

OUR PLAGUE SPOT:

IN CONNECTION WITH OUR POLITY

AND USAGES,

AS REGARDS

OUR WOMEN, OUR SOLDIERY, AND THE
INDIAN EMPIRE.

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This Book is Dedicated

TO THE

BRITISH NATION

AND THE

BRITISH LEGISLATURE.

May its truths sink deep into their hearts, and bring forth
fruits, to the praise of Him who hath called us out of
darkness into His marvellous light !

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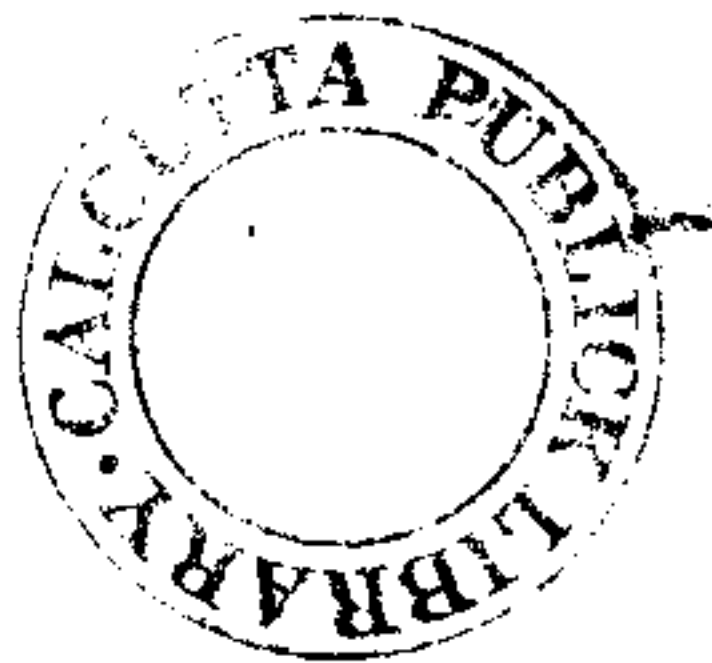
Government should more largely assist our labouring and
 • working classes to emigrate—Funds left from ornamental purposes—Admiral Duff of Drummuir's bequests—What we think of professing Christians—How a professing nation should be judged—Did the pomps and grandeur • of past nations preserve them from destruction?—Should not England do justice to India?—Christianity now frowned down there—The fast, how kept—Audi alteram partem—Missionary efforts now useless, until justice is first shewn to our oriental neighbours, and
 • christian actings—Canon Stowell's boldness for the truth—Our national conceit—Can we reform ourselves?—American and Scotch Revivals and christianizing efforts—Some notices of the sad accounts from year to year of our poor—Ottawa and Canada—Extract from "Times" of labourers out of employ — Spitalfields

weavers' deputation to Right Hon. J. Henley—Plan to substitute a Protestant for a church rate—Lord Ebury on London destitution—The "British Standard" on Christian effort—The early closing movement—What this book may be called—Summing up—The mixture of religion with politics—What our creed national should be—A good time yet hoped for—A concluding word to the reader *page 478*

APPENDIX *page 481*

- “ IF you think it right to differ from the times, and to make a stand for any valuable point of morals, do it, however rustic, however antiquated, however pedantic it may appear, do it not for insolence, but *seriously* and grandly, as a man who wore a soul of his own in his bosom, and did not wait until it was *breathed into him by the breath of fashion*. Let men call you mean, if you know that you are just; hypocritical, if you are honestly religious; pusillanimous, if you feel that you are firm. Resistance soon converts unprincipled wit into sincere respect, and no after time can tear from you those feelings which every man carries within him, who has made a noble and successful exertion in a virtuous cause.”

SYDNEY SMITH.



OUR PLAGUE SPOT.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

THE writer, after spending many years in the investigation of woman's moral and social condition in this kingdom, is induced to submit the result of his researches to the public.

His object is not gain, as pecuniary reward could not compensate for the years of toil he has spent on this subject, yet the sums expended and prejudices anticipated are trifles compared with the blessings which Hope points to, as an expected result from the promulgation of the principles advocated in the following pages.

The statistics of numbers, amounts spent, and other calculations, may appear startling to those who never studied to ascertain the depths of woman's degradation; but it suffices to say, that the figures throughout are given from the best authorities, and

the information derivable from the research of many years. Still, the calculations may be above, or, perhaps below, the numbers and amounts herein stated, it being impossible to ascertain correctly the aboundings of sin, amidst the hidden places of darkness.

Should the cynic sneer at the plainness of the style, and the absence of elegance in the author's diction, he is content to bear this; neither seeking popular applause, nor self-aggrandizement, but the public good. He is already cheered in his undertaking by knowing, that it begins to be appreciated; and hence he has gathered fresh courage to revise former works, and to condense the observations and researches of sixteen years into one small volume.

The striking facts and opinions at this moment—so especially valued by the public, *as proving themselves literally prophecies, now actually and too unhappily fulfilling*, (especially those of that remarkable man, *and high military authority*, Sir Charles Napier)—lend great weight to much, which, as before simply offered by one unknown, was endlessly “pooh-pooh’d” as utterly impracticable and unmilitary.

The author published several tracts, commencing from the year 1845, up to the present time. These have been extensively distributed by him; the whole, in accordance with this work, and emphatically urging

upon Government to pause and consider the sad consequences of their unjust policy, for *they had the power* to stem the torrent of iniquity, then, and unhappily still, overflowing the whole kingdom. All her Majesty's ministers were implored to consider *the cause* of woman's degradation; a conformity to the designs of Providence, being alone capable of introducing virtue and happiness. The seed thus scattered, long remained apparently dead, not one blade of promise gladdened the writer's hopes, not one bud germinated, nor one shoot sprung up, notwithstanding the long and anxious care he had bestowed upon it; nay, when even the sands of prejudice seemed to have drifted over, and covered deep the barren seed,—the bright smile of approbation or sunshine of encouragement never warming the sterile ground, but on the contrary, the blighting blasts of sarcasm, threatening to sweep away his long cherished expectations;—still, want of success only served to quicken his drooping zeal; and though he had again and again to mourn over the unproductiveness of his toil, expenditure, and perseverance, yet, when almost on the eve of despair, lo! a ray of light appeared. It was announced that Sir George Grey had given orders that female convicts, and wives and children of convicts, should be sent out at the public expense, *and which was done to an extent never before contemplated*, for on a question

being put in the House by some Honourable Member, Sir George Grey assured the House, that the number of females sent out within a short period, exceeded the number of males by some thousands. This was encouraging—an indication of better times coming. Then came forth a report from Mr. Mayhew proving beyond doubt, that 30,000 poor women in London alone, were living (or rather starving) on the miserable pittance given for slop-work. This excited our rulers; and the Female Emigration Society was the result; thousands were promptly subscribed, and it sprang into existence almost magically. Judging by the amount collected, very many—and at their head our beloved Queen, and several of the nobility—would seem to have been convinced of the dire necessity to do something to ameliorate the sad condition of so many thousands; and that philanthropy, though springing from impulse, was real and munificent.

It was then (1850), that the author issued his third pamphlet, the preface to which was written commendatory of the Female Emigration Society, although that Society did not deign to notice his former efforts. “Be it so,” thought he, “my views *must* go on, whilst theirs, if isolated, may fail,” *and so it did*; its short-lived existence affording but another proof that *surface measures must all be futile*. The

ports and other machinery, having long since passed away, the office been abandoned, and "Ichabod" written over the threshold. Still the writer pursues his arduous struggle, almost alone; though his public lectures have awakened some, who entirely coincide in the views which he has attempted to enforce in this work, while the majority still wait until the subject becomes popular, until the great and noble believe; in a word, "until it is" breathed into them by the breath of fashion."

Lord Ashley's (now Earl of Shaftesbury*) plan to provide means for the emigration yearly of 500 girls from ragged schools (and which was suggested by the writer, at a delegate meeting, held at Exeter Hall, and brought before Parliament by his Lordship a few days after), proves that others besides the author of this work, see the necessity of wiser measures than those hitherto adopted, being now pursued. The same idea as above was also ably advocated by Mr. Miles, the member for North Somersetshire, and by him brought before the House in 1850. Though unsuccessful then, he, in a private letter, told the writer it should be brought forward again. This, though a second time *negatived* by the House, *was actually carried out*, by sending a great number of young females from our parish unions to distant colonies.

The opinion here, of one who has spent many years in seeking the well-being of women, may not be un-

acceptable. He says, "Notwithstanding the remedies which have been applied, and those which have been proposed, it must be acknowledged that the vice of prostitution is so gigantic and deep-rooted, that no measures, however good in themselves, can be effectively carried into execution, either by individuals, or by societies, however influenced by right principles, or supported by pure benevolence. It is true that individuals and societies may do much, but as compared with the evil itself, all these efforts are puerile and inefficient. But Government, armed with a giant power, may grapple with the monster, and so increase the difficulties for its perpetration and the facilities for its suppression, as most effectually to check it, though its total abolition may be impracticable." Other suggestions are given by the reverend gentleman, recommending Acts of Parliament, parish committees, fines on brothel keepers, stringent enactments, lady visitors, and other things, which have all been tried in some way or other. Were the whole machinery employed in every form for the protection or reclamation of women to be thoroughly examined, it would furnish no better evidence of success.

How blind, then, must be our Legislators! They know the amount of woman's degradation, and the immense sums spent in this one iniquity, which has been faithfully represented to them, time after

time, as the demoralizing effects of their unwise policy. But still they proceed, heedless of female misery, and determined, it would seem, to pursue the same insane course. This was evidenced in Lord Panmure's letter to the Guardians of the Poor at Birmingham, in September, 1855; a crowning act to uniform injustice. As, perchance, the author's efforts may still remain unnoticed, and his whole labours be forgotten, yet, as at some future period of British history others may, and doubtless will, advocate the rights of women more successfully than he has been able to do, he deems it but right to draw attention here to the fact, and enter it thus publicly as a record due to himself, that in May, 1856, he presented a petition to the House of Commons, through Apsley Pellatt, Esq., member for the borough of Southwark, praying, that in any future transport of our soldiers *to India, or the colonies; for any length of time, all their wives might be allowed to accompany them.* That, emanating, from one unknown, it should pass unnoticed, is not strange; but, in order that such a document, embodying in part the author's views, might go abroad, and the community, in some large part, be induced to aid in this arduous undertaking, it was published in the "Christian Cabinet" of the 6th of May, 1856, and again in a pamphlet issued by the writer in Christmas of that year, entitled, "Prevention better than

Cure; or, some Suggestions to Remedy the present frightful extent of Female Demoralization in this Kingdom."* This has been circulated through the length and breadth of the kingdom, and amongst all classes. The Queen graciously permitted a copy to be presented to Her Majesty, together with a letter from the lady to whom the pamphlet was addressed, who, deeply interested in the welfare of her sex, implored Her Majesty's gracious attention to the sad condition of such a mass of Her Majesty's *national children*, and of the same sex, but *how unsexed* and different, TO THAT PATTERN OF EVERYTHING THAT WOMAN SHOULD BE — THE TRULY QUEENLY HEAD OF THIS REALM!

But nothing short of large and liberal government measures will ever accomplish so desirable an attainment AS THE SOCIAL AND MORAL AMELIORATION OF WOMAN.

It is well known that some writers employ their pens only for display, the good or evil tendency of their writings not being once considered; and such flit quickly through their little day, their elegant productions soon swelling the host of forgotten ephemerals. Another class, possessing talent almost superhuman, write only for gain, and be the subject light and frothy, or grave and severe, convey perchance all the beauties of language, and power of

* Oakey and Owers, Paternoster Row, and Edgware Road.

intellect, into works which, if destitute of human weal, must prove futile. The writer of these pages is actuated by no other motive than a deep-rooted conviction of the importance of his subject: this alone prompts him to action. No attempt at eloquence, but simple unvarnished truth, and an earnest desire to convince the world of its past and present injustice towards woman, his sole aim, combined with an endeavour to point out to it the best, the safest, and the surest measures for now securing to her social rights and virtuous training.

Let FACTS come forth, let the wronged speak, and, however horrid to know, or harrowing to the soul to contemplate, let the rifted curtain at once reveal, in all the full glare of day, that awful gulph of night, into which thousands yearly sink, and where hidden griefs and continuous woes have left no earthly record, save in broken hearts and untimely graves. These scenes once revealed, let us not start and stand aghast, shudder at the causes and then *silently* mourn over Woman's Wrongs! For, could we but summon up those disembodied spirits to tell us of their long-endured woes, 'twould make e'en angels weep, to hear, how unprotected, unhonoured, and oft-seduced, they—God's finest work—sunk defiled, or pined in hopeless misery.

It must awaken a bitter pang in many British hearts to know, that within this fair isle, the birth-

place of almost every philanthropic society, the depôt of Bibles, the college of missionaries, and the refuge for the persecuted; there exist those, whose name may be called Legion, once fair and innocent, but now become the seduced (and seducing), the abandoned, and the unfortunate, a foul blot upon our Christian profession, a stigma upon our cherished Protestantism, and a withering blight upon our social prosperity. Truly the scenes around us present a sad anomaly! Hard labour unrewarded, whilst immorality is well paid; ardent expectations and unceasing energy ending in helpless disappointment; and the land mourning to witness chastity unprotected, whilst vice triumphantly multiplies its victims daily. Many hearts are thus saddened, amidst the thousands who are anticipating in science an onward progress, and an universal fraternity. Still, amidst our moral desolation, is there not cause to rejoice, that a noble few, determined, if possible, to stem the overflowings of licentiousness, have combined to provoke the enquiry as to its CAUSES, EFFECTS, and REMEDIES, and to boldly attempt to purge this deep stain from our beloved country?

But as yet the zealous efforts of Christian teachers have been unavailing, their appeals treated with scorn, their warnings disregarded, and neither the labours of love, nor the terrors of the law, have

accomplished the desired remedy. We look
• around with petrified grief, and seek to know why
all this misery? why this extensive departure from
the paths of virtue? why this degradation of our
fair sisters? and why the efforts of so many societies
for the protection or reformation of women still
ineffective?

Why? Because *first principles* have been sub-
• verted, our national *impolicy* has disarranged society,
the sexes have suffered unnatural separation, and
the result is seen in the utter degradation of *above*
three hundred thousand unfortunate victims, while
untold thousands are continually falling into the
• same horrid vortex, or, as the latest authority states,
about one out of every thirteen of our adult un-
married women.

Volume after volume has been written, sermons
the most searching preached, and lectures innu-
merable delivered upon this subject, besides hun-
dreds of thousands sterling spent in attempting a
remedy. What is the result? Where, except in a
few instances, any proof of success? Where the
fruits of all this labour? *No where!* And with
• sorrow it must be confessed, that the most heart-
rending details of moral and physical wretchedness
are, on the contrary, being daily added to the fearful
list, swelling the damning records of the destroying
angel's black account, whilst blighted hopes and

ruined souls evince continually, the sad effects of our national impolicy.

The writer must here observe, that all past laws (embracing the late noble effort of the Associate Institute), have utterly failed, and cannot counteract this wide-spread evil; while the munificent offer of one hundred guineas on the part of that Institution for the best Essay upon the "Protection of Women" proves, that *something is wanting, and much more indispensable to be done*, before women can be protected from seduction and all its sad consequences.

Without disparaging any society, he boldly asserts, that unless large and liberal measures, such as have never hitherto been attempted, be generously carried out by the imperial legislature, we wail in vain, we grasp at shadows, and our labours will be like the deceitful mirage, ever disappointing the thirsting traveller.

Should that portion of the public which causes all this misery, still sneer, yet, Truth and Right, however despised, *must in the end prevail*, and all this unnatural amount of evil and misery, be mitigated, through wholesome legislation and effective prevention, rather than coerced isolation, separation, and often expensive, patch work remedies.

CHAPTER I.

“The harvest is past, the summer is ended, and we are not saved.

For the hurt of the daughter of my people am I hurt.”

“Is there no balm in Gilead:—is there no physician there? Why then is not the health of the daughter of my people recovered?”

To effect a cure, we must first examine a wound or study a disease, and the author can assert with all sincerity, that many years spent in the investigations now offered to the public, has enabled him to discover, that it is chiefly owing to our mistaken policy that those fatal results have been produced which are too shocking for *entire* revelation, and beyond the power of his pen to describe.

To attempt to unfold such an overwhelming mass of evil, to portray the misery endured, to discover

is a task, from which any writer must shrink, and exclaim with one of old, "Who is sufficient for these things!"

It would be only time lost, to trace the whole page of history, or to examine enactments, emanating in ignorance, and inoperative as regards the well-being of society; the whole rigor of the law being usually inflicted upon her who has left the paths of virtue, although her fall and subsequent degradation, may have, and has generally, been produced by anti-social usages or legislative impolicy.

But while history and experience furnish us with degrading records of scenes unfit for purity to scrutinize, while our by-way of improved *Christian* laws—in passing into the ecclesiastical courts, under the Norman conquest, much of the power which before was entirely (under the Anglo Saxon reign) lodged with the civil courts—seems only to have rendered matters more complicated, and law less simply *religiously* enforced than before, and while during the Commonwealth and the reign of the second Charles, rigid laws were passed, which have remained to our time (though differing in form to meet the altered feelings of society); yet, honesty demands the avowal, that both then and now, such laws were, and are, unsuited to protect woman, or to secure for her the position GOD intended her to hold. Beside the anomaly of Scotland, and Ireland, still materially

differing from England upon many points in *their* superior power of protection, of their females, and their capitals, from corrupting influences.

Yet if we are to appreciate laws by the social well-being effected by them, where, as at present evidenced, shall we find the good intended? The picture now presented to our view, is APPALLING!

Surely then, such laws are almost useless? or too inoperative to be able to cure this evil, or to produce the restraints intended by them. Indeed some, in the shape of military and other regulations, seem rather ~~constructed~~ to drive a large mass of the female population into evil, (and from that, the steps down to the lowest depths of degradation, are often but too rapid,) thus adding largely, to that number, whose very existence is a curse to themselves and to others, and a pestilence to any community of which they cannot be said to form a *part*, but a *huge over-grown excrescence, for ever enlarging, and eating into the very core of all social comfort and happiness.*

The object of these remarks then, is to exhibit *the present effect of Law on Morals*, and to disclose an uniformity of social disorganization, progressing from bad to worse, in proportion to the increase of population, and to the magnitude of ~~cities~~ and towns; this pestiferous malady infesting almost every street of every locality. Thus after the most searching in-

vestigation, the author's conviction is, that we have now (in 1859), in this kingdom, about 450,000 abandoned unfortunates.

He has attempted to classify them as follows :—

Sempstresses, slopworkers, and others ; living partly by labor—the remainder supplied from the wages of iniquity.

Female servants and others, the daughters of poverty, ready to fall, and continually filling up the ranks of the totally abandoned.

Schoolmistresses and teachers — striving to live honourably, but too often unrewarded and insolvent.

Governesses—whose scanty salaries will not support their position, and which renders them an easy prey to the seducer.

Illegitimate children. Of that number in London only, according to official returns, 71,000.

(The number murdered, fearful to contemplate.)

Moreover there are thousands who though beyond the actual reach of want,—being supported mostly, by parents, relatives, connections or friends,—are still, comparatively speaking, despised and neglected,

pinning in isolation, or sinking into early graves; beyond doubt one of the unhappy results of our impolitic and perverted social usages.

It has already been stated that any attempt to ascertain the exact number of those who live wholly or in part on the wages of iniquity would be a vain effort. Assuming however, as by the census returns of 1851, that London contains nearly 2,500,000 inhabitants,—(there are now said to be, in 1859, 80,000), and according to some writers, (as before stated) 50,000 Unfortunates, it would shew an estimate of 2 per cent. on the whole population; that there is 1 per cent. (or 25,000), little doubt exists; and taking, as the writer has done, the whole of the cities and towns in England and Wales, and supposing that each city or town has the same proportion, the aggregate would be, 450,000, while Ireland and Scotland if brought into the account, would furnish a quota, equally appalling. In this estimate it will be evident that the numbers in some places are far too low, some towns having doubtless a greater per centage in proportion to their inhabitants—a fact which is too well known to require further confirmation—our naval stations, and seats of learning, together with this great metropolis, undoubtedly furnishing the greatest number. Thus the naval station of Portsmouth for instance, with Portsea, and Gosport, has a per centage of unfortu-

nates so great, and so utterly degraded, as to surpass many other places, not excepting London. The writer has himself seen nearly 400 at once, of these wretched beings, on board a third class ship of the line, whilst many ships of the same kind were there at the time, from which he infers, that an equal number may then have been on board the other ships, while remaining at that station. And every naval station and every maritime town presents similar scenes.

In confirmation of the above, he gives the following extract, from a letter published by the Rev. Mr. Talbot.

