendance at the Ragged Schools, especially in the metropolis. In the early part of April, these schools begin to exhibit comparatively empty benches, and on the return of winter, the destitute and migratory pupils, having reaped their harvest, again drop in and resume their places before the philanthropic teacher. In the summer interval, they have been each on his respective route and avocation, and have found a temporary asylum in the various lodging-houses in the different towns through which they passed, where they have associated with characters like themselves, with begging impostors, thieves and profligates. It seems that by some means or other they pick up a tolerable sum in their perambulations, for the accounts we have, describe them as regaling themselves with good cheer on their return to these lodging-houses at night : it is said, that they lie in bed till late,

and if visited in the forenoon, may be seen beside the fire roasting and frying. Filthy and miserable as is their appearance, they live well in these pestiferous dens. Very many, even of the merest children, are forced to lead this life by their parents, who send them out to beg, and punish them if they do not bring home a certain sum. We shall have to speak of the lodging houses in manufacturing towns, Manchester, Birmingham, &c., more particularly hereafter.

[S.] It is remarkable that of all classes of crime, those falling under the Vagrant Act exhibit the largest average, as will be seen from the subjoined table. Hence the moral habits of the several districts, like various, but connected streams of water, tend to a common level.

CLASSES OF CRIME.	PROPORTIONS TO 100,000 POPULATION.				
	1839.	1840.	1841.	1842.	1843.
1. Vagrant Act	111.5	124.1	116.8	129.6	135.4
2. Assaults	47.5	56.0	59.0	63.3	64.8
3. Game Laws.....	33.5	33.2	36.8	46.1	54.8
4. Reputed Thieves	28.7	35.2	33.2	30.7	26.7

The increase or decrease of Vagrant Act convictions is exhibited in singularly different proportions in the several counties ; but the increase has been greatest in the following ten countries, in the proportions understated.

Kent .	241.6	Chester .	121.1
Salop .	200	Leicester .	102.1
Bedford	159	Northampton	97.4
Cambridge	138	Stafford .	82.8
Rutland	138	Norfolk .	57.3

It will be observed that of these ten, in which the increase of vagrancy is most remarkable, eight are decidedly agricultural counties.

Nor is the mischief, which the vagrant does, confined to the act of crime ; but we must reflect, that he is thrown into a county prison ; and there associates with rural offenders, among whom he at once obtains a rank by his superiority under that very category, which for a time unites them together, and to whom he imparts the niceties of the thieving art. The demoralising influence of all those prisons, in which the separate system is not pursued, must not escape our remark in an Essay on Juvenile Depravity.

[S.] The great increase of late years in poaching, is a striking feature in rural crime. In the three years from 1827 to 1830, no fewer than 8,502 persons were convicted under the game laws. The increase since that period has been startling. In 1843, the committals for this offence amounted to 4,529. In 1844-45, and up to May 1846, that is during a period of 18 months, the convictions were 11,372, which gives an average of 4,834 per annum.

It must be remembered in reference to the preceding table, that it is impossible to dis sever the breach of the game laws from habits of intemperance; while “assaults” are with scarce an exception attributable to intoxication.

All that is connected with poaching, tends to give to the habitual offender under this head, a tone of character at once daring and brutal. And it is to the great increase of this crime, and the associate ill effects of the

beer-shop, that we with justice ascribe the many acts of sanguinary violence, the horrid tragedies of atrocious murder, which have defiled within very recent memory many scenes of rural life, and tainted spots, which have often been supposed, but very falsely at the present day, to be the favoured recesses of comfort, peace, and virtue.

CHAPTER III.

STRONG TENDENCIES IN THE SYSTEM OF MANUFACTURES TO MORAL EVIL—PARTICULARLY DRUNKENNESS—AGGRAVATED BY NEGLECT OF PROPRIETORS—SITUATION OF A CHILD IN A MANUFACTURING TOWN SUPPOSED—EXTRACTS FROM PARLIAMENTARY REPORTS WHICH THROW LIGHT UPON THE GENERAL MORAL CONDITION OF SUCH TOWNS—COINCIDENCE OF VIEW, AS REGARDS THE GENERAL POSITION OF THE ESSAY, ON THE PART OF JOSEPH FLETCHER, ESQ. — INSTANCES OF NINETY-ONE JUVENILE DELINQUENTS IN LIVERPOOL — COMPARISON AS TO STATE OF CRIME IN AGRICULTURAL AND MANUFACTURING DISTRICTS.

ALTHOUGH the increase of juvenile crime has been general throughout England, and therefore is referrible to an agency in universal operation, yet the augmentation has been in greater and more rapid proportion in those districts, where are the several centres of trade and manufacture. Hence it is necessary to consider the peculiar circumstances which have given to these parts their distressing prominence in crime.

The fact which at once strikes the eye, is the accumulation of such a vast mass of human beings, forced into the closest communication and contact with one another. The increase of population in these districts has not been

in the ordinary proportion of the increase of population throughout England ; but in a ratio immensely larger. The population of Lancashire in 1811, was 828,309 ; in 1821, 1,052,859 ; in 1831, 1,335,800 ; in 1841, 1,667,054. If we compare the increase of population in Norfolk, a flourishing agricultural county, during the same period, the disparity will be apparent. The population of Norfolk, in 1811, was 291,999 ; in 1821, 344,368 ; in 1831, 390,000 ; in 1841, 412,664 : so that in a space of thirty years, the population of Norfolk increased more than one-third, while that of Lancashire more than doubled itself.

A large portion of the population of Lancashire is grouped here and there in immense knots in and round towns. Many evils naturally arise from this accumulation of so many human beings, each of whom is possessed of large powers and propensities to evil ; and these in such a concourse are stimulated into exercise, and have every scope for their full development. The moral checks ought to be on a gigantic scale, to be at all adequate to the need ; and should increase with the same rapidity as the population itself. These two conditions are indispensable to anything like order, respectability, and morality, in such a vast assemblage of men, such a shifting and heterogeneous mass. But the absence of any such system at all proportionate to the powers of evil which must be encountered, is as notorious as it is lamentable ; and hence the destitute condition of our trading and manufacturing centres, as it may be pictured on the imagi-

nation by inference from the simple facts of this enormous gathering of human beings, and the great accessions continually made to it, will go far to account for the unhappy proportion and rapid increase of juvenile depravity in these districts and in our times.

The peculiar circumstances of manufacturing life require to be further considered. The wages which the operative receives are high ; very high, as compared with the average wages of agricultural workmen ; and, probably, as many bad results flow from the highness of wages in the one case, as from their lowness in the other. The medium between the two extremes is certainly the most favourable to virtue, however difficult it may be to hit ; nor in fact, is the rate of workmen's wages capable of regulation by strict ordinance under a regard to considerations of this nature. But the operative's wages being in general thus high, there is a less demand for prudence and economy in disposing of them. The almost universal effect is improvidence. The same evil results from the same cause amongst the fishermen on the coast of Yorkshire. Three men and a boy have been known to take in one night, under favourable circumstances, fish which they sold the next morning for £20. Instead of carefully husbanding their respective shares of the sum, they with their families resort to over-feeding and drinking ; and contrive to spend every farthing of the money before the end of the week.*

Another unpropitious circumstance to a high tone of moral character, is the *fluctuating* rate of wages, dependent

* Chambers's Miscellany, vol. i. " Employer and Employed."

in a great degree, as it must be, upon the variation in prices. It has always been found in every period of the history of man, and in every country and climate, that a situation subject more or less to the control of circumstances which admit of little calculation, *i. e.*, to that we denominate chance, is unfavourable to moral improvement. The operative will not lay by in a moment of plenty against the approach of hard times, but riots in dissipation, fondly hoping that the present prosperity may be permanent ; when there is a depreciation in the price of labour, he is equally negligent to reduce his expenses within his altered means. These two causes, the high rate and frequent fluctuation of wages, may account for the extreme improvidence which characterises the manufacturing population. It was lately found that out of 14,937 deposit accounts in the Savings' Bank in the great manufacturing town of Manchester, only 4181 were the deposits of working-people.* I would also refer on this subject to the table in the " Minutes of Council on Education,"† adduced above, in which one column is devoted to the comparison of the several districts in respect to improvidence.

But the circumstances of the work itself deserve our special attention. It appears from the Report of Commissioners,‡ that labour used to be continued in the mills during as many as fifteen and even sixteen hours ; and that it has been known to have been occasionally protracted as long as *eighteen*, and in some instances,

* Chambers's Miscellany, vol. i. "Employer and Employed."

† Minutes, 1846, p. 272. ‡ Trades and Manufactures, 1843.

yet longer. If we consider what the degree of temperature must of necessity be in the mills or rooms, where the manufactures or trades are carried on, particularly wherever little attention is paid to ventilation, we shall be able to form some estimate of the jaded condition of the wretched beings who were thus immured in worse than servitude. The state of bodily exhaustion in which they must have returned from their work, could have left no inclination or power, for the due discharge of the duties of domestic life, much less for their own improvement by instructive or religious reading. They returned pale and emaciated, their bodily vigour quite spent; lassitude, and frequently, disease, brought on by the over-tasking the physical powers, urged them to have recourse to stimulants; and to the unremitted toil of the day, there succeeded too often a night of intoxication and debauchery.

But it was not possible that labour, persisted in during so long a time, could be pursued regularly day after day. The physical necessities of the operatives, and the taste for excitement and dram-drinking which their unnatural toil promoted, pressed them to seek a temporary relief in holidays of very frequent recurrence. These intervals of short rest, as well as the Sunday, were, and in many instances it may be feared, still are, devoted to drinking, gambling, dissipation in its various shapes, (and it was ever acquiring new shapes,) a licentious idleness, or daring vice. The degrading amusements, the low shows, the penny theatres of Manchester and Birmingham, where the feats of Dick Turpin or Jack Sheppard are

exhibited to youthful admiration ; the beer-shops, comprising, in some streets, every house ; the gin-palaces after the London model ; all the means of excitement, and all the attractions of vice which wait upon the intervals of labour afforded to the operative, must be regarded as in some sort the natural and necessary growth of a physical frame, worn, and its vigour wasted, by an application to work continued beyond all reasonable limits of time.

But it must be remembered, that those employed in manufacture are not only men, but women, children, and even infants. In earlier times, children were very much preferred to adults, when the mills and machinery were on a smaller scale than they are now. The statement of the Commission before referred to, in regard to the age of beginning work, is as follows :—" The work commences, in some cases, under the parents' eye, in their own houses, from three years of age ; and children begin to work in numbers, in larger or smaller manufactories, at all ages, from five years old and upward."—" In a very large proportion of trades and manufactures, female children are employed equally with boys, and at the same tender age ; in some, indeed, the number of girls exceeds that of the boys."—" In almost every instance, the children continue at work as long as the adults, being sometimes kept at work sixteen, and even eighteen hours without any intermission." Since the inquiry of this Commission, 1843, the number of hours devoted to work has in the case of " young persons and females," been happily abridged.

Female children thus employed from their earliest years in labour so long continued, could learn nothing but the trade, or the particular part of some manufacture, by which they earned their week's pay : they were not taught to sew, darn, or perform needle-work of any kind ; their mothers, brought up themselves on the same system, were unable, not merely from other occupation, but incapacitated by ignorance, and I believe, in the great majority of cases still are so, to discharge the most common duties of a housewife. The result is, a house in the grossest disorder, and a home without comfort. Thus discomfort at home is another inducement to seek refuge in the exciting pleasures of the theatre, the beer-shop, or gin-palace. Home is but a scene of untidiness and filth ; no place so comfortless as home, from which husband and children are glad to escape. The condition of the mining districts is identical in this respect,* as the following observation shows :—" When they come to marry, the wife possesses not the knowledge to enable her to give to her husband the common comforts of a home : the husband, even if previously well-disposed, is hence often led to seek at the public-house that cheerfulness and physical comfort which his own fireside does not afford ; whence all the evils of drunkenness in many cases grow up."

The social evils are aggravated by the independence of the young of both sexes. The parents receive the wages for the child, as long as he is incapable, from very tender years, to make provision with the week's pay for

* Commission on Employment of Children in Mines, 1842.—
p. 33.

himself ; but at the first dawning of discretion this state of things ceases, and the child receives his own wages on his own account. In some cases, he will even remove from the parental roof ; but if he still remains an inmate of the family dwelling, he occupies henceforth the position of a lodger, finds his own meals, and pays so much per week for house-room. The occasion of this disastrous innovation on the arrangement of nature, is said to have been the extravagance and dissipation of some parents, who thus forced the children to consult their own interests. The custom once set on foot soon became almost universal. It has now extended in some measure to the agricultural counties in which domestic manufactures are carried on. Wherever it exists, it is palpably a system fraught with innumerable evils, whether we consider the early direction of the child's mind to the value of money, and the consequent temptations to procure it by illicit means, or the estrangement of interest, and, therefore, in great measure, of affection, which is inevitable between parent and child. In this respect the mining districts have an advantage over the manufacturing. In the former, this custom is not general.

The school of the affections is the sweetest, and at the same time the most effective school of virtue. Where the restraints arising from deference and love to a parent are wanting, what means can be invented to supply a deficiency so deplorable ? Wherever the parents divest themselves of their natural authority and claim to obedience and regard, by dissipation and indulgence in vice, the children, on their part, will not be slow to overlook

the duties which nature has imposed on them. The state of our large manufacturing towns is universally described as one in which the duties dependent on the relation between husband and wife, brother and sister, parent and child, are very generally quite forgotten. Amid such a state of things, we learn without surprise that crime is precocious in an extraordinary degree.

We have considered in the rough outline, the moral evils which immediately, or by slow but sure process, grew out of the manufacturing system in the manufacturing centres themselves. No checks, or very few and very inadequate, were attempted. The early manufacturers, who should, and might have exerted an influence for good, were in the main either careless lookers-on, whose eyes glistened only at the sight of gold, or by their own vicious conduct and example, themselves aggravated the strong tendency to mischief in almost all, not to say all, the circumstances of the system.

This is sufficiently evident from the number of hours during which they tasked the operatives to work. It is, indeed, undoubted that some few capitalists of better intentions were reluctantly forced to comply with the established mode; but in general the character of the early manufacturers has few parallels in the records of unfeeling oppression. The men who could doom hundreds and thousands of their fellow-creatures to protracted employment during *sixteen* hours or *longer*—and the greater part of these *women* and *children*—to serve the selfish ends of a cold avarice, can hardly be supposed to have had very many virtues.

Incontinence seems to have been very frequent on the part of proprietors, or their relations, masters, &c. Every opportunity was afforded for the gratification of their vile propensity: the prey was within their reach, dependent for daily subsistence on their superior wealth. They had only to choose their victim from the assembled numbers. Hence, and from other seductive influences, originated a state of things which has attained its climax in our age, by the almost total eradication of the very semblance of modesty, in either sex, among the poor, within the circle of the manufacturing centre. Let the passing traveller through Manchester, Birmingham, or Nottingham, render in his testimony upon this head. The state of things in the mining districts is nearly equally bad, owing to the admixture of women and girls in the underground work—a practice which is, however, now prohibited by law. How great must be the evils of a low standard of morals in such an important particular!

The truck-system is another vestige of the earlier period of manufactures, when tyranny reigned uncontrolled; is in all cases very injurious to the working class, under whatever form it may obtain; and besides other evils, is calculated to engender a feeling of ill-will in the employed towards their employers. The light which has been thrown in more recent times upon the dark deeds of oppression running through the whole system of manufacture, has exposed this practice to view; and by public enactment on the subject, we will trust that it is very much reduced in enormity, if not entirely abolished. In the mining districts, this system

was only a few years previous to the present times so severely felt by the workmen, that many instances occurred of migrations to other works to which no shop was attached. The custom of paying the wages at a public-house is one form of truck, the house being generally in connexion with the overseers of the works. The alleged reason is the difficulty of obtaining sufficient change, which it is arranged that the publican supplies. This form of truck is thus described:—"In most coal-fields the butties are paid every other Saturday night ; at others, only once a month, and they are allowed to draw subsistence-money weekly. On the butty receiving the money, he appoints the colliers and children to meet him either at his own or some beer-shop he has an interest in, and generally keeps them waiting until he considers it has answered his purpose well enough, when the landlord produces the change and his bill."* In Ireland the truck-system was at that date, 1842, in full operation. The following is a statement from the same Report of the hardships of the system in South Wales. "The wages of the working collier population are very rarely paid in money, but a shop in the neighbourhood, not professedly in the hands of the proprietors of the works, advances goods to the workmen employed in the mine on account of the proprietors ; the books of the shop, and the books of the colliery are checked on the pay-day at the same office ; and the balance, if any, is handed over to the men. It is said by many, that the necessaries of life are dearer in these shops by 25 per cent. than in others five miles off."

* Report of Commission, Mines, 1842—Derbyshire.

The mining system is, in many points, kindred to and connected with the manufacturing. The increase of manufactures naturally gave an impetus to mining operations, which were immensely extended to supply the increasing demand for coal.

At that period, in the fever of excitement occasioned by a rapidly augmenting trade, the pursuit of wealth so overwhelmed every higher consideration, that a state of things then chiefly originated, of which we are reaping the bitter fruits at the present hour, and from which we must long expect to suffer, even when the proprietors of works and factories have been generally roused to a true sense of the duties of their position and awful responsibility in God's sight. The truck system has tended, as we have seen, to increase the national vice of drunkenness.

A proof of the too frequent disaffection of the employed towards their employers, is afforded by the oft-recurring "strikes" of the operatives. These are most injurious to both parties, and have a forcible demoralizing tendency. I will instance the "strike" of the Glasgow cotton-spinners in the summer of 1837; by which a loss was occasioned to the operatives alone in wages of £47,600. The moral effects of this strike are thus described by Mr. Alison, Sheriff of Lanarkshire. "The return of the commitments for the county of Lanark, exhibits a melancholy increase of crime during the last year, which will forcibly attract the attention of the legislature. At the Christmas jail delivery last year, only seven prisoners remained in custody for trial in Glasgow. By the schedule I hold in my hand, there are

at this moment sixty-eight, almost all committed during the last two months ! Nor is this result surprising. During the disastrous strikes of the last summer, twenty or thirty thousand young persons were thrown idle for many months in Glasgow and its immediate neighbourhood, almost all accustomed to high wages, and too often to habitual intemperance. For the skilled workmen who arranged their strikes, the cotton-spinners, iron-moulders, colliers, or sawyers, funds were provided from the resources of the associations to which they severally belonged ; but for the unhappy persons whom they employed in their labour, the piecers, pickers, drawers, &c., no provision whatever existed, and they were thrown in vast and appalling numbers, far beyond the reach either of public or private charity, on the streets or into public-houses, to while away the weary hours of compulsory idleness. The results may easily be anticipated. The wretched victims of this tyranny all got deeply into debt, if they had any credit, and if they had none, sunk into such habits of idleness, profligacy, and intemperance, that great numbers of them have been rendered mere nuisances and burdens to society. 'The cotton-spinners' strike alone, instantly threw six or seven thousand women and children out of employment for a long period ; eight thousand human beings were retained in a state of destitution and wretchedness for four months, merely at the pleasure of fifteen men.' I am sure that no other quotation can be necessary to evince the pernicious effects of " strikes," upon the domestic habits of operatives or colliers, as the case may be, and their tendency to diffuse the miseries of intemperance.

One of the causes which renders these "strikes" so frequent, is the low state of education both in the mining and manufacturing districts. Over rude and ignorant minds, socialists and artful demagogues are able to ensure a powerful influence; while the 'Trades' Unions give something like system to their opposition against their employers. These last have at length, it may be hoped, in many cases, learnt by experience that injustice will inevitably, sooner or later, recoil upon the perpetrators; that there is a harvest to be gathered after the seed-time of iniquity: and they are described, in many instances, as seriously anxious to dispense the blessings of moral and religious instruction among the working-class, by the establishment of schools, and building of churches, chapels, &c.

How little the earlier manufacturers regarded the moral and spiritual benefit of their work-people is evidenced in some degree perhaps, were further evidence on this head at all requisite, by the new nomenclature which the rise of manufactures introduced. The "labour market," "so many more *hands* wanted," are they not terms and expressions which represent in some sort, the idea which the proprietors and masters had generally formed of those whom they employed; that they looked on them as mere tools or instruments for the accomplishment of work, the "*ἐμψυχα ὄργανα*" or the "*φύσει δοῦλοι*" of Aristotle. We have heard much of the cruelty of the Transatlantic slave-owners towards the wretched negroes who had been torn from their native homes, to cultivate their sugar-plantations: but these masters, from an instinctive regard to their own interest,

paid some attention to the physical well-being of the slave, whom their own money had purchased : the manufacturers were not under the inducement of any such private interest ; and accordingly, in the great majority of cases, never gave to the subject a moment's passing thought.

It has been said, that proprietors of factories are now more generally roused to a sense of the duties imposed upon them in consequence of their position ; and there is room for little doubt, that right feeling and Christian philanthropy has increased, and is increasing among them. But it must be borne in mind, particularly in the investigation of the causes of juvenile depravity, which has developed itself so formidably in recent times, that very much the same change has more lately taken place in the manufacturing system itself, which occurred in the agricultural towards the close of the last century. The small manufacturer is no more, or rarely to be found. There has grown a much greater distance between the employer and the employed. The two classes are now very often scarce brought into visible contact. In the early times of manufacture, the proprietors of mills were resident upon the spot ; this was a condition essential at that period to the success of the speculation ; and indeed the majority, or at least a large portion, of those who thus amassed wealth, rose through the several gradations of personal labour. In the present day the case is widely altered. If the proximity of the employer in former times under the peculiar circumstances was little advantageous, his distance at the pre-

sent has completed the catastrophe. It is the seducer's custom to betray and then desert. The rich proprietor cannot abide the smoke, the dirt, the bustle of low-life, which surround the operations of manufacture ; he has followed with the tide to some more attractive neighbourhood ; he occupies a dwelling in the rural suburbs ; he will be found in the metropolis, or at a watering-place. He may be seriously anxious to ameliorate the condition, both moral and spiritual, of the working-class, but his influences have to penetrate to their object through the dense medium of the compassion, benevolence, and active virtue of a class of overseers. Upon the overseers of factories and mines, and those in whatever offices of authority and supervision, the character of the operatives themselves, their general comfort and moral habits, must in a great measure depend. I think it will be found that a true sense of their duty, a proper oversight of those placed beneath them, with a view to their moral and religious well-being, is not the characteristic of this body. They have their own interests to serve, as had the early manufacturers : they are not generally enlightened and liberalized by the effects of an extended education.

From whom at the present day the class of operatives in the mass of cases, derive their tone of morals, &c., is evident from the following extract—" In the majority of instances, the young people, while in their places of work, are under the care and control, *solely*, of the *adult workmen* ; by whom they are generally hired and paid, and whose servants they are ; and after their work is

over, they are subjected to no kind of superintendence, but their time is entirely at their own disposal.”*

From this extract it appears, that no oversight is even attempted to be exercised. The evil effects of such neglect are thus stated in the Commissioners’ Report.† “This custom is in several ways an evil. In the first place, let the proprietors be ever so desirous to enforce good treatment of the children on the part of the men, the child is afraid to make any complaint, for fear of being dismissed. Then again, instead of being and feeling himself to be the servant of a respectable firm, to whom he may look up as his employers and protectors, the child is taught to look upon as his “master,” a man who is, perhaps, a dissolute character, from whose example, or conversation, he can learn nothing good. Instances besides are not very uncommon of men leaving their tearers in debt.”

The same custom prevails in most mines, where the “butties” dispense the wages due to the several underworkers. To what deception and stratagem this gives rise, mention was made when we spoke of the truck-system. This system of truck, the butties are sometimes leagued with the proprietors by their own interest to uphold. Another witness in the same neighbourhood says, ‘They take a ticket from the butties, who are always ready to give it, as they say they receive so much in the shilling for themselves.’‡ Thus it appears, that

* Report.—Trades and Manufactures, 1843.

† Under the head “Calico Printing,” p. 25.

‡ Mines Commission, 1842, p. 160.

“in the majority of instances,” no supervision is exercised over the working people, either whilst they are engaged at work, or after they are dismissed from their day’s labour.

Let us now turn to the condition of the dwellings to which after such dismissal they repair. Alas ! human nature appears to be more sunk in depravity and misery by an appeal to facts, than all the powers of a vigorous imagination are able to conceive. It will be universally allowed, that the general state of dwelling-houses and domestic comfort is closely linked with moral habits ; that discomfort at home is both cause and effect of immorality and vice. The houses of the poor working-class are described to be in general wretched in the extreme, imperfectly drained, or not drained at all, without conveniences for the comfort, or even the decencies of life, unwholesome hovels, in which the very air is pestilential, and breathes the miasma of moral disease. To such a home, although here a term is misplaced, which brings with it to the mind a transporting association of peace and joy, and happiness, the jaded operative, his wife and children, are to retire from the scene of their day’s employment : here they are to seek the refreshment of the night’s repose in an atmosphere which, from imperfect ventilation, and the total absence of draining, is impregnated with malignant vapours ; and to these the fumes of intoxication are unhappily too often added ; for in his state of discomfort, entrenched by a twelve-month’s gathering of filth, what wonder is it, if the exhausted workman finds his only solace in the delirium

consequent upon dram-drinking ! The rent of one of these miserable and disordered cabins is 1s. 6d. or 2s., perhaps more, a-week ; if the rent be duly paid, the landlord or his steward is satisfied—the condition of the inmates occasions him no trouble or concern—the expenditure of a small sum on his part might suffice to render these habitations of the poorer class decent and comfortable ; but he cares not to improve them : perhaps the rent could not thereby be proportionately raised ; at any rate, he is unwilling to make the outlay. In one of such dwellings then, if you can picture to the mind its comfortless condition, much beyond “ the worst inn’s worst room,” the operative’s family, consisting it may be of a wife and children of various ages, all engaged in factory-labour, pass a *horrible* night ; and before day-break, or as soon, they rise, little refreshed by their broken, perhaps intoxicated slumber, to resume their usual occupations at the mill. As we have surveyed their homes, let us enter the scene of their employment. In a short time, the restless motion of machinery has begun ; the continual clack of the several wheels, and the indistinct murmur of human voices mingling on the ear, impart an idea of unintermitted activity ; the inconceivable powers of steam are at work, and diffuse action to a thousand minor mechanical parts, which tended in their turn by innumerable hands, under human care and inspection, produce at length the wonderful fabrics which find a sale in the remotest regions of the world. Here there is no exercise of authority or oversight on the part of the proprietor or master of the works. “ Printed re-

gulations" are indeed suspended in the places of work, defining the duties and behaviour of the children, and prohibiting the adult workmen from ill-using them, but this is all the attempt made on the part of the superintendents to enforce order and respectability of conduct, and "unaccompanied by any personal care for their due observance" is wholly ineffectual; there reigns in the work-rooms a Babel of confused sounds—the irreverent laugh, the open blasphemy, the licentious conversation, are interchanged freely and rapidly between the individuals of the human mass of both sexes and of every age—anger is stirred into acts of tyranny—in contact with so much depravity, the new-comer quickly loses the character and external signs of innocence. There is in truth presented to the inquirer in the heart of the factory—an assemblage of the vile of human beings, a fermenting mass of sin and vice, such as we may well doubt was ever before concentrated in one burning focus. It seems as if the mighty capacities of steam had lent an impetus, not only to the industry and ingenuity of man, but an equal impetus to all his faculties and contrivances of vice. The interior of most of our factories is a school of iniquity, from which it is generally stated that few depart without learning something evil—the comparatively ignorant become proficient in wickedness, the moral are made bad, and the bad depraved.

Suppose then a child amid this concourse of human beings employed in factory labour, subjected to all the contagion of vicious example and impure conversation, with which by every report our factories abound, com-

pelled to make one of a society which is continually exhaling the miasma of vice, indeed so reprobate, that many admitted to it have publicly declared that no other term can fitly represent its abominations, except "Hell." In such an atmosphere, breathing its pollutions every moment, drawing in the seeds of moral evil from his earliest infancy, and planting them thus deep in the constitution, the child is assimilated by a quick but no less sure process to those around him, grows in iniquity more rapidly than in years. The first syllables which even in infancy the tongue repeated, before their meaning was perfectly intelligible, the first ideas which are presented to the mind, the earliest images the imagination is excited to frame, are of vice, impurity, and profaneness. Such is his education. One of the great instruments of teaching is the power of imitation, and in the case of infant children it is the only one; it is thus that the child learns the accents of the mother-tongue, copies the manners of those perpetually near him, is taught the particular department of labour at which he is to be engaged. We all perhaps learn most when we are unconscious that we are learning anything; the capacity of imitation is the earliest developed, and by its spontaneous exercise the child is continually, although imperceptibly, preparing to sustain the duties of the future man. But this faculty yields to the impressions of vice as well as those of virtue; it is powerful for good, but yet more powerful it may well be feared for evil: and when vicious examples pre-occupy the child's mind, the lessons of depravity are dropping in through every inlet of infant sense

—a venom is in process of diffusion we may be assured throughout the system, which future pains will be ineffectual to eradicate, the imitative faculty is set at work, and the early initiation into vice gives a promise of rapid maturity. But if the examples which the factories afford are, as is the fact stated in the evidence of all witnesses, depraved in the extreme, there is no counteracting discipline at home—the examples of father and mother, brother and sister, in general all pull in the same direction. There is no domestic comfort, little interchange of affection, and the child seeks refuge away from home. The scenes of excitement and amusement which the town supplies, constitute his chief means of enjoyment, and these inculcate the same lesson, exhibit to admiration noted examples of successful crime.

In opposition to all these powerful and combined tendencies—say that the child has been now and then at intervals at school, or that he attends occasionally the Sunday-school (the chief means of instruction in the manufacturing districts, in some parts the only one), can any one suppose that the instruction of the Sunday-school, in the immense majority of cases, is at all likely to have a permanent or even a momentary effect? that it can counterbalance the teaching of every day's life, which imperceptibly insinuates itself into all the motives and desires? Placed in such circumstances, encompassed with such a multitude of vicious examples, temptations, and seducements to sin; the eyes accustomed from infancy to the sight of dissoluteness and intemperance, the ears to hear oaths of blasphemy, or the wild shouts of

intoxicated revelry ; but very partially instructed, or wholly uninstructed in the great truths of religion, it is indeed possible that the special mercy of God may yet save the child from the fatal influence of vice, and turn his mind, as if by miracle, to better things ; such instances have occurred and may occur ; but in the large mass of cases, and according to the ordinary conclusion of every day's experience, the child or youth, thus environed with evil, will be himself debauched and depraved—will sink deeper and deeper in the rapid vortex of iniquity—and be an early victim for the jail or the scaffold.

The following quotations bear upon what has been said : —“ Left wholly to themselves before they are capable of self-government, very few of these young people attend a place of worship on Sunday ; on the contrary, it is the common practice, not only for the elder youths, but even for the younger children, to spend this day in gambling for half-pence in the streets and outskirts of the town.* ‘ One Sunday,’ says Mr. Symons, ‘ at about one o'clock, I counted 205 children loitering or playing, as I walked along one street in Sheffield, which is about 500 yards in length. . . . The streets are a common resort on Sundays, and the contamination hence arising is deplorable. Dog-fighting is also a common Sunday recreation. . . . Insubordination to parental authority, leading to insubordination to all authority, is stated to be very general. Habits of drinking are formed at a very early age, malt

* Commissioners' Report, Trades and Manufactures, 1843—Sheffield.

liquor being generally introduced into the workshops, of which the youngest children are encouraged to partake. "Very many," say the police officers, "frequent beer-shops, where they play at dominoes, bagatelle, &c., for money or drink." "There are beer-shops," says the Rev. Mr. Farish, "attended by youths exclusively, for the men will not have them in the same house with themselves. In these beer-shops, the youth of both sexes are encouraged to meet, and scenes destructive of every vestige of morality or virtue ensue. Companies of such youths, eight or ten in number, not unfrequently conspire in committing depredations and robberies."