After describing the scenes at Chatham, Sheerness, &c., where there are "long rooms," and low public houses, chiefly supported by soldiers, sailors and unfortunates, he says: "Lieutenants Rivers and Montmorency of Greenwich Hospital assured me, that it was the ordinary usage for loose women to be admitted on board ships of war while coming into port, when in port, and when leaving port: and that they had actually seen *more unfortunate females on board than there were men*. I will not pretend to portray the effects of such practices; not only are they felt at home, but also in distant lands, where the curses and imprecations of those who have been injured are poured upon the heads of the guilty perpetrators, and our country denounced, as the scourge and bane of the world."

The author's firm conviction therefore is, that the number does actually exceed our army and marine of all classes and conditions.

How vast then must this multitude be! These walking contagions! First the corrupted, then the corrupters of all whom they can entice into their meshes. The degraded witnesses of the inefficiency of laws, in all their tortuous enactments, inoperative or dormant, mere abortions of ignorance, and heaps of confusion, sinking down through their own accumulated ponderosity, into oblivion.

The writer will commence by endeavouring to give some quotations from the most trust-worthy and credible authorities, as to the number of bagnios, the number of illegitimate children, the classes of unfortunates, the money expended in this illicit intercourse, and the supposed causes from which have sprung up such a growth of vice and misery.

To begin then with the testimony of that worthy Commissioner, Mr. Mayne. He states, that in this metropolis there are upwards of 3,300 known bagnios, exclusive of those of the city, which if included, would give an aggregate of 5,000 houses, the resort of immoral men and abandoned women, and which, if calculated at 10 females for each house, would amount to 50,000 *Unfortunates*, living as before stated, wholly or partly, on the wages of iniquity.

Other credible writers give statements to an equal

amount in proportion, in other cities and towns. As for instance, in a recent account, published by Mr. Logan a missionary, it is stated as seen by that writer, that the city of Norwich contains 194 known bagnios, having but two unfortunates in each, which amounts to only 388 for that crowded city, with a population of above 100,000 inhabitants; while on a fair computation of one per cent. (as given before), the number would be above 1000, it being notorious that immorality abounds there. This was confirmed to the writer by a gentleman well acquainted with that locality.

As regards illegitimate children, by returns to the House of Commons, it is shown, that upwards of 71,000 illegitimate children are born every year within the United Kingdom, the metropolis alone producing 7000. And this vast amount of iniquity has been assigned as springing from seduction, a predisposition to sexual intercourse, a love of dress, and other causes, which add, daily, to the many who have already strayed from the paths of virtue and rectitude.

To estimate numbers only, will not suffice; we must search deeper, and discover also the different grades of those, once pure and innocent, now ruined and abandoned. There is but little doubt that there are three or four distinct classes of women who live principally, by the gains they obtain from illicit intercourse. First then in this sad category come—

THE TOTALLY ABANDONED.

Those who haunt our streets by night (and by day too), who spend their time in "long rooms," amidst soldiers and sailors, near barracks and sea-ports, the bold professional "ladies of easy virtue," who are always either at home to every visitor, or are, as above stated, to be found in the next "long room." Of this class there are thousands swarming at our naval stations, visiting ships of war while in harbour, and congregating wherever men are to be found in the greatest number, and especially courting those in the service of the crown, who may be dissevered from chaste wives, or prohibited from lawful wedlock, by those laws and usages which are a curse to the community.

Second in this classification, we may place a somewhat superior grade, composed of—

POOR NEEDLE WOMEN.

Their gains are not sufficient to sustain existence. Consequently, a lodging to be paid for, the keeping up a decent appearance, and the cravings of hunger, all combine to drive the poor sempstress onward to ruin. Once fallen, the road is still downwards, until the want of employment, or the imperious scowl of a tyrant employer, compel her to seek a miserable existence with the lost, when she

rapidly sinks to the same level with the lowest of the sex.

Third in this scale may be named—

POOR WIDOWS.

They often have to seek a maintenance for helpless orphans, or, if the wives of soldiers, by the unnatural rules of the service separated from their husbands, they are left to struggle with abject poverty, suffering with their offspring, privations heart-rending to contemplate, their anticipations still and ever wretchedness, their only hope the grave.

A fourth class are those in trite parlance, called—

KEPT MISTRESSES.

These consist, usually, of young women seduced from their homes or situations by promises of marriage, or of servants of handsome exterior, whose old or young masters having favoured them for a time, and lavished upon them that money which, in too many instances, was due to their creditors,—thus sometimes inflicting a treble wrong, on their own wives and children, if they are married men, on these deluded females, and their trusting creditors—change or desert their seduced victims as the duration of inclination, or the passing whim of the moment may dictate, heedless if they sink into the lowest grade

of humanity—worse than “the beasts that perish,” for *they* feel not their degradation, whilst poor woman must,

“Like the Scorpion girt by fire,”
ever carry her own sting within herself, till scorned,
abandoned, degraded, and—

“Inly search’d by thousand throes,
And maddening in her ire,
One sad and sole relief she knows—”
That other curse, drink, and—

“So writhes the mind remorse hath riven,
Unfit for Earth, undoom’d for Heaven—
Darkness above, despair beneath,
Around it flame, within it Death!”

Having examined somewhat into the extent of woman’s degradation, it is essential to endeavour to prove also the vast amounts expended yearly upon this one iniquity. Though so enormous as to appear incredible, and allowing that the most careful research must be to some extent hypothetical, (as the computation by the most eminent writers of the number of these unfortunates has been declared to be,*) yet, even in this dilemma we may arrive at

* And seems to have been since the time of Solomon, for in Proverbs v. 6, we find in his description *the very cause which now precludes the power of just computation*, viz: “Her ways are moveable, that thou canst not know them.” City missionaries, and others best acquainted with this class, affirm,

some moderate estimation of the amount expended on this unhallowed intercourse; and to prove such in pounds sterling must form an important part of our inquiry, in order to convince the British public how ruinously expensive is immorality, and to prove the necessity for meeting the evil boldly. The economy advocated throughout the whole of the writer's expositions will have no small weight added to its assumptions, by extracts from the writings of the most faithful and diligent enquirers into this important subject.

Thus Mr. Bevan, authorized Government Agent, and missionary, in a lecture delivered by him at Liverpool some years since, gave his evidence as follows—"Vice is costly, and the wages of the

that they appear and vanish again in the most inexplicable manner, no possible clue being generally attainable of their whereabouts. At sea-bathing places they have their winter and summer sets quite distinct. Even the average term of life of these poor things does not exceed, usually, five or seven years, the generality not reaching beyond twenty-three or twenty-five years of age. In London in summer, a large number become the temporary wives of costermongers, hawkers, and beggars, and as these vanish, so do those. Some parts of London of course are most notorious as their peculiar walks (and so doubtless also in all towns), but each year sees a new set of faces, and they ever varying, upon them. If through a benevolent motive any one wishes to meet them a second time *they rarely succeed, and if they seek for their address they usually give them a false one.*

unfortunate are vast; They yield not modesty, nor health, nor life; nor does their price enrich—for this gold and silver is at its very core cankered. Various estimates have been formed on the subject. By some the expenditure of these unfortunates is computed at £1 5s., and by others at £1 10s. per week each. But this seems too low a rate, for it could not cover the expenses of their lodging, their dress, and their *wasteful outlay in eating and drinking*. But even if the lower sum were taken, it would still show, that there must have been squandered among the 2899 unhappy young beings who tenanted the haunts of Liverpool, in each week of the year 1842, £3623 15s., thus making in the twelve months, £188,435. If the higher sum be taken, the amount spent must have been weekly, £4,348 10s., and annually, £226,122. Or, if upon each visit 1s. 6d. had been spent, the total of 53,900 visits weekly, would give a sum of £4042 10s., and of 2,802,800* visits annually, the sum of £210,210. Add to this the enormous plunder which is practised by these Unfortunates, and which can never be ascertained—the very nature of the connexion between the loser and the thief, rendering concealment necessary—as the parties robbed, dare not, in the majority of instances, proceed against ~~the~~ criminals, for fear of disgraceful exposures. Such

police returns as there are, however, show an amount of no small magnitude. Thus, under the class robberies from the person by prostitutes, we find property stolen, during one year, valued at £1986 6s. 4d., and conjecture has ample room to multiply the sum."

We give one instance as follows, extracted from a notice in the Times, under the head of

A WEALTHY STREET-WALKER.—In consequence of the numerous robberies lately committed upon gentlemen in the Regent's Park by female street-walkers, an order was given by the police-commissioners, at the direction of the Secretary of State, that these females should be ejected from that locality. About twenty of them were on Saturday consigned to prison, and upon one of them, named Emma Dillon, being searched, a sum of £74 in gold and bank-notes was found secreted in her stockings.

Mr. Logan, one of the Glasgow City missionaries, in his "Exposure of Prostitution" in that city, gives the following statistics as the result of his own observations there :—

The number of visits of men to each house may be computed at, weekly	80
Making weekly visits to 450 houses	36,000
The girls receiving on an average from each visitor - 1s., making the sum of, weekly	£1800
Whilst the robberies from the persons of those visitors, computed at 2s. 6d. each (a low average) would make	£4500

And the sums spent in drink, say 2s., by each visitor £3600
 Thus giving a total spent upon prostitutes, weekly, of £9900
 And annually, of £514,800

“ In the foregoing statement, the heavy expenses brought upon medical charities and civil institutions are not reckoned ; but a single statement upon this point may be transcribed. It is from the last Annual Report of the Glasgow Lock Hospital ; viz., that no less than 403 patients were cured during the year, at the very moderate expense, on an average, of £1 2s. 5d. each ; that the annual average number of patients nightly in the hospital was 31 (which is three above the average of 1840), while the total number of admissions also exceeded that of 1840 by 64, the additional expense amounting to £22 4s. 8d.

“ Magistrates are also aware that the appearance at civil courts of prostitutes charged with crime is of common occurrence. One girl, in Leeds, only eighteen years of age, had been regularly committed 31 times ; and another, in Rochdale, had been sent to Manchester prison 44 different times. When visiting, on Sabbath afternoons, the thieves’ department of the Glasgow police office, the writer saw above 800 unfortunate females there at one time, and that did not comprise the whole of the female prisoners. The calculation of the expense thereby incurred, must be left to those best acquainted with

the subject, whilst it may be remarked, however, that *if one fourth the time and money which is devoted to punish unhappy females, were appropriated for the detection of their procuresses and supporters, Government would not be called upon for so many grants for erecting Prisons and Penitentiaries.*"

Mr. Surgeon Tait, in his valuable work, entitled "*Magdalenism*," says: "In Edinburgh, the sum annually spent for similar purposes is supposed to be about £200,000. Add to this £14,000—which is £50 a night, for ten months in the year, for the support of the theatre, and £10,000 for kept mistresses—making, in all, for the maintenance of these sources of crime and moral pollution, the handsome item of £224,000 sterling! If this sum were appropriated to the promotion of morality and religion, it would support 6000 paupers at 10s. per week, 200 additional schools in Edinburgh for the instruction of the children of the working classes gratis, with the endowment of £100 as the annual salary of the teachers; and of sixty additional clergymen for instructing the heathen, in the Cowgate and other destitute parts of the city, with £300 a year each; furnish 6000 paupers with two suits of clothes in ~~the~~ year at £2 each, so as to fit them for attendance upon public ordinances; build sixty new churches, at £3000 for the new incumbents; 200 new schools at £500; and after the first twelve years, leave

an annual surplus fund of £24,000 for charitable purposes, and for the encouragement and promotion of morality throughout the country.”*

Another writer says: “If there are 80,000 prostitutes in London—if there are between 4000 and 5000 bagnios—if there are about 400 trépanners or procurers—I ask, how great must the number of the other sex be who support this aggregate of human depravity and misery? while it is well known that some of these girls obtain from £20 to £30 per week and some more, while others (those who frequent the theatres, &c.) are in the receipt of £10 or £12; those of a still lower grade £4 to £5, some not £1, and others not 10s. It is a fact, however, that even

* But there is a curious feature connected with Edinburgh prostitution, viz., that the great manufacturing cities of Scotland send but few prostitutes to Edinburgh, as they find work and the means of living for themselves. But when this ceases, they repair to Edinburgh to seek it in prostitution, as if, in the absence of regular work, this was an equally honourable occupation. But they return to work when trade revives, and through the friendships they may have made in Edinburgh with those who live in constant debauchery, on their departure they endeavour to take these with them, many agreeing to follow them to the factories or workshops, and who thus become, in a measure, rescued from public prostitution. Warm and lasting friendships sometimes arise amongst them, and they even form charitable associations to assist those who, from disease or other causes, have fallen into distress. *They also love*; and Mr. Tait knew of twelve attempts at poisoning arising from jealousy.

those of the worst description, if they do not obtain sufficient money, *are turned almost naked out of doors, and left a prey to starvation and disease.* Taking the average earnings at £100 each prostitute per year, gives the immense yearly income of £8,000,000; and suppose the average cost of 80,000 of these females amounts to £40 a year each (which may be more than is expended), £3,200,000 is the result. This latter sum deducted from ~~their~~ earnings, leaves £4,800,000 as the nett income of the keepers of these girls; or, supposing 5000 bagnio keepers to be the number, nearly £1000 per annum each. Thus, as far as income is concerned, these abominable characters are upon an equality with the really respectable tradesman."

A short extract from "The Females' Friend," No. 4, p. 78, will affirm these assertions, and add weight to these arguments. The editor says: "We hold in our hand the autobiography of the keeper of one of these dens of infamy, which it is the object of the 'Associate Institute' to put down. We are here informed, that she was visited by persons of the highest rank. This monster in female form, though perhaps, one of the best of her class, carried on her ~~worse than murderer's trade for nearly twenty years,~~ and during that time, contrived to accumulate so large a fortune, that she gave her daughter, on her wedding-day, £3000, and at her death, left her at

least £20,000 more. This vast sum was only a portion of the wages of unrighteousness which she had received; for, besides supporting a costly establishment, she calculated that her losses amounted to at least £500 a year, or, during the period of her atrocious occupation, to not less than £10,000! When she retired from business a few years ago, she let her house for £9 a week, or upwards of £450 per annum. We need not add that the business must have been profitable, which enabled the occupant to pay such a rental. Indeed, we are informed that the weekly income was upwards of £60, or not less than £3000 a year. These statistics show, that the persons who patronized this temple of sensuality were not paupers, and therefore had neither poverty nor ignorance to plead as an excuse for their vices. Indeed, the writer herself informs us that many of her patrons were men of title, and all of them wealthy. As a proof of this, when she retired from business, she treated her visitors with a ball, the details of which we cannot describe; and not less than twelve noblemen attended, besides other honourables, who graced this scene of infamy with their presence. A distinguished duke, still living, we are told, presided as king on the occasion. It should be remembered that this house was only one of many thousands, all well supported, not by the poor and ignorant, but by persons of rank and

education ; and hence, we may ask, what must be the moral feelings of a class who, while they lay claim to a far higher rank than the rest of the community, yet most recklessly and basely sacrifice to their own selfish and sensual appetites, the health, the morals, the life, and the spirits of the fairest and the most interesting of God's creation."

Copious extracts from the writings of the best informed on this subject could be made, but they would only swell this work beyond due bounds, and all but evidence that imperial mandates and philanthropic sympathy have been of little avail. Laws, penalties, asylums, hospitals, and penitentiaries, restraining or recovering but few, compared to the vast number left unprotected, seduced, and ruined ; yet this corrupted state of society and miserable condition of 'tens of thousands degraded beyond conception, however deplored by many, *must continue*, unless our social polity be revised, and measures be adopted more in unison with the designs of Heaven and the requirements of society. From all the previous statements, it cannot be doubted, that a vast number of abandoned females are in existence, and that they live and prey upon the vitals of society, producing nothing but immorality, in addition to their wasteful extravagance. That the sums, as stated by the authorities already quoted, may be too high, is possible, yet to

admit *that even one half is thus spent*, seems to stagger human credence. But if we allow that 250,000 within the United Kingdom, live on the wages of prostitution, and receive, on an average, £1 per week each, it gives the enormous sum of £13,000,000 yearly! Or even supposing that their average income does not exceed 10s. per week each, the sum of £6,500,000 is surely an item in our national expenditure too serious to be passed over without enquiry, especially as indisputable proofs will be given, that one third of the amount would suffice to save those, now uncorrupted, from falling into the same condition, and *ensure a community, composed of virtuous wives, instead of, as at present, a host of degraded females.*

CHAPTER II.

“ Oh that my head were waters, and mine eyes a fountain of tears,
That I might weep day and night for the slain of the daughter of my people.”

WE will now proceed to consider from whence this vast amount of money is derived. Surely it cannot come from the hard earnings of honest industry? nor from the pockets of the artizan, the mechanic, or the laborer, (except in part). It cannot be the surplus wealth of the sons of toil? whence then is it furnished? Blush, ye great—ye pampered—ye noble, ye high-born, titled and respectable! For it is principally from *you*—you, who toil not, but draw immense incomes from the sweat and sinews of your fellow-men—you, who have had the advantages of birth, rank, and education—it is principally from you, that this enormous aggregate of expenditure and misery emanates, to corrupt unaffanced or unprotected women.

But leaving these noble and titled ones, to head and swell the list, it cannot be denied, that other classes also partially support the numerous haunts of sin. Of these a vast number are young men, amounting, it is calculated, to 40,000 in London alone; and who, serving in shops; and necessitated by the usages of the trade, to be *single*, spend a large portion of their salaries, when opportunity offers, among *the genteel* unfortunates. This is much to be deplored! and the whole system pursued towards these "trade prisoners," must be altered and revised, ere we may look for chastity in either sex.*

* It is well known that the larger description of showy shops, carry on a very expensive traffic with the most dashing of these unfortunates, who often belong to Cigar Divans, and under the watchful eye of the matron or female keeper, of these questionable establishments, or singly by themselves in quest of adventures, nightly frequent casinos, ball-rooms, and theatres. And such shops, we are told, feel quite safe in giving these unhappy ones credit for the most expensive articles of dress, they being generally as faithful in their payments, as they are reckless in their expenditure. *But what a snare for the young shopman!* So many of these wretched women are so dazzlingly beautiful—so gentle in their tone—and taking in their manners, (*when not intoxicated!*) and so really *au fond*, good-natured and generous. The following is a notice of a trial from the *Times* :—

(*Before Mr. Justice WILLES and a Common Jury.*)

WILLIAMS V. DE VILBRAY.

This case was disposed of late on Tuesday evening. It was an action brought by the administratrix and representative of

But how monstrous this *British* "slavery," how unjust this forced separation! Ye who are foremost

the firm of Williams and Sowerby, silk mercers, &c., of Oxford-street, to recover £52 for silk dresses and other goods supplied to the defendant.

The pleas put upon the record in answer to the plaintiff's claim admitted the receipt of the goods, but alleged that they were sold for an immoral purpose,—namely, to enable the defendant to carry on the occupation of a prostitute.

Mr. Petersdorff was for the plaintiff; and Serjeant Parry and Mr. Joyce for the defendant.

The issue being upon the defendant,

Alga de Vilbray, the defendant, a tall, elegantly dressed Frenchwoman, was examined, and she stated that she had been in the habit of purchasing articles of dress at the establishment of the plaintiff, and always paid ready money for them. Upon one occasion, however, she saw Mr. Grant, the manager of the establishment, and he inquired whether she was not a gay woman, and she told him she was; and he then said that he thought she might get more friends if she dressed more expensively, and that she might have anything she required upon credit. He showed her some expensive dresses, and said that she would look like a queen in them, and at the same time told her that she should go to the Argyll-rooms and other places of a similar kind, and she would easily find a friend who would pay the bill. She stated that it was solely in consequence of this that she was induced to purchase the dresses, and she afterwards wore them in the pursuit of her vocation.

The defendant was cross-examined at some length by the learned counsel for the plaintiff, but nothing was elicited from her that at all tended to shake her testimony, and she persisted in declaring that the plaintiff's manager was perfectly well aware of her position at the time the goods were supplied,

in vapouring about "political rights," "equal laws," and "moral principles," know ye not that seven tenths, (as some affirm), or one half at least, (as others compute), of your servants are fascinated by the smiles of the thousands who perambulate our streets? Your "young men," who, prohibited from lawful wedlock, are still "men of like passions with yourselves," and thus, easily tempted into the paths of the destroyer.

and that he induced her to purchase them under the circumstances she stated.

MR. PETERSDORFF then addressed the jury for the plaintiff, and he called

Mr. Grant, the person referred to by the defendant, who stated that she was introduced to him by a Frenchman named Dorbas, who represented that she was a respectable married lady, and that her husband was abroad, and would not return for a fortnight, and that the arrangement was that half of the amount of the goods supplied was to be paid down, and the remainder when the husband returned. He stated that after the goods had been sent in an excuse was made for not paying what was agreed upon, and subsequently it appeared that the defendant never intended to pay, and therefore the present action was brought against her. He also positively declared that he had never made the suggestion she represented to her.

Mr. Justice WILLES explained to the jury the law in reference to a case of this description, and said that if they believed the evidence of the defendant she was entitled to a verdict, and the only question for them was which of the witnesses they considered entitled to credit.

The jury, after a short deliberation, returned a verdict for the defendant.

August 13th, 1857.

It would be vain then, to attempt to disguise the truth, and with deep grief it must be owned, that every class of men, from the peer down to the labourer, contribute their quota towards the immense amount of money, as before assumed, expended in this illicit traffic; and hence it becomes necessary to go thoroughly into the causes, as well as the consequences of our departure from the laws of Nature—a departure which drives so many thousands of the sex to a life of infamy, whilst the very cheapness in many phases of it, becomes one of the temptations to a vast number of the other sex, to spend a great proportion of their income in sensuality.

Some writers, from whom extracts will now be given, have stated sundry causes, considered by them to have produced the sad effects now too manifest, and too painful to dilate upon. That such causes do exist, may be freely allowed, but if considered, it will be seen that they hinge upon others in, or antecedent to our social polity, and therefore, the writer, after careful enquiry and mature consideration, feels persuaded, that should the primary cause (that which he believes the real one), be removed, we should soon be gladdened by the sight of a social renovation, rendering almost unnecessary future enactments to guard the person, and preserve the virtue of innocent females.

To commence, then, with the opinion of Mr Sur-

geon Tait of Glasgow, in his enquiry into the extent, causes, and consequences of female immorality. He states:—

- “ 1st. Licentiousness of inclination.
- “ 2d. Irritability of temper.
- “ 3rd. Pride, and love of dress.
- “ 4th. Dishonesty and desire of property.
- “ 5th. Indolence.”

The foregoing he denominates *natural* causes. Again:—

- “ 1st. Seduction.
- “ 2d. Inconsiderate marriages.
- “ 3rd. Inadequate remuneration for work.
- “ 4th. Want of employment.
- “ 5th. Intemperance.
- “ 6th. Poverty.
- “ 7th. Want of surveillance on the part of masters and mistresses.
- “ 8th. Ignorance, or defective educational and religious instruction.
- “ 9th. Bad example of parents.
- “ 10th. Harsh treatment by parents and relatives.
- “ 11th. Attendance on evening dancing schools and dancing parties.
- “ 12th. Theatre going.
- “ 13th. Desecration of the Sabbath.
- “ 14th. Improper works and obscene prints.

“ 15th. The countenance and reward give to vice.

“ 16th. The small encouragement given to virtue.”

These are the social causes.

Again, Mr. Logan, that laborious missionary, has given it as his opinion, from personal observation, that females are seduced from the paths of virtue:—

“ 1st. From being servants in taverns and public-houses, where they are subject or liable to temptation.

“ 2d. From intermixture of the sexes in factories, workshops, &c. &c.

“ 3rd. By procuresses, and those who visit country towns, markets, &c.

“ 4th. From indolence or bad tempers; in leaving their places, or in being driven to it by wicked parents, or from disappointments in marriage—thus becoming an easy prey to wicked men.”

If this worthy missionary had pursued his enquiry further, he would have discovered another prolific *cause*, namely, the cruel treatment experienced from some masters and mistresses. *Their* unkind behaviour has driven thousands to seek the wages of sin rather than remain where they were treated worse than the generality of slaves. This

is, indeed, a fruitful source of female dégradation, and induced, evidently, by the superabundance of servants seeking situations. A glance at the advertising columns of "The Times" shews this, where, day by day, from three to five hundred insertions for employment may be seen, often only to meet with employers, whose haughty bearing, imperious commands, rigid discipline, and penuriousness, render their service unbearable, and from which absence of every domestic comfort, but too often arises the primary cause of decent and innocent servants falling from the tyrant's home into the depths of misery. Let my fair readers, especially, reflect with Miss Brewster, that "God gives us servants. Did you ever look on them in this light? As gifts, and very valuable ones—more valuable than you can fully appreciate, unless you meet with a reverse which will compel you to be your own servant: then you will understand how much you owed to them. Perhaps there is a greater amount of querulous dissatisfaction on this subject than on any other; indeed, complaints of servants are so universal, that curiosity is sometimes excited to know whether the complainers would behave with the requisite degree of perfection were their positions to be reversed. That there are many bad servants, and that they are a very serious domestic affliction, none can deny. The most inattentive, the

most giddy, the most unfaithful, are not, however, 'all evil;' and to find the tender spot in their hearts, to draw out their neglected energies, to give them a sense of sorrow and responsibility for the uneasiness they occasion, must ever be included in the work of a mistress. To do this fully, much grace is of course required—not only to deal wisely and faithfully with them, but also to deal wisely and faithfully with ourselves. It will not do to be thoroughly alive to their besetting sins, without being conscious of our own. It will not do to keep a stricter account of their failures to us, than of our failures to them; nor to expect a thorough feeling and knowledge of our wants and ways, and yet be destitute of sympathy with theirs. If it is a difficult thing to fulfil the duties of a mistress, it is no easy thing to be a servant. Brought into the closest contact with stranger fellow-servants of opposing tempers and designs—treated negligently, perhaps harshly, by their mistresses—expected to know everything by intuition—to think, yet not to think—to have perfect memories, and no feelings—indeed, to like being found fault with, rather than otherwise—exposed to every temptation to levity and dishonesty—perhaps forbidden to see in comfort a few respectable and useful friends, and thus thrown upon disreputable society, enjoyed surreptitiously,

what can we expect from servants, if mistresses are not true to them and to themselves?"

Mr. Mayhew also assures us, that inadequate remuneration for labour is one principal cause why women go astray. This is true to the letter, and cannot be otherwise, whilst so vast a multitude (amounting to 30,000) poor females in London are dependent on slop-work wages—*insufficient to sustain nature*. Is it then astonishing that few can withstand the fatal alternative which presents itself, of bartering away their hitherto preserved virtue for food and raiment, or of dying from want?

It has been vauntingly asserted by the advocates of total abstinence from intoxicating drinks, that vast numbers become the victims of seduction through intemperance. This may be true to a very limited extent; but that many fall by such means is not borne out by experience. Indeed, the testimony of those who have enquired into the subject, *proves the contrary*—intemperance being *the after-refuge from thought*, from the galling, *ever present sense of shame and degradation*, even where remorse, or an awakened conscience, is not added thereto, and, therefore, an after effect generally, and but rarely an exciting *first* cause. An eminent writer says: "In all the cases brought under my notice, I have always found that unfortunate women have

been drunkards, but invariably *became so subsequently to their entrance upon a life of prostitution.*”

One of our most popular writers has given us another cause, namely, some peculiarities of thinking and acting which characterize us as a nation. He says :—

“From the want of cultivating ethical investigation, we judge of morals by inapplicable religious rules. . . . The same want of moral knowledge is found in our fiscal impositions. Some taxes are laid on which ~~must~~ necessarily engender vice ; some taken off as if necessarily to increase it. . . . We have taken off the duty upon gin, and from that day commenced a most terrible epoch of natural demoralization. ‘Formerly,’ says the bishop of London (Howley), ‘when I first came to London, I never saw a female coming out of a gin-shop ; I have since repeatedly seen females, with infants in their arms, to whom they appear to be giving some part of their liquor.’ Our greatest national stain is the intemperance of the poor ; to that intemperance our legislators give the greatest encouragement. For want too, of extending our researches into morality, the light breaks only the darkness immediately around us, and embraces no ample and catholic circumference. Thus, next to our general regard for appearance, we consider morality as only operating on the connexions between the sexes. Morality, strictly

translated with us, means the absence of licentiousness—it is another word for one of its properties—chastity ; as the word profligacy bears only the construction of sexual intemperance. I do not deny that this virtue is one of immense importance. *Wherever it is disregarded, a general looseness of all other principles usually ensues. Men rise by the prostitution of their dearest ties, and indifference to marriage becomes a means of the corruption of the State.*

“ But as the strongest eyes cannot look perpetually to one object without squinting at last, so, to regard but one point of morals, however valuable, distorts our general vision for the rest. And what is very remarkable among us, out of the exclusiveness of our regard to chastity, arises, *the fearful amount of prostitution which exists throughout England, and for which no remedy is ever contemplated. Our extreme regard for the chaste induces a contemptuous apathy to the unchaste. We care not how many there are, what they suffer, or how far they descend into the lower abysses of crime. Thus, in many of the agricultural districts, nothing can equal the shameless abandonment of the female peasantry.*

“ Laws favouring bastardy promote licentiousness ; and, as I have before shown, the pauper marries the mother of illegitimate children, in order to have a better claim on the parish. In our large towns, an equally systematic contempt of the unfor-

tunate victims, *less, perhaps, of sin, than of ignorance and poverty*, produces consequences equally prejudicial. No regard, as in other countries, by a rigid police order, is paid to their health or condition. The average of their career on earth is limited to *four years*. Their houses are unvisited, their haunts unwatched—and thus is engendered, a fearful mass of disease, of intemperance, and of theft. Too great a contempt for one vice, *rots it, as it were, into a hundred other vices yet more abandoned*; and thus, by a false or partial notion of morality, we have defeated our own object, and the exclusive intolerance to the unchaste *has cursed the country with an untended and unmedicated leprosy of prostitution*.

“To the want, too, of the cultivation of morality as a science. All its rules are with us vague, vacillating, and uncertain. They partake of the nature of personal partiality, or of personal persecution. One person is proscribed by society for some offence which another person commits with impunity. One woman elopes, and is ‘the abandoned creature,’ another does the same, and is only ‘the unfortunate lady.’ Miss —— is received with respect by the same audience that drove Kean to America. Lady —— is an object of interest for the same crime as that which makes Lady —— an object of hatred. Lord —— illuses and separates from his wife, nobody blames him. Lord Byron is discarded by his

wife, and is cut by society. — is a notorious gambler, and takes in all his acquaintance; everybody courts him; he is a man of fashion. Mr. — imitates him, and is eschewed like a pestilence — *he* is a pitiful knave.

“In vain would we try to discover any clue to these distinctions, all is arbitrary and capricious, often the result of a vague and unmerited personal popularity—often a sudden and fortuitous reaction in the public mind, that, feeling it has been too harsh to its last victim, is too lenient to its next. Hence, from a lack of that continuous stream of ethical mediation and instruction, which, though pursued but by a few, and on high, solitary places, flows downward, and through invisible crevices and channels, saturates the moral soil,—morality with us has no vigour, and no fertile and organized system. It acts by starts and fits—it adheres to mere forms and names; now to a respect for appearances, now to a respect for property—clinging solely, with any enduring strength, to our material and worldly belief, which the commercial and aristocratic spirit have engendered, viz., in the value of station and the worth of wealth.”

The foregoing, according to the authorities quoted, are the principal causes which lead females from the paths of rectitude. But, as before stated, the real or original cause has produced most of

these subordinate ones—which it will be impossible to remove, until our rulers are convinced, that laws and usages, subverting human rights, must be abrogated, and principles in unison with Nature's laws and the requirements of society, be adopted.

Presuming that enough has been written to evidence the fearful existing state of things, and to shew, that all the laws hitherto passed must therefore, with few exceptions, have proved futile (or if of any avail, how feeble the fruits!)—where shall we now look for help? if not to the carrying out in future, through an amended policy, nature's laws in legitimate channels. The thousands of bagnios, the overwhelming number of illegitimate children, and the hundreds of thousands totally degraded, are awful present results of our national *Impolicy*. Not to mention the infanticides and the insanity too often also thereby produced: (for marriage, it has been stated on the strength of medical and other statistics, is, to a certain extent, a preventive of suicide; as it has been satisfactorily established, that among men, two-thirds who destroy themselves are bachelors: and again, marriage, it would appear, is a preservative against insanity; at least similar results ensue from its statistics: And upon which a query has been raised, Is it that people with a tendency to mania or self-murder remain single? Or, is it that wedlock is like Aaron's rod?) and neither

commissioners, magistrates, nor even parents can control or check these evils, as they now stand permitted, in any of their forms. But that they can be greatly remedied, if those who rule the destinies of this nation would but renounce all past unnatural notions, and endeavour to carry out measures more in accordance with the designs of a gracious Providence, the writer will strive to prove anon.

Meantime, in reviewing many points of past legislation, it must be apparent, that we "have sowed the wind, and are now reaping the whirlwind:" we have, as it were, attempted to stop the course of some mighty stream, by throwing barriers up, but over which the waters have risen and swollen, until they have found vent for themselves in a thousand devastating channels.

And thus have our rulers striven to block up the path to lawful wedlock; thus have they attempted to stop the stream of nature's laws and man's necessities; and the result is the present thousand outlets of overflowing licentiousness. For surely it must be well-known to "the powers that be," that Unfortunates *of the lowest grade* swarm at all our naval stations. That the anchor is scarcely down, when boat-loads of those unhappy beings go alongside, that the seamen stand in ranks on the gangways, descend into the boats, and choose their, so called,

stated, nearly as many women as men compose "the ship's company" whilst in port; and every ship the same, and at every voyage terminus the same. A VERY FLOATING HELL, in which scenes too revolting to reveal are enacted. That equally odious scenes take place at military depôts, they can also not ignore.

And by reason of all these abominations, "the land mourns;" and by reason of these, nations of old were cut off and ceased to be.

Let our legislators, therefore, look to it. Let our christian philanthropists look to it; and let some natural and safe remedies be quickly adopted to wipe these stains from off our nation's history.

CHAPTER III.

“Rise up, ye women that are at ease ;
Hear my voice, ye careless daughters,
Give ear unto my speech.

I looked on my right hand, and beheld,
But there was no man that would know me ;
Refuge failed me ;
No man cared for my soul.”

BEFORE proceeding to consider the remedies which the author desires to offer for the consideration of the public, it would be well to observe that many, very many, have deplored the evils now afflicting society, and that some honest-hearted Christians *have* attempted to stay this overflowing tide of iniquity, whilst others have suggested plans of an immense magnitude, all of which the author commends. But, in the midst of immense expenses, vaunting promises, and large expectations, society remains unimproved ; much like a powerful steam engine when stationary, emitting volumes of smoke, but making no progress,

the crowd attracted to gaze at its hissing and fuming, while mere fuel is consuming, and water evaporating, officials alone admiring its discordant snort.

The failure of all past and present attempts to save women from destruction, is not however to be attributed to want of zeal or energy on the part of noble philanthropists, but simply to THE FACT, that though the engine may be perfect enough in itself, and the workers of it unexceptionable in themselves, *the rails, as yet, have not been laid in the right lines,* and therefore, instead of a clear run, and a successful terminus, there are perpetual stoppages and failures.

A glance at the workings of different institutions and societies, some established many, some a few years, for the protection or reformation of women, will indisputably prove that there is *a fundamental error, insurmountable by them, somewhere.*

First then, let us look at that honoured Institution, the “Magdalen,” formed already one hundred years, munificently endowed—sustained by liberal subscriptions, donations, and bequests—and exceeding in the aggregate, £7000 a year, or, since its establishment, about £800,000. A princely sum, worthy the promoters and sustainers of such an institution; but although the utmost pains and anxiety have been manifested by its successive governors, chaplains, and office-bearers, to promote its success down to the

present time, what have been the results? We find by the last report from 1758 to 1855, that not more than 8,751 females have been admitted, that of these, 5,993 have left well reported of; while it may be feared, as expressed in that report, that many have again relapsed into their former courses, and it is but fair to conclude that not more than 70 per cent. have returned permanently into the paths of virtue. In figures, the sum expended upon each

female has been about £250, by that Institution alone; while it would be utterly impossible to calculate the sums spent by and upon each *during their course of former iniquity*. Should the whole machinery employed in every form for the protection or reclamation of women be thoroughly examined, it would furnish no better evidence of success. One writer of great experience, after enumerating the various asylums, hospitals, &c., proceeds thus:—
 “As compared with the great numbers of unfortunate women in London, these institutions have effected but a very small amount of good.” But for the better satisfaction of the reader, who may not be disposed to credit a bare statement, the writer submits the cost yearly, during an average of six years in one private institution, of 844 cases, viz: £19 each, and this for periods *not extending beyond three to four months, and rarely above six weeks to two months*. And of another private institution, sup

posed to be for a class above servants, during an average of four years, and of 387 cases, £26 each; and these also during short periods of stay.

A case recently occurred of a girl out of the Magdalen, who was compassionated by an old former acquaintance, a respectable dressmaker, who, on her promise not to return to her former evil courses, and finding she had no place to go to, allowed her to be with her all day, and to share her meals. After a time she decamped with different articles the sempstress had entrusted to her to make up, was found street-walking with them on, had no excuse to offer, was given in charge, and committed.

It would be useless to examine minutely into all, or any of the various societies now in operation, or into the sums expended, anxiety manifested, or results anticipated. Suffice it to say that *all* are crippled, that much money has been wasted, many efforts proved abortive, and all this, through a mistaken benevolence, grasping at shadows instead of boldly seeking out the substance.

And hence the writer has to deplore their ill-success, instead of being able, as he would desire, to rejoice over the utmost consummation of their wishes.

For he must still ask—

Where shall we find commensurate evidence of protection or reformation? Where the *sincere* penitents from penitentiaries? Where the consistently

reformed from our refuges? Where the chaste from dormitories? How many have become self-supporting through the Needle-woman's Society? In a word, where all the promised good? And Echo answers: Where?

For except a few, at an immense outlay, all is a miserable abortion.

Even the munificent award of 100 guineas for the best "prize" essay on the subject, only produced books not prized; and the one which did receive the prize, gave mere details of obsolete usages, and a recommendation to enact a fresh law.

This essay will hereafter be more fully alluded to, and quoted from, but only to prove ~~the~~ almost inoperativeness of the Act then passed, called "The Bishop of Oxford's bill."

It was his reflecting on the above, as well as the next to uselessness of our Institutions, which induced the present writer to send, far and wide, a small leaf, appealing to "the men and women of England" to listen to the sad results of national impolicy, and to ask, *if GOD created woman to become what our vicious system has made her?*

And now he again asks, Whence the failure of every effort hitherto made for the protection of Women?

Let us cast aside prejudices, and honestly enquire into it. Has it been a want of sincerity, or a lack

of energy? Were funds wanting? Or were the promoters too sanguine, or simply imprudent?

Have not Magdalens, Refuges, Penitentiaries, Dormitories, Lock Hospitals, and Societies for protecting young females been liberally sustained? Have they succeeded? Are there fewer Unfortunates? Are we progressing morally?

Experience and Immorality—both stubborn facts,—answer, *No!*

How long, then, shall this continue? Shall we go on dreaming of a radical cure, whilst we are actually subverting the laws given us by the ALL-WISE? who pronounced in the very beginning that “it is not good that the man should be alone; I will make him *an help meet* for him.” Shall this unnatural state of things go on then with us until a lasting sleep terminates *our waking slumbers*? Forbid it! Let us invoke all the wisdom of experience, crave the co-operation of unprejudiced honesty, beseech the wise, the learned, the pious, to awake from their torpor, to let us unitedly reconsider all our past plans and see, if something, yet unattempted, remains not to be done. Let us cast aside preconceived notions, and antiquated bigotry, and listening to the mandates of Eternal Truth, act in accordance with the evident designs of Nature and Providence, and make a noble effort to deliver, British females, at least, from becoming the withering prey of neg-

lected isolation, or the degraded victims of legislative intolerance.

● Ladies of rank, to you especially this earnest appeal is made. Assist in a social reformation; for thousands, even among yourselves, now suffer through the national impolicy, which cripples officers' means—thus incapacitating many from marrying—and, through the fictitious exigencies of a heartless, not social, state of society. Of this we had an excellent exposition in *The Times* of May 9th, 1857. As follows:—

“A correspondent, who signed himself ‘Theophrastus,’ called attention very properly a day or two ago to another side of that unfortunate subject which we have lately discussed. We pointed out a mistake in our system with respect to young women—an important defect in their training. But there are men as well as women in the world. Is everything right in our system as regards its effect upon *men*? We say in our system. We know, of course, that natural passion is strong, and that it never will completely obey reason and conscience on this subject as long as the world lasts. But, over and above nature, is there not something in our system, in our conventional standard of what is necessary to support married life, which throws enormous and gratuitous hindrances in the way of marriage, and so gives a great stimulus to vice? Do we not

make difficulties for ourselves here, even where nature makes none, and create by our system a huge mass of artificial temptation which need never have existed? It is thought impossible in a large class of society now, to marry unless you have £1000 or £1500 a year. This is considered the rule. A person who dares to contemplate this step upon a more scanty basis is told that he does so on his own responsibility. The collective wisdom of society is against him. His wife and family will all be a burden upon their friends. In fact, it is wrong, plainly wrong, a positive sin, to marry upon less; you are seeking your own selfish happiness at the expense of the comfort, and probably the purse, of your relations, on whom you will very likely have to fall back soon, and to whom, at any rate, it will be a positive pain to see you struggling on in a wretched way, hardly keeping your head above water, and, in fact, having only—dreadful to think of!—enough to eat, and drink, and be merry with. In studied language you are told that you must consult your position in society in taking this step, that you are accustomed to a certain style of living, and that you must not think of being happy without it.

“Whether it is that young men are frightened by the imposing show of conventional authorities and the prophecies of poverty that they hear on all sides, or whether it is that they want to enjoy longer the

freedom and popularity of the bachelor estate, the result is the same in either case.