The visit of the Sub-Commissioner to some of these beer-houses, is thus described :—"We commenced our visits at about half-past nine at night. In the first place we entered, there were two rows of visitors along each side of the room, amounting to forty or fifty. They were almost entirely *boys and girls under seventeen years old* : but there were a few girls of a more advanced age. The boys and girls were sitting together, each boy having apparently his companion by his side. A tall woman, with one or two attendants, were serving them with drink, and three or four men were playing on wind instruments in a corner. We visited several others afterwards. In some they were singing, in others dancing, and in all drinking. In three, successively, we caught them playing at cards, which the police immediately seized. On one occasion, we went into a long and brilliantly lighted room, of which the ceiling was painted like a bower ; benches

and tables were ranged along the side of each wall. This place, situated up a dark and narrow lane, was *crowded with young people*, and with men and women, several of the latter professed prostitutes.”—p. 179.

I select a home-scene for the reader’s perusal.

The statement of Mr. Joseph Corbett, based on his own experience, is to the following effect:—“ Not one moment’s happiness did I ever see under my father’s roof. All this dismal state of things I can distinctly trace to the entire and perfect absence of all training and instruction by my mother. He became intemperate, and his intemperance made her necessitous My father could have no comfort here. Those domestic obligations, which in a well-regulated house (even in that of a working man, where there are prudence and good management) would be done so as not to annoy the husband, to my father were a source of annoyance ; and he from an ignorant and mistaken notion *sought comfort in an ale-house*. My mother’s ignorance of household duties, my father’s consequent irritability and intemperance, the frightful poverty, the constant quarrelling, the pernicious example to my brothers and sisters, the bad effect upon the future conduct of my brother ; one and all of us being forced out so young to work, that our feeble earnings would produce only 1s. a week ; cold, and hunger, and the innumerable sufferings of my childhood, crowd upon my mind and overpower me. They keep alive in my mind a deep anxiety for the *emancipation of the thousands of families* in this great town and neighbourhood, who are in a similar state

of *horrible misery*. My own experience tells me, that the instruction of the females in the work of a house, in teaching them to produce cheerfulness and comfort at the fire-side, would prevent a great amount of misery and crime. There would be fewer drunken husbands, and disobedient children." Such is the statement of a very intelligent and most respectable mechanic.*

The following extracts will convey some idea of the destitution of the manufacturing districts in regard to education:—"The Sub-commissioner states, that three-fourths of the children examined by him, even in those places in which the means of instruction are the most abundant, could neither read nor write; that the *ignorance* of the young people throughout the district is *absolute*; that this is proved by the testimony of the ministers of religion of all denominations, and by that of the employers and their agents of all classes; and that the main causes of this neglect of education are here, as every where else, the early age at which children are taken from school to work, their inability to attend evening schools after the labour of the day, and the *utter inefficiency of Sunday-schools* to compensate for the loss of day-schooling, numerous instances occurring of children who had been for years in regular attendance at these schools, who on examination were found incapable of distinguishing one letter from another."†

Of lamentable ignorance, which is stated to be very general, the following are particular instances. The ex-

* Report, Trades and Manufactures, 1843.—p. 176.

† Ibid. p. 172.

amination was by Mr. Horne, who states, that "if the witnesses were timid or confused upon any question, he waited till the embarrassment was over."

"A girl eleven years of age, who states that she has been to a day-school and a Sunday-school, has never heard of another world, nor of heaven, nor another life."

"Some boys had never heard of such a place as London, nor of Willenhall, which is only three miles distant, and in constant communication with Wolverhampton. Some have never heard of the name of her Majesty, &c. But it is to be especially remarked, that, among all those who never even heard such names as St. Paul, Moses, or Solomon, there was a general knowledge of the characters and course of life of Dick Turpin the highwayman, and more particularly of Jack Sheppard the robber and prison-breaker."

"Has attended a *Sunday-school regularly for five years*: does not know who Jesus Christ was, but has heard the name of it; never heard of the twelve Apostles; never heard of Samson, nor of Jonah, nor Moses, nor Aaron," &c.

"Many of the children," continues Mr. Horne, "told me they always said their prayers at night, and the prayer they said was, 'Our Father.' I naturally thought they meant that they repeated the Lord's prayer, but I soon found that few of them knew it. They only repeated the first two words: they knew no more than 'Our Father.' These poor children, after their laborious day's work, lying down to sleep with this simple appeal, seemed to me inexpressibly affecting."*

* Report, Trades and Manufactures, 1842.—pp. 170, 171.

In regard to the language and conversation usual in the working-places, I quote the following. "Almost all the witnesses not interested in the manufacture of pins state, that the workshops are 'schools of vice and immorality.'"

"At Sedgley and the neighbouring villages the number of girls employed in nail-making considerably exceeds that of the boys. . . . Constantly associating with ignorant and depraved adults, and young persons of the opposite sex, they naturally fall into all their ways; and *drink, smoke, swear*, throw off all restraint in word and act, and become as bad as a man."

"Children," (engaged in lacemaking, Nottingham) "of both sexes are called out of their parents' houses at all hours of the night, and as it is quite uncertain how long they may be required, whether for two hours or the whole night, a ready and unanswerable excuse for staying out is furnished."—p. 181.

"Nothing can be more striking than the contrast between a factory thus managed," (*i. e.* where surveillance is exercised) "and one of the opposite class. In one, the visitor observes a general air of regularity and propriety. . . . In the other, levity, and irregularity prevail; and it would rarely happen in walking through the workshops that some *coarse and revolting expressions* would not be heard, or some *violation of decency* would not be witnessed."—p. 193.

The general inattention on the part of employers to such surveillance is thus stated by the Commissioners in words before partly quoted. "That among the great body of employers it is *very uncommon*, even for those

who are considered the best masters, *to do anything more in the moral care* of their young work-people than merely *to suspend in the places of work, printed regulations,*" &c.—p. 200.

After this brief review of the manufacturing system ; its strong tendency from the very nature of things to evil, together with the numerous circumstances which have conspired to the same result ; the general inattention of proprietors and superintendents to the moral welfare of those employed, and the absence of any counteracting influence for good in any degree adequate to the exigencies of the case ; I am warranted in saying, that the increase of juvenile depravity in the present age, startling as it must appear by its appalling proportion on a superficial view, is however exactly what an intelligent mind, by actual inquiry into the moral condition of our commercial and manufacturing centres, would be led to anticipate ; that it follows from past neglect and criminal disregard of the highest duties, and even from the existing state of things, as naturally as any other effect from its proper cause.

From the remarks made by Joseph Fletcher, Esq., Inspector of the British and Foreign Schools,* in his report to Government, I beg to adduce the following quotation, in which the subject of increased juvenile depravity indirectly enters. I am rejoiced to find a passage from a quarter to which such confidence is due, in striking confirmation of my general position, as

* Mr. Fletcher was also Secretary to the Commission of Inquiry on the Employment of Children. Trades and Manufactures, 1843.

regards not only manufacturing but likewise agricultural districts.

“ A silent but extensive re-organization of a considerable part of society has taken place during the last half century in the development of its mechanical skill, and the elaboration of economical truths. This re-organization was made almost as early and as rapidly among the agricultural as among the artisan population: the ‘ manufacturing system,’ indeed was introduced perhaps as early in the fields as in the towns, for it consists simply in an employment of mechanical agency, and of the subdivision of labour in the production of the commodities of life to a greater extent than had long been customary; a progress upon which we shall have every reason to congratulate ourselves, if we do not too long comparatively neglect every other element of progress. One effect of this re-organization has been to make changes equally great amongst the several classes in their *relations of neighbourhood* as well as of service. The small farmer and the little manufacturer are no longer types of their several professions. The workman is no longer an artisan companion of his employer, perhaps domiciliated with him, and expecting, if possessed of superior abilities, as well as industry and frugality, to succeed to the like position. He is no longer enjoying the bonds of neighbourhood with his master; he is now merely a labourer or an ‘ operative.’ He is no longer a domestic, but a citizen. He is without friends more cultivated or better informed than himself, unless some pastoral or missionary light shall dawn upon his threshold. . . .

Uneasinesses have naturally arisen out of such a state of things; but happily, we have, I hope, too much of truth, humanity, justice and practical good sense amongst us, to refrain from seeking some great and effective remedy for this one-sidedness of progress; a remedy which shall bring the moral condition of society to fit agreement with its industrial organization. This is very plainly seen where the workmen are in connexion with the property and near to the homes of their employers, in the efforts made by the more public-spirited proprietors and manufacturers, possessed of large means and christian hearts. It is less observable where the producers are on a smaller scale, struggling between the old system and the new. It is wholly unobservable, where the labourer is entirely unconnected with any mentionable amount of the capital, and removed from all neighbourhood to the home of his employer; as in the case of the great mass of the stockings, hand-loom weavers, lace-makers, . . . &c.; while a still lower tone of morals, manners and dispositions, is found wherever the women and children are extensively employed in the trade of the place. But a term appears to be rapidly approaching to the thoughtlessness which accepts the wealth procured by the more economical organization of society, without attempting to secure its foundations anew, by more united efforts to fit the labourer to discharge the duties of good citizenship which are expected from him, *un-guided by superiors*, in his present position. Let it likewise be borne in mind, that the rapid increase of our population is not to any great extent in the rural dis-

tricts, but chiefly in the masses employed in mining and manufacturing pursuits. Here, brought into close neighbourhood, and estranged from the influence of superior example, they are subject to temptations, hazards and incitements, far beyond those which approach the rural cottage ; ignorant and largely depraved, they are likewise capable of combination ; and combined, they form bodies little prepared to stoop to the exigencies of a reeling alternation of prosperity and adversity : to say nothing of all the evils which improvidence and heathenism pour out upon themselves.”*

I am anxious to get more fully into the condition of the working-class in our large manufacturing towns ; in order to exhibit to the reader the dreadful horrors of their situation, amid which virtue cannot exist, but is changed to the substance of the putrid mass which is all around it. I again refer to the Government reports, and other well authenticated accounts.

1. *State of Dwelling houses, streets, &c.*

“ Among 579 streets inspected, 243 were unpaved, 46 partly paved, 93 ill-ventilated, and 307 contained heaps of refuse, deep ruts, stagnant pools, ordure, &c., and in the districts almost exclusively inhabited by the poor, out of 438 streets inspected, 214 were unpaved, 32 partly paved, 63 ill-ventilated, and 259 contained heaps of refuse, ruts, stagnant pools, ordure,” &c.† Such was the state of Manchester in 1832.

In regard to the present condition of the houses

* Minutes of Committee of Council on Education, 1846, p. 265.

† Dr. Kay’s Pamphlet, p. 30.

of the poor in Birmingham, in reference to conveniences, &c., I refer, since the passage cannot in decency be quoted, to "Report of Commission on Employment of Children, Trades, and Manufactures, 1843.—p. 177. As regards the mining districts, I refer to Report of Commission on Employment of Children, Mines, 1842.—p. 170.

2. *Condition as regards drunkenness, &c.*

"At a large manufacturing establishment in London, as many as 300 persons are employed. Of these, 100 men receive each on an average £1. 15s. for working five days in the week. They decline coming to labour on Monday, which they habitually make a holiday, and I was told, thus regularly lose 7s. each weekly. Besides this loss, I was informed that each expends not less than 7s. weekly for beer. The establishment in fact supports a public-house."* This instance may be taken as a sample of the general usage of manufacturers.

The following extract is striking. "On Saturday, September 5th, I accompanied Sir Charles Shaw, who was attended by two intelligent inspectors of the police force, on a walk through Manchester after twelve o'clock. The public-houses mostly frequented by disorderly persons, were found all open and in full trade at half-past twelve, and were only closed on the appearance of the police. They were crowded with men and women, several of the latter with infants in their arms, and many of both sexes in a state of intoxication We then proceeded to visit the low lodging-houses and brothels

* Chambers's Miscellany, Employer and Employed.

in the part of the town most frequented by the criminal population. They presented the usual scene of indiscriminate connexion of the sexes and low dissipation, and I think a more than usual one of filth and wretchedness. Upon descending into a cellar, in which were some half-dozen occupants in bed, I was struck by what appeared the unusual sight of the room being papered ; but upon the inspector of police holding his lantern to the walls and ceiling, it was discovered that it was occasioned by the myriads of bugs which had been crushed against them, and which, covering the whole surface, conveyed the idea of being hung round with a figured paper.”*

3. Shows and exhibitions.

“ The number of children frequenting the Sanspareil, the Liver, and other theatres of a still lower description, is almost incredible. The streets in front, and the avenues leading to them, may be seen on the nights of performance, occupied by crowds of boys, who have not been able to possess themselves of the few pence required to obtain admission. I cannot forbear describing as a sample one place of amusement called the Penny-hop in Hood-street, to which the admission is one penny, and where two or three series of performances take place in the same evening. It consists of a spacious room fitted up in the rudest manner, with a stage and seats on an inclined plane ; the access to it is through a dark passage, and up a ladder staircase. On one occasion I was present, and found the audience to consist almost exclu-

* Report of Prisons, 1841. Southern and Eastern District. p. 148.

sively of *boys and girls of the very lowest description*, many without shoes or stockings, and to the number of 150. As they were descending the ladder at the termination of the performance, I pointed out to the superintendent of police who accompanied me, a well-dressed youth among the number, who proved to be the son of a respectable tradesman, and was delivered over to his parents. I had some conversation with the persons in the interior who appeared to have the management, and they stated in answer to my queries, that the theatre was almost *always filled, and with boys*; that they had attempted to play Jack Sheppard, but in consequence of the frequent interruptions from the audience, who seemed all to wish to take a part in the performance, they were obliged to give it up.”*

It will be interesting to inquire, whether juvenile crime in the manufacturing counties exceeds that in the agricultural in a yet greater ratio, than crime generally in the manufacturing and commercial preponderates over its sum in the rural districts. To set this point in a clear light, I annex the following table, which has been prepared from the Government reports with great care.

	Population in 1841.	Total num- ber of Com- mittals, 1846.	Number of Juveniles Committed, 1845.	1 Criminal in, of all ages, every	1 Criminal in, of those under 20, every	Proportion per Cent. of crime generally.	Proportion per Cent. of Juvenile crime.
Agricultural Counties }	7,778,301	10,119	2,905	768	2,678	·130	·037
Manufacturing	8,128,440	14,988	4,871	542	1,668	·184	·057

* Report of Prisons, 1841. Liverpool, p. 123.

Under the head "manufacturing counties," are contained Middlesex, Surrey, Cheshire, Lancashire, Yorkshire, Staffordshire, Worcestershire, Derbyshire, Gloucestershire, Warwickshire, Leicestershire, and Nottinghamshire; all the other counties of England and Wales are included in the agricultural. The result does not appear so unfavourable to the manufacturing as it really is, because I have been obliged to include the whole of Yorkshire in the manufacturing division, as the committals are not given for the separate ridings. It will be seen that if the ratio of crime generally in the two divisions, viz. 768 to 542 were the same for juvenile crime, the figures would stand one juvenile criminal in 2678 in the agricultural districts to one juvenile criminal in 1889 in the manufacturing. Hence the conclusion is evident, that there is a great proportion of juvenile delinquency in the manufacturing districts, a considerably larger proportion, than those districts contain of crime generally without reference to age.

The following statements made, on examination, by juvenile offenders apprehended in Liverpool, will serve to show the frequent causes of early crime; and with what deadly effect the temptations of our large towns act upon the youthful mind.

The following extracts are from the statements which led to the commission of crime.* As the majority of 91 juvenile offenders are examined upon the same cause,

* Sixth Report of Inspectors of Prisons, 1841, Northern and Eastern District, under the head of Liverpool, Juvenile Delinquency, p. 126.

the cases bear a strong analogy to one another, a few only will be selected as samples of the rest.

“ 39. J. B., 15.—Four times in Bridewell, and once in prison. I have been at the Sanspareil, and at the Penny-hop in Hood-street: I had my hat stolen from me the first time I went there. It is a very bad place. I never saw many men there; they are almost all boys and girls; they do all sorts of impudent tricks. I am sure the Sanspareil was the first thing that led me astray.”

“ 44. W. E., 13.—I was only in Liverpool two days before I was taken. I came from Manchester to the races. I was taken up for picking pockets. I was enticed away by some young men: I was not picking pockets at the time—I have been at all the theatres in Manchester; I am sure I got no good at them, but got into bad company.”

“ 48. J. M. D., 12.—I have been four times committed, seven times discharged. I never was at any theatres, except the Penny-hop, and the shows at the Custom-house, and a show in Marybone. I did not care how I got the money. I have stolen lead, suits of clothes, cheese, books, everything. I always sold them to Mrs. B. in N—— street. I was first led to do bad things through the neglect of my mother. She is now in this prison.”

“ 49. G. M'D., 9.—I have been in prison seven times, and eight times discharged. I never was at any theatre except the Penny-hop. I have often been at the door of the Sanspareil, but never inside; I have been at the

shows at the Custom-house. I always stole the monies to go with. I have stolen mutton, beef, &c. I once got 30s. out of a till. I bought a suit of clothes with it: when I got home, my father took them from me, and pawned them. I once got 9s. out of another till: but my aunt made me drunk, and took it from me." This boy, as is seen above, was only nine years of age, and had been seven times in prison.

"52. G. G., 18.—I have been three times in prison, and once in Bridewell for safety. I have been at all the theatres, and often at the Sanspareil. My cousin first took me there—his father was on the spree (drinking); he was asleep—he took money out of his pocket; we went to the Sanspareil—it was after eleven o'clock when we came out; my father lathered me with a stick when I got home; however I used still to go with my cousin. I saw everything that was bad there. I never stole money to go with. I was first brought into bad company by going to the theatres. I have never been at the Penny-hop in Hood-street. I have seen Jack Sheppard performed. I do not recollect any particular part that pleased me most—he was a clever fellow."

These instances are found very near to one another, as will be seen by the numbers; nor have I been at pains to select those which paint juvenile offences in the darkest colours. These are but a few specimens or samples of the whole. They certainly impress the mind with a sad sense of the deep proficiency in guilt which may be attained at a very early age, and of the innumerable seducing attractions which throng the path of childhood

and youth, in our densely-peopled towns. There are instances of intemperance among boys of even eight, ten, and twelve years of age : but it does not seem that the love of drink gains, in general, a very early ascendancy over the habits ; and only a few out of the 91 ascribe their ruin to this propensity. Drunkenness on the parents' part there can be little doubt, in the majority of cases, exposed the child or forced him into the way of temptations, by which he was destroyed. The theatres, shows, penny-hop, &c., were traced to be the proximate cause of ruin in 52 cases out of the 91, and connected more or less with the practice of crime in others.

The report observes, " The flaunting exterior of these shows attracts crowds of children about them in the evenings, and must be added to the already too numerous temptations in the markets and streets. Nor are the objects represented of that innocent and elevating character, which should mark the amusements of those of younger years. If they do not directly corrupt the mind, they tend to its vitiation, by familiarizing it with scenes of grossness, crime and blood, all presented with a revolting coarseness. The murder of Maria in the Red Barn, by Corder ; of Hannah Brown, by Greenacre ; and other similar atrocities, are among the most common exhibitions."

Our ancestors were comparatively free from the contagion of vice which is disseminated in the present age, by the exhibition and the general adjuncts of theatres, &c. The erection of low shows is distinctly

a feature of modern life, part of the new order of things. The example of their superiors must be copied by the humble ranks ; and as the former have erected in almost every country town, containing a few thousand inhabitants, a theatre, to which at certain seasons they repair for amusement ; the mimetic inferiors in the same spirit and love of excitement, resort to low shows, penny hops, &c. We have now saloons thrown open for dancing, chiefly frequented by prostitutes : we have mask balls, and are adding to the apparatus of debasement every day. The pursuits of the upper ranks *must* tell upon the lower.

Mr. Wade thus writes on the subject of theatres,—
“ One feature in urban progress has been overlooked, in the diffusion of a relish for more refined amusements than football, or the rustic festivals of a past generation. Theatres began to be erected in the chief provincial towns about 1770, and were visited by itinerant companies of performers, who, aided by suitable scenery, thunder and pasteboard, contrived to give a tolerable presentment, copied from the metropolitan boards, of the legitimate drama.”* If the theatres do indeed furnish means for *refined* amusement, refinement and vice go hand in hand.

Another vitiating agency, of a somewhat similar kind, are the numerous papers, periodicals and pamphlets, having an indirectly bad tendency, or absolutely perverse of religion and morality, which find a ready sale among the working population. The Report of Prisons

* Wade's History of the Working-Class, p. 52.

from which we last quoted, writes on this head in the following terms.—(p. 123.) “The evil produced in children by the gratification of this passion for the theatre, has of late years been most seriously aggravated, by the introduction of a novel kind of amusing and dramatic literature.” The reader who may desire accurate information on this point, may enter one of the shops in our large towns, in which ballads, cheap publications, novels, &c. are sold to the poor; and by inspection of this class of literature, he will easily perceive how the blush of modesty is laughed away, all sense of religion scoffed at, and infidelity and socialist principles inculcated by those who have a little more talent in the use of words, or more effrontery, certainly a greater depth of vice and obscenity, than their cotemporaries of the same order. The character of the literature is uniformly both cause and effect of the general moral character and taste of the age. Mr. M'Cree states,* that statistics show the total issue of demoralizing publications to be 28,862,000, more by 4,443,380 copies than the entire issues of the Religious Tract Society, the British and Foreign Bible Society, the Trinitarian Bible Society, the Scottish Bible Society, Christian Penny Magazine, Churchman's Penny Magazine, and sixty-seven other magazines of a religious character. There are numerous periodicals of a most polluting tendency, published, it would appear, to make money by pandering to the lowest vice, which are employed by bawds and others among the arts of seduction.

Why is the legislature negligent of these facts? We

* In his Lecture on Juvenile Vice and Crime in Norwich.

all know that regulations are not commerce, and that laws are not morality, but legislative enactments may be *subsidiary* to the great cause of virtue and religion ; and if there were constituted some more strict surveillance of the press and of houses of ill-fame, with the sole object of putting down the iniquities of the seductive system, many females might be saved from falling victims to the snares which are laid for them. The English people have too much common sense to confound *liberty* and *license* together, as if one and the same. Laws cannot alter the customs of English society, to which those of foreign nations afford no parallel.

If the tone of feeling in the upper ranks of society, among the rising generation, be estimated by the criterion of the kind of publications which are the most read among them, how low and mistaken it must be acknowledged to be. A love of the ludicrous, of the frivolous and absurd ; of maudlin sentiment, and unsuccessful attempts at wit, too truly denote the taste and inclinations of the day, particularly of the juvenile class. As if levity and trifling showed less becomingly in a bulky solid volume, works of such a character are now published in small numbers ; they issue from the press by the week, or month, at very reduced prices. The danger of serious moral injury is even increased by this arrangement. If poison be received in an enormous dose, the stomach may turn, and the noxious ingredients be ejected ; but a minute infusion of deleterious particles, the reception of so many grains per day, is a course which leaves its victim with-

out any hopes ; in process of time the whole system is salivated or deranged. The general taste is known ; writers in myriads are all eagerness to adapt their productions to it ; and the national literary stomach will admit any thing, under the proviso “ not too much at a time.”

It cannot be doubted that the liberty, political and social, which characterises and defines the present period, the liberty of the press, liberty of all kinds, have removed the restrictions of a previous age upon the extensive and rapid diffusion of the means, both of good and evil : unhappily the giant powers of Evil entered the race first, and were foremost to run their course the antagonist principle of Good lost the start ; but is now arousing all its energies for the mortal contest.

If the immense proportion of juvenile delinquency in manufacturing vicinities is just cause of alarm, there is another feature in the moral phase of our large trading centres, which ought to excite yet more lively apprehensions ; and this is the extent and increase of depravity among the female sex. The proportion of female offenders generally, in England and Wales, to that of males, has undergone not only a very considerable, but an unvarying and progressive augmentation for many years. In 1826, this proportion was only 19·9 to every 100 males ; in 1846, it has risen to 26·5 ; that is, in the space of twenty years, the proportion of female crime per cent. to male has increased 6·6. In the last six years, the progressive increase continued with an accelerated rapidity, since in 1840, the proportion of females com-

mitted was 23·7 ; but in 1846, it has reached 26·5 to 100 males ; that is, the progressive augmentation of female crime has been 2·8 per cent. to the amount of male in the short period of the last six years.

The compiler of the tables from which these statistics are obtained, adds this observation :—" The returns prove, as might be anticipated, that females are not led into the commission of crime so early as the males, which probably arises from the greater parental restraint to which they are subjected in early life, and from the numbers who commence an evil course by prostitution ; an assumption which would account for the increased proportion, which after the age of twenty-five, the females bear to the males."* According to this assumption, of the truth of which, however, there can be little doubt, the increase of female crime implies the increase of prostitution ; which last fact is palpably accounted for by the condition of our commercial and manufacturing towns, the aggregate sum of temptations, and particularly the disorders of their social system. That depravity should augment each year in more tremendous ratio, if it be left to its own inherent powers of circulating its contagion, without any sufficient check applied to counteract this natural tendency, is altogether agreeable to experience ; and hence the alarmingly increased proportion of female crime since 1840.

The following is a comparative statement in tabular form of the prevalence of female crime respectively in

* Tables of Criminal Offenders, 1846. Preliminary Explanations, p. 11.

agricultural and manufacturing districts, prepared with great care.

	Number of Females committed 1846.	Proportion per cent. of Female Crime to Population.	1 Female Criminal in every.	Number of Female Criminals under 25.	Proportion of Female Criminals under 25 per cent. to Population.
Agricultural Counties	1837	·023	4234	927	·011
Manufacturing	3420	·042	2379	1712	·021

If this table be compared with the table of comparative juvenile crime,* it will appear, that the total number of those committed of all ages and of both sexes in 1846, is not one-third greater in the manufacturing than in the agricultural districts ; that the total of juveniles under twenty of both sexes is rather more than one-third greater in the manufacturing ; but that the sum of females committed to trial is very nearly one-half greater in the manufacturing ; and, if the comparison be made between those of the female sex in the two great district divisions of employment under the age of twenty-five, that the sum of females under that age committed to trial is almost exactly one-half greater in the manufacturing, than in the rural counties. It is to be remarked, that in the calculation of the total numbers of offenders in the two divisions of all ages and both sexes, juveniles and females are by the very terms included ; and thus the difference in the comparison of crime as to age and sex, does not appear so striking as it really is. If the male and female adults be taken apart, the ratio between the sums of these offenders in the agricultural and manu-

* See table, page 9 of this Essay.

facturing counties respectively, will be found to be less than it necessarily appears in the sums total of all ages ; and thus the proportion of juvenile offenders, and of female criminals in particular, in the agricultural and manufacturing divisions, will be shown to be really yet more unfavourable to the latter than appeared above, as compared with the ratio of adults.

To these facts, the enormous proportion and progressive and rapid increase of female crime in trading and manufacturing districts, I beg to draw especial attention, as the natural consequences, the exact results which might have been expected from the general condition, both past and present, of our large industrial centres. If we duly consider the vast influence of the female character upon the other sex for good and evil ; the circumstance of its largely increasing depravity is confessedly one of the blackest spots upon the vision of the future ; such as offers in itself some explanation of the great augmentation of juvenile crime in the other sex ; or rather is an accompanying and highly aggravating effect of a common cause.

Such, and of such a particular complexion as regards age and sex, is the unhappy pre-eminence in crime which distinguishes the manufacturing districts, and especially the neighbourhoods of the large towns situate in them.*

* I wish this point could be fully worked out ; and the chief seat of juvenile crime plainly be shown to be our large towns. The Report of Commission (1843,) on Employment of Children in Trades and Manufactures says, " Of the total number of known or suspected offenders in this town," (Birmingham,) " during the last twelve months, viz., 1223, at least *one-half* were

We have had proposed to us the subject of “juvenile depravity;” and in order to ascertain its amount, and the various causes which have led to its increase, we have had recourse to the several statistics of crime. These statistics, indeed, furnished the only means of accurate measurement and comparison; but of course it must be remembered that the extent of crime, though a rough indication of the degree of depravity, is by no means a sufficient and complete one. How much depravity is there, for instance, in Manchester or Birmingham, which never issues in the actual perpetration of what the law denominates crime! The utmost licentiousness of life, and profaneness of mind may exist; there may be a total absence of all moral principle; the man may be imbruted or worse, if worse there be; and yet it is very possible that no act may be committed strictly within the cognizance of human law. The delinquencies of youths which figure in the calendars are but the effervescence, the scum on the surface: the great mass of iniquity is at the bottom and out of sight. Again, how many offences must pass undetected, particularly offences of such a nature as are the early delinquencies of youth, in the busy thoroughfares of trading activity. The statistics of crime cannot develope in half or in a quarter of its fearful extent, the general state of depravity among the lower class in the great metropolis, or one of our manufacturing towns; can never trace the

under fifteen years of age; and in the same period there had been summarily convicted of the age of ten years, forty-six, and committed for trial at the same age, forty-four.”

monster roots of vice, how widely they spread and diverge themselves, or how deep they penetrate in the congenial soil. Even the imagination is overtaken when called upon to exert her powers, so as to produce a picture of demoralized humanity that shall be adequate to the truth. The real condition of many parts of such localities is not merely barbarism and heathenism ; but can only be fitly designated by some term which includes those, and yet more of degradation ;—it is—what is worse—civilization uncivilized ; humanity with its external opportunities of action enlarged to be the more imbruted ; a scene in which a knowledge of religion is only proved by blasphemy ; and the resources of an enlightened and emancipated age are perverted to sin.

CHAPTER IV.

PROMINENT FEATURES IN THE PRESENT CONDITION OF SOCIETY—CAUSES OF THE INCREASE OF DRUNKENNESS—IN WHAT WAY DRUNKENNESS IS THE CAUSE OF CRIME—REMOTE CONSEQUENCES OF DRUNKENNESS—CONNEXION BETWEEN DRUNKENNESS AND CRIME — BETWEEN A PARENT'S INTEMPERANCE AND HIS CHILD'S CRIME—CASES OF TWENTY-THREE JUVENILE OFFENDERS—CONNEXION BETWEEN DRUNKENNESS AND FEMALE CRIME, &C. — PROSTITUTION — SANITARY EVILS — IMPROVEMENT IN IRELAND, &C.—TWO IMPORTANT QUESTIONS ANSWERED.

WE have thus briefly and imperfectly reviewed the great revolution, not effected by arms and bloodshed, external invasion or intestine discord, but brought about through the instrumentality of a mechanical invention, which has transpired within the last half-century—a revolution in the locality of the residences of our gentry, which are gathered more into knots here and there, or drawn together into the great metropolitan focus—a revolution in the employment of the greater part of the working-class, who from being engaged in agriculture, are now more frequently occupied in manufacture—a revolution in the general relation between the employed and their employers—and a complete revolution in manners and

ideas. From a political, social, and intellectual change, so remarkable and entire as that which we have partially contemplated, it could not be that great moral effects should not result ; and these last have been partly good and partly bad. The line of demarcation which separates the class who have morally benefited by the altered condition of society, from those who have sunk more deeply into depravity and intemperance, is the educational boundary which divides the well-instructed from the ignorant. The higher and middle classes in this country have socially been elevated by the improved standard of mental cultivation ; while on the other hand, the lower orders, wherever the old checks and restraints upon vice have been withdrawn, without the substitution of enlarged instruction in their room, have fallen into a more degraded moral state than at any former period in our history.