• “A great law of Providence cannot be neglected with impunity, and this undue, artificial, and unnatural postponement of marriage ends in a great blot upon our social system. Vice is the result, and vice creates a class of victims to indulge it. If Providence has ordained that man should not live alone, and if conventional maxims or mere empty fashion and the artificial attractions of society lead to overlooking, or superseding, or tampering with this law, the neglect of a Providential law will surely avenge itself in social disease and corruption in one or other part of the system. It is not, then, because we wish for a moment to encourage improvident marriages, but because we feel convinced that our modern caution here has outstepped all reasonable limits, has become extravagant, has from being a dictate of natural common sense become a mere conventional and artificial rule, the voice of empty fashion, and a gratuitous hindrance to social happiness and the designs of Providence, that we call serious attention to this subject. The fear of poverty has become morbid, and men cry out not only before they are hurt, but before there is any reasonable prospect of it. They must see in married life a perfectly guaranteed and undisturbed vista of the amplest pecuniary resources before they

will enter upon it. They forget that married men can *work*, and that marriage is a stimulus to work, and again and again elicits those latent activities of mind which produce not only competency, but affluence. Let us take the case of two great lawyers. Lord Cottenham formed early in life the resolution not to marry till his practice was £4000 a year, and he married at forty. Lord Eldon married upon nothing at twenty-one. We do not recommend the latter case for general adoption, but the two examples taken together show how absurd it is to lay down such stringent rules as are now fashionable on the subject of marriage. The issue is the same, under the most opposite circumstances, because both men were workers, and Lord Cottenham was not aided by his late marriage, and Lord Eldon was certainly not impeded by his early one."

In France we see the same fictitious motives and the same demoralizing results, but a different working out of this false system, as we read in the following comment upon the depopulation of France:—

"The massacres of the first Revolution and the wars of Napoleon may sufficiently account for the diminution of the French population up to a recent date, but a new cause is now in operation, tending powerfully to the same result. The old frugality of the French has been banished by the present *régime*, and luxury and extravagance are now the prevailing habits."

Saving and hoarding are at an end, and people live up to their means, if not beyond their means. One prudence only is observable, and that is in avoiding the charges incidental to a number of children. The saying so common in England, 'where Heaven sends mouths it sends meat,' is unknown in France, and the number of mouths to be fed is adjusted strictly to the means of feeding them. A husband and wife have one or two children, or none at all, as *The Times* observes, according to their ideas of what they can afford. Of course, then, in proportion to the enlarged expenditure for objects of luxury and show is the circumscribed space for the nursery. The stables cut into it, the coach-house cuts into it—above all, Madame's toilette. Where you would see, with English habits, half-a-dozen healthy boys and girls walking with their parents, you see instead, in the Bois de Boulogne, a fine lady in a handsome open carriage. The horses, the coachman, the footman, are in lieu of the children. Everything cannot be afforded. A choice must be made, and we see what it is. The preferred issue of the French couple are their own favourite pleasures—dress, equipages, good living, gambling. Children would narrow the means for these enjoyments, or leave for them no means whatever, therefore children are not born to curtail their parents' pleasures, and the want of them is not felt where all is given to the gratifi-

cation of vanity and the senses. The drawing-room, the dining-room, the promenade, and the theatre fill every moment and satisfy every wish; or it is only when these things stale and pall that a desire arises for the new plaything of a boy or a girl. Of course, there are exceptions to these habits, and here and there will be found families with domestic enjoyments, but the number of them has been much diminished by the order or disorder of extravagance so countenanced and encouraged by the present dynasty. The evil is not confined to the wealthy classes; it descends through all classes with the modification of circumstances. The shopkeeper and his wife, the artizan and his wife, are all for the vanities and enjoyments within their reach as much as the millionaire and his wife. The occupation for the thoughts which politics once provided being gone, the general pursuit now is pleasure, and the means of obtaining it, by hook or by crook, generally on the miry field of the Bourse. In such a state of things there must be a tendency to every sort of degeneracy, moral and physical; and we may expect to see the French nation, under the sway of its present intensely selfish vices, dwindling more than under the guillotine of the Terrorists or the desultory wars of the first Napoleon. Her declining population is the reproachful record against her."—*Examiner*.

Ladies of respectability, whether married or single—assist, knowing as you do, that your sisters, daughters, and female relatives mourn but too often a separation, an unbetrothing, to them incomprehensible, added to the foreboding of a dark future of unprotectedness.

Women of all conditions—assist. Remember, that tens of thousands are utterly degraded by our national impolicy, and that fresh victims are being daily added to the ranks of those unfortunates. Some sister or daughter of your own may fall; therefore *act your part*. Assist to save the unprotected, and to re-organize our social polity.

There are two remarks especially deserving of notice in the Lock Hospital Report for 1857, as follows:—

“It is difficult to overrate the value of the work quietly carried on within this excellent establishment, where many a young life is saved from the destroyer, and led back to the paths of peace and self-respect. The discouragements are great, very great—at times quite disheartening. But what wonder? Can the branch that has been long bent downwards, laden with the dead fruits of sin, be suddenly trained aright and made to bring forth the happy works of faith and love? If here, as everywhere, the hypocrite is too often found, simulating the fair promise of a return to goodness and virtue, only to

throw aside the veil when the object is gained, it should not surprise those who labour in this vineyard of the Lord ; *if but one sinner really repent the evil of her ways, it is both a cause for thankfulness and an encouragement to perseverance.*"

And when the latter part, "If but one," &c., is *fully granted*, still, when looking at it in connection with its following context, "A few have, doubtless, under the pressure of want, sold their honour for a morsel of bread ; a still larger number have been the too willing victims of seduction ; and a very considerable number have been led, by the hopes of large gains and a life of pleasure, chiefly through the influence of loose companions of their own sex, to a dishonourable course of living. Yet after all, these are but the apparent causes of a great moral evil. The real though hidden source being an immoral, or at least a defective moral, training, which, if it does not actually foster the seeds of evil which are natural to the corrupt heart, allows them to grow in rank and wild luxuriance, unrestrained by wholesome moral supervision, or the beneficial influences of affectionate religious training."

Let that say whether *prevention* be not most desirable. For—and we know it to be a *physical, insurmountable fact*—if every possible amount of moral supervision or religious training that can possibly

eradicate the *often, to self, unconscious why or whence the suffering thereby engendered*—frequently through constitutional seeds sown by parental viciousness, wretched idiosyncracies equally inherited — is it not wiser to meet this sad trial, (which to women especially so often brings in its train consumption, cancer, paralysis, and madness), half-way, by natural, approved, permitted, nay, *commanded*, religious means? Though *professedly* objecting to the doctrine of nuns being a salutary drafting off of a supernumerary amount of females, yet, *virtually*, we do expect an immense mass of *our* young women to be able to *pass their existence, as such, and that too whilst surrounded by every possible temptation to social intercourse, in the daily, habitual, and not-to-be-avoided, intermixture of the sexes.**

¶ An elegant writer has lately told us that the ancient Jews hated the Samaritans so bitterly, as to wish them buried deep, beyond the sound of the archangel's trump at the last day. The present writer, on the contrary, almost despairing of awakening our rulers from their deathlike lethargy, would fain invoke the thunders of Omnipotence to arouse *them to the present*, and to convince them, that the eternal destiny of thousands upon thousands hinges upon their measures for *preserving innocence*, or promoting infamy. Therefore, reader, whosoever thou

* See Appendix.

art—hold!—pause!—consider!—that fallen women are now in existence—that nearly *ten millions sterling* is spent yearly in *London alone* upon this one iniquity!—that above 30,000 women, in *London alone*, eke out a miserable existence, *ostensibly*, as “slop-workers,” but, *in reality*, living mostly upon the wages of sin; or, if perseveringly virtuous, their sad lot may be read in this “Song of the Shirt;” and let its harrowing truths sink down into your heart, whilst you weep, line for line, with its gifted author,—the simple eulogy inscribed upon whose tomb is,

“HE SANG ‘THE SONG OF THE SHIRT.’”

“With fingers weary and worn,
 With eyelids heavy and red,
 A woman sat, in unwomanly rags,
 Plying her needle and thread.
 Stitch! stitch! stitch!
 In poverty, hunger, and dirt,
 And still with a voice of dolorous pitch
 She sang ‘The Song of the Shirt!’

“Work! work! work!
 While the cock is crowing aloof!
 And work—work—work—
 Till the stars shine through the roof!
 It’s oh!—to be a slave
 Along with the barbarous Turk,
 Where woman has never a soul to save,
 If this is Christian work!

“ Work ! work—work—
Till the brain begins to swim ;
Work—work—work—
Till the eyes are heavy and dim !
Seam, and gusset, and band—
Band, and gusset, and seam—
Till over the buttons I fall asleep,
And sew them on in a dream !

“ Oh ! men with sisters dear—
Oh ! men with mothers and wives :
It is not linen you are wearing out—
But human creatures' lives !
Stitch ! stitch ! stitch !
In poverty, hunger, and dirt,
Sewing at once, with a double thread,
A shroud as well as a shirt !

“ But why do I talk of death,
That phantom of grisly bone ?
I hardly fear his terrible shape,
It seems so like my own—
It seems so like my own
Because of the fasts I keep ;
Oh, God ! that bread should be so dear,
And flesh and blood so cheap !

“ Work—work—work !
My labour never flags.
And what are its wages ? A bed of straw,
A crust of bread, and rags !—
That shatter'd roof, and this naked floor—
A table, a broken chair,
And a wall so blank, my shadow I thank
For sometimes falling there !

“ Work—work—work !

From weary chime to chime ;

Work—work—work—

As prisoners work for crime !

Band, and gusset, and seam,

Seam, and gusset, and band,

Till the heart is sick, and the brain benumb'd

As well as the weary hand.

“ Work—work—work,

In the dull December light,

And work—work—work,

When the weather is warm and bright—

While underneath the eaves

The brooding swallows cling,

As if to show me their sunny backs,

And twit me with the spring.

“ Oh ! but to breathe the breath

Of the cowslip and primrose sweet,

With the sky above my head,

And the grass beneath my feet,

For only one short hour

To feel as I used to feel ;

Before I knew the woes of want,

And the walk that costs a meal !

“ Oh ! but for one short hour !

A respite however brief !—

No blessed leisure for Love or Hope,

But only time for Grief !

A little weeping would ease my heart—

But in their briny bed

My tears must stop, for every drop

Hinders needle and thread.

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“ With fingers weary and worn,
With eyelids heavy and red,
A woman sat in unwomanly rags,
Plying her needle and thread.
Stitch! stitch! stitch!
In poverty, hunger, and dirt—
And still with a voice of dolorous pitch—
Would that its tone could reach the rich—
She sang this ‘ Song of the Shirt!’ ”

The bitter experience of harassed governesses has been brought before us in the public papers under the *doubly, to our nation*, disgraceful designation of “ White Slavery,” as seen in the subjoined extracts from “ The Times ” of Jan. 27th, 1857 :—

“ Sir,—Will you permit me, through the medium of your valuable paper, to make known ~~one~~ of the many cases of cruelty and insult to which governesses are exposed? I was one of about fifty ladies (most of whom were accomplished gentlewomen) who applied last week, in reply to an advertisement in ‘ The Times,’ for a situation as a governess in a family in the neighbourhood of Kingsland. The applicants went from all parts of London and its environs; many were in consequence quite overcome with fatigue, having walked long distances to save expense. After having been kept standing in a cold draughty hall more than an hour, I at last

obtained an interview with the lady, and learnt that the duties of the governess would consist in educating and taking the entire charge of the children, seven in number, two being quite babies; to perform for them all the menial offices of a nurse, make and mend their clothes; to teach at least three accomplishments, and 'fill up the leisure hours of an evening by playing to company.' For these combined duties the munificent sum of £10 per annum was offered. I ascertained for a fact that the two domestic servants in the same family were paid respectively £12 and £10. Surely in a country like ours some employment besides that of teaching could be found for educated women, or at least better treatment might be expected for those to whom is intrusted the responsible duty of forming the minds and manners of the rising generation. As the best means of correcting this evil may I beg you, Sir, to wield your powerful pen in behalf of this much-abused class of individuals?

“A POOR GOVERNESS.”

“MELANCHOLY CASE.—A Coroner's enquiry took place at the Strand Union Workhouse, on Wednesday, touching the death of Louisa Regan, aged twenty-five, formerly a governess, but recently in circumstances of utter destitution. It appears that a police constable found her in Bridges Street, Co-

vent Garden, in a state of extreme debility. She was conveyed to King's College Hospital, where an hour elapsed before she was seen by a medical man, who, however, pronounced her case unfit for the hospital. She was then conveyed to the work-house. There, though so weak as to be unable to sit upright on a chair, she was, in accordance with parochial routine, conveyed to the bath-house, and washed. No medical man was sent for, and she was only offered 'house soup.' A few minutes before the woman's death two cups of tea were given her, and a doctor sent for, who did not arrive till she was beyond the reach of his skill. The inquest was adjourned in order to obtain further evidence." —Oct. 17, 1857.

A vast number of young women have sought temporary shelter in "Servants' Homes," until their means being exhausted, and no situation offering—or when through long sickness, have lost often the benefit of a previous good character (for a servant long out of employ, or supposed sickly, who cares to have?), or coming out of hospital, having neither money nor clothes—are thus driven, by dire necessity, to sell their virtue, and to swell the ranks of Unfortunates.

It may be argued that there is the "Female Aid Society," and the "Society for the Rescue of

Young Women," to which is attached a "Servants' Home," and a "Free Registry" (Office, 11, Poultry, City), all particularly adapted to meet this evil. As far as the writer can see by the prospectuses, they seem admirably suited to relieve some of this *superabundant* class, (for that the London market, at least, is glutted with servants, who can doubt, that will take the trouble to read entire pages of the different newspapers covered with their "wants," or visit the many "servants' registries" in the metropolis?)—but query: HOW MANY OF THESE POOR THINGS HAVE EVER HEARD OF SUCH PLACES? It was by the merest chance that they came to the writer's knowledge within the last few months; and how many there are *among the benevolent workers*, who also totally ignore their existence, lament the absence of such places, and know not what to do with, or where to send, the many they thus meet on the streets, and who implore their assistance! Would it not, therefore, be well if such places were made publicly known through placards in every street of every principal division of the metropolis, posted up in hospitals, and brought especially to the notice of the matrons and porters, with a request that they would point them out to the notice of each servant leaving the hospital under depressing circumstances? (for the real or pretended case of almost each such individual is generally known to the

nurses, and through them communicated to the matron, sometimes even to the chaplain.) Each such placard should be hung up in the entrances, too, of *all* penitentiaries, as a reminder to them, when,—as they so often lament,—they have to turn away *the respectable destitute* as unsuited for their Institutions, at the same time that they know not where to recommend them to go. To extend, the means and power of action of these societies, why do they not also enclose a prospectus, together with a letter from one of their influential vice-patrons, or committee, *to each householder* in the metropolis, and hold a public annual meeting, attracting beforehand, through every channel in their power, attention towards them? Notice, too, and reports might be sent to the minister and public officers of each provincial city and town. By such persevering and indefatigable methods (and for which he deserves the greatest praise) Lieut. Blackmore succeeded in raising large sums for his “Dormitory” and “Temporary Home;” and surely *this prevention* ought to find a much larger sympathy than *that cure*.

CHAPTER IV.

Shall I not visit for these things? saith the Lord.

Shall not my soul be avenged on such a nation as this?

THAT past ages inflicted the same cruel separation of the sexes, whilst wars desolated the land and consigned millions of young men to early graves, and that ascetic celibacy and secluded monasteries left tens of thousands of young women to become the victims of a false system, there can be no doubt, as the annals of history prove; hence arose, licensed bagnios on the one hand, and nunneries on the other; both unnatural—emanating from Satan,—and resulting from injustice, civil and ecclesiastical. To describe the scenes *then* daily transpiring within houses of bad repute, would only sully the pages of this work, which the author has attempted (considering the subject) to render presentable to the most delicate mind, *and especially as he hopes to elicit womanly sympathy on behalf of womanly sufferings.* Besides, who could hope to surpass Ho-

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garth? And in his graphic delineations have we not the subject placed before us in all its phases? Has not Shakspeare also fully developed it in scene after scene, of many of his plays? And recently, an able lawyer gave us the valuable fruits of his research in the bygone “registers of births and marriages *within the rules*,” when the Fleet Prison was so infamously celebrated.*

That foreign countries are not exempt from this plague spot, the following extract from the pen of a powerful writer will show.

He says—“Look at Paris, the capital of Christian France, one third of the children born there are said to be illegitimate. Look at the capital of Austria, another so-called Christian land, one half of her children are said to be illegitimate. Look at the census of Europe, and even the older states of this (United States) Union, see the hundreds of thousands of females unaffianced. All this surplus of *immortal* beings doomed to live single, and never to form those ties which ~~would~~ enable them *lawfully and honourably* to answer the end of their creation as wives and mothers. The present desolating wars have deprived the world of half a million of men, in the vigour of life, candidates for

* History of the Fleet Marriages, with notices of the May Fair, Mint, and Savoy Chapels, and numerous extracts from the Registers—by J. S. Burn. Second Edition, 1824. Rivington.

the sacred offices of husband and father. By which means too, the same number of females are added to the prohibited list.

Thus the laws of *modern "Christendom,"* borrowed from heathen Rome, have overwhelmed the nations with the grossest immoralities, with sin, and sorrow, and tears, and wretched loneliness, and widowhood. The widows mourn, having no husbands—the virgins mourn, having no bridegrooms—children mourn, having no protectors; and families and nations mourn, having no confidence in themselves, or each other virtue has fled, mercy weeps tears of blood—charity itself falters and is ready to yield to the cries of justice for vengeance on the earth. What then shall the righteous do?—We reply:—Restore the law of God, let every good citizen of both sexes *marry* at a proper age, bless them, and say, be fruitful and multiply, and make death the penalty for fornication and adultery; thus throwing a shield around our families and sacred domestic institutions. Let the present *unholy* separation of the sexes with all its attendant train of intrigues, seductions, wretched and lonely single life, hatred, envy, jealousy, illegitimacy, infanticide, disease, and death,—like the millstone cast into the depths of the sea—sink with great Babylon to rise no more, and let every man and woman be virtuous, pure, and holy,

Though agreeing in other points, the writer of this work must differ from the above-quoted author, in his ultra measures, as he does not consider that such are inculcated by *the Gospel*; which, though doubly stringent, even to the ante-atonement law, in its judgment of the entertained-thought as equal to the positive act, yet seemed almost to forbid its *capital* punishment.*

As regards "throwing a shield around our families," &c., certainly some disgrace, such as would render the offender a marked being, ought to be *publicly* inflicted, such as whipping at a cart's tail through the town, *no matter what the rank*, or carrying out the former excellent Scotch *church* custom of public rebuking, and of seating the offender in sin upon the "*Cuttie stool*," (as it was called,) in the face of all the congregation during service. In May, 1857, a case of "public rebuking" took place, as follows:—"Some misunderstanding has arisen in the parish of Lochrutton, owing to the revival of the old practice of public rebuking in church. Two members having left the church on the occasion when the rebuking was going on, were refused Church privileges by the Kirk Session, and they appealed to the Presbytery of Dumfries. A long discussion took place on the practice, Mr. Hamilton stating that Dr. Inglis in the observance of public rebuking, had

* Matthew, v. 27, 28. John, viii. 3—8.

acted according to Scripture; and the same principle had been acted upon by his predecessors for nearly a century. On the Sunday in question, when public rebuking was going on, upwards of forty of the congregation had left the church, and in doing so had created a perfect tumult. Mr. Hope said that, for his part, *he would sooner eat his fingers off than sit and listen to any rebuking for fornication or adultery.* There was not one minister in a hundred who observed public rebuking, and he considered their doing so an abuse of their privileges as clergymen. Mr. Austin moved that the Presbytery, seeing that the practice of rebuking in public had fallen into general disuse, and that the appellants disclaimed any intention of disrespect to the discipline of the Church, or to Dr. Inglis personally, sustain the appeal, reverse the finding of the Kirk Session, and enjoin them to be restored to the exercise of Church privileges. At the same time, the Presbytery, ~~by~~ this finding, did not intend to interfere with the practice, or question the right of Dr. Inglis to exercise public rebuking. The motion was agreed to—Mr. Hamilton dissenting, because such a finding would tend to discourage and destroy the ~~exercise~~ exercise of discipline enjoined by the Church, and rested on Scriptural authority.”—*Edinburgh Courant.*

Were such a course rigorously pursued, it may be

as a Royal Lady aptly remarked, "*stop the men, and the women will soon enough cease to be depraved.*" Some such Act "was introduced in 1644, and though not passed without considerable opposition, *still it was enforced during the Commonwealth*, and copies were printed and sent to every parish in England. On the Restoration, it became nugatory, and was not renewed." The Section alluded to, "enacted, that any lewd person, be it man or woman, or who wittingly kept a house of ill fame, should, for his or her first offence, be openly whipped, and set in the pillory, and then marked with a hot iron in the forehead with the letter B, and, afterwards, committed to prison or the House of Correction, there to work for his or her living, for the space of three years. without bail or mainprize, and until he or she shall put in sufficient sureties for his or her good behaviour during his or her life."

"In this and other statutes, the object of the Parliament was, by severe penal enactments, *to put down this sin, as sin*; and, in like manner, it dealt with other immoralities, such as profane swearing." "It was not the protection of women ~~from~~ the arts and acts of the seducer that was here had in view." But, in "Prussia, the Code of Laws promulgated in 1794, places *the Prevention of the Seduction of Innocence*, among *the first and highest objects of the criminal laws.*" Alas, however, the lustre of such even, how

dimmed, in the Government *license system of public prostitution!*

What the laws and customs of the Jews were, of the ancient Greeks, of the Roman Empire, of the Teutonic nations, of this country up to the present time, and all foreign Codes, upon this subject, will be found given in an abridged form, in the "Prize Essay"* before alluded to, should any of our readers be curious upon the subject.

For the more immediate information, however, of those who may fancy, that the laws,—or that there are laws actually operative, (*which there are not*) sufficient to meet the evil we are introducing a new remedy for the prevention of,—we will here say, that on this head even, the Christian Roman ordinances shame us; for, "whilst in England, any punishment can with difficulty be obtained for rape, or for the enticing away of women and girls from their homes, or for trading in prostitution; by the Code of Justinian, all such acts, whether committed *with or without the consent of the weaker party, the woman; and whether under or above age*, were at once treated as a capital offence without appeal, or with banishment for life, or loss of property. With us, the law does not allow a woman any right of action against a seducer, this right being only accorded to the parent, or other

* Prize Essay on the Protection of Women, by James Edward Davis. Longman and Brown, 1854.

person entitled to her services—the right of action being founded on the loss of service resulting from such seduction—and, even then, pregnancy, and the birth of a child must be also proved, this constituting the loss of service upon which the right of action depends; so that, if a girl, however young, be seduced by the person in whose service she is at the time, no action can be brought against the offender by the parent, or any other person, but by the seducer himself!” And, besides, there is so much to be proved, so much that is indefinite in law, and so many quibbles connected with it, to be met, that a rich defendant can generally evade punishment. By the code of Justinian, on the contrary, “*three actions might be brought for one injury, viz., by the father, by the husband (or betrothed), and by the woman (or wife) herself: the damages to each being assessed independently of the other, and with reference to the estimated injury of each party. If the parents neglected, or were unwilling to sue, the king had the power to deal with the offender. And even the reproach or imputation of any of the above offences, or the use of obscene words, was also actionable.*”

Would that it were so now that vice is so unblushingly flaunted!—and when, in the mouths of the little children on the streets of our metropolis, our towns, and our villages, *obscenity is as familiar as household words!* Therefore, as remarked by the barrister from whom the above is quoted, “these laws of the

Romans, notwithstanding their many defects, furnish much matter, well meriting the consideration of the Legislators of the present age."

The Teutonic nations shame us ; *for the position of their women rested on high ground, viz., the family bond.*

"The German House," says Kemble, in his "Saxons in England," was *a holy thing, the bond of marriage, a sacred and symbolic engagement ; HOLY, ABOVE MAN, WAS WOMAN HERSELF* and hence the profound importance attached to chastity : *neither rank nor wealth could atone for its violation : nor were, in general, any injuries more severely punished."* And hence, also, that testimony of Tacitus, to the purity of the German manners.

The Anglo-Saxons, especially, shame us ; for, "they prohibited fornication, as *against the law of God.* Those who indulged in it, were separated from communion with the church : if a priest permitted such, he was directed to abstain from his ministry, until the judgment of the bishop was obtained : and foreigners, if they would not correct this vice, were ordered to depart from the land with their goods and with their sins."

Alas ! how is our land now flooded with foreign vices ! Were our present seducers as then, given up to the woman's father, husband, or betrothed, to be dealt with as they pleased (the rank of the woman

being immaterial): or if, as then, the offender were “obliged to marry the maiden, and endow her with a fifth part of his property,” (and which was also the Jewish law instituted by God,*) “or, if already married, to forfeit a third part, to enable her to marry; or, if he had no property, the offence to be considered capital:” or, if corrupters were dealt vigorously with by the Crown,—how much more guarded men would be! And, if *forced marriages were now, as then, declared void, and a heavy fine imposed on offenders*, how much less of misery and guilt there would be in many marriages!

The criminal code of Charles II. shames us; for whereas then, “those who were guilty of fraud in procuring girls to commit prostitution, and who let their houses for that purpose, were punished with banishment, exposure in the pillory, whipping, and even with loss of their ears;” with us now, “it has been *expressly held*, that it is *no offence at common law for any one, even for lucre or gain, to procure persons of either sex to resort to houses of ill-fame for the purpose of prostitution*; for, when a defendant was charged with that offence, *and was convicted by a jury*, (Reg. v. Pierson, 2 Lord Raymond’s Rep. p. 1197), *the court reversed the judgment.*” Nor does the statute 12 and 13 Vic. meet this difficulty; for, “under the words of this statute, *the procuring must have reference*

* Exod. xxii. 16, 17; Deut. xxii. 23—30.

to, and be on behalf of some particular and ascertained person. And besides, it restricts the provision to women under twenty-one. The infamous procurer, who rambles over the country, or remains in the purlieus of towns, for the purpose of forcing or decoying innocent girls into his net, generally speaking, is acting for wicked persons in towns and cities, keepers of Bagnios of different grades; *but he has no more knowledge of the persons, for the gratification of whose vicious and depraved habits and tastes the unfortunate women are designed, than the dealer in, and purchaser of horses for livery stables has of the ultimate individual purchaser or hirer.*

A procurer, therefore, in the position described, although within the spirit of this statute, is not, it is to be feared, within its letter. Neither is he within the common law, *as hitherto defined*; for he is not acting in concert with others *in respect of any particular girl or woman.* As he has no knowledge of the other persons, so, *on the other hand, they frequently have no control over the particular arts used, by the agent, or knowledge of the individual against whom they are directed.*" Nor does the act before alluded to, as prepared at the instance of the Associate Institute, and passed in the session of 1849, mend the matter; restricting as it does, its provisions to, "under the age of twenty-one years," as if *being of age were a sufficient safeguard for a woman!* Ought not the woman

herself, at any age, to have a right of action to recover damages, where she has been seduced by means of actual fraud, or on false pretences? Whereas she is, on the contrary, generally threatened into further degradation, by finding, when she attempts to escape, a fictitious bill, of startling dimensions, brought against her for food, or clothing, *or both, not asked for by her, but actually forced upon her*. If she has not the means, (*which she never has*), to meet this, she is threatened with being given in charge and sworn against; and this always intimidates the ignorant or inexperienced; *and especially when strangers, doubly bewildered, by finding themselves in such a perplexing place as London*.

Again, is it not disgraceful, that it should “continue doubtful whether the law of Scotland follows the Roman law, and denies the existence of the offence on a prostitute? Burnett on the criminal law of Scotland inclines to the opinion that the forcible violation of a woman of that description, at least if at the time in pursuit of her trade, does not amount to the crime of rape.” Yet surely her body is her own? To give or refuse, *be she ever so vile*; else, it is *the coercion of the slave, exercised by the community at large*.

“The common law, too, regards bagnios in the same light as *other disorderly houses*, and the act of George the Second in like manner places them in

the *category with gaming-houses.*" Disorderly, "also then meant debauchery of other kinds, viz: drunkenness, swearing, and fighting by day and by night; as well as those places being the resort of thieves, and other lawless persons. But now it is only in the very lowest parts of our great cities and towns that houses of the above description are to be found, and to which the common-law remedy more particularly applies. In lieu of such, we have now whole streets presenting nothing offensive by day or by night *to the eye or ear of the casual observer*, but every house, and every inmate of which is, nevertheless, supported by prostitution." And this, apart from the numerous cigar divans, and dress and millinery establishments, which are of the very rankest and worst of such decoy-dens.

The power of searching bagnios is also most imperfect; the difficulty being to obtain the necessary proof; for though parents or friends of girls who have been suddenly carried away or allured from their homes, may have ground for believing that they are concealed in particular houses,—yet the state of the law does not admit of their instituting a search. *

* Is not this also a lamentable case, in free protected England?

WORSHIP-STREET.—John Aarons, a well-dressed sunburnt young fellow of 22, giving his residence as the Continental

But we behold moreover an extraordinary incon-
Hotel, City, was charged before Mr. Hammill with being
concerned in the following case of abduction.

Mr. James Pass, a tradesman in Pitfield-street, Hoxton, who was much distressed while giving his evidence, stated that his daughter Rebecca, between 15 and 16 years of age, had been brought up under the care of her aunt, a lady of property residing in Northumberland-terrace, Regent's-park-road, who had adopted her almost from infancy, and with whom she had remained till the beginning of last week, when, in consequence of a discovery her aunt had made, she was sent back to him, under the care of a servant, that he might be himself responsible for her. The girl was therefore carefully looked after at his own house till the preceding afternoon, when the prisoner, who was his nephew, and had recently returned from Australia, called upon him, and stated that the aunt was very anxious to see her niece, that she was going out of town, and that if the girl visited her at once a reconciliation would no doubt be effected. Witness, on the faith of this representation, consented to allow his daughter to go to her aunt's with him, upon the strict promise that he would bring her back by six o'clock the same evening, "but," said the witness, "she did not return. I have not seen her since and find that her aunt had not sent for her at all. I have searched for her everywhere; I have been up all night looking and inquiring for her, but uselessly, and, finding that the prisoner, while I was out looking for her, had called at the house to secure her clothes, I gave directions to the police for his apprehension, and he was taken."

Mrs. Louisa Salomons, a portly, ladylike woman, confirmed the first witness's evidence as to her bringing the girl up, and stated that she had endeavoured to inculcate respectable notions into her mind, as she would eventually come into possession of the greater part of her property; but every attempt to make a lady of her had failed, for she would constantly

gruity and contradiction in another carrying out of

associate with servants and persons of inferior station, and she at last discovered that she had formed too close a familiarity with a young man in the neighbourhood, who was not worth a penny, and wholly undesirable in every way. In this correspondence she found also that the girl had been seconded by one of her female servants; she therefore at once discharged the servant, and sent her niece home to her father that he might take care of her, and the girl have time for consideration. She had certainly not sent for the girl, but, on the contrary, was desirous she should remain where she was, and all that had passed with the prisoner, whom she had not before seen for many years, was this:—He called upon her and asked why her niece had been sent back to her father, and on her telling him the cause he mentioned the name of the young man who was so strongly objectionable, spoke in strong terms in his favour, and expressed an opinion to the effect that he should like to see all people who loved each other brought together. The prisoner then left, and she heard no more of the matter till she was astounded by the information that the girl had been inveigled by the prisoner from her father's house on the pretence that she had sent for her. The difference between them was, of course, only a temporary character, and her niece would merely have remained with her father till the difficulty referred to was obviated.

In defence the prisoner said that all he had done was by the young lady's wish. He was certainly nothing in pocket by it; on the contrary, he was a great deal out of pocket. Might he make a statement?

MR. HAMMILL said, certainly, but whatever he did say would be taken down, and, if necessary, used at his trial.

The prisoner on hearing this exclaimed, "Trial! Why, I shall be in America by this day fortnight."

law on this sad subject; for, “after the Norman conquest and the establishment of ecclesiastical courts, the cognizance of all offences against chastity,—as well those that were previously public offences, as matters over which the church had ever held jurisdiction,—was transferred from the King’s to the Bishop’s courts, with the exception of those charges involving personal violence. The judges and expounders of law in the king’s court appear to have gradually lost sight of the distinction between the mere *transfer of authority*, and the *existence of the laws and defences*. For, from some cause or causes, the power of the King’s Court was gradually *restrained by the judges themselves, until the notion that a parent had any legal interest in the chastity of his child, or that the public was interested in preventing persons from motives of lucre, procuring women to prostitute themselves, was exploded*. The legislation restricted itself to acts of *personal violence, or the protection of property*,

MR. HAMMILL told him that most probably he would find his journey delayed a short time.

The prisoner replied, “Well, what must be will be. What bail do you want?”

MR. HAMMILL said that he would consider what amount hereafter.

The prosecutor said—“I am certain that he knows where my child is, Sir, if he chose to tell me.”

The prisoner made no reply to this remark, and walked

the loss of which sometimes involved the abduction of a daughter. To protect the property therefore, it was necessary to check the abduction of the woman as one of the incidents in the offence."

And now the writer sums up all on this head, in the words of the before-alluded-to barrister, viz:—
"The laws have, in fact, receded, while vice has advanced."

That the author is not advancing a new theory may be gathered from the history of a people even to this day to be found in our midst, and amongst whom betrothment still exists, and early marriage is carefully attended to; and thus it is, probably, that the Daughters of Israel have (with few exceptions) maintained their virtue and fair fame ever since the days of "the friend of GOD." Some of these unhappy exceptions are the kept mistresses of noblemen; and, though individually faithful to *them*, keep, in their turn, cigar divans, or flower and mill ry establishments, for the prostitution of young English girls. The writer had a case communicated to him of one who fled from one of these cigar divans in the Strand, and her account of the horrors which were there enacted by day and by night, and especially by *Turks*, are quite unfit for publication; whilst the strict watch kept *unceasingly* upon the unhappy beings who had been unsuspectingly decoyed there, seems incredible in slavery-deprecating England.

Alas! that "the Daughters of Zion" should, for gain's sake, *whilst themselves, usually, personally abstaining from the brutal pollutions, they not only force others into, but often stand by to enforce*, and whilst keeping up the *outward* forms of their ancient faith, —and what a glorious one it is! if they felt its high privilege, even in that one particular, "Ye are my witnesses, saith the Lord: HIS witnesses, to shut the mouth of every infidel and rationalist"; *none of whom can get over the past and present historical fact of the Jews being then, and now, as the Word did and does represent them!* —alas! that these Daughters of "faithful Abraham" should thus faithlessly mock the living God, and "hunt souls to their destruction!"

We are informed by Holy Writ, that when the Israelites were engaged in successive wars, still, *every soldier* was allowed to marry, and to remain at home a whole year after marriage, to enjoy, succour, and protect the partner of his choice: while with us, who are *professedly* Jewish-Christians, God's ordinances are violated, and unnatural separations have induced a state of society horrid to contemplate: even nations termed "heathen," blush at our inconsistencies: Christianity sanctioning, through National Impolicy, the perpetual production of hundreds of thousands the most degraded.

For, is it not the climax of injustice, not only to

allow merely six wives, according to the Rules of the Service, to each company of 100 men, but, as shown by a letter from Lord Panmure to the Guardians of the Poor of Birmingham, in September, 1855:—"Every endeavour is made by the Government to discourage, while it cannot prevent, the marriage of soldiers." And, when sent to our Colonies even, or to India for a length of time, the proportion of women to men is but from 20 to 30 wives to a regiment of 800 or 1,000 men.

It is true that the prejudice in military minds is mostly against the marriage of soldiers, as unfitting them for that amount of freedom (and brutality?) of character, apparently deemed necessary to fit them for their peculiar calling; but it is also true that a great authority on such matters, Sir Charles Napier, has lately given his dictum, (as follows,) *and this so far back as 1809*. How much more ~~then~~ should it be valuable, now that we think we have made such strides in civilization and Christianity,—for the "Times" lately informed us, after "pooh-poohing" to a considerable extent the misery of the working-classes, and the depravity and general crime now extant; that "we were better in this century than any of our forefathers had been;" and, we often, in private, hear the same thing asserted; but, query: *can it be proved*,—beyond superficial and sweeping dictums? one of which, most prominently brought forward by the

"Times," was, "*because we know and expose evil in all its phases !*" More shame to us, then, if we have, (as a large portion of this, and other works quoted in it have shown,) allowed it to increase, until, on every side around us, it has, *as at this very moment of writing*, reached to giant dimensions, whether it be in the form of unnatural crimes, or peace-destroying vices ; or the grinding the faces of the poor, or allowing honest, willing industry, to pine, and suffer, and starve ; or the looking unconcernedly on the thousands of our women being incessantly more and more degraded and brutalized ; or the disgraceful state of our streets, which are so infected with vice, so unblushingly flaunted, so daily increasing, so unattainable to punishment of any permanent nature, and *so defying protection to its victims*, that we are, and have been, the astonishment of our *Oriental Visitors*,* and the remark of all *Foreigners*, many of whom, and we feel indignant at merely writing it, openly announce, "that while they

* We fear they have, from such sights, during their visits to England, come to very unfavourable conclusions regarding our *Christian Women* here ; combined with the great laxity of morals, and absence of Christian efforts, on the part of those they saw in their own land ; also so justly pointed out by Sir Charles Napier in one of his "Letters ;" and borne testimony to, from time to time, by the conscientious, sober-minded few, who had walked uprightly in India, in the midst of so much the reverse ; and from which it is evident that the state of *Christian society* in India, during the entire period

love not our climate, customs, or manners, *adore our women, and cannot away from them!*" Can there be a deeper slur upon our Christianity?—upon our baptismal "initiation" or "regeneration?" (whichever the reader may please to consider it). Even in the worst times of those nations whom God cast out for their vices—*the same vices which now overflow our land*——"it was the sons of God who looked upon the

of our rule there, has exemplified those words of the prophet Jeremiah, "They were as fed horses in the morning: every one neighed after his neighbour's wife." And this, with a harsh, and often unjust, oppression and contemptuous bearing, (most generally too on the part of those, whom Orientals with their usual acuteness and penetration, discovered to be mere parvenus lording it over them on the strength of their official importance,) combined with the grasping, never-ceasing annexation of their territories, upon every possible (and impossible) frivolous pretence that could be seized upon, in some cases, and in the very face of *Treaties, which ought to have been deemed sacred and binding*, as in the Oude case; and, as in other similar instances acknowledged, but in this entirely set aside, right of inheritance of Nana Sahib; in the right of Regency of Laskshami Bye, the Queen Mother of the Principality of Jhansi, and the entire setting aside of the rights of her infant grandson to that territory; in the highly offensive course of treatment pursued towards the Princesses of Nagpoor and the coerced annexation of that kingdom; and in the numerous appeals made lately by Native Princes, and gentlemen (such as the Carnatic Stipendiaries) both in their own country to the powers there, and then, at great personal expense and annoyance, (for the natives of Hindoostan detest sea voyages, as so upsetting and trying to their

daughters of men," &c., but, with us, it is the sons of men who look upon *the daughters of God* (in their *professed baptism and confirmation at least*), and pronounce them, not only "fair," but so adapted to their vile purposes, that they come far and wide to revel in them, and to sink them into the lowest depths of death.