There is in the economy of the moral world something analogous to the beautiful arrangement and adjustment of parts in the physical, by which, as soon as a new want ensues, provision is made for its supply. At the very crisis when the altered relations of the labouring class to their superiors, called for increased instruction and the more full development of the mental powers, illustrious individuals arose,—Raikes, Bell, Lancaster, and others,—who severally, by the establishment of Sunday-schools, and the introduction of an improved educational system, have earned the endless gratitude of posterity. Besides the direct benefit to the class whose welfare they had in view, such men have contributed,

along with other causes, to evolve a new principle, the influence of which is felt throughout the gradations of modern life.

To the standard of wealth introduced at the era of manufactures, another has been superadded, of essential service in modification and control of the former, the standard of mental cultivation. It could not, however, be otherwise, than that the pursuits of the intellect should be directed more or less by the money-loving spirit of the age. The growth of this aspiring epoch is certainly no Politian or Scaliger; the knowledge most in esteem is of a practical kind; an utilitarian spirit is intruded into the dominions of mind; general information is the article in grand request; and the means of obtaining it must be easy,* that the acquisition may be rapid. The material sciences are in the best repute, because these have a more palpable connexion with money, itself a material substance: the mathematics are highly esteemed, as furnishing the measurement of quantity, and indispensable in all the operations of business and speculation: and, on the contrary, every study into which the *ideal* largely enters is underrated. It is at once asked, "Of what use is it?"—in other

* "I see in all pursuits intellectual machines which relieve us from the necessity of study and meditation; dictionaries which enable us to skim every science; encyclopædias, in which every science, labelled in small packets, is so much barren dust; summaries, which give you the result of that which you have not learnt, trick you into fancying yourself master of the subject, and bar the door against knowledge."—*Michelet's Lectures on the Jesuits.*
Translated by G. H. Smith.

words, "What has it to do with money-getting?" But neither the pure mathematics nor the material sciences are for the most part pursued to any great extent, but under the utilitarian instinct just so far as an acquaintance with them serves the *end of ends*, or the desire of conversational self-display. Under the influence of such a spirit, the literature which our age produces is in the gross dwarfed, or fragmentary. Books indeed abound, not thick folios; but the minor tribe of pamphlets, periodicals, magazines, &c.: the press groans with their number. All the powers too that can give expression to thought, are enlisted in the public service. Wood-cut illustrations frequently accompany the text, and depict to the eye the events of passing history, or the creations of the fancy. The pictorial is an easy and agreeable instrument of imparting knowledge. But publications, multitudinous as they are, form only one part in the great system of means for the diffusion of information, (information is the word of modern life) on an infinite variety of topics. Combinations mark the period. To these, great facilities have been afforded by the centralizing movement which followed the rise of manufactures. There are societies of all kinds, established with counter intentions, and productive of exactly opposite results: there are scientific and palæological associations, harmonic-clubs, political unions, mechanics' institutes, libraries, and reading rooms for the peasant and artizan, penny concerts and zoological gardens: and on the other side, there are infidel clubs, trades' unions, seditious societies, freemasonry in villany under a thousand forms.

It would indeed seem as though the powers of good and evil, their forces combined, were about to advance to the death-struggle ; and what the final catastrophe may be, no serious mind can anticipate with indifference. Such a period as has now arrived, is expressly pointed out in the prophetic pages of Holy Writ. “ Many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased.”* It would seem that the “ time of the end ” is characterized in such words ; and what descriptive summary of the present period could be at once more concise, more forcible, or more closely true ?

But we have hitherto considered rather the ulterior or more immediate causes which have led to the present moral condition of our countrymen, than minutely examined that condition itself ; or in other words, rather than remarked the peculiar direction which the immorality of the age has taken ; not that this point is at all doubtful. Under the influence of our northern climate, the present national vice may have stained more or less at all periods the character of our ancestors ; but we have noticed in our review of the progressive changes which have passed over society, the many circumstances which have tended to rivet the fetters of this degraded habit more firmly upon our countrymen : we observed how bodily exhaustion and many particulars in the system of manufacturing labour led to excessive indulgence in intoxicating drinks ; there can be no

* The entire verse is,—“ But thou, O Daniel, shut up the words and seal the book even to the time of the end : many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased.”—*Daniel* xii. 4.

question, that the species of immorality which peculiarly degrades, debases, and brutalizes the lower class in the United Kingdom at the present day, is drunkenness. It remains to investigate to what extent the produce of this pernicious habit is youthful depravity and crime.

If we trace the origin of this habit, which in the present age desolates and consigns to misery the inmates of many and many a rural cottage, as well as of the operative's cabin ; we shall find another instance of the great influence which the customs of the upper class in society exert upon the lower, and how prone are the latter to imitate all they do ; and swear, smoke, drink, in the established mode familiar to their superiors. It was a fine stroke of the great Roman satirist to represent the disgraceful effeminacy of a notable of the first class, not only in his own conduct, but in the caricature unwittingly presented to the world by the close imitation of the valet : " Per Junonem domini jurante ministro." —*Juv.* ii. 98.

It seems to be admitted on all hands that the taste for intoxicating liquors, which is so grossly prevalent among the humble classes in the present period, is in a great degree the result of the custom of the upper circles in life rather more than half a century ago.

But an excessive fondness for drink has been stimulated by Parliamentary enactments. Of such a tendency the reductions of duty upon spirits, upon which an increase of drunkenness immediately followed, must be regarded.

[S.] In the commencement of the revolutionary war,

the duties on malt were augmented ; and in 1826, there followed a disastrous reduction of the duties on spirits. It was thus that whisky was substituted for ale in the consumption of Scotland, and that gin came into general use in the English cities. The lowering the duty to one-third of its former amount, afforded the means of intoxication at a very cheap rate to both English and Scotch, which latter people are privileged, (rather let us say cursed,) to pay less duty by two-fifths than the English. The consumption of ardent spirits immediately increased in a tremendous proportion ; from 4,132,263 gallons, it rose in one year to 8,888,648, that is, the consumption was instantly more than doubled by the change ; and from that period, with the exception of the year next following, viz., 1827, in which it somewhat fell, but still remained above 8,000,000, the consumption has been progressively augmenting. While a grateful people thus eagerly availed themselves of the parliamentary boon, the statesmen of the day were loud in their own praises, and boasted of the impetus which had been given to one species of trade, and of the benefit derived therefrom to the exchequer.*

But another fatal step has been taken since that time. The noted Beer-shop Act would at first sight appear to have been an attempt on the part of the legislature to demoralize and debauch the age ; and filch a larger revenue

* When a great increase of consumption took place in consequence of the reduction of the tax on ardent spirits, the then Chancellor of the Exchequer congratulated the House of Commons and the country on this proof of increased prosperity.—See *Report of Committee on Drunkenness*, p. 344.

from increased vice. But by reference to facts, it will be found, that the grievous and fatal mistakes of that measure proceeded rather from an inability, to which the greatest statesmen are liable, to compare means and ends accurately together. It appears that it was the desire of Parliament to constitute beer the great national beverage, to retrace as it were their steps, and neutralize the deplorable effects, now perceptible, of the measure of 1826 ; and with a view to this, and a further hope, as was stated, to raise a counterpoise to the enormous power of the brewers, the legislature determined the establishment of beer-shops in all parts of the country, not only amid the manufacturing concourse to relieve the exhaustion of the operative, but in retired rural hamlets for the benefit of the poor labourer. I shall not enter into the merits of the intention of the legislature, or canvass, at least in this place, its moral propriety. The defects of the Act were so numerous and so important, that rarely has there resulted a more signal failure of the end proposed, or consequences to the nation more deeply deplorable. One deficiency in the Act, was the facility with which licenses could be obtained by persons with a character or without one ; no check was to be placed upon the free sale of beer, by which the condition of labourer and artizan was to be so much bettered : but a defect still more injurious was the clause which prescribed the spot where the liquor must be drunk, the premises of the beer-house ; *i. e.* adjournment may take place from the tap-room to a bench outside the door or to the garden, provided only the company still remain within the fatal ring. Now if

Comus himself had legislated upon the subject, could he have employed a policy more directly tending to increase and diffuse debauchery? What plan could have been devised more effectual to draw the labourer or operative to the beer-shop, and fix him there?

But perhaps even greater harm has accrued from the beer-house enactment, by its indirect results. A competition was immediately opened between the beer-shops and the public-houses; and the proprietors of the latter, since their custom was very much diminished by the new additions to the trade, were obliged to have recourse to fresh expedients, and endeavoured to fascinate the eyes of passengers by outward decorations, and the glittering display of their spirit-stores: in fine, converted the old tavern into the modern gin-palace.* The power of the brewers, far from being checked, increased under the new system; they soon became the principal proprietors of the beer-shops, which thus served them as retail stalls for the sale of their article.† Thus drunkenness at the present hour, not only revels and exults, but is actually encamped in our land: there extends a long line of garrison forts from one end of the united empire to the other, each possessed by the demon of intemperance, diffusing a baleful influence, worse than the most deadly pestilence, over the range of its vicinity: the leagued powers of

* Report of Commission on Drunkenness. 1834, p. 14.

† Ibid, p. 25. "A very large portion of the beer-shops and of the public-houses are absolutely the property of the distillers and brewers."—*Evidence of R. E. Broughton, Esq., Police Magistrate.*

drunkenness are in real occupation of a conquered country. I proceed to the statistics of the consumption of ardent spirits, &c.

[S.] The following is the number of gallons of native proof spirits on which duty was paid for home consumption in the United Kingdom, in the following years :—

<i>Gallons.</i>		<i>£</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
1841—20,642,333	{ at an amount of duty of }	5,161,611	5	6
1842—18,841,890	„ „ „	5,046,813	13	0
1843—18,864,332	„ „ „	4,903,201	10	2
1844—20,608,525	„ „ „	5,171,182	18	0
1845—23,122,588	„ „ „	5,749,794	0	10
1846—24,106,697	„ „ „	return not issued.		

The number of gallons of Foreign and Colonial spirits retained for home consumption must be added :—

<i>Gallons.</i>		<i>Gallons.</i>
1841—3,464,074	{ or aggregately of Foreign and British Spirits }	24,106,407
1842—3,201,015	„ „ „	22,042,905
1843—3,161,957	„ „ „	22,026,289
1844—3,242,606	„ „ „	22,042,905
1845—3,549,889	„ „ „	26,672,477
1846—4,254,237	„ „ „	28,360,934

Thus the amount of spirits consumed in the United Kingdom, during the year 1846, was 28,360,934 gallons. Our population in the same year may perhaps have reached the same figures : and if so, the allowance of ardent spirits alone is one gallon to each individual in the realm. When we reflect that the upper classes consume spirits in great moderation, and that a large part of the population consists of infants and children, —the proportion of those under fifteen years of age,

according to the census of 1841, being as large as 36 per cent.,—it follows, that the actual quantity of ardent spirits consumed by *adults of the lower orders* would present on computation an appalling average to each individual.

[S.] If we distinguish between the consumption of ardent spirits respectively in England, Scotland, and Ireland, we find that in 1846 there were consumed in England 9,179,530 gallons, yielding an average of 0·577 gallons to each person, but in Scotland, 6,975,091 gallons, or 2·662 gallons to each individual; whilst the amount of British spirits brought to charge for home consumption in Ireland, during the years 1846 and 1847, ending April 5th, was 7,633,364 gallons in the first year, and 7,392,365 in the second.

[S.] To this consumption of 28,360,934 gallons of spirits, must be added the consumption of malt liquor in the same year, 1846. The number of bushels of malt used in distillation and by licensed brewers in each of the three kingdoms, during the years 1845 and 1846 respectively, was as follows:—

		Used in Distillation.	Used by Licensed Brewers.
1845	England	230,520	27,899 112
	Scotland	3,390,439	994,021
	Ireland	688,865	1,287,397
Total		4,309,824	30,180,530
1846	England	234,249	29,865,398
	Scotland	3,521,145	1,071,338
	Ireland	765,239	1,499,453
Total		4,520,633	32,436,189

Thus there are consumed in the United Kingdom, either in distillation or in brewing, 36,956,822 bushels of malt, or 4,619,602 quarters. As upwards of four million and a-half bushels are used for the purposes of distillation, by deducting these there will remain 4,054,523 quarters, producing, probably, 11,200,000 barrels of ale, beer, and porter. Hence the average of malt liquor to each individual, annually, in the United Kingdom, on Mr. McCulloch's estimate of the probable amount of population in 1846, will be 14 gallons, 1 pint, and a third. The average will of course be greater if infants are deducted.

[S.] The total cost to the nation, arrived at in 1843, was £65,000,000 ; but, since then the consumption of both British and Foreign spirits has augmented by more than a million of gallons each ; and the consumption of malt liquor exceeds that of the previous year by a million bushels and a-half.

The estimate is not added of the cost of wine, as very little wine comes into use amongst the classes to which our criminal population belongs.

[S.] The number of retailers' licenses in Great Britain amounted in 1845 to 237,345 : that is, there was to be found in 1845 a retailer of beer or spirits in almost every 115 of the population. Of the beer licenses, 68,086 were for dwellings rated under £20 per annum, and 35,340 were licenses for premises rated under £10 per annum ; whence evidence is afforded, how large a portion of beer-shops are situate in impoverished districts.

[S.] The valuable return for 1847, just issued by the Commissioners of Metropolitan Police, exhibits the

number of 5307 males and 3697 females committed for drunkenness, and of 4161 males and 3709 females committed for drunk and disorderly conduct. Thus the total committed in the year 1847, was 16,847 ; out of these, 3 males and 1 female were under fifteen years of age, and 168 males and 121 females were under the age of twenty. The extent of female intemperance in the metropolis is worthy of notice.

Between the years 1831 and 1843 there were taken into custody by the Metropolitan Police Force, for drunkenness and disorderly conduct, 249,015 males and 183,921 females, total 432,936. This is the number of persons taken into custody for drunkenness within a space of thirteen years, out of a population, which if the two extreme years be compared together in this respect, and the mean of the difference be taken, will be found to have averaged 1,791,846.

A district was mentioned in the Twelfth Annual Report of the London City Mission (1847), comprising 400 families, which maintains *one* butcher's shop, *two* bakers', and *seventeen* beer-houses. Another Report mentions that in a *single* street, near the docks, there were counted *sixty-seven* gin-palaces, public-houses, and beer-shops. In a population of about 1,212,000, comprehending the towns of Manchester, Leeds, Halifax, Huddersfield, Bolton, and nearly all the large towns in the manufacturing districts of Yorkshire and Lancashire, there were found to be, in 1846, public-houses to the number of 14,300. If the average number of the members of a family be estimated at five, it follows that every *seventeen* families were supporting a public-house.

[S.] If we take 131 workmen, whose gross weekly earnings amount to £154. 16s., the aggregate of the sums weekly spent by them in liquor, is, as found on calculation, on an average £34. 15s., or 22·4 per cent. of their wages. On the supposition that these wages and this expenditure continue nine months in the year, thirty-nine weeks multiplied into £34. 15s. equals £1355, the annual cost of intemperance to 131 poor workmen. Thus the vast cost, and by consequence the enormous prevalence, of drunkenness, are made apparent ; whether we regard the collective sum spent by the British people, or with microscopic eye look at the expenses of a small body of workmen, and the drinking habits implied by them.

The sum of money which is frequently given as premium for the good-will of a public-house in London, doing a large business, is from £2000 to £4000.*

The adulteration of spirits in more recent times has been much greater than formerly, and although those interested in the trade profess that the only addition is sugar and water, there can be little doubt that a more noxious ingredient is really employed. It appears in the evidence of a police magistrate examined before the Commission, 1834, that formerly persons taken to the police station found drunk used to recover within two or three hours ; but of late years seldom within five or seven hours.†

It will of course be remembered that in an account of

* Report of Commission on Drunkenness, p. 10.

† Ibid, p. 27. "Where a man used to recover in two or three hours, it now takes five or seven."—*Evidence of Colonel C. Rowan, Commissioner of Police.*

the consumption of intoxicating liquors amongst the working class, it is impossible to make the additions in any regular form, which accrue from smuggling and illicit distillation. But although, from these and other causes, the actual intemperance of the lower orders is not made fully apparent, yet the partial statistics which have been adduced, do give an insight into the moral condition of our poor, such as ought to excite deep sorrow and commiseration, or rather active efforts for their deliverance. Is not the broad fact, that the sum spent by the British nation in intoxicating liquors, outnumbers the annual expenditure of the country by *several millions*, sufficiently disgraceful to any Christian land !

There are numberless customs and standing arrangements by which drinking habits are enabled to maintain their ascendancy. Among these must be specially enumerated, the practice of paying workmen at public-houses—the iniquitous stratagems of the crimps, a class of persons, mostly Jews, employed to man large merchantmen,—the connexion between the coal-undertakers and the publicans ; but as there is no space to enter into these subjects, which are not directly within the scope of the present Essay, I refer the reader for ample information on these and other topics of a similar nature to the “ Minutes of Evidence before the Select Committee on Drunkenness, 1834.”

The facility of placing articles in pawn has a fearful tendency to increase drunkenness and pauperism. The numerous contrivances of the spirit-venders, such as long-rooms at the back of their gin-shops, splendidly illuminated and gorgeously decorated, would be fitter

matter for a work, entitled “The Mysteries and Abominations of London and our large Towns.” The notions of a past period, which associated the use of intoxicating beverages with hilarity and sociability, continue to corrupt the morals of the present age : the custom of offering wine or spirits to visitors, still frequent among a large class of tradesmen and mechanics, particularly in Scotland, the toast-drinking* at public dinners and on festive occasions, are all the vestiges of an illiterate period, and tend to perpetuate the vice of drunkenness with all its host of miseries. The mistaken idea of the beneficial use of spirits in prevention of disease, particularly of the results occasioned by exposure to cold and wet, is refuted by the evidence of physicians, whose testimony is most valuable.

The injuries inflicted by the drinking usages of society upon trade and manufacture, may be roughly estimated by reference to the immense sum which is annually expended in intoxicating liquors. The drunkard does not clothe well, or live well ; nor is he surrounded with the luxuries, the comforts, or even what are thought the necessaries of life. His wishes are all reduced to one, an insatiable desire of drink ;† and this

* It is well known that Louis XIV., abolished the custom of toast-drinking in France. I am inclined to regard this as the best act of that monarch’s life.

† *Vernon*. “A drop, but one drop for the love of heaven—I am starving.”

Glanville. “Starving—this is not for a hungry man—’tis brandy.”

Vernon. “Brandy ! ’tis food, raiment, all to me. A drop, but one drop.”—*Fifteen Years of a Drunkard’s Life*.

passion rages in him with all the violence of a fever, until it has consumed both body and soul. The reclaiming of drunkards throughout the kingdom would be the reversion of so much money into a proper and honest channel : it would be the opening of a new home-market to trade and manufacture of all kinds.

Another important consideration is the amazing extent of valuable and fertile land devoted to the production of those articles which form the main ingredients in intoxicating beverages. If the drinking usages of society could be discontinued, there would be a vast domain of land recalled to a proper and beneficial use ; the quantity of wholesome food for the supply of the population would be immensely augmented : and far greater advantages would thus accrue to the working class, whether labourers or citizens, than can with any reason be expected from even the diminution of the duty on imported corn, or the total abolition of it. There would be more food in the market of home-growth, and more money in the mechanic's or peasant's pocket, with which to make the purchase. It is stated that there is an annual destruction, through intemperance, of food sufficient for the support of five millions.

Mr. Brotherton, in his speech in the House of Commons, on the 25th January, 1847, asserted that " If the people spend their wages in drink, they have less to spare for clothing and other necessities. The more they expended in articles of manufacture, the better it would be for themselves. Of twenty shillings expended in spirits, the amount paid for labour was only about eight-

pence ; but if twenty shillings were laid out in articles of manufacture, from eight to ten shillings went into the pocket of the artisan." If, therefore, the many millions annually expended in intoxicating drinks were laid out in articles of manufacture, what an inconceivable increase there would be in the demand for labour ; the very result which is sought to be attained by most of the schemes proposed for bettering the condition of the poor. A demand for labour might thus spring up, that would to a large extent render unnecessary the emigration of our industrious poor to foreign lands.

It is strange, that among all the odd devices of modern times, Government should never have turned its attention to the very simple means by which the poor man's condition could be effectually ameliorated ; but has pursued a diametrically opposite course ! Is it that—

“ The excise is fattened with the rich result
Of all this riot ? ”

In an examination of the connexion between drunkenness and crime, the effects of drunken habits must be considered.

In the first place, drunkenness clouds the reason, and will at last, as many instances prove, altogether destroy it. Now the principle of reflection or conscience has been given us by God himself, to be our guide in life. Whatever, therefore, unseats the reason, and so beclouds the mind, that while under its influence it cannot distinguish good from evil, right from wrong : whatever expels the monitor which Almighty God has enthroned

in the human breast, is essentially calculated to corrupt the moral character, to destroy the faculty which takes cognizance of truth, and produce violent or vicious acts. The drunkard as long as he is under the influence of drink, is reduced to the condition of a madman : he is rendered furious and ungovernable, and apt for any act of daring.

But man possesses the faculty of acquiring habits. By the frequent repetition of individual acts, an idiosyncrasy is at last acquired, a new nature is grafted upon the old, new wants, appetites, and desires spring into being, and a propensity obtains the irresistible force and strength of nature. The habitual drunkard has ceased to be a free agent. He may at one time have had clear moral perceptions, and framed to himself a high standard of moral duty ; but his inordinate desire of drink will at last overleap all the barriers interposed by morality and religion, and lead to the commission of any acts, however sinful or criminal, by which the power may be obtained of indulging the master-passion.

We spoke of the drunkard, as perhaps originally possessed, before he was enslaved by his vice, of just moral notions ; but no vice can be gradually formed, without the clearness of moral perception insensibly and proportionately diminishing. Indulgence in the ruling propensity requires many infringements upon truth, honesty, and moral duties ; but these obligations cannot be violated without the sense of their importance declining and fading from the view. Thus the effect of every course of vice is to harden the mind, to petrify the feeling, and

render its victim callous to all right considerations. But if such is the effect of all vice, it is so in an eminent degree of drunkenness. It is long before the drunken man recovers his reason ; he is brutal in his conduct to his wife, who perhaps reproaches him with the misery his sin brings upon them ; he is cruel towards his children, whom he injures ; he is vexed and enraged with himself, and therefore with all around him. If some vices weaken on the approach of age, drunkenness is only the more confirmed by time. The drunkard, by indulgence in his vice, gradually loses the character of a man, and assimilates himself to the brute.

The result, moreover, of habits of intoxication, is invariably, among the lower class, destitution, and pauperism. I am not aware that there is any other wicked propensity, which by its gratification has an equal tendency to impoverish. The desire of liquor becomes so strong, that almost as soon as the silver is in the hand, it is exchanged for drink ; and this, like every other appetite, enlarges by indulgence ; after a short time a greater quantity, and again a greater quantity, of beer or ardent spirits is required to produce the same pleasurable excitement ; and thus there is an exhaustless demand for money, which no wages, indeed few fortunes, can supply. The uniform result of drunkenness is thus a wretched comfortless state of pauperism, highly favourable to the commission of crime.

I believe that the effects of drunkenness may be reduced to these four heads ; and thus will furnish an occasion for crime in a fourfold way. The offender at

the time of committing the offence is inebriated, and therefore unconscious through his own fault of what he is doing ;—the greater number of assaults are referrible to this :—or else is led to perpetrate crime with a view to obtain money for indulgence in drink. It is in these two cases that habits of intoxication are properly said to be the immediate cause of crime. Or else, on some temptation falling in the way, which is thus the particular occasion of sin—the habitual drunkard, callous to the feelings of nature and the dictates of conscience, his heart hardened and depraved, surrenders himself an easy prey to the wicked suggestions of his own mind, or a ready tool to execute the schemes of others. Or, lastly, sunk in extreme pauperism, driven to habits of vagrancy, destitute and famished, he is urged to the commission of crime by sheer necessity.

I refer all those offences committed under circumstances reducible to one of these heads, to drunkenness as the immediate cause, (although less properly in the last two cases,)—in perpetrating which the offender is himself, under the temporary or more lasting influences and effects of this pernicious vice, is on the particular occasion or habitually drunken. I proceed to consider the more remote consequences of drunkenness upon the drunkard's family, his young children, which are, if possible, still more awful.

It is found that even children from their infancy are inured to the use of ardent spirits ; such a taste may be contracted, as particular instances prove, at very tender years ; and thus cases do occur in which

even children have been led to commit crime by drunkenness as the immediate cause in the strict sense. But it cannot be supposed, nor indeed does it appear on appeal to statistics, as was noticed above, that drinking habits gain generally a very early ascendancy. There is not in children any natural predisposition for intoxicating drinks ; the palate of the child in most cases at first repels them ; there is an activity, a vivacity, and even a purity of taste in young children, which are all averse to such a habit : and therefore the deeper shame rests on those who can entice or encourage them to it, and by such tender initiation wear off that freshness of feeling, instinct with something more than earthly grace, which is so lovely in a very young child. “Of such is the kingdom of heaven.” Surely the guilt of him, who can pervert the taste and moral intuition of childhood to what is evil, is greater, far greater than his, who destroys at one blow the life itself. The children thus spiritually murdered, cry to God for vengeance on their murderers. What, if the cause of the child’s ruin, and lost condition for eternity, be the parent himself, who was appointed by nature to guard over the infantile impressions of his child, to check the first risings and intimations of a sinful nature, and rear up the babe, whom God had graciously given him, a member of Christ’s Church on earth, to be a future partaker of his glory in heaven ! What, if the depraved example of the father gave the first impulse, which urged the son to wickedness ; and at last, through the several stages of a career of intemperance, or vice of any kind, plunged

him, his own offspring, only too truly his son—" *morum quoque filium*"—into the deepest gulf of despair! "The same wicked man shall die in his iniquity; but his blood will I require at thy hand."* The thought of a child destroyed for ever, eternally lost through a parent's fault, is sufficiently bitter to inflict the keenest woe on the heart alive to natural affection; and has so come home to many a guilty parent, that he has tried to conceal his vile practices, that he might not by open sin involve his children's ruin with his own.

The parent is the legitimate instructor of the child: to him this office has been committed by God himself. He may, however, be uneducated, and therefore intellectually unable to instruct the child, or, although capable in mental qualifications, so occupied as to have no time for the discharge of this great duty. It is to meet cases such as these that schools have been established for the education of the children of the poor. The commission which the parent receives immediately from heaven, is by him under the peculiarity of circumstances delegated to a charitable institution: but the influence of the parent will, and must, still be felt by the child, although an inmate of a school, and removed during the hours of instruction from his own eye, in the degree of importance the child has been taught to attach to his studies, and consequently in the regularity of his attendance, and his general demeanour and diligence. These predispositions on the part of the child for the

* Ezekiel iii. 18.

reception of the knowledge which the public instructor is anxious to afford, will materially tell in the amount and degree of his attainments. The parent cannot divest himself of his natural character of instructor, even during the hours that the child is consigned to the guidance of another, and forms one of a school-class. Thus though the parent does not, perhaps cannot, give instruction himself; upon his influence in a considerable degree will depend the actual amount of knowledge which the child acquires at school. I am supposing that the child of a drunken father or drunken mother, is sent to school, which is certainly a more favourable supposition than the majority of such cases will justify. But the whole day is not devoted to school instruction; a considerable portion of it is spent at home; the meals probably are taken under the parent's roof; the early hours of the morning, and those before bed-time, are at the child's own disposal. The occupation of mind and body during those periods of ease and refreshment, are even more likely to have an ultimate and permanent effect upon the character than the forced employment of the school. There is no hour of the day, nor even a moment, in which ideas are not forcing themselves upon the mind, in which feelings and opinions are not combating one another, and striving for the mastery: but in disengaged minutes ideas throng upon one another with more rapidity than at any other time; the circle of external objects is enlarged; there is more novelty in the general appearance of things; the fancy is amused; action is unfettered, and left to follow the first impulse:

and when all these circumstances combine, then is the time that the child is putting forth the earliest energies of a free agent, and founding upon a succession of individual acts, a confirmed character for good or evil. But of what kind must be the general associations; who will naturally be the acquaintances and intimates of the drunkard's child? What must be the images which imprint their mark upon the childish fancy? And for the same reason that the manner of spending the time out of school will affect the character even more than the prescribed mode in which it is employed in school; for the same reason must the force of example be more sensibly felt than the influence of precept. We remarked before upon this point:—that there is a natural bent in the human mind, and more particularly a child's, to imitate the manners and general conduct of those with whom he is brought into contact; and that this mimetic faculty of childhood so early developed, is the chief means by which education is commenced and carried on, even in actual infancy. But who is more naturally the subject of imitation in his pursuits and habits than the parent? "Like father, like son," is a proverb in every one's mouth, which embodies the conclusion of continued experience on this head. The father, from the relative position in which nature has placed him, is looked up to by the child as his guardian and protector, as one who should be loved and obeyed, as his legitimate guide and instructor: a parent's moral influence for good or evil must be perceptible in the general opinions and notions formed by the child: the

parent's ideas of right and wrong will pervade the whole family ; and his standard of action be instinctively referred to as the common standard of general behaviour. " Father does so and so," will be sufficient warrant to the son for his own conduct : " I saw mother do this," will be alleged by the daughter as a satisfactory excuse for this or that practice.

It is impossible to war with the institutions and regulations of nature, or, to speak more properly, of God himself. The parent always must have an influence over the child's mind, which a stranger, although invested with the office of instructor, cannot hope to obtain. From the parents' example, words, and demeanour, an education will have commenced in very early years, before it is generally thought possible that education can begin, which will countervail in the majority of cases, all the effects of subsequent training, and ingrain the child's mind with a dye so deep, so inwrought into its very texture and substance, that no efforts of good instruction can afterwards efface it. The example of drunken parents will thus operate with a deadly *authority* upon their children.

There is however yet more of evil, in the effects of drunkenness on the part of a parent, upon the habits of the child, than the home-model of disgusting vice thus proposed to the imitative propensity, than the mutual bickerings of father and mother, and the cheek-distending oaths which become almost the vernacular tongue ;—more of evil than all this, or at least as much. I before put a favourable case ; and, supposing the child to be sent

to school, remarked how unpropitious were his prospects even under those circumstances. But it must be distinctly mentioned, that in the large majority of instances, the advantages of instruction in reading and writing, and the other elements of knowledge, which a National or Sunday school affords, will be wholly neglected, or very inadequately valued, and imperfectly enjoyed. The drunkard is not the character to appreciate the rich blessings of moral and religious instruction ; he will be unwilling, and from the exhaustive drain of his vice upon his resources, literally unable to supply the scanty pittance which his child must pay per week, if he attend the National or Lancasterian school : he will be rather anxious to turn his immature capabilities to some purpose in the acquisition of additional gain, however small ; or yet more probably, since careless neglect is the concomitant of drunken habits, he will suffer him to lie idle at home in his filth and rags, will leave him at liberty to employ his time as he lists, to lounge about the streets with such associates as he will naturally form, and catch up a penny where he can, by honest or dishonest means.

Besides the example at home, there will be then the vicious contagion of boys of his own age, apt to every mischief, skilled in pilfering, initiated into various vices, abroad : such society MUST be preferred to the scene of misery presented in his father's cottage, to quarrelling and complainings, rough words and hard blows. The great object of quest to every human being is happiness ; the moral condition of an indi-

vidual or family can be accurately ascertained from the nature of his or their chief enjoyment. Where the delights of home and of social life entwine themselves round the heart, virtues will spring up and grow simultaneously. A state of social comfort is a synonym for a condition of moral health. But the house of the drunkard is not the seat of comfort or of joy ; it cannot be. The mother may be most eager to maintain a respectable appearance—to keep her cottage neat and tidy—to bring up her children to honest industry ; but a drinking husband will render ineffectual all her laudable endeavours for the common welfare. The money which should be devoted to the purchase of necessities, wholesome food or comforts, will be spent at the beer-shop or gin-palace. It matters not how great the wages may be, a passion for drink will absorb all. When the supplies of economical housekeeping are thus cut short, the virtuous ardour of the housewife will languish ; all her exertions prove insufficient : disorder, discomfort, and riot enter her dwelling in spite of her best management and ceaseless anxiety : the task is relinquished in despair, and generally in the end, the once respectable and virtuous wife, neglecting her household duties, and the care of her children, follows her husband to the scene of intoxication ; it seems the only course left her—the only means of momentary joy, and the sole remedy against depressing care—the horrors of the case are then consummated. If the wife be the guilty partner, the prospects of the family are even more hopeless, and the catastrophe is more rapid.

Picture to the mind the miseries of such a household, and the appalling situation of the neglected and worse than orphaned children—unschooled, untaught, tutored only in vice and profaneness at home, and driven out of doors to learn the same lesson! What human hand can rescue them from the fearful consequences which the curse of a parent's drunkenness has entailed upon them? What must become of the sons? What must be the portion of the daughters? Virtuous compassion may well pity such an instance of almost compulsory depravity! But it is no fiction of the fancy, but the actual situation of thousands and tens of thousands in this country, where the light of Christianity seems to burn like “a beacon set upon a hill.” It is the history of far more than half the malefactors who have ended an abandoned course by condign punishment. It is emphatically the curse of the present times and of our own land!

The world talks of the pleasures of the social glass, and of the strength which ale imparts to the labourer, sinking under his toil. But O! look at the drunkard in his ragged pauperism, in his homelessness, and discomfort; see the wife half-famished and ill-clad who attends his steps, she too has learnt to drink, as her red eyes and pale emaciated face disclose too plainly; and observe the shivering children, houseless, homeless, and worse than motherless, who follow behind, vagrants, who earn a miserable subsistence by begging or by stealing!

“Oh for a law to noose the villain's neck,
 Who starves his own; who persecutes the blood
 He gave them in his children's veins, and hates
 And wrongs the woman he has sworn to love.

.

Cruel is all he does. 'Tis quenchless thirst
Of ruinous ebriety, that prompts
His every action, and imbrutes the man."

Cowper's Winter Evening.

Other vices seem never to have reached their perfect climax, until they have associated themselves with the habit of intoxication. How many who meditated some deed, at the very idea of which the boldest tremble, have strung themselves for the inhuman act by the stimulant of strong drink? The spirit of intemperance diffuses itself through almost every wicked practice—it is most frequently the remote cause, if not the palpable beginning of depravity; but if the commencement of a profligate course be in some other vicious propensity, it is generally its completion and consummation. That may with truth be asserted of this vice, which the Athenian historian affirmed of the fatal plague which desolated many a hearth in his own city, that every disorder, whatever other origin it might have had, was sure to end in that.*

The uniform result of drunkenness in a parent upon the whole family, is a state of homelessness and discomfort, embarrassment and debt, squalid pauperism and abject wretchedness. The child of the drunkard, besides the temptation of pernicious example at home, and the fatal contagion of profligate companions, is thus urged on in the path of sin by the piercing goad of necessity; he is almost forced to steal through the destitution and want in which his family are plunged; he is, perhaps, even solicited to thief by his parents, that his dishonest gains may be converted into drink. The influence which

* Thucyd. ii. 51, "ὁ δὲ καὶ γένοιτο, ἐς τοῦτο ετελεύτα."

should incite him to virtuous industry, and which no other can altogether supply, is turned to his ruin—every thing is against him—all the motives which must be supposed to actuate his mind, conspire to lead him astray: instructed only in vice, he proceeds from one iniquity to another, hardens in sin by early and constant habituation, till at length, he is summoned untimely, through his own excesses, or by the just hand of the law, from a world which had been to him, from infancy, a scene of almost unmixed depravity.

Surely, if the poet sought out the birth-place of crime, whence it had its origin, in what scenes of vice and amid what associates it was reared, through all the stages of its rapid progress, by what horrid influences it was fleshed to the perpetration of the last daring deed of felony or inhuman murder, he would fix its cradle, its school of training, and its home, in the littered and filthy hovel, resounding with brawls and blasphemies, of the drunkard.

At the very outset of my investigation into the evidence by which crime is demonstrated to result largely from intemperance, I shall place the opinions of those best qualified to decide this question.

Judge Wightman, in his address to the grand jury at Liverpool, 1846, stated, that “he found from a perusal of the depositions, one unfailing cause of four-fifths of these crimes was, as it was in every other calendar, the *besetting sin of drunkenness.*”

Baron Alderson, when addressing the grand jury in 1844, at the York Assizes, said, that “a great pro-

portion of the crimes to be brought forward for their consideration, arose from the *vice of drunkenness* alone; indeed, if they took away from the calendar all those cases with which drunkenness has any connexion, they would make the large calendar a very small one."

One of the judges stated some time ago, at the Circuit-court in Glasgow, that "from the evidence that had appeared before him as a judge, it seemed that every evil in Glasgow began and ended in *whisky*."

Judge Erskine declared, at the Salisbury Assizes, in 1844, that "ninety-nine cases out of every hundred were through *strong drink*."

Judge Coleridge stated at the Oxford Assizes, that "he never knew a case brought before him, which was not directly or indirectly connected with *intoxicating liquors*."

Judge Patteson, at the Norwich Assizes, said to the jury, "if it were not for this *drinking*, you and I would have nothing to do."

If, therefore, *authority* be allowed to rule the question, there cannot exist a doubt in any reasonable mind.

As regards the practical proof of the connexion between the increase of drunkenness and the increase of crime, it can be satisfactorily made out that, whenever there has been a marked augmentation in the consumption of intoxicating liquors, there has immediately followed a proportionate increase of the poor-rates and of crime.*

In 1825, the duty on spirits was lowered from 12s. 7d.

* See Minutes of Evidence before Committee on Drunkenness, 1834.—p. 342.

to 7s. the imperial gallon, and now mark the effect, as shown in the following table :—

	Annual Consumption of Spirits in England and Wales.	Poor Rates.	Crime in England and Wales.	Crime in London and Middlesex.
	<i>Gallons.</i>	<i>£</i>	<i>Committed.</i>	<i>Committed.</i>
1823	4,225,903	5,772,962	12,263	2,503
1824	4,880,679	5,736,900	13,698	2,621
1825	4,132,263	5,786,989	14,437	2,902
Alteration } 1826	8,888,644	5,928,501	16,164	3,457
in Duty. } 1827	8,005,872	6,441,088	17,924	3,381
} 1828	9,311,624	6,298,003	16,564	3,516

In order to prove indisputably, that the great increase of crime in our own times is mainly attributable to the increase of intemperance, which all the various changes in our social condition have tended to foster, it would be highly desirable to be accurately informed of the state of England towards the close of the last century, under the head of drunkenness. I have not met with any returns of the number of gallons entered for home consumption at so remote a date ; but the fact, that in 1785, the poor-rates in England and Wales amounted only to £2,004,239, and in 1800, were no less than £4,077,891., is favourable to the belief, that drunkenness at that period was much less common. There is reason to believe that in the period from 1791 to 1795, the duty being as low as 6*d.*, 7*d.*, 8*d.*, and 9*d.* per gallon, there was a rapid increase of intemperance. That too is exactly the period when the alterations in social life, and the effects of the manufacturing system would naturally begin to operate. In the period of six years, from 1796 to 1801, we know

by the returns which have been obtained, that the consumption of ardent spirits was 21,284,328 gallons, but in the period of six years, from 1808 to 1813, the consumption was 30,561,030. If the consumption of spirits in 1831, be compared with their ascertained consumption towards the close of the last century, it is found that in rather more than thirty years the increase has been more than 300 per cent. Thus the augmentation of habits of intoxication and of crime have certainly been *contemporaneous*. In Glasgow and Edinburgh, moreover, crime has more than quadrupled since the reduction of the duties on ardent spirits.

If two *countries* be compared together, which from their parallelism in regard to government and other circumstances admit of comparison, the relative proportion of crime will tally with the respective degrees of intemperance. Switzerland, Belgium, and Holland, excel us in the average amount of education among the poor, are much less intemperate, and much less criminal. [S.] France, which once ranked below us in a criminal point of view, (viz. previously to 1833,) is now under that head above us. But compare together two divisions of our own United Kingdom; compare England and Scotland. In England more malt liquor is consumed, while in Scotland the proportion of spirits to each individual exceeds the distribution per head in England in a nearly fivefold ratio. It would be difficult to cast the balance between a beer-drinking and a dram-drinking country, which they severally are as opposed to one another, so as to determine exactly what

criminal results should follow ; but the greater frequency of crimes of violence in Scotland is striking ; and the manufacturing towns of North Britain yield to none in the amount of juvenile crime. Glasgow in particular, beyond any other town in the United Kingdom, is the focus of drunkenness and crime.

Further, in a topographical point of view, the *localities* of intemperance and of crime are identical. In whatever districts or towns drunkenness most abounds, there crime is found to have fixed its stronghold, and intrenched its position with an incredible strength, that seems to mock at all the efforts of moral improvement. Witness the disgraceful pre-eminence, shown above statistically, which London, Liverpool, Manchester, and the other commercial and manufacturing centres occupy in the annals of crime, adult and juvenile ; but it is beyond a doubt, that these are the spots where the attractions and inducements to intemperance are the greatest, where drunkenness revels unabashed, and pauperism, the result of drunkenness, is the most widely spread and the most abject.

[S.] The governor of Edinburgh Prison states,*
“ Upwards of 60 per cent. of the whole number of offenders committed to prison, had their residence in the High Street, Canongate, Lawnmarket, Castle Hill, Nether Bow, Cowgate, Grassmarket, Westport, and Candlemaker Row, with the Closes and Wynds adjoining these places respectively. . . . Of the offences committed in the city and suburbs of Edinburgh, upwards of 73 *per cent.* was committed by persons in these

* Report, 1846.

localities. In these localities, where upwards of 73 per cent. of the crime is committed, more than 50 *per cent.* of the *spirit licenses* are held, and it may be safely assumed, that not less than 60 *per cent.* of the *drinking-houses*, properly so called, are in these very localities. The localities referred to are by far the poorest parts of the city. This certainly shows the close relationship between *drinking-houses, poverty, and crime.*"

If we regard the individual, intemperance is the main root of physical evils. It is a particular, deserving attention, that drunkenness is the origin of a greater number of deaths, than all other causes combined. There is a close connexion between impaired bodily health and idleness, between idleness and pauperism, and between pauperism and crime. The evidence given by Dr. Gordon, physician to the London Hospital, is remarkable. He says, that in a conversation with a friend, he had once stated the proportion of diseases distinctly referrible to the use of ardent spirits might be about 25 per cent. On his friend expressing surprise, he kept an account for twelve months. The result was, that out of 100 diseases, as many as sixty-five were found to be strictly attributable to the effects of ardent spirits, after every possible allowance had been made, and even part struck off. "The result was 65 per cent. upon some thousands." On subsequent experience, the average came to 75 per cent.: but Dr. Gordon says, "I have stated sixty-five that I might not possibly overstep the bounds."* The evidence of this physician, and indeed of numberless others, entirely destroys the misconcep-

* Report on Drunkenness 1834.—p. 195.

tion of *some* beneficial results from the use of ardent spirits. He was asked by the Committee, "Are you of opinion that the use of ardent spirits benefits any one besides the distiller and the spirit-merchant?" His reply was, "I should say the Doctor, but nobody else." The conclusion of experience therefore is, that very nearly, if not quite, two-thirds of the diseases among our countrymen are referrible to the noxious influences of ardent spirits.

There is every reason to be assured, that in a review of the causes of crime, drunkenness will show an equal per-centage. It was the well-known opinion of Mr. John Wontner, Keeper of Newgate, stated by one of the witnesses examined before the Select Committee, that in nine cases out of ten of crime, the real cause would be found in habits of intoxication.

But I pass to actual statistics. Mr. J. Smith, Governor of the Prison of Edinburgh, writes that the number of commitments to that prison for drunkenness, disorderly conduct, and assaults caused by drunkenness, for the year ending June, 1844, amount to 3325, being an increase over the preceding year of 126 cases. The commitments for other offences during the same year, 1844, were 2385: but of these last, in four cases out of five, he declares it to be his belief, that intemperance was more or less directly the cause.*

It would, indeed, be very interesting to enter into the elements of crime generally through England and Wales, so as to be able to ascertain the comparative effects of

* Chambers's Miscellany—Temperance Movement,—vol. iii.

different agencies; and perhaps at some future period, when registers are uniformly kept with a view to this point by chaplains of jails and others, such a complete analysis may be obtainable. At present no such valuable statistics are at hand; but the following is a table formed upon some such plan, not perhaps so definite in its statements as could be desired, of 1097 offenders committed to Preston House of Correction.*

Total.	CAUSES OF OFFENCE.						Total.	AGES.						Total.
	Drinking.	Uncertain.	Idleness.	Want.	Weak Mind.	Bad Habits.		Under 15.	15 to 20.	21 to 30.	31 to 40.	41 to 50.	51 and upwards.	
1097	341	341	4	6	11	394	1097	34	281	417	201	84	80	1097

Thus the cause of 341, more than a fourth part of the whole, was drinking. Of so many was drunkenness the immediate or proximate cause. It is not computed in the table, of how many out of the whole number, habits of intoxication were remotely or indirectly the cause. Yet such cases must be at least as numerous as the former, in which drinking operated immediately. Out of the sum total of 1097 offenders, as many as 315 are specified to be under twenty years of age. How small the proportion of those from among these juvenile offenders, it may well be conjectured, and indeed we shall presently see evidence on this head from the reports of this

* See Reports of Prisons, 1841. Northern and Eastern District,—p. 68.

very prison, who had not been demoralized by the drunken habits of their parents ! Of 394 offences, the cause assigned is "bad habits." But of how many bad habits is intemperance the root and origin ! With what bad habit is it not more or less connected ? Four cases are attributed to idleness ; but the cause of idleness is almost invariably habits of intoxication. Again, intemperance is the nearly uniform cause of want, and the very frequent cause of weak mind. Of 341, the cause is stated to be uncertain. If then out of 1097 offences, drunkenness is clearly discovered to be the immediate cause of 341, we shall not err against probability, if we assign general drunken habits on the part of parents, or habits originated in drunkenness, as the remote cause of at least an equal number. I am assured that in this calculation we are under-estimating the real force of this agency. But according even to this computation drunkenness was the cause, immediate or remote, of considerably more than half the offences enumerated. The figures will stand 682 cases of crime of which intemperance was proximately or remotely the cause, out of a sum total of 1097 cases. These are no circumstances peculiar to Preston and its neighbourhood. On the contrary, drunkenness would figure more extensively in the criminal statistics of Manchester, Liverpool, or any other densely peopled first-rate manufacturing town. If then we apply the results of this computation to England generally, we arrive at very much the same conclusion as Dr. Gordon, in his investigation of the physical effects of drunkenness, as compared with other causes of dis-

ease upon the health. Drunkenness must be the real cause of very nearly, if not quite, two-thirds of the crime, as well as of the disease, throughout the kingdom.

The *City Mission Magazine* for November, 1848, contains some most interesting particulars with regard to the thieves of the metropolis. Many of these for some time have been in the habit of frequenting the house of Mr. Jackson, the Goodman's-fields Missionary, in order to obtain his advice and aid. As many as 394 thieves present at different times, answered the following queries.

Total number of individuals present at the different meetings	} 394
How many of you ascribe your fall to intoxi- cating drink?	} 103
How many of you are abandoned by your friends who could help you?	} 71
How many of you have friends who cannot help you?	} 105
How many of you have friends who would help you if they knew your present state?	} 15
How many of you have mothers living?	58
How many of you sleep in Unions	210
How many of you ascribe your present ruin to sleeping in the casual ward?	} 107

It is evident that the casual wards of Unions act much in the same way as lodging-houses. Here again, the proportion of crime caused *immediately* by intemperance is more than one-fourth of the whole.

[S.] Criminals are, with few exceptions, of intemperate habits. The chaplain of the State of Connecticut, in America, reported recently to the legislature, that of

sixty-six persons condemned to punishment, fifty were found addicted to intemperance ; and that out of 288 convicts entered during one year into the penitentiary, 175 were given to drink, forty-two were frequently drunk, and eleven only were completely temperate.

This consideration of the agency most productive of crime generally, bears upon the peculiar subject of this Essay,—the causes of juvenile depravity. Of how many juvenile offenders is it noted that “their fathers were criminals,” or their “mothers in the same prison.” The child then, it must be inferred, was brought to jail by the parents’ fault ; and if drunkenness was the cause of the parents’ ruin, it was consequently by more remote agency the cause of the child’s.

The causes of juvenile crime and depravity have already been in great measure disclosed by the review of rural life, and of the condition of our commercial towns : the external temptations and means of evil have been shown to have greatly augmented in the last fifty years ; the changes which have passed over society have operated on parents, and through them on their children : it is obvious that such an effect is according to the natural operation of things, and every day’s experience : but I subjoin some facts, to evidence yet more clearly the connexion of youthful depravity with the neglect, misconduct, and bad example of parents, or the removal of all parental control as in the case of orphans.

[S.] In the Report of Parkhurst Prison for 1844, we find that out of 187 convicts between eight and eighteen years of age, sixty-five were without fathers, forty-eight

without mothers, and eighteen were orphans of both parents: thirty-four had been either cruelly treated or neglected by parents; seventy-nine had been led away, persuaded to evil by vicious companions, parents or relations; the larger majority were found to have been idlers in the streets, and associated with profligate and drunken parents.

[S.] We find in the return for Aberdeen, seventy-four juvenile offenders, forty-three boys and thirty-one girls, the larger number under fifteen years of age. Of these two were orphans, five had fathers only, forty-seven had mothers only, and only twenty out of the number had both parents alive. In reference to this prison, we find it stated, that, "There are about ten families in Aberdeen, who commit many offences, and give great trouble to the police. The parents in each case are of very bad character. They are seldom sober, and they often desert their children for weeks together, and go off into the country. In each of these families there are five or six children."* In the same report the Governor of Dundee Prison states, that "the chief offences for which prisoners are committed are petty thefts and disorderly conduct, and the chief causes of crime are drunkenness and neglect of children." The evidence of Captain Miller, states, "Out of sixty-four males re-committed to prison, thirty-eight were of the age of twenty-one and under. Most of these juveniles were bereft of one or both parents in early youth, and most of them, *illegitimate* or otherwise, were without friend, home, or trade." In a letter from

* Twelfth Report on the Prisons in Scotland, 1847.

the Assistant Judge to Mr. Hill, Recorder of Birmingham, it appears, that, of 278 young persons convicted at the Middlesex Sessions, it was not found possible to remit more than four or five to the care of masters or relatives; so few were the instances in which these unhappy children had any connexions, or at least any from whom they could be expected to derive benefit. The concurring evidence of the Inspectors of all prisons, is, that the number of illegitimate and orphaned children invariably found in prisons is very great.

[S.] In Manchester, in 1846, 4265 children were reported lost in the streets, of whom 2099 were found by the police, the rest by their friends.

It is distressing to find that orphanage is so frequent a cause of juvenile crime. What then are the circumstances which control orphanage? Neglect of sanitary measures and drunkenness are, I believe, the two chief causes of orphanage.

But let us proceed to examine more particularly, how far the depravity of children and youths, as evinced by the actual commission of crime, is traceable to the pernicious habit of *intoxication* in their parents.

I am able to adduce the particulars of twenty-three cases of youthful criminals committed to Preston House of Correction.*

“ E. W., 17. Fourth commitment. Parents separated. The mother having lived in adultery; and the father having been twice in prison.

“ J. F., 14. Father dead. Mother has three illegitimate children.

* Report of Prisons, Northern and Eastern District, 1841, p. 66.

“ J. T., 16. Says, ‘father *gets drunk* every Saturday night, and beats my mother and me because I am a chance child. I was five years old when my mother married my step-father.’

“ T. C., 12. Charged with setting fire to a factory. Mother dead. Father in America. Quite insensible of the enormity of his offence.

“ R. N., 15. Second offence. Father often imprisoned *for drunkenness*, and neglect of family ; and would not let prisoner remain at home, because he could not get work.

“ S. T., 15. Daughter of a canal boatman. Assisted her father, and for a short time after his death her mother, in the management of the boat. Mother went to live with an elder daughter, and prisoner hired herself to a canal boatman to steer and drive the horse. Never was in a place of worship. Was instigated to her offence by the boatman.

“ J. H., 15. Fourth offence. Mother and step-father live separate.

“ W. B., 13. Father died in Lancaster Castle, while undergoing second imprisonment for uttering base coin. Mother a profligate, and now imprisoned for a similar offence.

“ H. F., 16. Sixth offence. Illegitimate. Mother first enticed him to steal flour from the mill at Mouldenwater.

“ W. B., 15. Mother dead twelve years. Deserted by his father four years ago.

“ T. W., 17. His father, who has eight children, a *drunkard*, and now in prison for poaching.

“ J. C., 17. *Both parents drunkards*, and father turned him out of doors.

“ B. G. H., 14. Discharged from the factory for batting in the lodge. Father told him to go about his business, if he could get no work. Father has *taken to drinking* lately : always treated him ill, and said he was not his.

“ T. R., 15. Father a *drunken profligate* ; and has been frequently imprisoned : has seven children.

“ B. C., 15. Step-father sent him to steal onions.

“ R. N., 17. Third commitment. *Parents addicted to drinking*. ‘ Father drunk for weeks together.’

“ W. W., 16. Second commitment. ‘ Step-mother will not let him live at home.’

“ J. W., 16. Father a soldier abroad. Mother deserted him in infancy.

“ J. W., 15. Mother dead, father in prison.

“ W. S., 15. Too late at his work on the morning of his offence, and durst not go home, for fear of his father licking him.

“ M. C., 14. Mother dead six months ago. Step-father turned him out of doors as soon as he (prisoner) became unemployed.

“ J. B., 14. Illegitimate. Mother after his birth married his step-father, and they have since separated. ‘ I did not know that I had a mother until about two years ago, when I began to get some wages at the factory, and then they fetched me from the old woman who had nursed me.

“ J. M. C., 16. Of Irish parents in Manchester. Father

a 'navigator.' Left to his own guidance from the earliest period he can recollect. 'Mother was honest, but father encouraged me to steal; he was a *great drunkard*, and when in liquor he used to beat me and my mother with anything he could lay hold of. Parents never went to any place of worship, and I never was in one until I was in this chapel. I turned a wheel for a tobacconist three years,—then he broke; and after I had been idle for three or four weeks, my father turned me out of doors.' (Tried at the August sessions for a fourth offence, and transported.)"

It was not at all intended, by the author of this Report, as there is evidence in its general style, to present a view of the prejudicial effects of a parent's drunkenness upon the child, "but to exhibit," (I quote the chaplain's own words,) "examples of the unhappy circumstances which nurture and encourage demoralization." The mention of drunkenness seems even incidental. It is evident from the particulars of these cases, that the guilt of the child generally lies at the parent's door; that the children of neglectful parents seldom have any instruction, religious, or of any other kind; and how fatal to the child's character and prospects are habits of intoxication in the father or mother.

If the reader should wish to examine the cases of other juvenile delinquents, with reference to the consequences of the misconduct, of the intemperance in particular, of parents upon their children, I refer him to a work in advocacy of the "Separate System," by the Rev. J. Field, Chaplain of Reading Jail. In the

Appendix, p. xli., he will find the particulars of many youthful prisoners recommitted to that jail; and the same conclusion will be further established.

In order to show the destitute condition of nearly all juvenile offenders in regard to religious knowledge, I adduce the following table.*

	Under 10 Years.	10 to 15.	16 to 20.	Above 20.	Total.
Could not repeat the Lord's prayer, and were ignorant of the Saviour's name	5	26	108	140	279
Could repeat the Lord's prayer, and were imperfectly acquainted with the simple truths of religion	2	31	179	272	484
Had learned the Creed, the Com- mandments, and the Catechism generally, remembering the most important parts . . . . .	..	..	23	43	66
Were familiar with the Holy Scrip- tures, and had been well in- structed in religious truths .	..	..	1	3	4

I consider the concurrent testimony of the extracts brought forward to be conclusive, and to the following effect—that 1st, the offences of youthful criminals in the overwhelming majority of cases are chargeable upon the neglect, dissipation, and wickedness of the parents, or the entire absence of parental government through orphanage. 2ndly, That the children of such parents are either wholly uninstructed in the truths of religion, or very insufficiently instructed. 3rdly, That the most common vice of profligate and abandoned parents, and

* Appendix to Separate System, p. xxxix.

the most ruinous in its consequences upon their children, is *drunkenness*.

Whether we reason upon probability, or refer to facts, the conclusion is equally forced upon us, that the bane of the working-man, the ruin of his wife, and the almost inevitable destruction of his children, which ultimately consigns them to the jail, drives them into exile in foreign parts, or conducts them to the scaffold, is the abuse of God's gifts by excessive indulgence in intoxicating liquors, unhappily so common in this land. It is intemperance which is the real root and source of far more than half our misery, disease, pauperism, ignorance, depravity, and crime.

What a picture does the following quotation from a newspaper of this year present! "*Murder of a woman by her husband at Birmingham.*—On Friday evening an inquest was held at the Grand Turk, on Ludgate Hill, on the body of Margaret Leonard, about forty years of age, wife of a man named Peter Leonard, a paper-hawker, and residing in Tanter-street, who died in consequence of injuries received from being thrown down stairs by her husband on the morning of Saturday last. They had for a long time past been in the habit of having quarrels, which often resulted in blows, *one or both* being generally *in a state of intoxication*; and from the evidence it will be seen that this was unhappily the cause of the quarrel in the present instance, which resulted in the death of the woman."

A particular fact, which was noticed in regard to large commercial or manufacturing towns, was the

increase comparative proportion of *female* crime. The increase of female crime is intimately associated with the increase of prostitution. It will be acknowledged on all sides, that when a young woman has sacrificed her chastity, she is generally prepared to run the full career of vice ; and that circumstances are not long in offering themselves, which force her in her degraded public profession to thieving, robbery, and all the various acts of the connected system of crime. Of the close relation between drunkenness in a parent, and a daughter's dissoluteness, I quote the following—

“ A decent man, a mechanic, waited upon me, and asked my advice what he should do ; he said, ‘ I have two daughters ; one is only sixteen, and the other fourteen ; I have some sons ; my wife has taken to the habit of drinking, and all my Sunday clothes, my tools, and every thing she can get hold of, goes to the pawn-shop ; I have redeemed them a hundred times : all the children's clothes are taken whenever she can : the children are left ; but what am I to do ? I am obliged to go to my work or my family would starve ; and when I am at work, here is my daughter left wholly unprotected ? I gave him the best advice I could. He returned to me in a day or two afterwards ; with tears in his eyes—he led his daughters into the office, and said, ‘ What am I to do, your worship ? at this moment the mother of these two children is beastly drunk with the gin bought by the things she has pawned, lying on the bed.’ Now that is the way in which it appears to me that it acts ; the consequences to these

girls is inevitable : nothing but a miracle can save them from becoming prostitutes.”*

Prostitution, occasioned as it too often is in the first instance, by a parent's intoxication and its consequences, is afterwards nurtured, and the feelings of nature are stifled by recourse to dram-drinking. The beer-shops and gin-palaces are the general centres of meeting, serve as a ‘rendezvous’ to vagabonds, thieves, and prostitutes. It is there, that some venturous feat of crime is succeeded by a carouse, or new plans are contrived for future depredations.

The evidence of a police magistrate states—“A very short time ago I fined a publican the utmost penalty that the law would admit; it was proved that he had thirty thieves and prostitutes in his house at eight o'clock on the Sunday morning.”†

The following statement, extracted from the last report of the Rev. Mr. Clay, though of the same revolting character as many others, must not be omitted in a work like the present. “My last year's intercourse with the subjects of my ministry has made me acquainted with practices, resorted to in certain beer-houses, which must be mentioned, in order to show what demoralizing agencies are added to those already existing in them, viz., the keeping of prostitutes. From three entirely independent sources, and at different times, I received statements fully confirming each other,

* Report on Drunkenness—Evidence of R. E. Broughton, Esq., Police magistrate, p. 15.

† Report on Drunkenness, p. 18.

which leave no doubt of the extent to which this profligate system is carried on. Sixteen houses in one town, harbouring, or rather maintaining, about fifty-four prostitutes, have been *named* to me. But this is not the full amount of the evil. The neighbourhood of those houses is corrupted. Women, married women, occupied to all appearance, with their own proper avocations at home, hold themselves at the call of the beer-house for the immoral purposes to which I have referred."

I believe that the increase of intemperance among women in more recent times is unquestionable ; and may be chiefly owing to the increased facilities afforded to their taste for ardent spirits by the general establishment of gin-shops. The passenger who will pause for a few minutes before one of the metropolitan or Liverpool gin-palaces, will be astonished at the almost incredible amount of females, who in that short time will pass in and out. This consideration will tend to account directly for the formidable increase of female crime in late years, and principally in the gin-drinking localities.

It is necessary to enlarge upon the subject of prostitution, as in intimate connexion with drunkenness and juvenile depravity.

[S.] The extent to which prostitution exists at the present day, is scarce adequately known to such as are not familiar with the contents of parliamentary papers. I shall cite some notices on this head. " In Birmingham, juvenile prostitution greatly prevails, the ages varying from 14 to 18 ; none under 14, except one case of a

child under 9 years of age. These females have principally worked in the factories of the town ; most of them are notorious thieves. The men who frequent the brothels, are in age from 14 to 20. In a district, which witness could walk round in fifteen minutes, there are 118 brothels, and 42 other houses of ill-fame resorted to by prostitutes." Another witness states, "The fact of boys and girls working together in the same factories leads much to prostitution. It is the beginning, the very first step towards both prostitution and stealing." Another witness says, "In the low brothels and lodging-houses of the town, there are many juvenile prostitutes not more than 13, 14, and 15. Many of them fall into this condition in consequence of the vicious habits of the parents ; sometimes from the drunkenness of the father, sometimes from the second marriage of the mother, leading to disputes and strife. Boys of the age of 12 and 13 go with the girls, who work with them in the same shop."

[S.] It is important to examine into the causes of prostitution, almost universal in manufacturing towns, and commenced at such very early years. Many of these have been mentioned in the course of this Essay : but in addition to those already alluded to, we must enumerate among the causes of prostitution, *parental concubinage*. As many as 120 to 300 men and women are often found living together unmarried, in a single district of the London City Mission, comprising no more than 550 families. *Parental neglect, or even parental incitation*, is one of the most frequent causes of prostitution.

The prison reports afford many instances in which girls under 12 or 13 years of age have been forced into the streets in order to supply a brutalized parent with *drink*.