But to return to Sir Charles Napier, and Soldiers' Marriages. In 1809 he wrote: "this subject requires much arrangement and attention, and receives none. It affects the health, morality, and strength of our religious habits, whether Hindoo or Mahomedan), to the court of directors and government here, to have their incomes or grants extended after their life, to their families, and numerous relatives dependant upon them. But almost all these cases, after years of sickening delay, remain still unheeded or unredressed. Not that many noble and upright minds among the distinguished in Indian affairs, have not felt for them, acknowledged the justice of their claims, and desired to help them; but right is not might, and the pettier spirits, generally in the majority, outweigh all scruples; and thus, many of these intelligent, well-conducted, gentlemanly Orientals, have, in their visit to British Christians, "to these" self installed guardians of their rights and watchers over the peace and equity of their gorgeous and vast domain, had ample food given them to nourish bitter animosity and contempt in their minds towards us. Alas! for its fruits in Nana Sahib, rendered thereby a positive fiend, and will his guilt not be visited at our door? Surely it will. Alas! for its outbreak in Delhi. And doubly alas! for our before so stanch and always ready to aid, and to aid with munificent generosity, allies of Oude, now in open enmity against us.

army in various ways ; such as desertion, population, and other points. My general ideas shall be set down, but I have not considered the subject much, nor am I able, perhaps, to discuss it properly : *an able man could, however, serve his country materially, by taking it in hand.* Marriage should be encouraged ; but no woman should be allowed to embark with a service expedition. Going to the Colonies, or foreign garrisons, would be different. Regiments should generally be stationary in England, keeping to their own counties, in each of which a women's barrack should be built, and a manufactory should be established, or at least some means for industry, with schools for their children. THE BOYS EDUCATED FOR THE ARMY, AND THE GIRLS, IF THEY MARRIED SOLDIERS, SHOULD HAVE A GOVERNMENT PORTION. These barracks should have a Superintendent, to be also the barrack-master, with rank of captain, and always an old or disabled officer. Under him the schoolmaster and mistress, the former a retired officer, or non-commissioned officer, the latter a widow, or wife of a deserving retired officer, or noncommissioned officer who would have obtained a commission if he had remained in service. *Thus would many children be well reared for the army in military villages.* Desertion would nearly cease ; the women would be too comfortable to behave ill ; and the men, mostly married, would not have money for drinking, and would

be more healthy; *their wives, rescued from debauchery, would have more and stronger children; and their joint labour would enable them to live well.*

“This arrangement for children is founded on a calculation made by my father, and given to me by Mr. Windham, at Mr. Fox’s desire. *It would show a great public saving, when the expense of the boys is balanced against the bounty now given to an equal number of recruits, with the expenses of sending them to regiments. The population would be increased instead of being reduced by the size of our army, which would itself be augmented in numbers and efficiency by increase of health; (we have now often 28,000 men ill at once from debauchery !)* increased also by the increased number of boys, for most soldiers’ children now die from want of care. Then, having the regiment formed of two fighting and one recruiting battalion, always near your women’s barracks, with very few officers and a reduced staff, the army could be kept complete; for the boys would supply common casualties, and to meet those of a severe campaign, many men would enlist under such a system. *Abolish flogging, and they would almost pay a bounty instead of receiving one.*

“These thoughts, poured out confusedly, require to be digested with care, *but the object is certainly attainable.* I will return to it again after discussion with some capable man who has extended military ideas. Mr. Windham tried to show that he had

such ideas, but failed, from lack of military knowledge, and his scheme is generally trifling and feeble, with an entire ignorance of soldiers' character and of military finance; indeed, this entire ignorance of these two points, is the clearest part of his plan. I should like to converse with him on the subject, for among our generals there are few who would think of this question, fewer who could give one information; and as to extended military ideas for improving our army, I won't say how many there are who know anything of military matters beyond reprimanding and powdering their officers—except laboriously clubbing a brigade which their brigademajor, by another great effort, gets right again with help of the Adjutant, unless his horse throws him.”*

The native Indian soldiery are not less open to discipline, nor less ready to fight, *because* they have home affections and home ties. They are *all* married, and when very young, being betrothed, &c. in childhood, much in the manner of the ancient Jews, get a short leave of absence, at stated times, to visit their wives and children. Moreover in Canada, Australia, and India, there is a great call for the services of the *wives* of our *English* soldiery, as household servants, monthly or sick nurses, or attendants upon ladies or their children in their voyages out or home; for

* From the Life and Opinions of General Sir C. J. Napier, G.C.B., by Lieutenant General Sir W. Napier, K.C.B. Murray, Albemarle Street.

all which they are amply remunerated, receiving *much* more than they would in this country, in *any capacity*. Why, too, should they not oftener be employed by us at home in the different nursing Institutions and Hospitals, during any *temporary* removal of their husband's regiment to where it might not be convenient to remove or locate them? They might thus become, through practice and experience, fitted during any emergency of war—such as the late Crimean expedition,—to nurse their own husbands or officers, as we read of “a true soldier's wife,” and “a Crimean heroine.” Doubtless many others acted the same parts, though they have not been so prominently brought to the notice of the public. *

* A TRUE SOLDIER'S WIFE.—Mrs. Wilding, wife of a corporal of the Royal Artillery, was one of three females who were allowed to land with the troops at Old Fort, in the Crimea. She was present with her husband at the battle of the Alma, marched by his side across the country to Balaklava, and was present at the battle of Balaklava, where she took a horse from a Russian officer. During her residence in the camp she earned by washing an average amount of twenty shillings per diem, and saved a considerable sum. Her invariable companion during the war was an excellent revolver, which she much prizes.

A CRIMEAN HEROINE.—Among the women permitted to accompany the expedition, we find a Mrs. Kelly, now a resident of Tullow, in this county, whose husband was a private of the 4th Regiment. She was present at the battle of the Alma, and was close to the regiment during the engagement, and subsequently witnessed the battle of Inkermann and the

Instead of this, we then employed at an immense outlay other women, to be first instructed here in our Hospitals, and then sent out; often, only to prove failures in every moral point of view, whilst many soldiers' wives, *and many who might have been soldiers' wives*, were left, during the severe winters of fifty-four and fifty-five, (and for two years), suffering, isolated, and open to temptation, and during times of peace instead of having the chance of becoming honest women and good wives, decently (not as generally now in barracks, indecently), located—are driven to be the hangers-on of soldiers and others, ultimately to fill up our public prisons, hospitals, and penitentiaries; and our private dormitories, refuges, homes—what not? All expensive things to keep up, disheartening to conduct, and harrowing to every soul connected with them who *realizes* his own soulship. It cannot be doubted but that there is *some fatal oversight in the whole of this matter*.

Then again, we have seen the heads of department-cavalry affair at Balaklava. Her husband, whom she attended with unflinching constancy through sickness and danger, having died of cholera, she was sent home to her native town in the enjoyment of a pension of 13*l.* per annum, and on her arrival she received her late husband's medal, with clasps, from the authorities at the Horse Guards, who had become acquainted with her exemplary conduct, her patient endurance under privations, and her services to the sick and wounded.

ments in the Government, ordering *two hundred of the metropolitan police to be sent to Australia—all unmarried!* From whence this emanated the author is ignorant; but the order was issued in 1853, and he did not then fail to remonstrate with Lord John Russel—who was at that time in the ministry—against such impolicy, in the very face of such masses of our young women at home falling daily into the ranks of the unfortunate, *from their superabundance.* And this, whilst Australia is calling aloud to send out females to supply the wants of society there, even in the matter of governesses, as we see by the following; and, as it is the better and higher class of governesses here, who are so badly paid, what “an American” writes is favourable to their grade; for we take the liberty of totally disagreeing with him in his estimate of that class, as we know the difference and distinction always drawn between a nursery governess and a professed or finishing one, in this country.

GOVERNESSES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

Sir,—A few weeks since my attention was called to an extract from an English newspaper upon the subject of the small remuneration received by and offered to ladies filling the responsible situations of governesses in private families in England, and I

my communication worthy of a place in your widely-read journal, you would grant it that high honour. What I desire to make known is the want of governesses in the United States. It is almost impossible in our large cities to obtain a resident governess, and, as there are so many highly educated ladies in England now content to give their time and accomplishments for an inadequate remuneration, I have thought that, if it were made known to them how much such persons are required here, and that they would be certain of obtaining high salaries, many might be induced to emigrate to the States, and thus secure to us what we should so highly value, and enable them to support themselves in comfort and respectability.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

ELLEN MAWSON.

141, North 20-street, Philadelphia, April 20.

ENGLISH GOVERNESSES IN AMERICA.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

Sir,—I apprehend that much evil and disappointment might ensue to an estimable class of English gentlewomen were they to emigrate largely to the United States, in accordance with the well-meant advice of a Philadelphia lady in *the Times* of to-day. The system of education by governesses can hardly be said to exist on that side of the water, being

adopted only in rare instances, and by families who can afford to pay for a very high order of ability and cultivation. The modest acquirements of the great majority of English governesses (such as would be most likely to think of emigrating), cannot vie with the glossy accomplishments taught in the fashionable schools by professors devoting themselves solely to the various branches; nor—to speak frankly—do I think that the standard of female education in England is either so solid or so elevated as it is in at least the northern portion of the Union. An ordinary English governess, therefore, will not improve her prospects by emigration.

AN AMERICAN.

May 6.

And is not all this a disgrace to any government called Christian? and most especially the British, the Protestant, in which “liberty” and “equal rights” are sounded boastfully throughout the known globe, while tyranny and unjust separation is perpetuated to an extent which might cause the blush of shame on the cheeks of Chinese rulers or Turkish despots. The author begs it may be held in view, that he is alluding to our military restrictions, and our conventional usages.

But apart from the injustice inflicted on society by our rulers—who are therefore chargeable before God as the pe perpetrators, if not the authors of woman’s

wrongs and national demoralization—our usages respecting the proper affiancing of the future husband and wife, is an anomaly, contrary to the feelings of women, and opposed to the better judgment of “the Lords of creation.” In some nations which are considered rude and barbarian, the betrothing and uniting of husbands and wives, is part of their social policy. Parents, or other near relatives, propose, introduce, and should the consent, arrange the whole. This custom, worthy our imitation, as before stated, still prevails among God’s chosen people, the descendants of Abraham, while the fair daughters of Britain are unprotected and unaffianced, left to the hap-hazard chance of future union, and doomed, under the iron bondage of impolitic usages, to perpetual silence; not daring to hint, however delicately, their desire either to the object of their affections, or even to their parents, from the fear of being deemed immodest, or of entailing upon themselves a rebuke—the only privilege obtained by them, after ages of advancement being the one monosyllable, “No.” How unlike the natural confidence of the Italian girl’s address to her mother in one of their national songs—a nation’s mouthpiece—

• “Luce la luna mezza mare,
Mama mia, maritemi tu,

The following historical fact will not be uninteresting to some, though mere modern sensitiveness may deem it absurd and inadmissible—forgetting the old English custom, not yet exploded, but even recently practised in one place, of offering a wife for sale with a halter round her throat, as if she were a mere piece of property, and not a human being or one who possessed an immortal soul.*

We are informed then, that the Babylonians, at stated periods each year, brought forward every young woman of marriageable age, that a kind of public auction took place, (all women being slaves), and that the most beautiful were first brought forward, and sold to the highest bidder, some fetching immense sums, and which money was put into a

* An account of this was in the Stockton Mercury, and was reported in the "Advocate," besides the following—

WIFE-SELLING.—The following passage from "How to make Money," by Edwin T. Freedly, may throw some light on the subject of wife-selling. It was most likely from a misunderstanding of the laws affecting sales in markets that this kind of traffic has sometimes been carried on. Tradition says it has been done in this very town, and there are people now living who actually think it legal:—"A sale by a person who has no right to sell is not valid against the claim of the rightful owner, unless the goods are sold in what is legally termed '*market overt*;' that is, at the market-place on a market-day. *A sale of stolen goods in market overt passes the property in them to the purchaser.*" And most likely this was considered to apply not only to stolen goods but to other articles not justly saleable.—WALTER SCARGILL, Colchester.

common fund, until all the handsome ones were disposed of. Then the less-engaging, or ill-favoured were put up in like manner, but with each of whom a premium was given, increasing in amount according to the degrees of ugliness, to induce the wife-seekers to take them "for better or worse." And thus every woman of mature age was married, thereby affording them legitimate husbands and protectors. This proves that even in "dark age" among Pagan Nations, they provided for the safeguard, alliance, and protection of women, which the polish and enlightenment of modern times has subverted and neglected. And while theorists devise, moralists deplore, Philanthropists attempt the salvation of women, and "the powers that be" separate the sexes, from state policy or prudential necessity, we are bound to exclaim, that the most incoherent rhapsodies of the wildest fanaticism are sane, when compared with such stupendous absurdities as these modern theories of separation and degradation.

In the *Times* of Nov. 28, 1857, we read that:—

"Lord Shaftesbury charges the English press with undue reserve in the publication of the details connected with the atrocities of the Mutiny.

"But though we spared our readers as much as we could the pain of revolting and horrible images, we have had and have no objection that they should

background of outrages perpetrated upon English men and English women. The knowledge of this general fact is no more than what our readers ought to have ; it is a useful piece of knowledge for them, and will be a guide to them in forming a right estimate of what Hindoo heathenism is, and the difference between human nature with, and human nature without Christianity. There is, undoubtedly an influence which has even over those who do not submit themselves regularly to its influence, over that large mass which preachers call 'the world.' It is a common thing to say that careless Christians are as bad as heathens ; judged relatively to their respective opportunities and lights they may be so, but such facts as Lord Shaftesbury refers to show that this is not true positively. No Christians could have done what these Hindoos have done, so that Christianity, it would seem, does affect in some way or other the mass of mankind that come within its pale, making it, however careless and lax according to a strict standard, different from what it would have been without Christianity. This is an interesting question, and such facts as these throw light upon it. Military life has the reputation of great laxity, but it is quite clear that the moral temper of an English army is as different as light is from darkness from that of a Hindoo army.

but plunges deep into the very depths of vice. Vice is not an indulgence simply, it is also a horrible mystery; heathen, and especially Oriental nature, is not content with the indulgence, but dives into the mystery. It goes behind the veil, it penetrates into the sanctuary, it searches the inner depths and recesses, it makes discoveries in the horrible interior, it follows up the subject, and goes into abominable subtleties and refinements of vice, from which Christian nature even in its worst examples shrinks back. There is something insatiable about heathen vice, and especially Oriental vice; it palls unless it is in progress, is always penetrating further, and going beyond its present self. And this is true especially of those two great departments of vice—lust and cruelty. Who can sound the depths of Oriental licence in these two fields? What a horrible shape does vengeance assume in the Oriental mind; what epicurean refinements of pain; what exquisite tortures; what subtle agonies has it suggested; what an intricate and acute development it has given to the subject; what a luxury of cruelty has it dived into, brooding pleasurably over its victim, watching the process of suffering, and fostering with tender care the precious seed of hatred, as if it were loth to bring it too soon to maturity, even by the death of the object! This is the mystery of cruelty. We forbear to enter into

another mystery, connected with the other department of vice just mentioned. The mystery of Oriental lust need but be alluded to, to raise horror and awe, as at the idea of something indescribable and inexplicable—we cannot say *super-natural*.

Contrast with this tone of heathen vice, of Oriental vice, the tone of Christian vice, and there will appear a marked difference. Christian vice is bad enough, but it is not insatiable, it is not infinite, it does not go into the horrible subtleties and refinements of the other. In a word, Christian vice is an indulgence, a coarse, a sensual indulgence, but it is not a mystery. Even an immoral Christian stays comparatively on the threshold, and does not search the dark interior of vice and ransack every corner of it. We shall be understood when we allude to certain well-known distinctions between Christian and heathen lust, and for the difference between Christian and Oriental vengeance we may take Lord Shaftesbury's instance:—'Women and children have been massacred before, but I don't believe there is any instance on record where children have been reserved in cold blood to be cruelly and anatomically tortured in the presence of their horrified parents, before being finally put to death.* We trust for the reputation even of Oriental vice, that this specimen of it is, as Lord Shaftesbury thinks it

* This has been publicly and repeatedly denied.

is, new ; but, whether it is new or not, it is plainly heathen Oriental vengeance, not Christian. No English soldiers could possibly have done such an act as this. Passionate, licentious, furious and brutal they have been upon occasions, and the frenzy of a successful capture, when a city which has long resisted is at last carried by storm, has before now excited them to violent excesses and reckless acts ; but they could not be guilty of such cold-blooded atrocities as these ; they could not pursue cruelty to such fastidious hellish refinements. Such acts are not in their nature ; do not belong to the moral atmosphere in which they have been born and bred ; they *could* not do them. Christianity may not in its higher and stricter phase penetrate the mass, and mould nations and races, but it does act as a safeguard to them against these extremities of vice. It produces a certain moral atmosphere, out of which even the careless and lax cannot remove themselves, but which they carry about with them ; it sets up a standard which becomes in a degree part of our nature. In heathen religion there is nothing really controlling—morally controlling ; it may assume the most imperious and dictatorial tone in externals, and impose an endless code of ceremonials and forms upon its disciples, but its moral standard comes from a human source, from the minds of its own disciples themselves, and therefore morally a

heathen religion does not control those minds, but those minds control it; it cannot be a *law* to that nature of which it is simply the offspring and the reflection. But Christianity is a revelation from above, and therefore it is a law. It compels a certain deference to it, and even when it is not obeyed it can punish by the stings of bitter recollection and remorse. But heathen religion is neither a law nor a judge; the Hindoo who commits all these atrocities does not even regard them as wrong, and is visited by no remorse for them. 'He deifies,' as Lord Shaftesbury observes, 'every passion, every propensity, every moral sin, and every physical abomination,' and therefore only thinks himself the more religious for the abomination when he has perpetrated it. Such demonstrations may well make us pause in our career of Indian government—pause to reflect how far we may trust such specimens of moral character, place them in responsible and powerful positions, and put arms into their hands."

How, in the face of so many contradictory facts and Christian parallelisms, could any one be found to deliver themselves of such an amount of nonsensical national self-praise? Many officers, and we quote them rather than civilians, because they are generally most brought in contact with the irregularities of the nations they may sojourn amongst—many

officers who have passed the greater *and wilder* portion of their lives in India, can testify that they never heard of, nor saw, the abominations of every kind, shape, hue, and shade, *there*, which they found *as a part of the sights for a male stranger visiting Paris*, abounding and available for a five-franc piece, in that most dissolute *Christian* capital.* *They would quite as little bear detailing*, as any of the Indian *vice horrors*. As regards those frantic excesses of an infuriated soldiery, the sights presented to officers and medical men, when they followed into the houses through which the soldiery had previously passed in the late Peninsular war, have, as regarded the *unrecognisable state they found women lying in—more like masses of jelly than human forms—*been alluded to by them to their families, *as too harrowing for recollection even to bear touching upon*.

Or if we go farther back to the times of the Saxon, Norman, and Welsh wars, we read, “that with shouts of jubilee and exultation the Welsh, a fierce and barbarous people, impelled by hatred and revenge, were often accused of mangling ~~and~~ mutilating the bodies of their slain antagonists, in a manner unworthy of their national cause, and their own courage.” In Shakespeare’s account of it:—

“The noble Mortimer
Leading the men of Herefordshire
Against the irregular and wild Glendower to fight,
Who by the rude hands of that Welsh

And a thousand of his people butcher'd ;
Upon whose dead corpse, there was such misuse—
Such beastly shameless transformation,
By those Welshwomen done, as may not be
Without much shame retold or spoken of.”*

Again, in the siege of Jerusalem, were children spared? And in the Massacre of the Innocents, was that perpetrated in cold blood? or in the indiscriminate slaughter of warfare? And yet this writer says, “*Christianity* acts as a safeguard against any such extremes of torture.”* Has he forgotten *the inch by inch, day by day, week by week*, hellish miseries inflicted upon tender young females in the monkish ages in our own *Christian* land? Has he forgotten the refinements of grossness, and deceit, of the French revolution? the subsequent mocking butchery of their nearest and dearest before their eyes, (after they had paid, in all they held most sacred in themselves, the price, as they fondly hoped, of these beloved ones’ ransoms) *and then forced to drink the very blood that gave them being*. Has he forgotten those sad passages in the pages of *our own modern Christian* history, when we so persecuted the Jews? *And on what provocation?* None. No grounds for it, but unjustifiable prejudice and hatred, *the fruits of ignorance*.

* See also a note in French appended to Allison’s Europe, (vol. i. p. 289, 9th Edit.) “Prudhomme, Crime de la Revolution, vol. iii. p. 1499.”

Stowell gives us the following account of it :—

“ But most of all have the Jews been *made to stumble* by the cruel manner in which they have been treated, both by Roman Catholics and Protestants. In lands designated Christian, no less than in Pagan realms, derision, oppression, spoliation, and proscription have haunted the exiles of Judah fiercely, as the bloodhound tracks his prey. Their property has rarely been held sacred, or their persons inviolate : unsparing confiscations have a thousand times stripped them of their possessions, and inexorable banishments driven them from shore to shore ; alike the victims of the rapacious tyrant and the infuriate rabble, they have been alternately ground down by political cupidity, and trampled in the dust by the frenzy of popular fanaticism. *To murder them has scarcely been reputed a crime, and to torment them has been regarded as a meritorious service.* France, Spain, Germany, and Russia, are equally infamous for Jewish suffering, and stained with Jewish blood. Would that England, our native land, were guiltless ! But history testifies that her criminality is *dark indeed.* During the period of the crusades, indiscriminate havoc was made of the devoted people. On one occasion, in the city of York, *fifteen hundred of them including women and children,* having been hemmed in on every side, refused all —

frenzy of despair, their own mutual murderers. On another occasion, a British monarch—libeller of the name—ordered *seven hundred Jews to be butchered*, their dwellings to be pillaged, and their synagogue consumed. Another English king, disgracing the sceptre which he swayed, first plundered the Jews resident in this country of all their property, and then drove them forth into desolate banishment—*fifteen thousand* penniless, homeless, hopeless wanderers. Centuries passed away before the footsteps of this outraged race again marked our desecrated shores.”*

Again, in the catalogue of *Christian moral vices* (for the writer of that article seems to imagine there can be some such modification), is incest, stealing, murder, drunkenness, infanticide, suicide, gambling, and filth, to be looked upon as some of these *milder* forms? And yet do not *all* know, if we but choose to take in a “City Mission Magazine,” or a few reports of different Institutions, that *heaps* of our population live thus? A few paragraphs are added from such “Reports,” to show *their* brutalized state. And what can be more “subtle” or “penetrating,” in vice than some of these cases,† taken from the ~~Third~~ and Fourth Reports of “The Society for the ~~Rescue~~

* See Appendix for a list of other historical Christian cruelties. —

of Young Women and Children?" (Office, 11, Poultry, City.) The writer takes this opportunity of drawing attention to the, apparently, admirable workings of *this, in a measure, Preventive, as well as, Servants assisting and Registry Office*. May it prosper! Now what has *most* astonished those who have been residents in India—and called forth a general expression of it at this time—is this very, *unnatural* to them, conduct of the natives of India, towards Infants and Children. For they have *ever* shown themselves *peculiarly fond* of such, whether their own or European, and *especially of the latter*, and to their past credit at least let justice admit, that rarely, or never indeed, among themselves have been perpetrated such *truly unnatural mutilations of Babies, often causing excruciating suffering, as our Beggars are guilty of*; nor the cruelties and murders, as are *of such perpetual occurrence* amongst the parents of our lower classes towards their own offspring.