[S.] "Domestic troubles," says M. Parent Duchatelet, "which so many girls are subjected to from barbarous and inhuman parents, are, amongst others, a great cause of this vice." Another powerful cause, as is observed by the same writer, is bad *parental example* in general, particularly as it arises from drunkenness. The topic of example has been already discussed. *Orphanage* must be added, as a largely controlling cause: but orphanage is itself produced by habits of intoxication more frequently than by any other cause. Statistics have shown that drunkards die at the rate of 10 per cent. annually: so that the length of time during which they indulge their vice, is on the average only 10 years. Another active cause is misery and *destitution*. In the tables compiled by M. Duchatelet, we find that 1255 became prostitutes either from loss of parents, expulsion from home, or from being abandoned by relatives; while 1441 fell into that degraded condition from excess of misery, or *sheer destitution*. There can be no doubt, that one terrible evil, resulting from the small payment now made for female labour, is exposure to seduction, which often leads to after-life prostitution. Associated, as the immediate with one of the above-mentioned as the more remote cause, or alone as the sole cause, is *drunkenness*. When one of the preceding conditions has rendered a female an easy victim to the

seducer, the aid of intoxicating stimulants is generally had recourse to by the inhuman villain, to allay the sense of shame and degradation. I remember in particular, the instance of a servant maid, who, on losing her place, got intoxicated the same night, and a few days afterwards was enrolled among the habitual street-walkers. A carouse at the beer-shop or gin-palace, after some public amusement, has frequently afforded the first initiation to a course of prostitution. These causes are the more operative, because the external means and opportunities for their full efficiency, are on a large and complete scale.

The subject of lodging-houses must here again be touched upon. [S.] The lodging-houses of our manufacturing, and indeed of our provincial towns, are really brothels, and the most low and most demoralizing brothels, which exist. "In these houses, boys and girls live together in promiscuous intercourse. The keepers of them even come to the gates of the prison, and upon the discharge of youthful offenders, carry them off to their haunts. Such power do associates of this kind gain over children, that a little boy who went out of the Liverpool prison the other day, ran off immediately again from his parents to one of these receptacles."*

The evidence of Mr. Symons on the state of Leeds, says,—“I went, accompanied by Inspector Childs and three police officers, to visit the low places of resort of the working-classes of Leeds. We started soon after

* Prison Reports. 1847.

nine o'clock, and visited about a score of beer and public-houses, and as many lodging-houses. We found the former crowded with lads and girls, a motley assemblage of thieves, and youths of both sexes from the factories. There were, on an average, about thirty in each house, and in each case, ranged on the benches round the walls of the room, well lighted, and with a blazing fire. I am confident, that of the 600 persons I saw in these houses, not above one quarter, if so many, were turned of 25 years of age, and at least two-thirds were under age. I counted seventeen who were apparently under 16 years of age. In the *beer-shops there were several mere children*; and in almost all, were prostitutes. In some of these places, we found a fiddle or other instrument played: these places were thronged as full as they could hold. In another, dancing was going on in a good sized room up stairs, where I found a dozen couples performing a country dance; the females were all factory girls and prostitutes. Obscene attitudes and language accompany and form the chief zest to this amusement. Not one of these dancers, boys or girls, was above 20 or 21 years of age, and most of them were 16 or 17."

Prostitution, such as it has now been presented to my readers, is most intimately connected with the increase of juvenile depravity, is largely produced by intoxication as the immediate or more remote cause, and is maintained by the stimulus of strong drinks. The fact, that all proposed plans for the diminution of the extended

and increasing vice of prostitution, have been defeated in Parliament by unusually large majorities, is very strongly to the discredit of the upper classes. It is imperatively required, that more control be exercised over the lodging-houses; that they be, if possible, suppressed, and model lodging-houses, conducted by respectable persons, substituted in their room. Asylums for destitute females, who are likely to become prostitutes, if left to earn a scanty and miserable livelihood by their needle or work of some kind, are more needed than even asylums for the male juveniles, who from circumstances, &c., are likely to become criminals. This statement will be borne out by a consideration of the immense influence which female morals must exercise over the other sex, and by calling to mind the fact, that in every age and nation, the moral condition of the female portion of society has ever been regarded the surest index of the general moral state of society at large. The lyric poet of Rome, Horace, traces the misery and demoralized condition of his country to the public breach of chastity, as the prime cause :—

“ *Fæcunda culpæ sæcula nuptias
Primum inquinavere, et genus et domos :
Hoc fonte derivata clades
Inque patres populum que fluxit.*”—*Od. iii. 6.*

“ Fertile of ill, this age corrupt defiled
The marriage bed, the social hearth, and home :
From this source sprung the o’erflowing stream of sin
Rushed on our nobles and our land. ”

The prevalence of prostitution, and its close association with intemperance, will, if further proof of either of these points be necessary, appear from an inspection of the following statistics :—

METROPOLIS—1842.							
[S.]	Taken into custody.		Discharged.		Summarily convicted.		
Disorderly	12,625		6,409		6,216		
Prostitutes	2,500		899		1,681		
Drunken	12,338		8,423		3,915		
	Of these were						
	10 years and under 15.		15 years and under 20.		20 years and under 25.		
	Males.	Females	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	
	Disorderly	189	17	885	386	1,137	428
	Prostitutes	10	..	545	..	570
Drunk	1	..	145	83	553	199	

In a report made to the Society for the Suppression of Juvenile Prostitution in 1835, it was stated that, of the many thousand prostitutes then existing in London, the larger portion were of tender years.

The number of prostitutes taken into custody in Manchester in 1843, was 836.

LIVERPOOL.		
[S.]	1842.	1843.
Drunk and disorderly	2880	..
Drunken prostitutes	902	935
Drunk	2996	2558

[S.] The cost of crime in alliance with prostitution in Liverpool is computed on good authority as follows :—

	Per annum.
300 Brothels, weekly income estimated at £5. each	£78,000
1200 Prostitutes residing therein, average weekly income, 40s. each	124,800
3000 Ditto, in private lodgings, „ 30s. „	234,000
1200 Fancy men, cohabiting with prostitutes } „ 20s. „	62,400
1000 Adult thieves „ 40s. „	104,000
500 Ditto, who work and steal „ 20s. „	26,000
1200 Juvenile thieves „ 10s. „	31,200
70 Ditto, notorious, under 15 years „ 20s. „	3,640
50 Hawkers who steal or make others steal } „ 20s. „	2,600
100 Dick wallopers „ 20s. „	5,200
400 Who discharge vessels and steal „ 60s. „	62,400
Total	£734,240

Thus wherever prostitution predominates, theft also abounds, the two being in league.

[S.] It is very necessary to consider the subject of sanitary evils as acting upon orphanage and pauperism, and thus remotely upon juvenile depravity and crime. In 1840, there were 112,000 orphans and 43,000 widows receiving parochial relief. The numbers of both must have very much increased since that time. Labouring men generally marry early in life ; hence their wives will in general have ceased to bear children before reaching the age of fifty ; and, consequently, the great mass of orphanage must be assigned to premature death. The following table shows the average ages at which the deaths occurred of the husbands and fathers of the

widows and orphan children in receipt of parish relief, in the following Unions :—

[S.] UNIONS.	Number of husbands dying under 60.	Average age at death.	Number of husbands dying above 60.	Average age at death.	Total deaths.	Average age.
Manchester	718	42	432	69	1150	52
Whitechapel	351	44	239	69	590	54
Bethnal Green	250	44	195	69	445	55
Strand	157	42	63	66	220	49
Oakham and Uppingham	136	45	118	71	254	57
Alston with Garrigil ..	69	45	20	66	89	50
Bath	66	38	1	60	67	39

This table shows the extreme frequency of premature widowhood and orphanage. The number of widows and orphans receiving relief from 585 Unions in England and Wales was, in 1844, 164,664: in 1845, 169,778.

A great deal of the depopulation, thus proved to take place, might be prevented by proper sanitary measures. Of the 5000 persons who die annually in the metropolis from consumption, the lives of at least half, it is calculated, might be saved, if proper attention were paid to the ventilation of workshops and houses.

The following table exhibits the comparative agency in depopulation of the most destructive diseases incident to man. Of 100,000 population, there are deaths from—

[S.]	In the country.	In the towns.	Total excess.
Typhus	1000	1250	250
Epidemic and contagious, together	3400	6000	2600
Scrofulous and consumptive	3800	4600	800

The causes of the depopulation we have noticed, are, strictly speaking, neglect of sanitary measures and intemperance combined. The primary cause of typhus fever is stated to be intemperance, malaria acting with the most fatal effect on a physical frame debilitated and rendered susceptible of disease by habitual intoxication ; the same is declared to be the indirect cause of scrofula and consumption. The two above-mentioned causes acting together, not only produce by their united force disease, but they reciprocally aid each other ; intemperance causes filth and stench, and the accumulations of untidiness and dirt are a new incentive to drunkenness. The influence of fever upon pauperism is strongly demonstrated by the fact that, in the metropolitan parish of St. George's, Southwark, out of 1467 persons who at one time received parochial relief, 1276, that is, the whole number, excepting 191, were reported to be ill with fever.

In examining into the causes of crime, what a complex tangle presents itself of agencies connected one with another, acting and re-acting, shifting places as cause and effect, or exerting their influence as combined causes. For this reason it is extremely difficult to reckon the cost arising from the want of sanitary regulations, because there is an evident complication : there is the poors' relief to the widow and children, and also the cost attendant not only on crime, but on vice.

Any one who examines the Commissioners' Reports of Prisons, will remark probably with some surprise, how frequently "weak mind" is superscribed as the cause of

offences. I do not assert that one sole reason can be assigned for this result, or any other ; but it is on evidence that the use of intoxicating drinks, and especially of ardent spirits, frequently and even naturally leads to mental derangement ; not only in the persons so habituated, but even in their children. It is well known that intemperance takes effect immediately upon the nerves, and that the peculiar product of this vice is "delirium tremens," a frightful disease nearly allied to, and to a common observer, scarce distinguishable from derangement. Dr. Gordon mentions that he was requested to see an individual who was supposed to be deranged, but who was, he found, suffering under "delirium tremens." On informing the family of the fact, he was told that the individual was remarkably temperate. It appeared, however, on inquiry, that he had been frightened at the idea of cholera, and having heard that brandy was the best preventive, on coming to town to his office had taken a minute quantity every day, till at last he was unable to dispense with the stimulus. "In six months," says Dr. Gordon, "he was attacked with delirium tremens, and narrowly escaped with his life."*

The same law of transmission from parent to child holds good with regard to drunkenness, as to any other vice. There is a predisposition in the drunkard's child to intemperance. It is, perhaps, even more remarkable, that "idiotcy," or "weak mind" in a child, is frequently attributable to a parent's undue indulgence in intoxicating beverages. Dr. Brown, in his essay, on

* Report on Drunkenness, p. 196.

Hereditary Tendency to Insanity, writes:—"The drunkard injures and enfeebles his own nervous system, and entails mental disease upon his family. . . . At present I have two patients, who appear to inherit a tendency to unhealthy action of the brain, from mothers addicted to drinking; and another, an idiot, whose father was a drunkard."

If inquiry be made, what becomes of the children addicted to early vice, whether an amendment in after life takes place upon the habits and practices of youth, I fear it will be found that a career of wickedness is seldom checked by detection and consequent punishment. This appears from the numerous recommitments of criminals of all ages, but particularly of juveniles. It is clear that in the great majority of cases, the youthful delinquent discharged and let loose once more upon society, returns to his old courses. Indeed it is well known, that, if the youth was committed to prison, a new impetus will have been given to crime by association with the abandoned characters who are congregated within the precincts of a jail; and that the demoralized lad thus becomes irreparably depraved. A conviction of this truth was so strong in the minds of the legislature, that penitentiaries for juvenile offenders exclusively, have been established in this country, and we trust that sufficient additions will be made to their number, to enable them to contain all the youthful perpetrators of crime. Under this system, there is reason to hope that real reformatations have been effected; but still, with a complete organization of amending processes, the evil to be grappled with is of no ordinary

kind ; the associations of infancy and childhood are stubborn and unyielding ; the early bend of the twig, according to which all the preceding growth has advanced, is hard to be reversed ; the precept of the wise man—" 'Train up a child in the way he should go : and when he is old, he will not depart from it,' " implies the fatal consequences of an adverse course. It is by the pernicious habit of intoxication, that not only thousands and thousands are sunk into abject misery and destitution, driven to dishonest courses, hardened in guilt, launched unprepared into another world, the victims, probably, to their latest hour of this accursed vice ; but, what is yet more awful to reflect upon, that the happiness of unborn myriads is compromised both for time and for eternity.

It would be a fit object of religious zeal to rescue the children of drunken parents from the examples to which they must be exposed, and all the horrors of their situation. As it is the general opinion that a drunkard deserves the same treatment as a child, or a madman, it would be no undue extension of the prerogatives of Government to remove out of the hands of such persons the care of their children, but tax them at the same time, if possible, for their support. Difficulties would of course attend any plan of this nature ; but the alternative of leaving them under their parents' roof, to be demoralized, depraved, and rendered nuisances to themselves and society, is so shocking, that it cannot be acquiesced in by a mind alive to the inevitable consequences of their state with any degree of patience. The establishment of homes of refuge at least for those who have no homes,

whose parents have no care or thought for their offspring, is imperatively required by the present vitiated moral condition of the lower classes. This in conjunction with temperance societies, and their encouragement by names of weight and influence, is a step in the right direction, which it must be matter of sincere grief has not yet been taken. Attention should be directed to the subject by members of both Houses of Parliament, and particularly by the clergy of the Established Church, and the ministers of all other communions ; indeed, by all who are interested in the present and everlasting welfare of the millions round them, who at present through the influence of pervading habits of intoxication live and die, in too many instances, more imbruted than the brutes who have no after-account to render—yes—than “ the brutes which perish.”

But an objector will ask, “ Has it been found that the temperance efforts were productive of any good ; that, crime diminished in consequence ? ” I am happy that to this question a decided answer can be returned in the affirmative. In the year 1834, there was a great temperance movement in Lancashire, under the influence of the recently formed Total Abstinence Society. Drinking habits received a check, and crime diminished to such a degree, as to call forth the special notice of the chaplain to the jail in his annual reports, and the commendation of Baron Alderson, when presiding over the Assizes at Lancaster.*

But the change effected in Ireland by the adoption of abstinence principles among the lower orders, particularly

* Chambers's Miscellany. Temperance Movement,—vol. iii.

those of the Roman Catholic persuasion, will furnish the strongest argument on this head. In no other case was the adoption so general as among the Irish ; to whom in dense crowds of thousands the pledge was administered by Father Mathew, between the years 1837 and 1841.

The following table exhibits the decreased consumption of intoxicating liquors, the diminution of crime, of improvidence, consequent on the diffusion of total abstinence principles.

	Consumption of liquors.	Returns of outrages reported to the constabulary.	In Richmond Bridewell.*	Depositors in Savings' Banks in July, August, and September.
In 1837	11,235,635	12,096	....	....
„ 1838	....	11,058	....	7,264
„ 1839	....	1,077	136	7,433
„ 1840	....	773	23	8,953
„ 1841	6,485,443	...	....	9,585

** On the 1st of September, 1839, the number of prisoners in this prison was 136, as shown above ; and in November, 1840, the number was reduced one-sixth, viz. to twenty-three. At the same time, in consequence of 100 cells in Richmond Bridewell being empty, Smithfield was closed entirely.**

The Governor of Maryborough Jail, thus writes under date 13th of November, 1841. “ Temperance has had the most desirable effects on the peasantry in this part of the country. Peace in all places of public resort, such as fairs, and markets, &c., has taken the place of

** I beg to inform the reader, lest he should suppose that I have dressed out a table inserting and omitting as suited my ends, that the only reason of any omission has been inability on my part to procure returns for the years omitted.*

disorder, riot, bloodshed, and murder. . . . Very few crimes of a serious nature are now heard of; and in minor offences there has been a great decrease. The number of prisoners in jail, 13th November, 1837, was 128; the number on this day 98, difference less now in prison 30. This is a great saving; at £15. each, it amounts to £450. annually. There is another point of view in which this may be taken. We are aware that in this part of the country, the Roman Catholic part of the population were formerly most addicted to intemperance; and, consequently, there was always a majority of them in the jail. On 13th of November, 1837, there were Roman Catholics in this jail 122; at the same time Protestants 6; total 128. This day, November 13th, 1841, there are Roman Catholics, 73; Protestants, 25; total 98."

Such was the alteration produced in Ireland, by the noble efforts of Father Mathew. The reduction of intemperance immediately acted upon crime, outrage, and improvidence; and had the same cause been permitted to continue its natural operations, without counter agencies, among others that of famine, interposing their control; no doubt can be entertained that similar good results would be exhibited in annually increasing proportions.

The beneficial results of total abstinence in Ireland, in which country temperance principles were adopted more generally than in any other part of the United Kingdom, are very striking; while at the same time the present calamitous state of that unhappy land is evidence, that, although temperance will do much, it will

not supply radical defects in the system of social life. But the natural consequences of intemperance are perhaps nowhere more vividly depicted than in the immediate change for the worse produced on the aborigines of more recently discovered countries by the introduction of strong liquors. The effects which European *fire-water* produced on the manners of the native Americans, when first given to them—amongst the negroes of Africa—amongst the Australians; the eager desire with which the aborigines of a new country imbibe them, and the consequences of fierceness, licentiousness, crime, and blood, form a powerful picture. These results have been recently witnessed among the Chinese on whom we endeavoured to force our intoxicating liquors; and amongst the South Sea Islanders. As regards the influences of strong drink on the last-named people, the late Missionary Williams thus writes:—"On arriving at Raiatea, I was perfectly astounded at beholding the scenes of drunkenness which prevailed in my former flourishing station. There were scarcely a hundred people who had not disgraced themselves. . . . I could scarcely imagine that they were the same persons amongst whom I had lived so long, and of whom I had thought so highly." The narration proceeds to state, that a meeting was called, and the people with their chief resolved "to abandon the use of that which *was unfitting them for earth and heaven.*" Accordingly the stills were demolished: and the Queen of Tahiti has entirely forbidden the introduction or use of ardent spirits in the island, under heavy penalties.

Suppose that Great Britain had to this day been entirely *without intoxicating liquors*, that only full information had reached us of the incalculable evils,—social, political, moral, and religious, which their use inflicts upon some other country ; and that it were at this moment the subject of debate, whether their introduction should be permitted, or not. Would not our patriots, our philanthropists, our moralists and divines, with one united voice, raised to its highest pitch, denounce the introduction ? Would they not cite the many cases in point of other countries, and depict in deep colours the horrors, the barbarities, and the sin occasioned by such means ? And would not every right-minded Briton sympathize with their impassioned efforts to avert a tremendous public calamity ? But is the question proposed to us under the present circumstances of our country less easy to be solved, because it involves not the *introduction*, but the *ejection* ? Is our duty reversed, because the evils are indeed *not apprehended*, but the *terrible infliction has been felt* ?

Why then do the energies of our patriots and our philanthropists stagnate ? Are we not driven to the melancholy conviction, that the enemy has not only been admitted, but has conquered,* and has thrown enchanted fetters over his numerous victims, who have thereby lost the sense of captivity, and as they grovel in the dust, lick the tyrant's feet ?

It remains to estimate the total cost to this country

* It was the remark of Chateaubriand—"In new colonies, the Spaniards begin by building a church—the French, a ball-room—and the *English*, a tavern."

of strong drink, both directly and indirectly. The English, as a commercial nation, have a taste for accounts; they labour under a weakness for seeing the balance-sheet. It is even hinted that pecuniary arguments come with greater weight than any other; and that many who pass by the accumulations of filth, poverty, misery, and crime, as of little moment to themselves; will alter their ideas on it being shown that the maintenance of so much wretchedness requires millions and millions of pounds sterling; part of which is defrayed from their own pockets. Virtue may be a trifle to many; but pounds sterling are no trifle. I shall be careful that my computations may be rather under than above the truth.

The cost of strong drink on a rough calculation will be as follows:—

*Consumption of all kinds of intoxicating liquors in the United Kingdom	} £65,000,000
[S.] The sum total of £7,484,915. was expended in poor-relief in the United Kingdom in 1846. We might justly take the low average of one-third of this sum, but say one-fourth, to be set to intempe- rance as the cause	} 1,871,228
[S.] The entire expenditure for justice in 1846, was £1,557,756. one-third might certainly be set to intemperance, but say one-fourth	} 389,439
Our loss at sea by shipwrecks, &c., is computed at £3,000,000. per annum. A committee of the House of Commons in the year 1836, ascribed one- third to intemperance. But take only one-sixth	} 500,000
Total	<hr/> 67,760,667 <hr/>

* Chambers's Miscellany. Temperance Movement.

In this computation, the cost of fever and of such disease generally as is the result of intemperate habits, and the loss of time and money consequent to labourers and work-people from intoxication, together with a large proportion of the expense of lunatic asylums, hospitals, and coroners' inquests,* are not included. If these necessary and very considerable additions be made, it will be evident that the cost of intoxicating drinks to this country greatly exceeds £70,000,000. per annum.

Such is the debtor side of the account! What is purchased with this vast and incredible outlay? not the happiness of the population, not domestic comfort and enjoyment: but misery, penury, filth, orphanage, beggary, prostitution, ignorance, depravity and crime!

A country which raises in support of all her charitable and philanthropic institutions and societies, exclusive of hospitals and schools, less than £1,000,000. per annum, is found to consume in the purchase of "weakness and debility," pauperism and ignorance, vice and irreligion, more than £70,000,000! A nation which emancipated her slaves at an enormous sacrifice; and by that christian

* "Among the items of county expenditure for the last year, appeared the cost of 1455 coroners' inquests. I have been obliged by much information relating to them, but I am unable to place it in a statistical form. I will only quote from one of these gentlemen, Mr. Heyes, who says, 'I have noted for pretty nearly the last twenty years, that if you exclude inquests held on children, and accidents in collieries, nearly nine-tenths of the inquests I hold each year, are on the bodies of persons whose deaths are to be attributed to drinking.'"—*Chaplain's Report of the Preston House of Correction.* 1847.

act declared to the whole world her faith in the truths of Revelation ; perpetuates misery worse than that of chains, the bondage of ignorance, wretchedness and iniquity, at the lavish and incalculable cost of millions !

And here I must be allowed to remark, what has been implied indeed in a former part of this Essay, but needs to be more expressly stated, viz : that the inquiries of most persons into the causes of juvenile crime, even of such as are led to the investigation by motives of christian benevolence, are very generally too superficial. As soon as the immediate cause of youthful crime has been discovered, it is erroneously supposed that the inquiry is ended. It is thus that we are repeatedly told, that “want of employment,” that the “absence of the bare necessities of life,” are the causes of precocious vice. For instance, Lord Ashley affirmed in the House of Commons, in June last, that “there were 30,000 naked, filthy, roaming, lawless children, who formed the seed-plot of nineteen-twentieths of the crime which desolates the metropolis.” Such a statement is unquestionably true. But let the investigation be pursued a step further, let the deep *source* of evil be ascertained, and the question which next occurs, viz : “What is the cause of the want of employment so justly accused ?” be traced out. I feel warranted, and I am assured that the conclusions of all who will be at sufficient pains to prosecute the inquiry will bear me out, in asserting, that the non-employment itself, the abject want and destitution, are in the majority of instances the necessary product of the intemperance of parents. In the wide-spread, deep-rooted, national

habit of intoxication will be found the fundamental cause, —the real cause of causes. To supply, then, the fullest employment, if no more be done, is merely to remedy the evil for the instant, to palliate and film over, while “rank corruption mining all within, infects unseen.” As long as we have myriads of drunken dissolute parents, we must expect still to have myriads of sons and daughters, who will be in a manner *forced* to earn a wretched livelihood by thieving and by prostitution. At the same time, therefore, that means are adopted to drain off the current of iniquity which at the present hour sweeps through our streets, let the most active efforts of zeal be applied, to stop the tide of mischief at its outbreak, to fill up the defiling source. Unless such preventive measures be brought under the consideration of influential parties—of our legislature itself, and carried into earnest operation, the evil will still be for ever increasing upon our hands, demand will succeed to demand in fresh and overwhelming quantity, and supply will be hopeless. With the most zealous exertions we shall be labouring all in vain, unless we confront the evil in the proper place, and at the fitting time, that is, at its start and commencement. If a systematic means of preventing, what to all good men is a subject of mournful anxiety, be the grand desideratum ; it is indispensable to observe the trite maxim, “Begin from the beginning.”

And this remark is peculiarly applicable at a time when a plan has been proposed by Mr. Pearson, the City Solicitor, which has met with a favourable reception from influential quarters, of establishing schools or

asylums for young persons likely to become criminals. It is proposed that the cost of clothing and feeding the inmates of the asylums, or so much of it as is not provided by the labour of the youths, should be borne by their parents, if possible, or by their parishes. This is a most admirable plan, and preferable to an extended system of penitentiaries, because it grapples with the mischief in an earlier stage : but desirable as it is to adopt such a preventive process, it is yet more important to check the causes which generate a tendency to crime in so large a portion of our juvenile populace. If home is, in numerous cases, a scene of debauchery and sin, if this is to be allowed to continue a permanent fact on the face of English life, it will not be easy to rescue the child from such a training-school sufficiently early to prevent the lodgment of many and most fatal seeds of evil in his moral constitution. Cannot the moral condition of the parents be bettered ? Is it impossible, that those immoral habits on their part, which compel a vicious education of their children up to at least a certain time, can be checked or even annihilated ? Intemperance is the most frequent and the most ruinous source of household confusion and domestic vice. Are there no means then of meeting the mischief in its earliest stage of all ? To this momentous question an answer has already been given by implication ; and the subject involved will be considered more fully hereafter.

Our examination of the subject proposed to us, will have enabled us to answer two questions of anxious importance, which naturally suggest themselves to every

reflecting mind. In the first place, is education generally or frequently perverted? The reply is most satisfactory to the cause of instruction. Our calendars exhibit a very small proportion of those able to read and write well, of those who have received a good religious education, in the lists of criminals. To this strong evidence of the general non-perversion of education, must be added the uniform testimony of overseers of factories and others; that the best educated are always the most orderly, the most moral and sober. Very little dependence is to be placed upon individual instances, which no doubt may be raked out in contradiction of every general conclusion; but the almost invariable tendency of enlarged instruction, as evidenced by authority and statistics, to good, should be regarded as conclusive on this head. I would however distinguish between the progress of intellect in the world around, and the advance of education in the individual's own mind. The facilities of evil acts have been greatly increased by the altered social condition of society, and the *more general* development of human intellect, and ingenuity in all the various branches of study: the attractions to vice have augmented; the organization of the several parts of the corrupting system has become more complete; simultaneously with increased means and powers of good, the means of evil have necessarily been on the increase; and, therefore, the uneducated, the religiously uninstructed, the mentally unimproved, are less favourably situated, (how can it be otherwise?) than a century or half a century ago. The inference derived from a review of the present

posture of affairs, is the imperative necessity of more diffused and enlarged education. If the solicitations to vice are increased, the powers of moral resistance require to be strengthened and confirmed on their part.

The question then which follows, of vital importance, is, what agency is there abroad calculated to impede the progress of national instruction? That the progress of instruction has been impeded; that all the efforts of modern zeal have hitherto in general effected only imperfect and very inadequate improvement in this respect; and that the average standard of attainment even in the elementary knowledge of reading and writing, is exceedingly low among the poorer classes in this country, are points only too obvious, and have been already proved. Numerous subordinate causes have tended to such a result. The ascertained connexion between ignorance and crime admonishes us, that whatever agency greatly contributes to produce the latter, will, of necessity, preclude at the same time the dispersion of the thick cloud of super-incumbent ignorance. We have found that crime and ignorance grow from a common stock, are closely linked together, and well nigh indissoluble. The cause of crime has been traced by various but connected channels, to the grand reservoir and fountain-source. But the root or stock, the fountain head, or use what term appears the most appropriate from the assortments of kindred metaphor, the ultimate cause, the grand arcanum, which can alone sufficiently explain the vast amount and remarkable increase of crime generally, and of juvenile crime in particular, is found in the cha-

racteristic feature of the depravity of the lower orders in this country, in widely-diffused habits of intemperance. The main cause of ignorance is identical.

It has been shown that the children of a drunken parent have little chance of obtaining the blessings of instruction ; and beyond that, it has been demonstrated by actual facts, that the children of drunken parents apprehended by justice for the commission of some crime, are almost uniformly either wholly or in great measure uneducated. He who considers the wide-spread intemperance of the lower orders, as is proved by the immense consumption of intoxicating liquors, particularly of ardent spirits, which are little used by the upper ranks, will have no difficulty in explaining the general destitution among the same class in regard to education. It cannot be otherwise than that the children of drunken, idle, pauperised, and brutal parents, will be, for the most part, uninstructed. Thus a seminary is formed of depraved young persons of both sexes, removed from the means of moral and religious education, corrupted and corrupting with the contagion of vice ; from which issue the numerous juvenile offenders, whose precocity in wickedness is subject of grief and alarm to every well-regulated mind. Under the malignant influence of intemperate habits, the progress of education has not corresponded to the increased means of instruction : and even in the case of those who have been brought within the reach of school discipline, the degree of proficiency in elementary attainments has been generally so humble, that it would have been unreasonable

to expect any highly beneficial results. The degraded moral habits, the drunkenness of parents, seduce their children into early guilt, and preclude the admission of useful knowledge of any kind, religious or secular.

CHAPTER V.

REASON FOR EDUCATION MORE PARTICULARLY AT THE
PRESENT TIME—DUTIES OF THE LEGISLATURE—OF
PROPRIETORS—AND OF THE MASS OF THE PEOPLE.

THAT the great increase of depravity in our age has been mainly occasioned by the increase of drunkenness, and that intemperance, although at all times more or less in one class of society or another, the national vice, has been immensely aggravated and cherished among the lower orders by the series of changes introduced by the rise of manufactures, is, as I believe, the true connexion in the chain of causes and effects. But my reasonings must not be misconstrued into opposition to the pursuits and arrangements of modern life. No man in his senses, could conceive it either possible or desirable, to turn back the tide of a nation's industry, and reduce things to the position in which they were in a past century. If evil has in many shapes been the consequent of the revolution which we have undergone, good has also resulted. The national power and resources have been enlarged beyond precedent: the national intellect has been emancipated from a thralldom, under which it lay or slept enchained for ages: even the increased requirements in point of knowledge at our universities are the effects of a *general* awakening from a long slum-

ber : but the noblest trophy of the new system is the improved tone of morality among the upper classes—to them education has been a boon indeed ! I am inclined to regard the good as the natural product of the new order of things ; but the evil as rather nearly connected with it, than inherent ; to which there was a strong liability in the changed constitution of affairs, requiring the active application of remedies, but scarcely an uncontrollable and irresistible tendency.

The neglect and apathy of proprietors of factories, and those in authority, or possessed of influence, left the labouring population in benighted ignorance, the slaves of circumstances. Every nobler thought was merged in the monomania of money getting. The old lesson of history was thus repeated ; which we have condensed in the lines of a poet of the ancient world.

“ Quid non mortalia pectora cogis
Auri sacra fames !”

“ How quickly nature falls into revolt
When Gold becomes her object.”—*Shaksp. Henry V.*

But it is our province not merely to mourn over, but to profit by the errors of a past generation. The change, universal as it has been, would seem not to have yet reached its perfect maturity. If we may judge by public enactments, and the pervading tone of the day, of which the former are but the echo, the manufacturing system is likely to be extended far beyond its present limits. Who can calculate the consequence of an alteration in laws supposed to be essential to the agricultural prosperity of the kingdom, but which have been

broken down in the triumph of the opposing interest, and cleared away by the overbearing torrent of public opinion? The imperative call which such reflections enforce, is the necessity of extending the blessings of religious and general instruction to the whole working class, and of removing, as far as may be, at the same time the impediments which stand in the way.

If coming events cast their shadows before them, and a general movement imply an ascertained sense of some great want, there is reason to think that the necessity of extended and advanced education was never more intense than at the present hour.

I shall briefly consider the duties of the legislative, of influential individuals, and of the large mass of the people.

The legislative has awakened to the importance of education for the labouring and artizan class. It has held out an helping hand impartially to all Christian communions without regard to the varying shades of opinion. This is a measure in conformity with the spirit of the age. The centralization of the period requires, that an enlarged scheme of universal education should emanate from the Government. There is a competition now opened to every religious body: a glorious but pacific rivalry is stimulated by the incitements offered by the executive, who have come forward as unprejudiced umpires; and the greatest ardour will conquer in the race, and wear the wreath. But in truth, the cause though advocated in different ways, is really one: and the beneficial results will be common.

But there is a worm in the bud which threatens to destroy every hope of the full expanded blossom of general mental culture, and quickened intelligence. It is intemperance which must be grappled with, in all our efforts to diffuse religious knowledge and sound instruction. When the school has been built and provided with all the requisites, the master instructed in the duties of his calling is standing at his desk, the larger half of the great work remains to be accomplished ; the scholars are to be procured, retained, and really educated. This last condition to effective teaching requires that the tuition of the school-room be not undone at home ; or if like Penelope's web, the labour of the morning be unstitched before the next sunrise, the object will never be attained, and the hopes of Christian benevolence will turn to despair. It may be a difficult question for decision, how far any enactment of the legislative could tend to discourage and diminish drunkenness ; and our past history warns us that, wisdom in the choice of means is as essential as the purest motives, and most laudable ends. That the consumption of intoxicating liquors has been increased by lowering the rate of duty, is unquestionable ; but at the same time it is hard to determine to what extent a very high imposition may be a premium on illicit distillation and smuggling. By the imposition of a duty so high as to amount to a prohibition, the profession offering large pecuniary returns, such a number of individuals might be induced to adopt smuggling, that no increase or more complete organization of our preventive service body would be able to

grapple successfully with the evil. As long as the taste and passion of the nation for strong drink remains as it is now, an attempt at total prohibition must be at the least highly dangerous. The parallel in the reign of George II. is known to every one

Perhaps the wisdom of Parliament would be best shown, in fixing the duty, not so high as to encourage contraband trade and private distillation, and yet not so low as to diffuse facilities of obtaining liquor by the consequent cheapness. The present duty would seem to be too low to obviate the latter evil. Indeed the position of Parliament appears to be too dependent to originate any such extensive measure ; its relation to public opinion is much that of the hand to the head ; it is a puppet which can be thrown into every variety of attitude by external wires ; or, if we may multiply similes, St. Stephen's is the chamber to which the winds hasten from the four quarters, the spot in which their fury strives and wrestles, and the blast which comes laden with the keenest force, obtains the mastery. Hence it is desirable that all changes of such a nature should be self-originated in the mass ; and whenever this is the case, there will be the best reason to hope that the good effects will be permanent.

The act for regulating the sale of beer and other liquors on the Lord's day, very recently passed, is the most beneficial measure in control of disorderly drunkenness, which has emanated from the legislature of this country. But I have heard the remark from the poor man's lips,—“ Those places, Sir, ought to be closed

during the whole of the Sunday, to all except travellers." In country villages, the *Sunday evening*, as I have learnt by observation, is the time when the dissolute habitually congregate for a debauch in the ale-house. Whilst treating on this topic, I cannot refrain from observing, how important it is to diminish the number of low beer-shops, which might be done by raising the qualification in regard to house-rent, &c., required by law. The beer-shop board still presents to the eye, the demoralizing privilege of a most infamous law, and in large letters announces the liberty conferred by Parliament—"Licensed to be drunk on the premises."

The hand of the law has already under a cruel necessity been compelled to reduce the horrors of factory labour: but a vast amount of evil remains to be expurged. Does not the moral sense of the nation revolt against the intermixture of males and females in the mills? If the operations of manufacture are to be greatly extended, let the moral inflictions be curtailed.

The co-operation of influential individuals, proprietors of factories and coal mines, and of all in authority, is needed in the first place to carry out the enactments of the Legislature. There is reason to believe, that these are in many cases evaded. The chief loophole for the continuance of any practice prohibited by Act of Parliament, is to shift the onus from the principal overseer to the individual subordinates, who have thus indirectly the countenance of those immediately above them, for the infringement of the law. A law has been passed prohibiting the employment of women in the under-

ground work in mines ; but yet it may be feared, that instances of the continuance of such a demoralizing practice are to be found. The carelessness of masters of factories in merely suspending printed regulations in the work-rooms, but neglecting to exercise a beneficial surveillance is another case of a law violated.

But honesty and zeal in carrying into operation the enactments of Parliament, is perhaps the smallest item in the duties of proprietors and masters. It is theirs, by virtue of their relative position, to use all the means in their power for the physical comfort, and the moral and religious well-being of those in their employ ; to encourage in them habits of economy, of sobriety, and general morality ; to prevent as far as possible (and their power is considerable) the contamination incident to large masses of human beings brought into close contact for many hours together ; and, wherever personally associated with the work-people, to superadd to all their admonitions, the convincing argument of their own religious example.

That our wealth is a talent from God, of which we are only the administrators, is a maxim to be met with in a heathen poet, and could be recited to the audience of an Athenian stage,—

“ Οὗτοι τὰ χρήματ' ἴδια κέκτηνται βροτοὶ
Τὰ τῶν θεῶν δ' ἔχοντες ἐπιμελούμεθα.”

Eurip. Phœniss. 555.

“ The wealth of men is not their own to use ;
For it belongs to God : we are the stewards.”

And shall a Christian be neglectful of the use to which

he puts a large capital ; and careless alike to the temporal and moral condition of those, who by his superior wealth are brought within the circle of his influence ? Shall he argue that his duty towards them extends no farther than to an adequate remuneration of their services in money ? Will he not, on the contrary, recognize all the responsibilities, and even the privileges, of the station in which he is placed ? Will he not regard the human beings who labour at his command, not merely as the tools or the instruments, more or less serviceable to his purpose, which if injured, are thrown aside, and their place supplied by others ; not only as the means of amassing wealth, but as beings sensible of joy and misery in an equal measure with himself, who are endued with like moral and religious capabilities, amenable for their conduct to the same tribunal, before which he will be summoned hereafter to appear, who have souls immortal as his own ? The influence which proprietors of factories or coal mines, owners of estates, and others in like authority, conciliate to themselves by kindness and attention to their duties, is much greater over their particular workmen and labourers than the remote influence of Parliament can be. If this authority were appreciated and duly exercised, no interference on the part of the Legislature would be requisite, or ever attempted. The sobriety of the parents might be in a considerable degree assured ; and the education of their children, by becoming an object of particular care to the master, promoted in the most effectual manner. Neglect of such supervision is the cause of half our misery, drunkenness, and crime.

I would put the careful inspection of their workmen's moral and religious condition on the part of masters and overseers, upon the true basis, that of a religious duty ; and enjoin its observance by the same argument that would be employed to recommend the due regard to any other express command of God. There is no line of difference to be drawn. The grand law of "duty to one's neighbour" must be supposed to comprise within that term, the mechanic employed immediately in our service, between whom and ourselves there subsists so close a relation, that *he* is maintained by our wealth, and *our* riches are increased by his industry. The strongest bond of neighbourhood unites us to one another. And surely the neglect of that proprietor or overseer is criminal in the extreme, who can accept the wealth which his workman has slaved to create for him ; but leave the poor artizan to the governing influence of circumstances—to be sober or drunken, moral or depraved, religious or irreligious, as he may please—as if the matter were one of utter indifference to the master.

But there is the secondary motive, the lower ground of utility to be considered. To present the case in its true light, under this point of view, I shall cite an instance which will be more convincing than any argument I should be able to advance, and furnishes a noble model for imitation.

The coal-mines at Worsley are the property of Lord Ellesmere, late Lord Francis Egerton, whose beneficent care has extended itself to the condition, physical and moral, of all those in his employment. Up to the time

that Lord Ellesmere commenced residing upon the property, there had been very inadequate provision for the intellectual and spiritual improvement of the people. But a series of beneficial measures then began. Two churches have been built, and the foundations of a third laid to replace the first, which is now too small for the congregation. A reading room is open every evening, and a field of 60 acres has been set apart as recreation ground. *No beer-houses are allowed.* The houses of the colliers and labourers generally consist of four rooms and a pantry, with a small back-yard, and all proper conveniences; also a garden of suitable size. Now witness the effects of this considerate attention on the proprietor's part to the domestic comfort and general well-being of those in his employ.

August of 1842, was a time of great disturbance in the neighbourhood; the surrounding country was overrun by misguided men, perambulating the district, and turning the "hands" out of the mills and factories. The Worsley colliers resisted the combination, refused to submit to the dictation of its leaders, and expressed their ardent attachment to Lord Ellesmere as follows:*

"To our great and worthy Master, the Right Hon. Lord Francis Egerton; his virtuous and most gracious Lady; Mr. Fereday Smith; and all in legal authority over us.

"From a consciousness of the good feeling which prevailed among us, when your Lordship addressed us in such

* See Report, Mines, 1846.

an affectionate and kindly manner, we feel, as your Lordship stated, that we are utterly incapable of expressing our gratitude and love towards you ; therefore, as with the voice of one man, we declare our design that we are willing, as far as life and safety seems probable to enable us, to defend your honour, and all in connexion.

“ Your loyal and obedient colliers.”

The inference to be drawn from such a document will be best expressed in Lord Ellesmere's own words, in a letter written by him to the Editor of the *Manchester Guardian* upon the occasion :—“ It cannot be too widely known how liberally the working-classes of this country are disposed to reward with their good-will and affection, those to whom, right or wrong, they attribute similar feelings towards themselves.”

It will hardly admit of question, that a large proportion of riots and strikes would have been prevented, if such conduct had been generally pursued towards the working-class. The loss occasioned by a “ strike ” to the proprietor becomes so great in a very short period, that pecuniary considerations might plead for the rescue of so many thousands of pounds sterling, by considerate usage of those employed. A large sum bestowed upon the building of schools, the improvement of the habitations of the work people, and the general amelioration of their condition, should not be thought too great an expenditure, when the yearly fruit is the increased comfort, improved morality, and stedfast attachment of the employed to their employers. [S.] “ Let the working-

classes discover heart in the capitalists who employ them, let them find that their *moral* life, as well as *labour* life, is included in their bargain of servitude," and even the sense itself of the kind wishes of their employers, will do much to elevate them to a higher grade in the scale of humanity.

An active concern for the welfare of the labourer or mechanic, is equally pressed on all proprietors by different arguments, suited to their respective views ;—to him, who is blessed with the Christian desire of being the dispenser of temporal and spiritual blessings to others, it is a duty : to him, whose mind does not soar above the sordid computation of his gains, it is the most expedient course.

And here an appeal is necessary to the landed proprietor in behalf of the poor who inhabit his cottages, or who are labourers working on his lands. The atrocious instance lately brought before the public eye, of a pauper dwelling-house in a rural parish, tenanted conjointly by several families, all in the most deplorable state of wretchedness, and subjected to the well nigh unintermitted scourge of typhus, is no solitary case in the statistics of house accommodation and domestic comfort, as afforded to the labouring poor at the present day. Such a dwelling with all its adjuncts of misery, represents a class, and no very small class. The existence of such pest-establishments, whose scanty rooms are densely crowded with huddled families, insulated very often by some pestiferous ditch, the stagnant stinking pool, into which every sort of refuse, is emptied, is attri-

butable, in many cases, to the omission on the part of landed proprietors to build new dwellings or enlarge the old ones. Whilst the wealthy lord or squire hesitates to meet the demands of an increasing population, some village tradesman who may happen to own a narrow slip of land, and has some spare money at his disposal, will run up a miserable dwelling for the straitened and therefore grateful poor *on speculation*.

The person who ought to build is the wealthy proprietor ; he has in general the means to erect commodious dwellings, and to furnish them with the conveniences necessary to respectability and decency ; he ought to feel himself bound to bestow so much regard as this upon his labouring poor, a return for which will always redound to him in a hundred ways.*

The manufacturers, in some instances, by the erection of mills in the suburbs of large towns, have been com-

* Could not County Building Associations be formed on the principle of the Metropolitan Building Associations, to raise dwelling-houses for the lower classes ; which, if built six or eight under one continued line of roof, would probably bring in at a moderate rent 4 per cent. ? The Metropolitan Association obtains 5 per cent. If the shareholder could realise as much as 4 or even $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and at the same time confer an immense benefit on the working-class, there must be many who would invest capital on such terms. One condition of tenure should be, that no dwelling-house be sub-let. Such a plan of providing the poor with roomy and comfortable dwellings, by putting an end to the present system of densely peopled cottages, would tend greatly to diminish the number of prisoners, of workhouse inmates, and illegitimate children. The direct pecuniary advantage would be very far from being the only one.

pelled at the same time to build houses for their work-people. Thus there has been introduced in some parts what is denominated, "the Cottage System." The operatives by these means are blessed with more commodious dwellings ; but, such are the obstinate peculiarities of factory life, good has not been the unmixed result. The working poor thus collected round the mill are thrown entirely under the dominion of the proprietor and superintendent, who of course deduct the rent of the cottage from the wages, and have it in their power by some artifice or other, to impose the truck system under some one of its forms. In such localities, it is observed, that "Tom and Jerry Shops," are very frequent: the old "Whistling-shop," or "Straw-house," although to a great degree displaced by that type of modern times, and creation of the Legislature, the beer-shop, is still not unknown.

But whilst I am treating of the duties of affluent individuals, I cannot omit to urge on all such, as the most obvious duty incumbent on them, the paramount importance of suppressing the vice of intemperance by all the means within their reach ; by their example, for the poor are an imitative race ; by their influence, by their authority. Drunkenness is the great cause of crime. This is the arcanum which is at the bottom of the whole various superstructure of our national depravity. All attempts to ameliorate the poor man's lot must be ineffectual, till the grand source of evil be expunged. Can the statement be true, which certainly rests on competent authority, that many of those gin-palaces, in

which the illuminating gas-light burns the live-long night, till its ray looks sickly in the morning, are the property of wealthy individuals, who thus derive their glitter, equipage, and show from the poor man's ruin ?

But I proceed to the consideration of the great benefits which might accrue to the working-class through their own instrumentality, by following out the hints of others, or by self-originated measures. There are already combinations of the labouring orders with widely diversified intentions and effects, some productive of good, and a yet larger portion, it may be suspected, of evil ; an apprehension which is consistent with the general ascertained demoralization of the humble classes.

The low state of education among the poor, disqualifying them for self-government, to which their changed circumstances call them, leaves them at the mercy of petty orators and selfish demagogues. The 'Trades'-Unions have been conducive in the main to little else than evil ; and yet it is impossible to avoid reflecting, what admirable instruments to attain the most desirable ends such combinations would become, if their object, instead of being that of resistance to masters, were the amelioration of the poor man's condition, by increasing the comforts and conveniences of dwelling-houses, and prosecuting improvements of a similar nature.

Many of the miseries of the working man and his family are self-caused ; and this is a point to be ever placed in prominent view ; for no endeavours on the part of another can ever compensate or serve as a substitute for the native energies of the mind. The poor

man is not to be an automaton ; the purpose of his Creator towards him is higher ; he is to be elevated by his personal efforts, seconded or elicited by the kindly assistance of others, to a proper discharge of the duties of a responsible creature.

Virtue is too dependent, and therefore must be defective, until it is the exertion of inborn principles and voluntary choice. There might be a system of external machinery so perfect, that by its action upon the humble ranks, they would be controlled, kept in due discipline, and restrained in great measure from crime. The condition of past times was a nearer approximation to such a system than the present, in which many of these external checks have been withdrawn. There is more urgent need on this account to implant in the individual's own breast, in his enlightened perceptions of moral excellency and religious truth, that mainspring of action, which must now be the more complete in itself, because there is less external adjustment to correct its aberrations and quicken or retard its force. The man is now thrown more entirely upon his own resources, his own intelligence and activity, his moral principles and religious convictions : he is less a machine than in the comparative infancy of society. The stage, which we have now reached, must be acknowledged to be a critical one in the history of this country and her working-classes. But the prosperity of the empire will be built on the most solid of all foundations, if by the diffusion of knowledge and correct ideas of moral and religious truth, virtue and piety become the deliberate choice of a free people.

There is an interesting passage in Lucian, in which he lays before the reader the state of the lower orders as in his time in ancient Athens. Such a spirit of philosophy, he tells us, pervaded the mass, that no stranger of dissolute habits could be resident for any length of time in that famed city, without undergoing a gradual alteration for the better in his manners. There was no compulsion : but the steady operation of public opinion wrought the change. When the stranger blazed in his gaudiest attire, the exclamation would circulate, not obviously directed at him, "What a fine peacock !" When he swept along the streets to the baths with a dense jostling retinue, the remark would follow him, "He surely apprehends some danger." His proudest exhibitions of splendour elicited the sneer, "I suppose he's after all the son of his mother." Under the influence of such treatment, one folly after another was laid aside, until at length in the city of philosophy, the once debauched visitor was transformed to the general standard of propriety.*

There is certainly a contrast to the attic wit in our native Billingsgate ; and vice, I fear, is all which can

* "τοῖς δ' ἄρα δυστυχεῖν ἐδόκει τὸ ἀνθρώπιον· καὶ παιδεύειν ἐπεχείρουν αὐτὸν, οὐ πικρῶς, οὐδ' ἀντικρυς ἀπαγορεύοντες ἐν ελευθερᾷ τῇ πόλει, καθ' ὅντινα τρόπον βούλοιτο βιοῦν· ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ κὰν τοῖς γυμνασίοις καὶ λουτροῖς ὀχληρὸς ᾦν, θλίβων τοῖς οἰκέταις, καὶ στενοχωρῶν τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας, ἡσυχῇ τις ἂν ὑπεφθέγγατο, προσποιούμενος λανθάνειν, ὥσπερ οὐ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον ἀποτείνων, Δέδοικε μὴ παραπόληται μεταξὺ λουόμενος κ. τ. λ." *Lucian. Nigrinus. sect. 13.*

be learnt from the latter. But what Lucian paints, whether it be with flattering pencil or not, as the high moral condition of Athens less opulent than once, but still glorious, may at least furnish to modern apprehension an idea of the effect producible by well-regulated public opinion.

It would be a new thing in England to have the rich schooled by the poor. Unhappily the moral standard of the mass in our country is very low: there are few of those virtuous prejudices existing among our work-people, which in the middle ranks of life are found to be so salutary. Surely a christian education might do for our poor, what a heathen education is stated to have effected for the Athenian artizan?

But ere this can be, there must be a stirring in the mass itself. There must be the efforts of vitality there. There must be the action of the healthy parts of the body politic, or rather plebeian, expelling the diseased. That the tone of morals is so degraded among our working-classes, as it confessedly is—that deeds of burning shame bring no blush on the cheek of the poor among his equals—that religious principle is so extremely rare, are effects, imputable chiefly to the crying national vice of drunkenness. No other vicious habit debases and brutalizes in an equal degree. The indispensable condition to any stable improvement of the labouring-classes is the extermination of this inveterate vice. As long as the citadel of crime and iniquity remains fenced with the strong out-work of intemperance, it is impregnable. Its sheltered fortifications will mock

every effort and manœuvre, till the assailants' battery is mounted against the right point, and the commanding out-post is carried.

To destroy the tyrant, which so often revels in a man's veins, saps his health, and ruins his prospects, flings him at last a decrepid wretch into the workhouse or the jail, or his grave ; but not content with this, persecutes his children, and too often leads them through the stages of the same career, would be a far nobler object of coalition, than to oppose the encroachments and injustice, as often perhaps imaginary, as real, of employers.

CHAPTER VI.

PAST REMEDIES CONSIDERED—REASON OF THEIR FAILURE
—THREE CONDITIONS NECESSARY TO THE SUCCESS OF
ANY PROPOSED REMEDY—GRADUAL APPROXIMATION TO
THE TRUE REFORMATORY MEASURE—ITS DISCOVERY
AND PROCLAMATION—A CURE AND PREVENTIVE—OBJEC-
TIONS ANSWERED—THE ABSTRACT QUESTION NOT THE
REAL POINT AT ISSUE—CONSISTENCY WITH CHRIS-
TIANITY—STRIKING INSTANCES OF SUCCESS—CONCLU-
SION.

THE facts which the preceding investigation has brought to light, call aloud for an inquiry into some possible remedy for the tremendous evils, which they exhibit. The extent and character of juvenile delinquency have been largely shown ; and its progressive increase has been demonstrated. Our inquiry has proved that a great social change has passed over the face of society ; that a most extensive revolution has gathered populations in immense knots here and there, and deprived rural districts of their ancient and natural guardians. We have examined minutely the facts of country life, and we have found *drunkenness* always associated with other crime, and either originating or fostering it. To quote a high authority already referred to, “ The insane fondness for drink is not confined to the criminal population of the country. The infatuation prevails among

the whole working part of the people." In scrutinizing the natural tendencies to evil in manufacturing life, we have observed the manifest temptations to intemperance. We have reviewed the parliamentary enactments, regulating the sale of strong liquors, and remarked that these have afforded easy indulgence to a taste stimulated by factory labour, and kept under little control. In short, the breaking up of old checks and restraints on vice, has been found coincident with enlarged means and opportunities of sinning. Juvenile crime must be mainly attributed, either to *parental neglect* or *parental example*, or the *absence of all necessary parental government through orphanage*. The connexion is indisputable. The origin of the wide-spread misconduct in parents has been sought ; and it is demonstrated to be *intemperance* ; to use the words of the excellent authority above quoted—"mingling with all other causes, *yet predominating above them*—drunkenness." Wherever we have turned our view, whatever agency we have examined, we have met the monster cause, either as prime mover to mischief, or in association with immediate incitement. The conclusion is irresistible ; and the conviction must fasten itself on every candid mind, that ignorance and depravity, thieving and prostitution, pauperism and want, the vice of parents, the crime of their children, to an extent beyond what has ever been appreciated, or even surmised by the community at large, are produced, proximately or remotely, but really—really produced by *intemperance*. The case is of the clearest conceivable character. The enormous mass of juvenile delinquency in our own times,

is traceable to parental neglect and bad example, which are mainly chargeable on the prevalence, almost universal, of drinking habits.

The question remains, what is the most effectual, and at the same time the most practicable remedy for this monstrous evil?

The evil, enormous and aggravated as it now is, cannot be called a new one. Nearly three centuries ago, we find Lord Bacon declaring, that “no one crime on earth destroys so many of the human race, nor alienates so much property, as drunkenness.” A century later, we find Sir Matthew Hale giving his testimony, as follows—“The places of judicature which I have long held in this kingdom, have given me an opportunity to observe *the original cause* of most of the enormities that have been committed for the space of nearly twenty years, and by due observation I have found, that if the murders and manslaughters, the burglaries and robberies, the riots and tumults, the adulteries, fornications, rapes, and other enormities, that have happened in that time, were divided into five parts, four of them have been the issues and product of excessive drinking, of tavern or ale-house meeting.”

These testimonies exhibit the state of things in England, under the more favourable circumstances, briefly and imperfectly pictured in a former part of the Essay, at a period when intemperance may be said to have been in some measure the rich man’s prerogative, before the splendid era of gin-palaces, when as yet regular stations and depôts for the diffusion of drunkenness had not been

lotted out in every part of the land by the universal distribution of beer-shops. Not only have facilities of *good* been devised for the uninstructed poor, but a false and pernicious legislation has unclosed means and opportunities of evil, either wholly wanting, or not possessed in an equal degree in former times :—and while the agencies of good have obtained comparatively few disciples, the solicitations of evil have found ready votaries, and unnumbered victims.

The preceding pages have evidenced not simply, that the mass of juvenile depravity is enormous, and to what cause it is mainly attributable ; but, moreover, that the evil is still growing, and assuming every day a more inveterate and alarming form.

The magnitude of the national peril long since arrested public attention, and many schemes have been at various times propounded and put in execution with a view to stay the progress of mischief, and elevate the degraded moral tone of the masses.

Instruction is an agency capable of effecting much. This, therefore, has been employed among the earliest measures ; and by the increase of day-schools, and the establishment of Sunday-schools, the means of secular and religious knowledge have been afforded to great numbers of our poor, with results in individual cases highly satisfactory ; but certainly, as has been already seen, with no correspondent universal benefit to the community at large. There have been difficulties in the pathway of instruction ; and no recourse has been had to the services of a *pioneer*.

The instruments and means of instruction have not however been confined to the agency of schools ; but instruction has been wisely intermixed with public amusements ; institutions of a popular scientific nature have been provided, in which lectures are delivered in a lucid style ; Mechanics' Institutes have been formed ; reading rooms have been opened.

It is a general complaint, that these endeavours to elevate the moral and intellectual tone of the working-classes have proved in the main unsuccessful. The English character is frequently impugned as gross and heavy, more capable of a relish for sensual enjoyments than the higher pursuits of the mind. If such be the English character, it is rather our acquired than our native character. The atmosphere of Britain may indeed be not so pure as that which some other lands enjoy ; but we voluntarily throw a cloud over our faculties, by the besotting nature of the national vice. But as regards the means and instruments of instruction of the latter kind, it may be observed that, if for the reason alluded to, they have failed to accomplish their object in great measure with the artizan class, there was no adaptation in them to the wants of the large mass of the pauperized community. Those who have enjoyed little or no schooling, cannot derive much benefit from popular lectures, mechanics' institutes, and reading-rooms. To the educational necessities of the untaught masses, elementary schools must be the only appropriate supply ; and it has been shown, that thousands and tens of thousands have continued to roam our streets, unin-

structed and depraved, notwithstanding all the efforts of benevolent promoters of schools. In the case of multitudes of children, there has been no means successfully employed of drawing them to school, or of retaining them there, if they could be induced for once, or occasionally, to cross the threshold. There is some preliminary step obviously required, which has not as yet been generally taken. The parents prove, in most instances, the drawback : the difficulty arises from their vicious propensities and habits. An amendatory system is thus needed, which may penetrate to the parents themselves, and, if possible, begin the work of reformation with them. This is the earliest and most essential step to anything like the universal and effective instruction of the children of our poor.

We next proceed to consider the more recent reformatory agencies which have been carried into execution, and which in their very nature imply the confession of those stubborn difficulties, which, as we have noticed, lie in the pathway of instruction. Town and City Missions have been established ; the services of lay readers have been enlisted ; and Ragged Schools have been opened in our large towns. The City Missionaries are directed to seek the low haunts of vice, which it is thus acknowledged, no parochial ministrations could at all adequately reach ; and the Ragged Schools, as their name informs us, are intended for the vagabond and miserable offspring of our most degraded classes. In other words, the necessity has been felt of amending the condition, moral and religious, of the *parents*, as well

as of affording peculiar opportunities of instruction to the numerous children, who otherwise must go unschooled in aught save vice.

But no result of large amendment has hitherto been found to reward the Christian labours of our Missionaries among our heathen poor. The Missionary labours among individuals and families, degraded and depraved to the utmost depth of conceivable misery and depravity, through inveterate indulgence in intoxicating drinks. Ask the Christian minister, what instances he can recall to mind, of drunkards converted and reformed by his ministry and teaching. The catalogue has been universally found to be a spare one.* But the City Missionaries have a more than usual share of difficulties, arising from the opposition of intemperance, in the particular sphere of their active labours.

The doctrines of Christianity are indeed all-powerful under the Divine teaching: but their truth can rarely be brought home to the drunkard or his family. The ear of the drunkard is deaf to the sound of the preacher. His sober intervals afford few and wretched opportunities for listening to, and reflecting upon, religious truth. His hovel is immersed in an atmosphere, in which the light of piety will not burn. Even if a momentary impression can be made in an interval of soberness; yet—such is the force of long indulged habit!—the resolution of amendment, in the overwhelming majority of instances, will break and shiver to pieces before the attack of recurring temptation. The drunkard will, for

* See Appendix A.

the most part, either not hear at all, or will hear ineffectually, the voice of the preacher, or the more awakening appeals of God's holy word. The experience of every minister of religion has set its seal again and again on this awful fact.

But since Missions have effected little for the parents, Ragged Schools* of necessity must have failed in the main to improve the condition of the children. It is the general complaint of those connected with them, that the attendance of the children is precarious and irregular, and that the school instruction, in most cases, is neutralized by the scenes, the examples, and the incitation of home. As long as the education of home, the earliest, the most influential, continues an education in *evil*, instead of being an education in *good*, the instruction of school must be, to a great degree, inoperative. It is, therefore, matter rather of regret than surprise, that the efforts hitherto employed on any extensive plan to alleviate the physical misery, and raise the moral and religious condition of the masses in this country, have proved in the main failures, that *evil* has as yet prevailed over *good*, that crime has augmented, and juvenile delinquency has made *rapid* and *progressive* increase.

Is this a fact to be contentedly acquiesced in? Is it to be urged that such is the natural consequence of extended civilization? If so, civilization is a curse,—no blessing at all. Or is the question at once settled by the explanation of a large diversion of the national in-

* There are no more than 4000 children in all the Ragged Schools of the Metropolis.

dustry from agriculture to manufacture and commerce? If vice be the necessary price that always has been paid, and must now be paid by us for wealth, the universal prayer should be, that the winds and storms of heaven may sink our cargoes deeper than sounding-line has ever touched; and that poverty may bring us back virtue. But if this stain be fixed on the age by no necessity, save that of our own culpable neglect, as every right-judging mind will conclude, then our business is to find a corrective system, adapted to our national condition, commensurate with the emergency of the crisis.

The foregoing pages yield abundant evidence, that to the success of any plan, the object of which should be to extinguish the evils which are the subject of this Essay, *three* conditions are essentially requisite:—

1. Such a plan must reach the case of the parents: it must change the education of home.

2. In order to effect this, it must assail those drinking-habits to which it has been shown parental neglect is so largely attributable.

3. It must destroy under this head the dominion of habit.

The amendatory schemes, already in brief reviewed by us, have possessed either none or only in a partial manner the first of these conditions. They have therefore *failed*. The widely diffused and inveterate habit of intoxication is the chief root of evil: and to be busy with lopping the uppermost branches of the tree is useless, when *eradication* can alone be effectual. Such are the ensnaring properties of strong drink, that, although

the filthy labourer, or the idle vagabond may present the foulest picture of its effects, yet the mischief is *by no means confined* to the poorer classes ; but even among the more respectable orders of intelligent mechanics and affluent tradesmen, and in the higher ranks of life, among the influential and noble, the ravages of intemperance have been awfully great—vice has been engendered, if not crime—domestic happiness has often been eaten away by this worm in the blossom—talents have been wasted, opportunities lost, and tremendous ruin has resulted of body and soul.

It was under the deep conviction of the misery produced by drunkenness that the Temperance Society was first formed in 1830. It received powerful support : the Queen herself became its patroness ; and the Vice-patron and President, the Bishop of London, joined with her Majesty in taking the pledge. The operations of the *Old Temperance Society* were extensive, and energetic ; yet it failed to realize the expectations built upon it. The causes of *failure* may perhaps be reduced to the two following :

1. It attempted to define between different kinds of strong drink ; it prohibited the use of ardent spirits only. It is, however, an ascertained fact that *malt liquor* is among the *principal* agents in producing drunkenness in England.

2. It taught *moderation* in the use of all intoxicating liquors except ardent spirits, which were prohibited altogether. But the very notion of a habit involves the influence of association ; and, therefore, to be connecting

the chain by the commencing act, is to bring against the recent resolution of amendment, all the force of reminiscences and excited sensations. To tantalize the drunkard with a little, to grant a sip, is not the way to rid him of his vice. The doctrine of degrees supposed that the *habitual* drunkard *could be* moderate in the use of liquor,—a plain contradiction in terms.