In lieu, then, of "Christians being commonly called *as bad* as Heathens," they should be called *worse—much—*"judged relatively to their respective opportunities and lights," for whereas, if *those* "deify vice" and are *openly* its votaries and worshippers,—we, on the contrary *devilify* it, and *profess* to wage war with it—yet, *have allowed Oriental vices to be established in our midst—yea, those very*

“*abominable subtleties*”—and our Christian women its victims—“from which,” we are told, “Christian nature even in its worst examples, shrinks back.” And again, with an ignorance which seems extraordinary, in all the late anathemas against Orientals, we have overlooked what *ought to account for much*, viz.: *their entire nature and habits, so different from ours, nationally*; so largely arising out of their climate, and temperament, and religion; and all, as now, peculiarly operated upon by fanaticism and opium. For, in many of the first accounts, it was distinctly attributed, (their unrestrained violence), to their “*appearing maddened through opium*.” A learned Physiologist in remarking upon the influence of *climate* upon the *moral habits*, has noted its characteristics and acts, to be such as we have now seen exemplified, and under an amount of excitement alas! which has called into action all its most latent springs. He says: “As youth in the East is often enervated before its body has arrived at full growth, so, when manhood is reached, it languishes in a state of precocious impuissance, and this condition becomes so much the more irksome that all around it breathes of voluptuousness, all around invokes its images, and awakens in already extinct hearts the last sparks of desire. But the senses will not always revive at the will of the imagination—and from these arises the use and abuse of stimulating drugs as

general in hot countries, and which abuse finishes by using up bodies, already radically weakened, then to become a prey to all the satiety, and all the inconveniences of an untimely old age. Hypochondriasm the most sombre, fancies the most strange and wild, immorality the most profound, and cruelty the most cold-blooded, are frequently its fatal effects, until the entire man becomes unnatural, through the simple connection of successive effects all relative to this one first change introduced into the order of the development of certain powers and certain wants. And those women who reach puberty in the very lap of childhood, before even their education has commenced, can they obtain from men any other species of affection than that which is founded upon the direct and momentary attraction of pleasure? Is it not their fate to be sacrificed to imperious masters? to become by turns the slaves of their caprices, and the victims of their satieties? In order that a woman should become the true companion of a man, in order that she may secure to herself that sweet family empire of which nature willed that she should regulate the interior; all her faculties would need to have had time to ripen themselves by observation, by experience, and by reflection. Nature would need to have led her through that chain of impressions, of which the whole, forms, if I may so express myself, the general

passing from a premature adolescence, to a still more premature old age, there is scarcely any interval for her between first and second childhood; in both she is equally a stranger to the true value of human life. She only knows its pains and its bitterness: happy, if her irreflection and ignorance are so complete as to rob her of the consciousness of the evils of her lot, or assist her in resigning herself stupidly to them, not permitting of her even suspecting that her destiny might be sweeter in other lands. Hippocrates also compares, under one point of view, Europeans with Asiatics thus: 'If the first,' says he, 'have so marked a superiority over the latter, it is, because they do not live, as those do, under despotism. People subjected to the arbitrary will of one alone, are necessarily base. Souls trampled down and degraded by servitude soon lose all spring and all virtue.'**

But the writer believes much of this misapprehension regarding the people of Hindostan, arises from our classing them with the Turks and Egyptians, as the same; because, the latter being *à la portè de notre main*, everyone knows more about them; and this is simply absurd—as the three (nay, four, including the Arab peoples are *widely* dif-

* And which may be said of women in all countries, European as well as Oriental, who have been from age to age ruled over, that they have become servile, cunning, and degraded.

ferent—and they of Hindostan *might have been made much of, had we treated them as we ought*. A Christian Hindoo is a very fine character, and indeed of this, the English had ample means of judging for themselves, in the long sojourn among them of that eminently clever, enlightened, and excellent moral character, Ram Mohun Roy—though, unhappily, but a Socinian. They could also judge of another type, in that *close imitator of European civilization, vices, and infidelity*, Dwarkanauth Tagore. The one died extensively respected, beloved and deplored:—the other had literally “the burial of an ass,”*—for his Hindoo relatives went through the form of carrying *his heart* where his heart never was, for even in one of ~~his~~ returns to Bengal he used to talk anxiously of “his desire to return home” (meaning to England!) there to undergo dead, those heathen rites which living, he despised and laughed at. As for his poor body, even his most intimate friends did not pay it the compliment of accompanying it to its last English lodging, in that England he so prized, and upon whose voluptuousness (in which he so delighted to revel) he had spent thousands.

CHAPTER V.

“ Let mine eyes run down with tears night and day, and let them not cease :

For the virgin daughter of my people is broken with a great breach,

With a very grievous blow.”

THAT eminent scholar and persecuted monk, Gavazzi, has also, in one of his remarkable “ *Ora-tions*” delivered in this country, fully demonstrated the cruel and perpetuated injustice still endured by thousands of God’s fairest creation, in so-called Christian countries. “ On the question of *Nunneries*,” he said, such living sepulchres were not an emanation of Christ’s Gospel, nor known to the early ages of our faith, for the Cloister was repugnant to the freedom of that rational homage alone worthy of GOD—who can take no pleasure, or delight in *HIS creatures being buried alive*. That the Convent of ‘*Sepolte Vive*’ in Naples was an inhuman and godless atrocity. That these establishments, when

not converted into clerical seraglios, were at best but abodes of childish imbecility. That female education in such hands was a palpable absurdity. That the average mortality prevalent in Italian Cloisters showed its pernicious working both in body and soul. That the poor victims *forced* to take that step *for family reasons*, lead of course a career of hopeless gloom—and that when the *voluntary* vestal repents, (as we know occurs in the majority of instances,) what bitter regret wastes and corrodes the blighted years of self-imposed incarceration. The Car of Juggernaut rolled over willing suicides, and crushed out their life-blood in an ecstasy of fanaticism, but with these victims of the cloister, the sustaining enthusiasm has perished, but the crushing process is continued throughout days and nights of dismal despondency till death claims the Bride of Despair. Is there,” he then asked, “*no law in this land of enlightened humanity to arrest the recruiting-serjeant in this infamous enrolment of credulous girls to swell that melancholy mass of misery, delusion, and remorse?*” The case of poor Jane Wilbred has elicited a new enactment, from the British Legislature, for the protection of workhouse apprentices. But what were the bodily tortures inflicted by the Advocate, Sloane compared with the excruciating pangs of a refined and sensitive being, doomed to the long agony of blasted feelings, and inward desolation?”

“Of like nature,” says Burton,* “is superstition ; those rash vows of monks and friars, and such as live in religious orders, but far more tyrannical, and much worse. Nature, youth, and this furious passion forcibly inclines, and rageth on the one side, but their order and vow checks them on the other. *Votoque suo sua forma repugnat.* What merits and indulgences they heap unto themselves by it, what commodities I know not ; but I am sure from such rash vows and inhuman manners of life, *proceed many inconveniences, many diseases, many vices.* Read but Bale’s Catalogue, at the visitation of Abbies, here in England ; Henry Stephen, his apol. for Heroditus : that which Ulricus writes in one of his epistles, (*Kenisius ex concil Trident part 3 de cœlibatu sacerdotum,*) that Pope Gregory, when he saw 6,000 skulls and bones of infants taken out of a fish-pond near a nunnery, thereupon retracted that decree of priests’ marriages, which was the cause of such a slaughter ; was much grieved at it, and purged himself by repentance. Read many such and then ask what is to be done ; is this vow to be broke or not ? No, saith Belarmine, (*cap. 38. lib de monach.*) *Melius est scortari et uri quam de voto cœlibatûs ad nuptias transire.* And Coster, in his *Erchiride de celibat. sacerdotum*, saith, it is absolutely *gravius*

* Anatomy of Melancholy, 16th Edit 1838

peccatum, a greater sin for a Priest to marry than to keep a concubine at home. Gregory *de Valence* (*cap. 6. de cœlibat*), maintains the same, as those Essei and Montanists of old. Insomuch that many votaries out of a false persuasion of merit and holiness in this kinde, will sooner dye than marry, though it be to the saving of their lives, Anno 1419. Pius II. Pope. James Rossa, nephew to the king of Portugal, and then elect-archbishop of Lisbone, being very sick at Florence, when his Physicians told him that his disease was such, he must either marry or dye, cheerfully chose to dye. Now they commended him for it: But St. Paul teacheth otherwise, Better *marry than burne*; and as St. Hierome gravely delivers it, *aliæ sunt leges Cæsarum, aliæ Christi; aliud Papinianus, aliud Palus noster precipit*, there's a difference betwixt God's ordinances, and men's laws, and therefore Cyprian (Epist 8.) boldly denounceth *impium est adulterum est, sacrilegem est, quod cunque human furore statuitur, ut dispositio divina violetar*, it is abominable, impious, adulterous, and sacrilegious, what men make and ordaine after their own fancies, to cross God's lawes. Giorgius Wicelius, one of their own arch-divines, (Epis. 30. *Inspect eccles.* page 18.) exclaimes against it, and all such rash monastical vowes; and would have such persons seriously to consider what they doe, whom they admit, *ne in posterum querantur de inanibus stupris* lest they repent it at

last, for either, as he follows it, (*vide vitam ejus edit.* 1623. by D. T. James) you must allow them concubines or suffer them to marry: for scarce shall you finde three Priests of three thousand, *qui per ætatem non ament.* Wherefore I conclude it is an unnatural and impious thing, to bar men of this Christian liberty, too severe and inhumane an edict.

‘The silly wren, the titmouse, also
The little redbreast have their election.
They fly I saw, and together gone,
Whereas them list, about environ,
As they of kind have inclination,
And as nature impress and guide,
Of everything best to provide.
But man alone, alas the hard-stoned;
Full cruelly by kind’s ordinance
Constrained is, and by statutes bound;
And debarred from all such pleasance:
What meaneth this?—What is this pretence
Of Lawes I wis, against all right of kinde,
Without a cause so narrow, men to binde?’*

That gifted Churchman “Kingsley,” too, in his “Saint’s Tragedy,”† has touchingly and graphically pourtrayed the conflict and anguish of both soul and body experienced in the middle age by that unhappy Princess, Elizabeth of Hungary, first, through her weak, though chivalrous and so long to her in name alone Husband, Lewis, Landgrave of

* “Lidgate,” in Chaucer’s “Flower of Curtesie.”

† The “Saint’s Tragedy,” or the true story of Elizabeth of Hungary, Saint of the Romish Calendar, by Charles Kingsley, Junr., Rector of Eversley.

Thuringia, and then, through the torturing of a designing, *envious*, ambitious monk, her confessor. How many a poor heart still echoes those throes of her's?

"I'd love thee still, if I dared; but I fear God.
And shall I never more see loving eyes
Look into mine, until my dying day?
That's this world's bondage: Christ would have me free.
And 'twere a pious deed to cut myself,
The last, last strand, and fly: but whither? whither?
What if I cast away the bird i' the hand,
And found none in the bush?

* * * * *

That were too horrible!—
To see torn up, all the roses from my garden,
And planted thorns instead; to have forged my griefs,
And hugged the griefs I dared not forge; made earth
A hell, for hope of Heaven; and after all,
These homeless moors of life toiled through, to wake,
And find blank nothing? Is that angel-world
A gaudy window, which we paint ourselves
To hide the dead void night behind? The present!
Why here's the present-like this arched gloom.
It hems our blind souls in, and roofs them over
With adamant vault, whose only voice
Is our own wild prayers' echo: and our future?—
It rambles out in endless aisles of mist,
The further, still the darker—Oh, my Saviour!
My God! Where art thou?

* * * * *

I will forget them!
They stand between my soul and its allegiance.
Thou art my God: what matter if Thou love me
I am thy bond-slave, purchased with thy life's blood;

“Schiller’s” fine and *devout* mind seems also to have been sometime exercised in the same manner ; for in his “Resignation,” he also portrays a spirit, spurning earth to rise higher, but then to be blinded by that excess of light, *which mortal eye was not created to penetrate into, for* “the secret things belong unto the LORD our GOD, but those things which are revealed belong unto us and to our children for ever, that we may do all the words of this Law,” and we know what that was in the beginning—“GOD created man in His own Image, in the Image of GOD created He him ; male and female created He them. And GOD blessed them, and GOD said unto them, Be fruitful, and multiply and replenish the earth, and subdue it.” And we also know our Lord’s corollary upon it, in the Gospel dispensation, Matthew xix. 4—13, *commencing* by quoting the above passage, and *ending* with these remarkable words, “All men cannot receive this saying, save they to whom it is given. He that is able to receive it, let him receive it.”

But there is a touching pathos in the following *abnegatory* appeal : though the responsive judgment is, as regards *materialism*, not inapt ; but as regards *the full fruition of Hope—false : for it is all merged into Faith ; to expire with it, and us, and time.*

“ Auch ich war in Arkadien geboren,
 Auch mir hat die Natur
 An meiner Wiege Freude zugeschworen
 Auch ich war in Arkadien geboren
 Doch Thränen gab der Kurze Leuz mir nur.

* * * * *

“ Da steh' ich schon auf deiner finstern Brücke
 Furchtbare Ewigkeit!
 Empfange meinen voll macht brief zum Glücke!
 Ich bring' ihn unerbrochen dir zurücke,
 Ich weiss nichts von Glückseligkeit.

* * * * *

“ Hier öffne sich die Heimat dein verbannten
 Hier endige des Dulders Dornenbahn
 Ein Götterkind das sie mir Wahrheit nannten,
 Die Meisten flohen, wenige nur kannten
 Hielt meines Lebens raschen Zügel an.

“ Ich zahle dir in einem andern Leben
 Gib deine Jugend mir!
 Nichtskann ich dir, alsdiese Weisung geben,
 Ich nahm die Weisung aufdas andre Leben
 Und meiner Jugend Freuden gab ich ihr.

“ Was heisst die Zukunft, die uns Gräber decken?
 Die Ewigkeit, mit der du eitel prangst?
 Ehrwürdig nur, weil Hüllen sie Verstecken
 Der Riesenschattin nuserer eignen Schrecken
 Im hohlen spiegel der Gewissensangst.

“ Ein Lügenbild lebendiger Gestalten,
 Die Mumie der Zeit,
 Vom Balsamgeist der Hoffnung inden kalten

“All meine Freuden hab 'ich dir geschlachtet,
 Jetzt warf 'ich mich vor deinen Richterthron
 Der Menge Spott hab 'ich beherzt verachtet,
 Nur *deine* Güter hab 'ich gross geachtet.
 Vergelterin ich forderemeinen Lohn.

* * * * *

“Du hast *gehofft*, dein Lohn ist abgetragen
 Dein *Glaube* war dein zugewognes Glück
 Du konntest deine Weisen fragen,
 Was man von der Minute ausgeschlagen
 Giebt keine Ewigkeit Zurück.“*

We have seen then, that under the sanction of the church ; the hermit, the monk, and the friar of every name, became popular ; apparent sanctity cloaking indolence and iniquity—tens of thousands secluded—and women compelled to ascetic solitude, to a perpetual imprisonment, *apparently* voluntary, but in reality compulsory. We have seen also that continuous wars have cut off the fairest of our youths, leaving throughout a number of women unprotected, reckless, living on in despair, pining in solitary sickness, or becoming the victims of the Sepolte Vive, or of

THE BRIDGE OF SIGHS.

“DROWN'D, DROWN'D.”—HAMLET.

“One more unfortunate,
 Weary of breath,
 Rashly importunate,
 Gone to her death !

* It is impossible to translate this, though we have some printed attempts.

Take her up tenderly,
Lift her with care,
Fashion'd so slenderly,
Young, and so fair !

“ Look at her garments,
Clinging like cerements ;
Whilst the wave constantly
Drips from her clothing ;
Take her up instantly,
Loving, not loathing.

“ Touch her not scornfully,
Think of her mournfully,
Gently and humanly ;
Not of the stains of her,
All that remains of her
Now is pure womanly.

“ Make not deep scrutiny
Into her mutiny,
Rash and undutiful :
Past all dishonour,
Death has left on her
Only the beautiful.

“ Still, for all slips of hers,
One of Eve's family—
Wipe those poor lips of hers,
Oozing so clammily.

“ Look upon her tresses,
Escaped from the comb,
Her fair auburn tresses ;
Whilst wonderment guesses
Where was her home?

“ Who was her father ?

Who was her mother ?

Had she a sister ?

Had she a brother ?

• Or was there a dearer one

Still, and a nearer one

Yet than all other ?

“ Alas ! for the rarity

Of Christian charity,

Under the sun !

Oh ! it was pitiful !

Near a whole city full,

Home she had none.

“ Sisterly, brotherly,

Fatherly, motherly

Feelings had changed ;

Love, by harsh evidence,

Thrown from its eminence ;

Even God's providence,

Seeming estranged.

“ Where the lamps quiver,

So far in the river,

With many a light

From window and casement,

From garret to basement,

She stood, with amazement,

Houseless by night.

“ The bleak wind of March

Made her tremble and shiver ;

But not the dark arch,

Or the black flowing river :

Mad from life's history,

Glad to death's mystery,

Swift to be hurl'd—

Any where, any where,

- “ In she plunged boldly,
 No matter how coldly
 The rough river ran,—
 Over the brink of it,
Picture it—think of it,
Dissolute man !
 Lave in it, drink of it,
Then, if you can !
- “ Take her up tenderly,
 Lift her with care ;
 Fashion’d so slenderly,
 Young, and so fair ;
- “ Ere her limbs frigidly
 Stiffen too rigidly,
 Decently—kindly,
 Smooth, and compose them :
 And her eyes, close them,
 Staring so blindly !
- “ Dreadfully staring
 Through muddy impurity,
 As when with the daring
 Last look of despairing
 Fix’d on Futurity.
- “ *Perishing gloomily,*
Spurr’d by contumely,
Cold inhumanity,
Burning insanity,
 Into her rest—
 Cross her hands humbly,
 As if praying dumbly,
 Over her breast !
- “ Owning her weakness,
 Her evil behaviour,
 And leaving with meekness

And these the frail beings who were destined by a gracious Providence to confer blessings upon mankind ! But the church has reversed the primal laws of nature, and state policy, and family convenience, have crowned the injustice by a cruel and unnatural separation of the sexes. Long experience, and a close observance of society in all its tortuous chicanery, has so fully convinced the writer that the sufferings of women—whether as outcasts, or as inmates of “ Sepolte Vive,”—is inflicted through these causes, *not* in accordance with the designs of a benignant Creator ; that he must be pardoned for perpetually dwelling upon them, his great aim being to attract particular attention to these two points ; perverted national policy, and social usages. We are told, that “ a nobleman not long since deceased, celebrated for his powers of sarcasm, while conversing on the subject of criminals, once said, ‘ that it was always the destiny of England to exhaust every form of error before she reached the truth ;’ ” and truly we may fully agree in the appositeness of that “ remark ” to the subjects of this work. When also we read such truths as the following, delivered in a public lecture to our young men, by a Statesman, of one of our oldest families, and one who is himself noble in nature as in name—the Lord John Russell—“ *nil desperandum*,” may be still our rallying word in the midst of the obstacles which “ we deem,” have

largely conduced toward retarding, “Moral and Political,”—aye, *and spiritual*,—“progress.” His Lordship says, “When Newton demonstrated by a series of geometrical propositions, the doctrine of attractions, those who understood his reasoning, could not long withhold their assent to his conclusion. But in respect to moral and political truth, we have not, in the first place, the same certainty, and in the second place, we have to contend against more than the pride of intellect, the tenacity of prejudice, and the force of habit; we have to contend against the jealousy of power, the credulity of superstition, and the alarms of timidity.

“Yet, ‘Truth is discovered by enquiry; knowledge is attained by the diffusion of opinion; Governments have undertaken to suppress inquiry and to guide opinion on all religious and moral, *nay, on many physical subjects*. Let us investigate this subject further. We shall find that some of the greatest obstacles which have been interposed to moral and political progress are those which have been caused by a misapprehension of the functions and a misapplication of the powers of civil government. Those functions are extensive in their legitimate province; those powers are formidable in their proper sphere. *But Governments have perverted to*

to the highest summit. Let us for a moment consider the objects of the formation of civil government. These objects are very large, lofty, and extensive. At home, a Government is bound to protect life and property. These few words imply the whole question of criminal law, *the various relations of property, the laws of marriage, the relations of master and workmen, the security of trade, the maintenance of internal tranquillity*, the rule of all orders of men in their separate stations, and the complicated disputes which spring out of their dealings with each other.