Thus the old temperance system fulfilled in some degree the second condition essential to success, (though *that* only partially) and was so far an advance and improvement on any previous scheme, but did not in any measure realize the last important condition: it proved to be wholly ineffectual to destroy the *dominion of habit*,—hence it signally *failed*. Drunkards themselves raised their voice against it; they stated that they could not thus be reclaimed, that *inveterate habit excluded* the very notion of *moderation*, that the alternative in their case must be either intoxication or not a single drop.

Thus the finding part of a truth and acting experimentally upon it, led at length to the discovery of the whole truth: *and under the conviction of necessity, total abstinence from all that could intoxicate* was boldly proclaimed in 1834, by seven working-men of Preston:—*not as a theory or speculation, but as the only remaining resource.*

There were numerous dogmatic predictions of its failure, on the assumption that strong drink is necessary to the labouring man: but the result of the experiment proved successful.

The idea soon spread: a society was formed, the perfect adaptation of the means to the end being palpable. It has been proved, that not only is entire abstinence from intoxicating liquors safe, as regards the physical constitution, but that wherever it has been tested on a large scale, perfect success has been the result: it has been evidenced by facts to be a perfect cure and preventive. Witness the altered criminal condition of Ireland, which has been already presented to the reader's notice.

The total abstinence principle has realized completely the three conditions, which must be essential to the success of any scheme of moral amendment, under the particular circumstances of our age and country. *No other system has fulfilled them*; and hence it is apparent, that not only is the total abstinence principle an effective remedial and preventive means; but it is equally evident, both from the nature of the case, and from the evidence of experience, that whatever may be affirmed of individual cases,—*nationally*, there can be no other remedy.

Total abstinence from intoxicating liquors is opposed to the appetites, customs, and strong predilections of society, in particular of that class who were the first to proclaim it. It rests its claims to public regard on the basis of a palpable *necessity*. The appetite for strong drink, among our population, is practically uncontrollable; the doctrine of moderation is, to all intents and purposes, a sham and delusion, *a moral impossibility*. To abolish the use of strong drink in Britain, is much

the same as it would be to destroy the baneful use of opium among the Chinese. If in either case, the appetite is acquired, it has among either people attained to such an universality of empire, and is so fortified by long habit, that to preach *moderation* would be to support a *figment*, and to prescribe what can never be put in practice. The remedy must be *extreme*, to meet the *extremity* of our national vice. The inveteracy and extent of the evil demand a sacrifice. The duty enjoined upon all by the urgency of our present national condition, is the total abnegation of habits, which, however pleasurable, are in reality *vastly* conducive to misery and discomfort; and if the remedy be extreme, the *benefits derived therefrom will be extreme also*.

But opprobrium, ridicule, and calumny have been lavished upon the advocacy of the total abstinence principle; and it may be well to glance at some of the arguments of opponents, by whatever spirit they may have been dictated. The self-denial which the acceptance of the principle involves, is without a doubt the real "*crux*" of the question: but the sensual face, when the weapon of controversy has been grasped, has too often put on the temporary mask of zeal for the public good, or even of religion.

It is alleged in objection, that "the spirits extracted from barley or any other vegetable product are the gift of God to his creatures, and conducive to their comfort and joy, if used in moderation; that the obligation upon man is a temperate enjoyment of the bounties held out to him; that the moral elevation of the man who uses

with due moderation is greater than his who totally abstains ; and the liability to pervert or abuse the gifts of Providence is part of the probationary dispensation under which we live, and from which by consequence, we should not endeavour to fly." This is I believe, a faithful exposition of one class of objections.

I do not wish to quarrel with the term, the gifts of God ; and yet, perhaps, it is necessary to inquire what is meant by it. Is everything which can be extracted from animal or mineral substances to be regarded as the gift of God to his creatures ? But there are many deleterious essences and poisons so extracted. Are these then the gifts of God to man ? Undoubtedly they are : but the gifts of the Creator to sentient, rational, highly endowed creatures, who are able by experiment to ascertain the qualities, virtues, and uses of the different substances. It must be evident, that in real fact nothing is in itself a gift of God without reference to the use we make of it ; *i. e.*, *unless we employ it in the particular mode in which God intended that it should be employed.* The term, "the gift of God," stated *generally* and of course with truth of some substance, and then applied to it as used by ourselves or others, involves a fallacy which a little thought exposes and detects. The particular mode of use is always to be taken into the account : and as the effects will differ of almost every, save the most simple substance scarce open to abuse, according to individual constitution and even according to clime ; that may be a gift of God to one man which is plainly not his gift to another, because it is hurtful

to him ; and to man under one condition of society which is no divine gift to him under the peculiarity of altered circumstances. The argument is thus reduced from vague generalities to the real point at issue, which is, *what are the practical results of the use of ardent spirits, beer, ale, or any other intoxicating beverage in our own country ?* Are they beneficial, or are they in almost all cases exactly the reverse ?

The second part of the objection remains to be considered ; and we at once concede the general statement, that in our probationary state we are surrounded with objects, which may be beneficial to us or the reverse, according to our use of them ; and that upon our conduct, in many such particular demands on our prudence and discrimination depends our character for good or evil ; and this—by the all-wise regulation of Providence. But let us always beware of accepting a general statement as a guide in a special point.

Observe, how in the natural world the general laws of God are traversed and modified by the unbending nature of individual peculiarities. Is not that a great and uniform law which governs the ebb and flow of the ocean ? And is it not the same grand principle of gravitation residing in matter, which bids the waves to wash upon the shores of Britain, and the burning sands of India ? Yet even this extensive law, diffused through nature, is modified in its operation by innumerable individual peculiarities ; by the situation and the relative position of the line of sea-board ; by this jutting headland, and that indented bay. Beneath the influence of these minor circumstances the grand powers of nature

are controlled ; the fury of the tide is heightened or repressed ; the period of its flow is quickened or delayed.

But of all subjects about which thought can be exercised, the philosophy of morals is the most obnoxious to particular exceptions from its general laws ; is the least reducible to a few stern and undeviating maxims ; human conduct under a combination of peculiar circumstances is never determinable by a fixed dictum. A fine-spun theory is better in print, and closed within a book, than spread into the forms and fashions of every-day life.

The vice of our nation and times is drunkenness. Intemperance has become the national habit.

The philosopher in his closet begins "*de novo*," and argues upon an abstract idea of human nature to the moral regulations which are the fittest for adoption. He starts with supposing, on the authority of John Locke, that the mind of the child is blank as a sheet of pure white paper, a "*tabula rasa*;" and he is elate at his own imaginings of the beautiful patterns he will paint upon it. He is big with schemes for the development of the nascent powers ; he has a system of his own, which put into practice will generate a new world ; he has even written a book upon the subject ; he will inculcate the moderate use of all innocent enjoyments without excluding any ; since virtue is the delicate mean between too little and too much, he will teach his countrymen the niceties of moral proportion ; he will instruct them to discriminate, to use but not abuse. Such is the frost-work, which in brilliant and pellucid figures forms within the cold studio of the philosopher ; but to throw

up the sash, is to break the delusion, as soon as ever the air from without is admitted, and the atmosphere of the study is raised to the external temperature, the fairy forms have relaxed their hold, pillars and pilasters which upheld the sparkling arches have melted away, and trickle in minute drops to the ground. Whilst the philosopher has been musing, acts have been transpiring, and actions have been ripening into habits. The world is not now in a state of infancy. The maturity of manhood presents it to the physician's eye subject to peculiar chronic diseases. The question is, what *under the circumstances* is to be done? The "*tabula rasa*," may indeed have existed, perhaps, at the moment of the child's birth; but nature's purest white was so soon scribbled over with Devil characters and black inscriptions, that the very existence of such an unimbued susceptible state is doubtful; the task really imposed upon the benevolent mind is not to do, but to undo.

Talk to ignorant drunkards, their wives and ragged children, of the noble opportunity which is afforded them of cultivating moderation in the use of exhilarating drinks, of forming a character temptation-proof: recommend the discontinuance of a pint or a wine glass per day, until the quantity is reduced to a moderate allowance, which may be retained as the proper measure of indulgence for the rest of life—enough to cheer, but never inebriate. You will appear simply ridiculous; your chamber-theories are fragile as frost work. When you expect the untaught labourer or the worn mechanic to exemplify to the world the precepts of moderation;

you indulge an expectation which is too truly *impossible* “in *rerum natura*.”

The total abstinence principle is that upon which every sensible person would act in his own case, were he the long habituated slave of some vice, be it drunkenness or any other vice. To meet temptation, is alas ! too often to be overcome : the only safety is in flight. The world is such that there will be no want of temptations to elicit, and exercise the powers of resistance, without thrusting the combat on an enemy, who has been victorious, times without number. It is better to fly than to sustain an inevitable defeat. Oppose the first beginning : cut off the occasion of evil. A more heroic resolution is a less Christian one. To whom has the Almighty said, “you shall be superior to temptation in the combat you seek !” Heathen philosophy *did* say so : it asserted the power of man to resist evil : it declared the self-sufficiency of our moral nature. Man was represented as capable of being “*totus in sese teres atque rotundus*.” But the Christian faith, and surely here is involved proof of its divine origin, disowns all the sufficiency of innate strength of will ; it rests our ability to shun sin, solely upon the grace of God, communicated to us : it teaches us to pray in the words of its Divine author, “lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil :” *it points to avoidance of a trial, we need not encounter, as the true line of conduct ;* and denounces presumption as in itself the greatest sin. It enjoins to “*cut off the right hand,*” and “*pluck out the right eye,*” which offends.

Another objection of a totally different nature urged against abstinence principles, is the necessity of strong drink for the labouring poor. This is a point which must be referred to science and facts for decision.

The following declaration has received the signatures of more than 1500 medical men, including many of the most eminent of the profession, in the metropolis and other parts of the nation :—

“ We, the undersigned, are of opinion—

“ 1. That a very large portion of human misery, including poverty, disease, and crime, is induced by the use of alcoholic or fermented liquors, as beverages.

“ 2. That the most perfect health is compatible with total abstinence from all such intoxicating beverages, whether in the form of ardent spirits, or as wine, beer, ale, porter, cider, &c. &c.

“ 3. That persons accustomed to such drinks may with perfect safety discontinue them entirely, either at once, or gradually after a short time.

“ 4. That total and universal abstinence from alcoholic liquors and intoxicating beverages of all sorts, would greatly contribute to the health, the prosperity, the morality, and the happiness of the human race.”

Among the names appended to this testimony, will be found those of Sir J. Clark, Bart., Physician to the Queen ; Richard Bright, M.D., F.R.S., Physician to the Queen ; John Forbes, M.D., F.R.S., Physician to the Queen's household, &c. ; Sir B. C. Brodie, Bart., Serjeant-Surgeon to the Queen, &c. ; John Bostock, M.D., F.R.S., F.L.S. ; B. G. Babington, M.D., F.R.S., &c. &c.

The opinion of the most able scientific men is quite borne out by fact. In some of the largest blast furnaces of Staffordshire and South Wales, and in some of the foreign manufactories of bronze ware, in which the heat is overwhelming and the labour intense, and where a few years since, it was supposed that the two combined, could only be sustained by recourse to the strong stimulant of wine or beer, it is found that a far greater amount of work can be accomplished, and far more fatigue borne with less exhaustion, by the use of fresh water.* A common opinion maintained that strong drink tended to expel cold; but this has been proved erroneous. In recent polar expeditions, all intoxicating liquors have been strictly prohibited. Under a tropical climate, in circumstances of violent exertion, they were supposed to invigorate the bodily system; but this is now a discarded notion; and soldiers in the fatigue of a long march have experienced coffee to be a far better stimulant. A host of errors once defended the tyranny of intemperance. Even the amateur singer sought aid from wine or brandy and water: but now cold water is universally prescribed. The fact appears to be, that alcoholic liquors impart a temporary excitement, but

* An Essay on the Effects of Alcohol on the Human System in Health and Disease, which appeared in No. XLVIII. of the British and Foreign Medical Review, edited by John Forbes, M.D., F.R.S., Physician to Her Majesty's Household, and which has since been reprinted by Churchill, London, and in a cheap form, at 30, Enoch-square, Glasgow,—contains a large amount of valuable matter, and is well deserving the perusal of all desirous of information on this important subject.—See Appendix B.

fail to communicate permanent strength. But let the beneficial effects of beer and wine in some cases be acknowledged. Our argument will still maintain its ground. Such cases are exceptions. These drinks are at least almost universally unnecessary : and they are proved to be productive of an incalculable amount of physical and moral evil. Is the objector prepared to assert that the beneficial results of the use of malt-liquor have been greater than the physical and moral injuries ? If not, the country will be a gainer by the abandonment of its use. If really advantageous effects can be proved, which is only admitted for argument's sake ; but it is ascertained beyond contradiction, that the bane to health, to morals, and to a future generation, immensely preponderates above the small sum of good, the choice of prudence is the lesser evil.

How many persons would be thrown out of employ ! Rather how many would find a new means of an honest livelihood ! By the changes of modern times, and the successive introductions in the whole plan of life, and its sum of requirements, one trade has fallen, and another has been raised upon its ruins ; and if the same result should for once be the evolution of a moral principle, there is less cause to groan over the downfall of the beer-shop and the gin-palace, than at the catastrophe of many other more honourable trades. Would that a true conviction of the wrong, which the proprietors of these haunts of vice do society, might lash such a profession from their tap-rooms and spirit-vaults, and convert them into useful members of a sober commonwealth !

“ The evil that thou causest to be done,
That is thy means to live : do thou but think,
What 'tis to cram a maw, or clothe a back,
From such a filthy vice : say to thyself
From their abominable and beastly” sin
“ I drink, I eat, array myself and live.
Canst thou believe thy living is a life
So stinkingly defending ! Go mend, go mend.”

There is another objection advanced of a different kind from those already examined. It is alleged that the mode employed to reclaim the drunkard, is unwarranted by scripture, and even inconsistent with its statements ; that the commencement of a new course of life should be under the impression of religious truth. But does not such an objection imply a deplorable ignorance of that sacred book, to which it prefers its appeal ! Alas ! how many judge by prejudice rather than an enlightened reason ; and instead of searching scripture with an unbiassed mind, in order to find truth, frame its dictates into the fashion of their own preconceived opinions. The position is first taken, the encampment made ; and then reason is called to aid to dig the fosse, to throw up the “ agger,” and plant the palisade. The convictions of conscience, the conclusions of reason are proclaimed and paraded, but these are really the subordinates, the under-officers, subject to the imperious command of pride, prejudice, and party-spirit. He who has read the Word of God with serious attention, unless he has gone to the work with a mind thus biassed, cannot be ignorant of the many arguments proceeding upon various grounds, in which hearers of every

temper and disposition of mind are addressed ; in order, that by this argument at least, if not by that, the heart may be won to the acknowledgment of the truth ? In one place the expression of entreaty is, “ O ! that they were wise ! ” In another gratitude is alleged as a motive to obedience ; “ We love him, because he first loved us.” The more evangelical appeals are intermingled with addresses to the dread natural to the human mind of future punishment, and the anxiety felt in common by all, to consult the real interests of the present life. Even the motive supplied by human approbation is scarce equivocally referred to by St. Paul in his Epistle to the Philippians :—“ Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of *good report* ; if there be any virtue, and if there be any *praise*, think on these things.” The motive to which appeal is made by the generality of arguments in support of total abstinence from intoxicating drinks, is the strong sense of self-interest, or the principle of self-love implanted in every breast by the All-wise Creator.

It has been argued that our Saviour turning water into wine at the marriage in Cana, and his consecration of wine as one of the elements used in the Sacrament of his body and blood, militate against the doctrine of total abstinence. But I do not assert that there is any unlawfulness in the use of wine regarded in the abstract. The art of distillation, the use of ardent spirits, the mixing spirits largely with wines, were unknown in the

age in which the Saviour and his apostles lived. The particular circumstances of an age or country may render a practice inexpedient, and if so actually sinful, (for in the absence of higher considerations the more expedient becomes the only true and right course,) which in another age or country has no inexpediency attaching to it. The use of strong drinks on the part of those who use moderation is inexpedient in a drunken age and nation, because it furnishes an encouragement in the same use to those who are incapable of moderation. "If meat make my brother to offend," writes St. Paul, "I will eat no flesh while the world standeth, lest I make my brother to offend."* "It is good neither to eat flesh, nor *drink wine*, nor any thing whereby thy brother stumbleth, or is offended, or is made weak."†

The total abstinence efforts have, however, been described as idle enthusiasm, and visionary folly. Such a charge need not appear surprising, if we reflect that enthusiasm is a name, by which the generality of men call every virtue that is superior to their own. But in answer to this charge, the testimony of the present Bishop of Norwich, as afforded in a letter to the Rev. H. Griffiths of Llandrygau, is important. His Lordship writes,—“Few indeed, can bear more impartial testimony to their merits,” *i. e.* of the total abstinence principles, “than myself, inasmuch as that, for a considerable length of time I was opposed to them, on the supposition that they were visionary and impracticable. I have, however, long since been a convert from a con-

* 1 Cor. viii. 13.

† Rom. xiv. 21.

viction founded on experience and observation, that they are most instrumental in raising thousands and tens of thousands from a degraded profligacy, to virtuous and industrious habits, and converting sinners from the ways of vice to those of religion. I need scarcely add, that I think every clergyman who has the welfare of his parishioners at heart, and is really zealous in the cause of his profession, ought to give them his support."

It is not my province to advocate the cause of any particular society ; but rather to impress on the minds of my readers, the importance of a principle, the truth of which is in part matter of historic experience.

What mischief has not the brimming cup made to overflow upon the nations, since first poets sung its joys, or from the more antique period when Bacchus—

"Crush'd the sweet poison of misused wine."

From the epic misfortune of the "Tuscan mariners transformed," down to our own age, its effects have been the same in kind on whoever have tasted :—

"Soon as the potion works, their human countenance
The express resemblance of the gods, is chang'd
Into some brutish form
And they, so perfect is their misery,
Not once perceive their foul disfigurement,
But boast themselves more comely than before,
And all their friends and native home forget,
To roll with pleasure in a sensual sty."

Such the ancient fable, the crystallized form, as it were, into which the facts of long experience at length resolved themselves ; and it *images* the truth more

graphically than a copious treatise on intemperance would be able to represent it. The grand national problem of the present day is, how "the herd of Circe," which has become so numerous, may be re-metamorphosed to their pristine shape. We have cottages, and streets, and districts, containing swine rather than human beings: and how can such, who have degenerated into the brute, be recalled to their lost dignity! But the difficulty has been solved: and the work of re-transformation from brute to man has happily been witnessed in many cases. The old spell is powerless against the counter-charm.

We pass to the complete success of the abstinence principle in the case of individuals, victims to inveterate habit; and select a few out of the many *thousand* instances, which might be adduced, if our own space and the reader's patience would permit.

The following are extracted from "A letter to the Clergy of the Church of England, by a brother clergyman:"—

"T. F. (plumber and glazier) Great portion of my life given to intemperance. I look back with wonder to the many escapes I have had from danger and death. Ashamed of the misery and disgrace to which I reduced myself and family, and above all, of the slavery of sin and Satan; living without hope and without God in the world. I now praise God for my deliverance, which I trace to the effects of the Total Abstinence Society. Now, having learned to live soberly, my mind has been seriously impressed with the necessity of living righte-

ously and godly, by a regular attention to public, family, and private worship."

R. B. (cooper) states, " I have been a teetotaler twelve months. Though not an habitual drunkard, yet my work being so mixed up with brewing establishments, it frequently led me to intemperance. Since I signed the teetotal pledge, I have been within sound of the Gospel, and regularly attend a place of worship. I have prayed earnestly for help. I hope my prayers have been heard. I now feel an ardent desire for my soul's welfare, and a continual fear of doing any thing whereby I may offend my Heavenly Father."

W. A. (carpenter) says, " Honourable Sir, you wish to know what benefit I and my family have derived from having joined the Total Abstinence Society. I am happy to say it has done great things for us, been the means, under God, of bringing me and my family to a place of worship, which I never entered before, of making my wife and children happy, and my home much more comfortable, than the drunkards can possibly think. I was a drunkard twenty-four years. It does all things well, by the help of God. It clothes the back, fills the hungry, keeps many a poor wife from an aching heart. I have the happiness to see all my children look very happy. I can pledge my word it can be done without, for we are ten in family, and have not drank any strong drink for three years."

W. H. (farmer) says, " I am happy to bear my testimony to the benefits I have derived from total abstinence from all intoxicating drinks. I was a drunkard,

living without hope and without God in the world, but have been a member of the Total Abstinence Society nearly three years, and blessed be God, I have been brought to a knowledge of the truth as it is in Christ Jesus, and to seek the salvation of my immortal soul."

The superintendent of a Wesleyan School in Cornwall, writes to Joseph Eaton, Esq., of Bristol, as follows:—

"I should think that there are in this Methodist circuit, which does not embrace all the parish, upwards of 700 children now attending the schools belonging to the different chapels, more than there were before total abstinence was introduced. Had I time, I could relate to you many instances, in which good has been done, but the following must suffice:—

"The first is, that of a miner, with seven children, who formerly were permitted to run wild on the Sabbath, doing all kinds of mischief, and were in great want of all the necessaries of life, the father at the same time enjoying himself at the ale-house. He is now, however, a teetotaler, having been one of the first to join us. After a short time, the children were sent to our school, properly clothed; the father and mother attended the chapel, and both are now members of the Wesleyan Society, and regularly maintain family worship.

"The second case is that of a smith, with a family of nine children; although an excellent workman, yet his family were in rags, and scarcely a book to be seen in the house. His poor wife was also dejected and miserable. Now, however, the children are all well dressed, and sent to school with their hymn books and

Bibles. The parents also attend the house of God regularly.

“ Yours very truly,

“ H. A. VIVIAN.”

A letter from Scarborough gives the following instance.

“ We have one striking case of the son of a formerly abandoned drunkard, who in consequence of his father having been some years a steady teetotaler, has applied himself most diligently to study both at school and at home ; has acquainted himself with several languages, particularly Hebrew ; has given attention to the drawing of maps, and to general land-surveying ; and is now under training for a teacher in a public school. The whole family previous to the father becoming a teetotaler were in rags and destitution, and growing up in vice and ignorance.”

The question has often been asked, do these reclaimed drunkards become religious men ? The answer may happily be returned that in many cases they do, for instances have been already adduced. But let the negative to this query be supposed true for argument's sake. Is it nothing that the father of a family should be no longer the inevitable ruin of his wife and children ; should no longer corrupt others with the infection of the same vice ; but on the contrary, maintain his family in respectability and comfort, send his children to school, and rear them in professed and utter abhorrence of the sin by which he was formerly degraded ? To have removed the impediment to the admission of religious

truth, which intemperance so effectually is, must be valuable at the least: the reclaimed drunkard is in a more favourable situation than once; his children have the opportunities of religious knowledge open to them, from which they were once debarred; and this is surely a change for the better, worth a struggle to effect, even if we omit to consider, what is however an undoubted fact, that many drunkards have been themselves converted to a vital sense of religion.

The causes of juvenile depravity having been already traced to intemperance, as a most prolific source, which ministers to, or originates almost every vice; the present concluding chapter has taken under brief review the several remedies which have been adopted on any extensive scale, to meet the pressure of an increasing evil. These have been considered under the head of their adaptation as means to the desired end; and under this view, all others than the one now urged, have been found to be defective. They have disappointed the expectations of their promoters, and all more or less signally failed, as is ascertained by an appeal to facts. The nature of the case presents *but one measure*, and that an extreme one, which promises success. This has been examined; it is palpably free from any real objection; and is in perfect consistency with the precepts of Christianity, or rather is *deducible from them*: and wherever its capability has been tested, over a large area of population, or in individual cases, it has been demonstrated to be an effective remedy, and the most powerful preventive of crime.

The question involved in the discussion of the total abstinence claims, is one of the deepest import, whether it be considered in connexion with legislation, jurisprudence, political economy, morals, or religion. It is second to none in the whole range of subjects, not essentially religious, which can occupy the attention of a reflecting mind. It is particularly pressed on our notice in the present moral condition of our own times. It stands alone, the one corrective and preventive system which has successfully grappled with the extremity of our moral degradation. Nor is it upon the vagueness of large promises that it rests its right to be considered—but on the irresistible evidence of facts it grounds its claims to the impartial examination of every man, who loves his country, or has any sympathy in the cause of humanity.

The overwhelming mass of vice and crime, now deluging our land, as exhibited in the previous pages—the increasing degeneracy of our juvenile population—the frightful statistics of intemperance as well as the inherent connexion of drunkenness with far more than half our misery, destitution, and sin—constitute a most powerful warrant of appeal to every class of our fellow-countrymen.

The question has its pecuniary aspect. We are overburdened with taxation:—we are maintaining a large staff of officers, employed in the detection, conviction, or punishment of crime; we support asylums, hospitals, and *prisons* ;* we are continually expending fresh sums

* See Appendix C.

on some new scheme for the repression of vice; but are unwilling to adopt to any extent a system which by a sure and inevitable operation would relieve us in a short period from a vast amount of the public burdens, the pressure of which is so heavy. Of all the means which have been tried the true and only efficacious plan is pertinaciously overlooked, because it involves the *personal sacrifice*, of what by long but mistaken custom, has been associated with the comforts of life, but is really the chief well-spring of its miseries.

We are anxious to extend our trade and foster agriculture; but neglect a measure which would add a new home-market for the sale of our natural productions, and the purchase of our manufactured goods.

While there are some, who in an intense thirst for gold, urged on by hope, are even now weathering the southern promontory of the new world, or with quick strides are spanning a continent; how is it that it does not occur to us, that we leave unworked a far wealthier mine at home; which contains, deep-buried, untold opulence?—the rich ore of powers unelicited, of industry rusting in the chains of vice, of talents, given to shine in public use, but which have long lain in obscurity. If the thousands of drunkards throughout Great Britain who now waste existence in debasing pleasures, could be reclaimed to the service of industry, how great must be the prosperity of this country!

Would that the appeal could be made to every member of our legislative body, and to every influential individual, (and who is there wholly without influence over

many or few ?) with that weight and force, which the importance of the subject may well claim.

In the present condition of our working population, juvenile depravity is rather compulsory than voluntary, being the effect in the main of the intemperate habits of parents. They who are really chargeable with those sins which the civil power punishes, are influential individuals, who lend their countenance and example to the maintenance of pernicious customs. *There is scarcely a vice which now degrades our wretched poor, which has not been derived to them from those in higher stations.* Little instructed, and dependent upon others, our poor imitate the vices of their superiors. A position therefore, of wealth, influence, or authority, is one of the most serious responsibility ; and the necessity of exhibiting an example incentive to good has been over-looked by a large proportion of our rich and great men.

The power of *example* is incalculable. From every one of us in our passage through life, an influence diffuses itself over a circle more or less extended ; nor can any doubt be entertained, that not only the character of our fellow-immortals in this world, but even to a large extent, their condition in eternity itself, is connected with the influential teaching for good or evil of example. Nor is this all.—The influence of example does not wholly end, when he who diffused it has ceased to move among his living associates. If a stone be thrown into the water, the spot where it struck is made the centre from which motion radiates ; but long after

the stone which was the origin of the impulse lies still at the bottom of the lake, the agitation on the upper surface continues, and each circle is absorbing progressively in a wider and yet wider circle. The good men of a past generation, the Howards, the Benthams, the Wilberforces, still live in the influences of their benevolent life : others succeed to repeat the impulse which they first gave ; and no bounds can be fixed to the pervasion of their philanthropic principles enforced by their own active efforts ; it may affect more or less remote ages. How incumbent is it then upon the great men of our own times, who have the welfare of the present and of future generations at heart, to lend to the cause of temperance the persuasiveness of their *example* ! May we not trust that men of kindred spirit with those named above, will yet be found to check the chief agency so effectual in vitiating our poor at the present day ?

But parliament is highly culpable, and has contributed, as we have seen, to erect a stupendous system of national crime ; which is now maintained by taxation direct and indirect, at an enormous and increasing cost. The national vice is imbedded in the home-policy pursued by Government. The duty on intoxicating articles must not be raised, lest the Exchequer should thereby suffer. And does not the national vice of intemperance yield a handle, which by various connecting rods and joints communicates with the Government offices, and is *roughly pulled*, as often as it is necessary to furnish our army with recruits ? Is not the “ crimping ” system still permitted to remain a stain upon a nation which

has abolished the slave-trade in her dominions,* and professes to believe in the truths of Christianity? It has been said, that "it is society which prepares crime, and the instrument which executes it is not culpable."† There is much truth in this.

But the appeal should be made with the greatest force to the ministers of religion of whatever denomination, to the Clergy of the Established Church, particularly those in high stations of authority, our dignitaries and bishops. The religious element in the question is the most important of any. Let these be asked, "What have you done for the masses in this country? They are sunk in heathenism, in destitution, in depravity, through intemperance. What has your Christian zeal effected for them?" Let our criminal calendars—let the reports of our metropolitan police—let the statistics of juvenile crime, return an answer to this query. The question is a momentous one, and deserves to be considered now, because it will hereafter be put to each responsible individual, in another world, before a higher audience than meets in parliament, and from the mouth of the Almighty one himself. What has been really done for the demoralized classes of our heathen poor? If so little has been effected, is it not evident, that this is imputable to a defect in the agencies employed? If the character of our vice and crime is such, that only one remedy can penetrate to its root, why is this amen-

* But encourages it elsewhere; and "Qui facit per alium, facit per se."

† By M. Quetelet.

datory measure to be kept in the back-ground? Can it be that prelates of worth, of ability, of unquestioned piety, are too studious of their own comforts to sacrifice them on the altar of the public weal? Shall souls perish, that *self* may be indulged? Can it be that ministers of religion are unwilling to afford their own example to alleviate our national distress, and burst the fetters, which hold our people enthralled in the galling tyranny of an ensnaring habit? The energetic Paul averred, “It is good neither to *eat flesh*, nor to *drink wine*, nor *any thing* whereby thy brother stumbleth;” why then are the ardour and self-denial of Paul wanting to those who are his successors in the same holy office?

If the value of a human soul be rightly estimated, and a true idea be formed of the rapid mortality with which criminals are hurried away from time into eternity—the momentousness of the question as it affects the present life seems lost in those reflections, into which enters the thought of eternity itself. Suppose that only one human soul, immortal in its destiny, could be rescued from that future condition of inconceivable woe, which the Bible warns us must follow upon a career of unrepented sin in this world;—would not such a blessing be cheaply purchased by a sacrifice, more vast, infinitely more costly, than that of a so-called comfort which is in truth essentially linked with all that is sinful! Is the empty charge of *singularity* to be dreaded, if a *pernicious* custom be disused, by which countless souls are lost for ever?

Assuredly the subject demands an attentive and impartial examination. It is deeply to be regretted that those in authoritative posts have not come forward to guide public opinion on this topic, and afford a self-denying example, which many would be ready to follow. Instruction is, indeed, a mighty *lever*, but until the way is cleared, it cannot be brought into real contact with the body which it is intended to elevate. The power of Christianity, the Spirit of the Lord God can alone convert the heart ; the Sun of Righteousness must rise upon us in his brightness ; but there is a *cloud* over the dwelling of the drunkard's household—a thick cloud which moves not, night nor day.

But the truth will yet fasten itself on the minds, which are unprejudiced and honest. Although ridicule and calumny have been the weapons of opponents, although sin and self-indulgence maintain the empire of custom ; there is in truth, a power which will eventually, by the grace of God, prevail over every obstacle.

In the words of one of the great of another country, now gathered to the dead :—

“ Truth and duty may be hidden for ages, but they remain unshaken as God's throne ; where, in the course of his providence, they are made known to one or a few, they must be proclaimed, whoever may be opposed. Truth, truth, is the hope of the world. Let it be spoken in kindness, but with power. There are, there must be, means of preservation or cure for this deadliest moral disease. The unhappiness is, that too many of us who call ourselves the friends of temperance have not *virtue*

and love enough to use powerfully the weapons of the Spirit for the succour of the tempted and fallen ! We are ourselves too sensual to rescue others from sensuality ! The difference between us and the intemperate man is too small to fit us for his deliverance. But that there are means of withstanding intemperance—that it is the design and tendency of christianity to raise up men fit and worthy to wield those means—and that there are always some who are prepared to lead the way in this holy work, I cannot doubt. I see, indeed, a terrible energy in human appetites and passions : but I do not faint. Truth is mightier than error—virtue than vice—God than evil men ! In contending earnestly against intemperance, we have the help and friendship of HIM who is almighty. We have allies in all that is pure—rational—divine—in the human soul—in the progressive intelligence of the age—in whatever elevates the public sentiment—in religion—in legislation—in philosophy—in the yearnings of the parent—in the prayers of the Christian—in the teachings of God's house—in the influences of God's Spirit ! With these allies, friends, helpers, let good men not despair, but be strong in the faith, that in due time they shall reap if they faint not."

A P P E N D I X.

APPENDIX A.

I AM one of several clergymen officiating in an agricultural parish of considerable extent, where it has been my happiness to labour during a period of eighteen years, and in some instances, thank God! not without success. But there is one vice which more especially defies our efforts: I mean drunkenness. Whatever effects our ministry has upon other vices, it fails in stopping drunkenness, or reclaiming the drunkard. This may seem a startling assertion. Let me then state some facts to substantiate it. Impressed myself with the utter failure of my ministry in this respect in my own parish, though I had tried every means, I called the neighbouring clergy together to state to them my difficulties, and to ask their opinions respecting "Total Abstinence Societies," and the expediency of adopting them in our parishes. It fell to my lot to open the discussion, and I did so by asking them each severally, "What is the sin in your parish, which you feel to be the greatest obstruction to your ministry?" The answer from them all was, "Drunkenness." I then asked them again, "How many drunkards have you in your parish, whom you have seen reformed, while in their ordinary health, by the means you have employed, as a minister, to reform them?" The answer from all, with one exception, was, "not one." I have since that time asked the same question of many of my brethren, in other places, and have invariably received the

same answer. During this present week I met nine clergymen in another neighbourhood, and since that, twelve at another clerical meeting. I asked them the same question, and met with the same reply. I ask it now of you who are reading these lines, "How many drunkards can you enumerate during your whole ministry who have been reformed under it, while in their ordinary health, and pursuing their daily business, by the means you have used?" I beg you to remark, that the question applies to your efforts upon these men *while in their ordinary health*, because I doubt not when they have been sick, and completely sober, we may remember instances where our ministrations have been blessed, and the gospel has been effectual to turn them "from darkness unto light, and from the power of Satan unto God." Remember also, I do not mean how many do you know who drink less than they used to drink, but how many who were notorious drunkards have become converted, pious, God-fearing men? I cannot hear your answer, but if, like the clergyman who forms the one exception I have mentioned above, you can say as he did, "I remember one instance, and one only," may I not ask whether the exception does not prove the rule? At all events here is a startling fact. Many clergymen meet at different times, and at different places, and declare that their ministry has failed, as far as they have any evidence, in reclaiming drunkards. Now one cannot, I think, avoid asking the question, How can these things be?

Suppose that it is not only we who ask the question. Imagine an unbeliever having over-heard our discussion, and saying to us, "You are ministers of that Gospel which you profess to believe can cure the love, and subdue the power, of sin in the human heart. You preach it zealously and faithfully, but you all confess your ministrations to be a failure in this particular point. Nor is it your con-

fession only. The three countries in the world, in which the Gospel is most faithfully preached, are England, the United States of North America, and the Protestant States in the North of Europe. *Yet in these three countries drunkenness prevails to such an extent as to be an utter reproach to them?* How can you account for this?" We might in reply say something about the impossibility of carrying out our parochial plans in the dense masses of the population. We might plead the want of church extension, and use arguments of that kind with apparent truth. But then he would say, "This cannot apply to all your parishes, for in many of them there is no want of church room, nor are the churches throughout the land generally as full as they might be. Though there are multitudes who never come near the church, still you can get at drunkards sometimes, and talk to them and preach to them occasionally, and yet the evil remains the same. And you all admit that you do not know an instance of a reformed drunkard, or if you do, the numbers are so small as rather to prove the rule that the gospel has appeared to fail in arresting this vice?" How are we to answer this? Surely not by allowing the infidel to throw the blame of our failure upon the everlasting Gospel. We are justly indignant at the idea! but then to whom does the failure attach? Is it not to ourselves? We must confess that we have not used *all the means* we might have used. We must confess that there are *moral* and *physical* impossibilities in the way of its success, and that we have not been as anxious to remove them as we might and ought to have been. But what are these? Why, surely it is a moral impossibility that the gospel can cure multitudes of drunkards who never hear it! Of what use is it for us to preach unless we have congregations to preach to? Or how can we expect to prevail upon the dram-drinkers of London and Liverpool, or the beer-drinkers

of our agricultural districts to come to our places of worship, while they remain debased and enslaved by the sin of drunkenness? The written Word of God faithfully preached is the most effectual means of turning men from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God; but thousands never hear this Word. Can we wonder then at the failure we deplore?

Again, there are *physical* impossibilities in the way? Men come to hear when they are not in a state to profit by it, even when they are within the sound of it. An illustration may serve to explain my meaning. I went a short time since to an Asylum for the Insane, St. Luke's Hospital. Suppose I had taken out my Bible and preached Christ unto them? Would it have profited them? Certainly not. My audience would have been *physically* incapable of receiving it. But then am I to leave them in this state? May I not use proper means to bring them into such a state as to be capable of hearing it? *Is not this lawful?* And if God were pleased to bless first the medical means that might be used for the restoration of a right mind; and afterwards the spiritual means, the everlasting Gospel, to the salvation of their immortal souls, would any man in his senses object to the means, and say that I was *putting these medical means in the place of the Gospel?* Should I not be justified in using them as a necessary means, as a preparatory step, to this happy result? Now I believe that the mind of many a man who comes to our churches, and attends our ministry, is not in a state one whit more favourable than the poor maniac in St. Luke's for receiving the truth in the love of it, so as to profit and grow by it. Nor do I confine this remark to the vulgar. Multitudes of all classes, the noble and the wealthy, as well as the poor and degraded, from indulgence in eating and drinking, are utterly incapable of attending profitably to what they hear.

The wine of yesterday gave a false stimulus to yesterday's appetite ; and on Sunday morning, instead of coming to church with a clear head and intellect, the man comes the victim of dyspepsia, with all its accompanying horrors ; falls asleep perhaps during the prayers or the sermon, even if he come at all ; and if not, he remains at home and thinks he is fully justified in the sight of God and man, because forsooth, he was too ill to come. Yet was this very illness self-inflicted, and is then pleaded with the utmost complacency and satisfaction, as an excuse for the neglect of his religious duties. I believe thousands go to church every Sunday in the state here described, or stay away for no better reason than that here given. And what is the consequence ? We preach from year's end to year's end, but a large portion of our congregations remain in a state of plethoric incapacity to receive the truth. Is it the fault of the gospel ? No, it is our fault, because we see it, and know it, and lament it ; but yet have not taken adequate pains to prevent it, by faithfully pressing upon our hearers the daily, hourly duties of self-denial, that they may be brought into a state to profit by it. . . .

We have tried, perhaps, every means in our power to correct this evil, *but one*. We have not tried the effect of urging "*Total abstinence*" from all kinds of intoxicating liquors ; and I think that we ought not to be satisfied that we have done all, while *this* remains undone. Nor is it in any degree problematical whether or not this would succeed. It *has* succeeded in tens of thousands of instances, in *every* climate, under *every* circumstance, at *every* period of life, under labour of the most arduous and exhausting kind. I have seen its success in a small scale in my own parish ; on a larger scale in the neighbourhood of a town near my residence. A gentleman residing there, has been able to collect 700 persons who have become total abstainers.

Among these more than forty men have been entirely reclaimed, and the general effect has been, that numbers of these have been brought to church, have become men of prayer, have family prayer in their houses, and the love of God in their hearts ; and not one of them, during the four years the society had existed when the last report was printed, had been brought before a magistrate, or applied for parochial relief.—*Extract from a Letter to the Clergy of the Church of England, by a Brother Clergyman.*

APPENDIX B.

In the exercise of our own duty as cool-judging critics, we now propose to inquire in the first place into the present state of our knowledge as to the physiological action of alcohol on the human body ; next, to consider how far the results of the comparative experience of those who make habitual but moderate use of fermented liquors, and of those who entirely abstain from them, under a variety of circumstances, warrants the assertion that total abstinence is invariably (or nearly so) compatible with perfect health, or is even more favourable to health than habitual but moderate indulgence ; and finally, to endeavour to deduce from these data such conclusions with regard to the therapeutic use of alcohol, as may cause its employment by medical men to be attended with the greatest possible amount of good and the least admixture of evil.

Our knowledge of the physiological action of alcohol, though far from being sufficiently complete to afford a specific determination of its hygienic or therapeutic value, is yet quite sufficient to guide us in the inquiry ; and we shall accordingly state briefly the points which may be regarded as in our apprehension most satisfactorily made out. We

believe that no physiologist of repute would now be found to maintain any other doctrine in regard to the materials of the albuminous tissues of the animal body, than that propounded a few years since by Müller and Liebig ; namely, that they are derived exclusively from those alimentary substances whose constitution is similar to their own ; so that the non-azotised compounds cannot enter into the composition of more than a very small part of the animal fabric. This doctrine, when first put forth, was received with a degree of hesitation and distrust proportioned to its novel and startling character ; but the testimony in its favour has been gradually though quietly accumulating, so that it now commands very general if not universal assent. By the term "albuminous," we mean to designate all those tissues which can be formed at the expense of albuminous matter ; and this category includes the gelatinous and horny tissues, as well as those which possess a composition more nearly allied to that of albumen ; for we know that the former, as well as the latter, must be generated from albumen during the incubation of the egg, as well as during after-life, when neither gelatine nor horny matter exists in the food. The only tissues in the animal body of which albumen does *not* form the principal basis, are the adipose and the nervous. In *both* these it is probable that the membranous *walls* of the cells and tubes have (like similar membrane elsewhere) an albuminous composition ; the *contents* of these cells and tubes being of a non-azotised character in the latter case as in the former. For it has been pointed out by Valentin (Lehrbuch der Physiologie, Band I. p. 174) that although the substance of the brain and nerves appears to yield an azotised fatty acid when analysed *en masse*, the supposed composition of this acid (which is quite an exception to all chemical probability) may be accounted for by regarding it as a *mixture* of albuminous matter and ordinary fat,

which is exactly what might be anticipated on anatomical grounds.

All our present physiological knowledge, then, leads to the decided conclusion that alcohol cannot become the pabulum for the renovation of the *muscular* substance, which process can only be effected by the assimilation of albuminous materials in the food ; and that the habitual use of alcohol, therefore, cannot add anything to the muscular vigour. And this conclusion receives most striking confirmation from the well-known fact, that, in the preparation of the body for feats of strength, the most experienced *trainers* either forbid the use of fermented liquors altogether, or allow but a very small quantity to be taken ; their trust being placed in a highly nutritious diet, active muscular exertion, and the occasional use of purgatives, which purify the blood of the products of decomposition or draw off superfluous alimentary materials.

That alcohol has some peculiar relation to *nervous* matter, would appear from its power of stimulating the nervous system to increased action ; but this power, although coincident with a certain relation in their chemical composition, could not be predicated from the latter, since ordinary fat, which has no such stimulant effect, has a closer chemical relation to nervous substance than is possessed by alcohol. Whether alcohol is capable, by any transformation, of being converted into nervous matter, is a question which we have at present no data to determine ; but there can be no doubt that this tissue may be formed equally well from other ingredients of food, which have not like it a stimulant effect. It cannot, therefore, be a *necessary* pabulum to the nervous system ; and its peculiar virtues as an habitual article of diet, if such there be, must be looked for in its stimulating qualities. . . .

It appears, then, that the physiological influence of

alcohol upon the system, under all ordinary circumstances, cannot be attributed to anything else than its *stimulant* character ; and it is almost a self-evident corollary from this proposition, that its *habitual* use, even in moderate quantities, can exert no beneficial effects. For the healthy fabric should be quite capable of maintaining itself in vigour upon a proper diet, and with a due quantum of sleep, exercise, &c., without any adventitious assistance ; and if it be not, assistance should be sought from alterations in diet or regimen, or from remedies which tend to promote the regular play of its functions, rather than from stimulants, which may produce in some of these a temporary excitement, but which thus tend to destroy the balance of the whole. The very nature of a stimulant is to produce a subsequent depression, and to lose its force by frequent repetition. The depression is proportional to the temporary excitement : and the loss is thus at least equivalent to the gain. And when a stimulus loses its effect as such by frequent repetition, it is still felt as being necessary to bring the system up to par, an increased dose being required to elevate it higher. Thus, as is well known, those who habitually employ fermented liquors for the sake of their *stimulating* effects, are led on from small beginnings to most fearful endings ; and the habit, growing by what it feeds on, becomes a necessity. No pretext is more commonly given out as an apology for the habitual use of fermented liquors, than the aid which a moderate employment of them is thought to afford to the digestive process. But we maintain that, where a man duly observes the laws of health, the appetite will always desire the amount of food which the system needs, and the stomach will be able to digest it. If health is to be measured by the capacity for eating, then the habitual moderate use of fermented liquors may be conducive to it ; but if the increase in this capacity which they

produce be of no service to the economy at large, they cannot have any other than an injurious effect, by leading us to overtask the powers of our digestive apparatus. Thus, as Liebig has very well pointed out, the residents in warm climates who take stimulants before their meals, in order to make up for the deficiency of appetite, act upon a most unphysiological and ultimately injurious system ; forgetting or being ignorant that the real demand for food is much less when the surrounding temperature is high, and that the diminished appetite really indicates the diminished wants of the system. In a large proportion of the cases in which the habitual employment of fermented liquors has really a show of utility, we are quite certain that a copious use of cold water externally, and the substitution of it for more stimulating beverages, will be found in the end to be the most wholesome practice, tending (as large experience has shown that it does) both to improve the appetite and to invigorate the digestive powers.

We do not go so far as to maintain that *no* exceptions are to be made to this rule ; but we are satisfied that these exceptions are much fewer than is commonly supposed ; and that they are to be made rather in cases where some temporary disturbing cause is acting upon the system, than in those in which there *seems* to be an habitual want of assistance.

ADDENDUM.

Since the above was written, an instance has been related to us by the very best authority (an officer of the regiment,) strongly confirmatory of the observations made at p. 15, and proving that our English soldiers in India not only do not suffer from, but are absolutely benefited by, total abstinence from ardent spirits during marches. In the early part of the present year, the 84th regiment marched by wings from Madras to Secunderabad, a distance of between

four and five hundred miles. They were forty-seven days on the road, and during this time the men were, practically speaking, teetotalers. Previous to leaving Madras, subscriptions were made among the men, and a coffee establishment was organized. Every morning when the tents were struck, a pint of hot coffee and a biscuit were ready for each man, instead of the daily morning dram, which soldiers on the march in India almost invariably take. Half way on the day's march the regiment halted, and another pint of coffee was ready for any man who wished it. The regimental canteen was opened only at ten and twelve o'clock for a short time, but the men did not frequent it ; and the daily consumption of arrack for one wing was only two gallons and a few drams per diem, instead of twenty-seven gallons, which was the daily government allowance. The commanding officer employed the most judicious precautions to prevent the men from obtaining arrack in the villages on the route, and his exertions were effectively seconded by the zealous co-operation of the other officers, and by the admirable conduct of the majority of the men, who were fully persuaded of the noxious influence of ardent spirits during exercise in the sun. The results of this water-system were shortly these :—during the whole march, the regiment had not a single prisoner for drunkenness ; although the road is proverbial for cholera and dysentery, and passes through several unhealthy and marshy districts, the men were free from sickness to an extent absolutely unprecedented in our marches in India ; they had no cholera and no fever, and lost only two men from dysentery, both of whom were old chronic cases taken out of the hospital at Madras. With these exceptions, there was scarcely a serious case during the whole march. The officers were surprised to find that the men marched infinitely better, with less fatigue, and with fewer stragglers than they had ever before known, and it

was noticed by every one that the men were unusually cheerful and contented. There could not be a more convincing proof that the stimulus of spirits is quite unnecessary in the tropics, even during great bodily exertion and fatigue.—*An Inquiry into the Effects of Alcoholic Drinks on the Human System in Health and Disease, by John Forbes, M. D.*

APPENDIX C.

Inspector Hill's Testimony.—"One of the questions," says he, "which I put to the governor of each prison at the time of making my inspections, is, 'What he considers to be the chief causes of crime in his district,' and, in their answers, drunkenness almost always stands at the head; *indeed, I do not remember an exception*, and the same cause is assigned by many of the prisoners themselves. At a recent inquiry among the prisoners in Edinburgh, made at the request of one of the magistrates, more than half the prisoners attributed their offences to drunkenness; and the governor stated it as his opinion that a large portion of the offences of the other prisoners had also been caused by drunkenness.

"There can be no doubt, however, that drunkenness is partly a consequence as well as a cause of crime; and that, while it produces other things which tend to create crime, it is in turn frequently created by them. . . .

"Although drunkenness, or excitement from liquor not carried to the point of drunkenness, may, in many cases, be rather the occasion than the remote cause of crime, there is no doubt that, however viewed, it must be considered as acting very powerfully to produce crime; and that all means, therefore, for checking and removing it, deserve the earnest consideration of every one engaged in the suppression of crime. . . .

“If it be admitted that there is less drunkenness than formerly, it becomes important, with a view to the further removal of the evil, to inquire what causes have tended to its diminution, and what is the reason that in many parts of the continent there is a far higher degree of sobriety than with us. The decrease in drunkenness, which I believe to have taken place in this country, is, I think, chiefly owing to the greater spread of intelligence and comforts ; to the mental pleasures arising from an increased habit of reading, and the cheapening of literature ; and to the efforts of the temperance societies. . . .

“Many of the subordinate officers also take part in these good works—trying to benefit liberated prisoners—and many of them set praiseworthy examples to those under their charge by becoming members of total abstinence societies and depositors in savings’ banks. . . .

“It has been frequently shown that, as a class, prisoners are among the least educated. Thus, of upwards of 16,000 prisoners received into the prisons of Scotland last year, only 4,700, or less than 1 in 3, could read well ; and less than 1,200, or 1 in 13, could write well ; and of the whole number, only 312, or about 1 in 50, had learnt more than mere reading and writing ; 3,400 of these prisoners could not read at all, and 8,500 could not write at all. The average cost of the prisoners per head last year in Scotland, after deducting the earnings, was nearly £16.”

Edinburgh Prison.—Mr. Smith, “the governor, said, that intemperance was, beyond all question, the chief cause of crime in Edinburgh and its neighbourhood.” “It is a striking and significant fact,” continues Mr. Smith, “although not appearing from the return or tables, that although the localities referred to—High Street, Canongate, Cowgate, Westport, &c.,—are by far the poorest parts of the city, and comprehend but a small portion of it geo-

graphically, yet, in these localities, where *upwards of 73 per cent. of the crime is committed, more than 50 per cent. of the spirit licenses are held* ; and it may be safely assumed, that not less than 60 per cent. of the drinking-houses, properly so called, are in these very localities. This certainly shows the close relationship which obtains between drinking-houses, poverty, and crime."

Glasgow Prison.—"In the year 1839," says Mr. H. Miller, the governor, "there were within the royalty of Glasgow, 1220, and within the suburbs 1080 licensed public-houses and other places for the sale of exciseable liquors—in all 2300. These houses, particularly the low-rented class, are productive of evil to a fearful extent. It may be safely affirmed, that three-fourths of the crime in the city originate in habits of drunkenness ; and this fact, it is believed, will be fully borne out by the respected assessor of the burgh criminal and police courts. The lower class of public-houses are frequented by persons of the most worthless description ; and in these places, scenes of brutal dissipation are constantly going on, and schemes are matured for committing thefts and other depredations, and a connexion formed between thieves and reseters."

A paper has been recently prepared by the governor, in reply to the following inquiry by Joseph Hume, Esq., M.P. :—"What can be the cause of the great extent to which drunkenness prevails in Glasgow, as compared with other towns in England?" "That drunkenness prevails," says Mr. Miller, "to a very great extent in Glasgow, is a fact so notorious as to render it unnecessary to make reference either to prison or public records or statistics. The fact is palpable and obvious, not only to those connected with the locality, but to all visitors, however short their sojourn. In few or no towns in Britain does the female portion of the population appear to greater disadvantage as regards in-

temperance ; of course, I allude only to a particular class.” The writer proceeds to answer the honourable gentleman’s inquiry at considerable length, but want of space prevents us from transcribing the appalling, yet, we believe, truthful details. “In a paper,” says he, “which I prepared in 1841, relative to the state of crime in Glasgow, this matter is fully investigated and details given, the result of personal investigation, of the most harrowing and revolting description, and evidencing beyond doubt that in this particular Glasgow has few parallels. It is not, however, the criminal class alone, to whom these remarks exclusively apply. Tradesmen, mechanics, and others, who have never found their way to prison, and who manage to earn an honest livelihood by the sweat of their brow,—all contribute to swell the ranks of intemperance. To use the language of one of the government commissioners, ‘It is my firm belief that penury, dirt, misery, disease, *drunkenness*, and *crime*, *culminate in Glasgow to a pitch unparalleled in Great Britain.*’ ”

Aberdeen Prison.—“The chief offences,” says the inspector, “for which prisoners are committed, are thefts and assaults, arising principally, in the governor’s opinion, from drunkenness.” Mr. Chalmers, the governor, states in a more recent paper, “I have no hesitation in saying that intemperance is the leading cause of crime ; for I firmly believe that nearly two-thirds of the offences committed may be traced to drunkenness.” Sheriff Watson likewise stated, about the same time, in a public communication, — “I cannot say,” observes he, “to what extent intemperance is the cause of crime ; but I am satisfied that nine-tenths of the criminal cases brought before me are either caused by or committed under the influence of excessive drinking. Almost all the numerous and perplexing cases of assault and breach of the peace are caused, directly and immediately, by intemperance ; and many cases of theft could be

traced, not remotely, to intemperate habits." It is also stated by the committee of the rural police in their report, that "small as the number of crimes is, the committee desire to remark on the great proportion of the cases caused by an excessive indulgence in spirituous liquors,—no less than 200 criminal cases, out of a total of 254, being clearly traceable to this habit which so generally prevails."

Dundee Prison.—Mr. Mackison, "the governor, stated that the chief offences for which prisoners were committed are petty thefts and disorderly conduct ; and that the chief causes of crime at Dundee, were, in his opinion, drunkenness and neglect of children." "The young woman named J. B., who was mentioned in Mr. Hill's tenth report, as having been 20 times in this prison, all for short periods, has since been 14 times more, making in the whole 34 times, besides, according to her own admission, 28 times in the Edinburgh prison ; so that, though she is only 26 years of age, she must have been committed more than 60 separate times. She has been much given to drink." "The prisoner who destroyed herself, was a woman who had only been in prison two days, and had only eighteen days more to remain. The surgeon learnt that she had been addicted to drinking, and was subject to delirium tremens."

Cupar Prison. — Mr. Dewar stated that "the chief offences for which prisoners are committed are breaches of the peace, arising from drunkenness." "As to the number of prisoners," says the chaplain, "I am sorry that they have been much greater than in the corresponding quarter of last year. The reason seems to be, that of high wages, and the wages being paid at intervals of more than a week, which puts into the hands of the labourers more money at one time than many of them appear to know how to make a good use of ; and being paid, too, on the Saturday night, is a great evil, leaving the worthless at liberty to spend the

Sabbath in the service of Bacchus, to the great annoyance of the more peaceful part of the community."

Kirkaldy Prison.—"The chief kind of offences for which prisoners are committed, appear to be breaches of the peace, arising from drunkenness." "There is," says Mr. Williamson, "a great number of low public-houses, the owners of which take articles of clothing, or any thing else, for drink. There have been two or three cases lately, in which I had to search out the clothing of prisoners which had been taken in this manner. In two cases, the keepers of the public-houses had taken the coats from the men's backs. Drunk people are often brought to the prison in the middle of the night."

Dunfermline Prison.—"The most common offences," says the inspector, "for which prisoners are committed, were stated to be breaches of the peace and petty thefts, and the chief cause assigned was drunkenness. A shower-bath to be procured, as recommended by the surgeon, who states that it would be useful, particularly in cases of delirium tremens!"

St. Andrews Prison.—"The chief offences for which prisoners are committed, are breaches of the peace, arising from drunkenness."

Kinross Prison.—"The chief offences for which prisoners are committed to this prison, are breaches of the peace, arising, the keeper said, from drunkenness."

Perth County Prison.—"The chief offences for which prisoners are committed at present, are assaults, from drunkenness. It must be remarked, too, that the offences for which the railway labourers are committed are seldom of a serious nature, being for the most part petty breaches of the peace, arising from drunkenness."

Dumfries Prison.—"The governor said," says the inspector, "that in his opinion, the chief cause of crime in this neighbourhood was drunkenness."

Maxwelltown Prison.—"The chief offences for which prisoners are committed, are breaches of the peace, arising from drunkenness." The keeper added,—“I believe,” said he, “if it were not for drunkenness, *there would be very little use for prisons, either here or elsewhere.*”

Ayr Prison.—Mr. M'Pherson, “the governor, said, that drunkenness and idleness are the chief cause of crimes in this neighbourhood ; and it is his belief, that, in *thirty-nine* cases out of *forty*, the offences are connected, in one way or another, with ardent spirits.”

Stirling Prison.—"The chief offences for which prisoners are committed, are theft and assaults, the proportion being about two cases of theft to one of assault ; and the governor is of opinion that the chief cause of crime in this neighbourhood is drunkenness." "P. M'C.,” says Mr. Campbell, “aged 21, states that intoxication was the cause of his imprisonment ; that he had spent £6. 10s. in a ‘spree,’ which only lasted three days, and that he earned on an average about 14s. a-week.” “R. B., aged 56, has been in the habit of drinking spirits to excess for twenty years ; thinks this was the cause of his falling into crime ; at one spree he spent £14, treating others, who, like himself, were fond of drink.”

Lanark Prison.—"The keeper stated,” says the inspector, “that they were frequently disturbed, owing to the want of a lock-up, or police cells, at Lanark, by persons being brought to the prison in the middle of the night, and that often in a *state of intoxication* ; during the week previous to my visit they had been called up three times in this way.”

Hamilton Prison.—"Mr. Ross, the governor, states that most of the prisoners are committed for theft ; and the chief cause of crime in the neighbourhood is drunkenness.

Largs Prison.—"The keeper,” says Mr. Hill, “was

slovenly in his appearance, and has not the character of being perfectly sober. The rural constable stationed here, who appears to be an intelligent and respectable man, stated that there had been a great deal of disturbance in this neighbourhood, in the last twelve months,—*all of it owing to drunkenness*. The keeper to be removed, in consequence of not being perfectly sober.”

Jedburgh Prison.—“At the commencement,” says the governor, “of the present month, a circumstance of a rather singular nature took place, viz., a female at the advanced age of 75 years, forcing her way into prison, for the first time, to be cured of a temporary fit of intemperance. After expending all available funds in the sense-destroying cup, she borrowed what she could from her neighbours, and after exhausting their generosity, as a last resource, she betook herself to singing songs in the suburbs of the town. After spending two weeks in this manner, she requested a magistrate to send her to prison, but he refused; then she took forcible possession of a small article for which she was committed. Since liberated, she has lived in strict sobriety.” A small machine for *crushing malt* was recently offered for the use of the prisoners, by a person in Jedburgh, and has since been accepted by the prison board. This *malt-crushing* machine has, most likely, been presented by some *disinterested humane* brewer or publican!

Hawick Prison.—“The keeper said,” that “the crime of almost every prisoner has been caused directly or indirectly by drunkenness.”

Wigton Prison.—“The chief offences for which prisoners are committed, are petty thefts and breaches of the peace, arising, in the opinion of the keeper, from drink.”

Kirkcudbright Prison.—“The keeper said, that the chief cause of crime in this neighbourhood, is drunkenness.”

Coldstream Prison.—"The conduct of the prisoners seem to have been indifferent, in consequence of most of them having been committed in a state of drunkenness."

Greenlaw Prison.—"The average number of prisoners has been sixteen, which is ten more than last year; the increase having been caused by commitments of persons—chiefly for assaults arising from drunkenness—at work on the railway."

Haddington Prison.—"The chief offences for which prisoners are committed are assaults and thefts, arising principally, in the keeper's opinion, from drunkenness."

Musselburgh Prison.—"The chief offences for which prisoners are committed, are breaches of the peace, arising in the opinion of the keeper, from drunkenness."

Leith Prison.—"The chief offences for which prisoners are committed are breaches of the peace, arising, in the opinion of the keeper, from drunkenness."

Newburgh Prison.—"The chief offences for which persons are committed, are assaults and petty thefts, arising principally, the keeper said, from drunkenness."

Pittenweem Prison.—"The keeper stated, that the prisoners had had good health, and that all, except those received in a state of intoxication, had behaved well. The chief offences for which persons are committed are drunken brawls."

Alloa Prison.—"The chief offences for which prisoners are committed are thefts and assaults; and the keeper considers the chief cause of crime in the neighbourhood to be drunkenness."

Dunblane Prison.—"The chief offences for which persons are committed to this prison, are breaches of the peace and petty thefts, and the principal cause of the offences the keeper believes to be drunkenness."

Blairgowrie Prison.—"The chief offences for which pri-

soners are committed are breaches of the peace,—arising apparently from drunkenness and vagrancy.”

Arbroath Prison.—“The keeper stated, that the chief offences for which prisoners are committed, are petty thefts and assaults ; the chief cause of crime in the neighbourhood was drunkenness.”

Montrose Prison.—“The keeper stated, that the chief offence for which prisoners were committed was theft, caused principally by habits of drinking.”

Forfar Prison.—“The chief kind of offences,” says the keeper, “in this neighbourhood is petty thefts, owing, I think, principally to drink. Indeed, I never knew a single case of theft, in which drink did not appear to be the cause, either by its effect on the prisoner at the time, or by the object of the theft being drink.”

Stonehaven Prison.—“The chief offences for which prisoners are committed, are thefts and assaults ; and the keeper stated that the chief cause of these offences was drunkenness. He also said, that the worst offenders were strangers from Aberdeen and Dundee.”

Inverary Prison.—“I am convinced,” says the chaplain, “that drink is the great cause of the offences committed in this county,—Argyll—and that if it could be removed there would be very little crime.”

Tobermory Prison.—“The chief offences for which persons are committed, are petty thefts, arising, the keeper said, from drunkenness. He also mentioned a case of a man, who had been received into the prison *sober at night*, but whom he found *drunk next morning* !”—*Inspector Hill and the Governors of thirty-seven Prisons upon Intemperance and Crime in Scotland.*