“It was shown by the late distinguished secretary to the Board of Trade, Mr. Porter, in 1850, that the sums expended yearly in spirits, beer, and tobacco, amounted to upwards of £57,400,000. It is stated by the same gentleman that among those labourers and workmen, heads of families, who earn from 10s. to 15s. a week, at least one half is spent by the men upon objects in which the other members of the family have no share. Apart from all statistical results, observation must lead us to the conclusion that among labourers and workmen the vice of intemperance is one of the most common and the most hurtful. The want of education, as proved by the returns of Inspectors, of Chaplains of gaols, is such, that *a great portion of our people are ignorant of the simplest elements of religion and the most common*

rudiments of learning :" (and this in the very metropolis of missions *abroad*!). "While such are the prominent vices and defects of the poor; vices and defects of a different kind, but no less offensive to morality, are found among the rich. *Sensuality and excess, selfishness, evil-speaking, want of charity and kindness to those about them, abound.*" The nature of man is so prone to evil that *strong restraint* is required to keep down his bad passions and subdue his vicious inclinations. He requires likewise *some special incentive to good.*

‘L’homme est de glace aux vérités,
Il est de feu pour les mensonges,’

says La Fontaine. •

“*The legislators of antiquity sought that restraint upon evil, and that incentive to good, in powerful institutions, guarded by sanctity of manners.* It was thus that Sparta and Rome were led to virtue. But these Institutions perished when manners no longer supported them. The institution of monasteries had its origin in a similar feeling of the necessity of restraint. Historians, especially the historians of Spain, who have borne witness to the pious intentions of the founders of these Institutions, have related how one order after another grew corrupt, and a severer rule was instituted by some more austere reformer to give way in its turn to the *evil inclinations, jealousies and weaknesses of human nature.*

There are rules, however, not artificial, not founded on any prescribed form of society or in isolation from all society, which are sufficient, if observed, to guide mankind. *These are, the rules of Christian morality laid down by Christ himself. They give each man liberty, but place on each man a restraint.* They do not begin as human laws and institutions must do with outward actions, *but go to the source of affections and of passions—the human heart.*

“It is then to Christian principles, Christian morals, and a Christian spirit that we must look for a better and higher civilization than any that has been attained.

“To each one of us—to you, young men of the United Kingdom, more especially—belongs a portion of the noble task of speeding our country on her great and glorious way, by walking steadfastly in the full light of such truths as we already possess, and by hastening the noonday brightness of such as are only dawning. Let it not be the reproach of any of us, that, born in a land where the laws acknowledge that thought and speech are free, we have yet ever lent the helping hand of custom, folly, or intolerance to extinguish one spark of that Divine flame, which we call the soul, or ever turned away from a righteous and peaceable endeavour to loosen the fetters that still bind it throughout the world. Some there are who shut their eyes to one

truth lest it should impair another they deem more sacred. But one truth can no more quench another truth, than one sunbeam can quench another sunbeam. Truth is one as God is one. Go forward to meet her in whatever garb, welcome her from whatever quarter she comes, till at last beyond the grave you shall hail her in a blaze of glory which mortal eye can only strain in vain to contemplate. Truth is the gem for which the wise man digs the earth, the pearl for which he dives into the ocean, the star for which he climbs the heavens—the herald and the guardian of moral and political progress.”

With this somewhat long extract from the noble author—who the writer trusts will continue the stanch advocate, both in and out of the Senate, of the cause, of purer morals, for many of our young men have fallen from Lectures and from Grace, through the tempting cup of the Syren vice—he concludes this chapter.

CHAPTER VI.

“The diseased have ye not strengthened,
Neither have ye healed that which was sick,
Neither have ye bound up that which was broken,
Neither have ye brought again that which was driven away,
Neither have ye sought that which was lost;
But with force and with cruelty have ye ruled them.”

ALTHOUGH prohibited from revealing the vile abominations continually enacted within the desecrated haunts of female degradation, still, having conversed frequently with these fallen ones, the same tale, though it may be in different words, is almost invariably told by them, *viz.* “What am I to do?—I cannot starve, and my character is gone. Service is not obtainable, or could it be obtained, in most cases it is little better than slavery, or at best seclusion akin to imprisonment; servants being treated too ~~often~~ most unkindly, owing to the vast numbers always to be had; for if a desirable place is heard

of, *hundreds* seek to obtain it immediately." Listen also to what a learned and pious author wrote upon the same subject in *the year* 1651, and equally applicable now as then—"Many masters are hard-hearted, and bitter to their servants, and by that means do so deject, with terrible speeches and hard usage so crucifie them, that they become desperate, and can never be recalled."

"As to needlework—it is *starvation*." Oh! that the upper classes of this land would take to heart—ponder well over, and lead their male as well as female relatives, *to exercise their influence over shopkeepers in the matter of the fearful and fatal injustice done by them, and countenanced, nay sought for, by their customers, in the rates of payment, for needlework of every description.* Will ladies check the "grinding the faces of the poor?" by rejecting indignantly the shopman's importunate offer of needlework, as so deserving of their notice, and ready purchase, *because, "it is all done by the hand, at an incredibly low price!"* At the price of what? of a sister's—perhaps, a lady's misery—one who may have been as gently nurtured as they, and *once* have had as bright hopes, though now combatting with an empty stomach, a shivering frame, a heavy heart, and perhaps, *a pure mind, tempted to pollute its suffering, exacting body, and to risk an immortal soul, in its despair and anguish.*

But alas! the few privileged ones understand not what *starvation* is, and few also will reflect upon it. Let us hear what a learned physician once wrote in petitioning for the relief of some suffering therefrom. "Those, who may not consider it necessary to subscribe to Statues or Memorials, may yet be supposed alive to the calls of hunger and starvation amongst their poor fellow-creatures. For, the cravings of hunger *are dreadful in the extreme*. The worm that never dies cannot be worse. The *incessant desire* to eat—the pain in the stomach—the palpitation and sinking of the heart—the spasms and convulsions—the wasting of the whole body—while its usual functions are strangely changed—added to the cold and horrible feelings of Death creeping from the limbs upwards—constitute *but part* of the sufferings attendant on *famine*. The brain too is often so deranged that mankind become changed beings, who forget their humanity, and would kill and eat their fellow-men: while mothers, who love their first-born as the stay and staff of their future days, are often compelled (in India) by the insatiable cravings of nature *to sell* them for a trifle. And what can be more painful than to see a poor infant clinging to the breast of a famished mother, whose dried-up form, hollow cheeks, and sunken eyes bespeak the near approach of her only deliverer—the king of terrors."

In England, if they *sell* not their infants (indeed it would seem a mercy if they could!)—they do worse by them—in *their desperation—they murder them*. It would be well if all the reports we see in papers of cases of Infanticide were collected and published *yearly*—for reading it cursorily, it escapes the memory, and no lasting note of *the perpetual recurrence* is entertained in the mind, *to sadden and to rouse it to more strenuous, deeper, efforts, for prevention*.

When will ladies cease to employ those fashionable dressmakers and milliners* who are *obliged* to keep girls over-hours at work—nay up all night—to meet the often sudden order accompanied with importunity for its immediate execution in an almost *impracticable* short time, or, if not acceded to, with a threat to discontinue their custom? Orders that *ought* to take a week at least to execute them with propriety, are demanded to be sent home often within forty-eight hours at the latest. Of course *the principals charge* accordingly—but they don't *pay* accordingly—and often too, on pain of dismissal, force their poor young women to work throughout the Sabbath to meet these pressures.* Will ladies cease to seek for *cheap* finery for their children? Will they reflect that *braiding* and *embroidery*, takes long to do, and needs *fine sight*, and ought to be proportionably paid for? not to mention, how soon, if

* See Appendix.

persevered in, by *not a brilliant*, but a *poor light at night*, some entirely weaken their eyes thereby, and *lose the power of continuance in that branch of livelihood*. Or will the purchasing public reflect, that by encouraging *cheap* shops, they are accumulating poor wretched half-starved slop-workers—at the price too of starvation? For the good workman, being accustomed to support himself and family decently, cannot lower his terms to suit slop-shops. Why then are not such, written and sneered down by the public? for purchasing of them “*is a positive loss of money and time*,” as a respectable man in the middle classes once remarked to a lady who was questioning him as to the causes of so much misery amongst the working classes during the winter of 1856-7; “for,” he farther added, “the coats, &c., bought at such places, are of such inferior material and workmanship, that they need perpetual going over again; and that it was deplorable to see in the city the numbers of *respectable* shoemakers and tailors out of employ, and *daily* soliciting employment from the large wholesale houses, who often could not give them beyond *one day’s work in a week*, and which, perhaps would only amount to 6s., out of which the poor workman had to pay 2s. 6d. for his lodging, besides having often a wife and children to support.” And ~~just~~ these and similarly hard-pressed artizans, were the very people whom some writer in *The*

Times, upon "The Smithfield Meetings," ignorantly enough sneered down, *because they did not, as their betters had done, emigrate*; as if by some magic process, they had only got to *will* it, for it to be done! Upon what? It is easy enough to *desire* any one to be clothed and warmed, and "to go to-day, and to come again to-morrow," but query: Who would pay the passages of those who cannot pay it for themselves? It is like the cold, *unhelping* advice, we often hear given to many a poor governess, companion, or servant, "Advertise, advertise, *why* do you not advertise for a situation, *as others do*, and then you would not want?" Meantime *they are wanting the means to advertise!* and have already seen, with scolding eyes, *their last five-shilling-piece parted with, for this purpose, but to meet with no response.*

Of course "the classes of gentry" that writer alluded to, have much greater facilities of emigrating than their poorer or "*ne'er-do-weel*" relatives—they may have cash, credit, or interest. But the artizan *must find the work to get the means*, to ship himself and family—and must, moreover, he and them, *live upon those very means in the actual meantime!* We have a *wise saw* to the effect, that, "A man can't eat his loaf and keep it too."

The writer purposes to touch more fully upon this emigration question in his chapter of Remedies.

Meanwhile, does it not strike the reader, what a mass must *curse us*, when they read of our munificent, ostentatious, donations towards emblazoning *the dead!* Why are we so *heathenish* in our “days of knowing better,” as to erect statues and monuments to everybody and everything! Why, when we wish to testify our great admiration of a heroic person or deed, do we not *dedicate to them a sum to buy up, and to sweep away moral and physical nuisances?* And in their place to feed and clothe, and house, “the homeless poor” as the Scriptures,—which *we profess nationally* to take as our standard of action, *command* us to do, not once, not twice, *but over and over again*—*but not to kennel them,* and put them on gruel, dress them in sackcloth (vide a report of two men brought before the magistrates out of the Union thus clad), and to give them “more kicks than half-pence,” as the vulgar saying is. Would not both the present with us, and the “gone before,” be more honoured in being thus made the medium of amelioration? Nay, would it not be higher tribute to them, than brick and mortar, jewels or money? And might it not also do away with much of that present equal mania for erecting, “*costly palatial Prisons?*”—mere preparations for more permitted sin, and unrelieved misery.

But to return to the ladies, with the poet’s *parting* and fervent exclamation—“And yet, oh yet, that many a dame, would dream

THE LADY'S DREAM!

“The lady lay in her bed,
Her couch so warm and soft,
But her sleep was restless still;
For turning often and oft
From side to side, she mutter'd and moan'd,
And toss'd her arms aloft.

“At last she startled up,
And gazed on the vacant air,
With a look of awe, as if she saw
Some dreadful phantom there—
And then in the pillow she buried her face
From visions ill to bear.

“The very curtain shook,
Her terror was so extreme;
And the light that fell on the broider'd quilt,
Kept a tremulous gleam;
And her voice was hollow, and shook as she cried:
‘Oh me! that awful dream!’

“‘That weary, weary walk,
In the churchyard's dismal ground!
And those horrible things, with shady wings,
That came and flitted round,—
Death, death, and nothing but death,
In every sight and sound!

“‘And oh! those maidens young,
Who wrought in that dreary room,
With figures drooping and spectres thin,
And cheeks without a bloom;—
And the voice that cried, ‘For the pomp of pride,
We haste to an early tomb!’

“ For the pomp and pleasure of Pride,
We toil like Afric slaves,
And only to earn a home at last,
Where yonder cypress waves ;
And then they pointed—I never saw
A ground so full of graves !

“ And still the coffins came,
With their sorrowful trains and slow ;
Coffin after coffin still,
A sad and sickening show ;
From grief exempt, I never had dreamt
Of such a World of Woe !

“ Of the hearts that daily break,
Of the tears that hourly fall,
Of the many, many troubles of life,
That grieve this earthly ball—
Disease and Hunger, and Pain, and Want,
But now I dreamt of them all !

“ For the blind and the cripple were there,
And the babe that pined for bread,
And the houseless man, and the widow poor
Who begged—to bury the dead ;
The naked, alas, that I might have clad,
The famish'd I might have fed !

“ The sorrow I might have soothed,
And the unregarded tears ;
For many a thronging shape was there,
From long-forgotten years,
Ay, even the poor rejected Moor
Who rais'd my childish fears !

“ Each pleading look that long ago
I scorn'd with a heedless eye,

Each face was gazing as plainly there,
As when I pass'd it by :
Woe, woe, for me if the past should be
Thus present when I die !

“ ‘ No need of sulphureous lake,
No need of fiery coal,
But only that crowd of human kind
Who wanted pity and dole—
In everlasting retrospect—
Will wring my sinful soul !

“ ‘ Alas ! I have walk'd through life
Too heedless where I trod ;
Nay, helping to trample my fellow-worm,
And fill the burial sod—
Forgetting that even the sparrow falls
Not unmark'd of God !

“ ‘ I drank the richest draughts ;
And ate whatever is good—
Fish and flesh, and fowl and fruit,
Supplied my hungry mood ;
But I never remember'd the wretched ones
That starve for want of food !

“ ‘ I dress'd as the nobles dress,
In cloth of silver and gold,
With silk and satin, and costly furs,
In many an ample fold ;
But I never remembered the naked limbs
That froze with winter's cold.

“ ‘ The wounds I might have heal'd ;
The human sorrow and smart !
And yet it never was in my soul
To play so ill a part ;
*But Evil is wrought by want of thought,
As well as want of heart.*

“ She clasp’d her fervent hands,
And the tears began to stream ;
Large, and bitter, and fast they fell,
Remorse was so extreme :
*And yet, oh yet, that many a dame
Would dream the lady’s dream !”*

Some poor females say, “ I was married to a soldier, and came to London with my husband ; he was ordered to India with his regiment, when only a few women were allowed to accompany their husbands : I not being one of them, our separation was attended by want, then despair, and now a *life of degradation.*” The exclamation of some is, “ All the young men are sent away to distant colonies wifeless, while the poor young women are left to cheerless isolation, with no distant hope even of marriage ; hence, neglected and dependant, I became, like others, an easy prey to false protestations, and a few days of pleasure—or a few hours only—left me a deserted wreck : then, to drown my sorrow or harden my conscience, I sought the intoxicating cup, to which all of my class resort after innocence is fled,—drowning our sorrows to enable us to pursue a life of infamy.” And so say also those who have been decoyed from comfortable homes by seducers — miscalling themselves gentlemen and honourable—on promise of marriage, but after a brief space only to leave them unprotected and unknown, to mortification, shame and remorse, amidst

the "populous solitude" of "The Great Metropolis." A most interesting case of this last nature has been sent to the author, who gives it here :—

CASE OF SEDUCTION.

Ann Nisbet Dawson, aged 24 years, the daughter of respectable parents, formerly resided in Northumberland. One of her uncles was a Lieutenant in the royal navy, and another was a ship-owner at Glasgow. She was induced to leave her home for London at the age of eighteen years under promise of marriage, (in fact an elopement), by a young gentleman of the name of Clifton, who brought her to London, but deserted her before the expiration of a year. Being thus left destitute by one to whom she was very much attached, she attempted suicide, throwing herself into the water at Trafalgar Square at a late hour in the night. She was, however, discovered by a policeman before life was extinct, was taken to Charing-cross hospital, and on recovery was committed to prison. When liberated she was surrounded with new and formidable difficulties. Her relatives felt their pride severely wounded, and would not receive her, so she fell into the hands of persons whose bad advice she followed, and gave herself up to drink and an abandoned life, but amongst the highest classes; and a lady who, (as mentioned afterwards, befriended her.

OUR PLAGUE SPOT.

at a later period of her career), often blushed to hear the names of many known to her, as amongst those who had been Nisbet's visitors and associates in certain fashionable lodging-houses in St. James's, where such meet to play cards, and where wine to a fabulous extent appeared to be consumed by these poor wretches, at the expense of their male visitors. Many a touching and redeeming trait she also occasionally mentioned of some who appeared merely to lounge in *pour passer le temps*, or as curious lookers-on, not actors in any part of these revels, throwing sometimes a bank note to her on leaving, as if they felt drawn in pity towards her youth and gentle prepossessing appearance, as the writer and others who wished to reclaim her, also, subsequently did. During this period, too, she was three respective times followed by gentlemen who offered her marriage. One a young Scotch gentleman of property, whose name she mentioned, actually placed her in a respectable lodging, desired her to take his name, and to live quietly there till his return from Scotland on a day fixed. He respected also her person, and treated her with the greatest kindness and consideration. True to his word he did return, and found her very strange—ill, as he supposed; and when, after dinner, she made an excuse to go out for a few minutes to look after a portmanteau which she had ordered, (as they were to be married

and leave town the next day), he endeavoured to dissuade her, fancying her too ill for the effort; but she got away, and drove about London streets all that night, intoxicated, in different cabs. For, she said, though she had kept sober during the period of his absence, as the day drew near for his return, she felt so maddened by the recollection of the past, and what he would think of her *if he knew all*, that she would have committed suicide if she had not drunk; and as she had been soothing her irritated nerves in this way the previous night and day of his arrival, and that fasting, by the time he came, she was stupified-tipsy; and feeling she could no longer bear the restraint of his presence, rushed out and drove from public-house to public-house the whole night. As she did not return, and the woman of the house communicated her suspicions—(having pryed out something about her), when towards the evening of the following day, she reappeared, she found a note and some money, expressing the writer's grief and disappointment, and stating that they could never meet again.

A respectable elderly gentleman, a widower, who, from what he stated his circumstances to be, seemed very well off, was the next; and after he also had arranged everything for their marriage, when he came to claim her, *found her dead drunk*. The same feelings, she stated, seemed to *always drive her irre-*

sistibly to the same result. A letter from a third person offering her marriage, the chaplain of the jail saw; and it would appear this person was lost sight of during *one of her detentions in prison.* All these failures reacting on her before maddened feelings, at last rendered her such as the recital goes on to state. *Not lewd*, for that she did not give the impression of *ever having been*, but thoroughly reckless. One of those—

“The magnet of whose course is gone, or only points in vain,
The shore to which their shiver’d sail shall never stretch again.”

These habits soon made her a frequent visitor at the prison, where her interesting appearance and superior manners excited the sympathy of the governor and chaplain, who did all in their power to restore her to her family, and rescue her from her degradation, but without success. Frequently has she been carried on “a stretcher” to the nearest station-house in a state of intoxication, and *though never for dishonesty*, she has been *above a hundred times in Tothill Fields prison, often returning again the same day that she had been discharged.* These terms of confinement in prison were generally short, seldom exceeding fourteen or twenty-one days, and never more than a month; and yet *she had spent nearly three years out of five in the prison!* She could not be in-

duced to enter any asylum until about two years before she left England, and then only remained there three weeks, not being able to do the laborious work of the laundry, though she was a very superior needle-woman. Her mode of life naturally engendered inertness and dislike of control, the effects of which she may never wholly conquer. On leaving the asylum, she again returned to her unhappy mode of life until about four months previous to her sailing, when she met with a severe accident, having shattered one of her hands very much by dashing it through the window of a public-house when drunk, for which she was committed to prison the last time. While in the Infirmary, Mrs. Rogers, the wife of one of the chaplains, saw and spoke to her, to whom she listened with marked attention, and promised, as she was to leave the prison in a day or two, to call upon Mrs. Rogers. She did not, however, but while they were lamenting over her repeated falls, a note was received from her, begging of Mrs. Rogers to go and see her. She did so, and found her at a wretched lodging in Chelsea, when she showed some hesitation as to going into an Asylum again, but at last decided to do so, and was taken at once by that lady to a private one, where, however, she remained only a few weeks.

Nisbet was there treated very injudiciously, being allowed to go out at late hours; and in company of

one of her fellow-inmates, to visit a lawyer in order to raise money upon a legacy which was receivable by her on the death of an aged aunt. As might be anticipated, this led to drink, and she felt herself that the absence of all restraining influence upon her, was not tending to any beneficial result. She therefore one day entreated of the lady before mentioned, who was a visitor of this Reformatory, to take her home with her, and which, singular and unexpected as the request was, after a lengthened conversation with Nisbet, and with the consent of the Matrons and Secretary, she acceded to, and at once took her into her own house. There the poor girl manifested every sign of deep regret for her past misconduct, and sometimes her grief was *very* poignant; unhappily however, her penitential feelings were perpetually being undermined by the clandestine visits of some of the most dangerous of the young women from this private Institution, who came at late hours to see her, contrary to the expressed wish of the lady who took her thus into her house to shelter her, until some suitable situation could be found for her. *And such was found*; a lady of rank and piety in the country consented to take her, on probation, as a needle-woman, and ultimately, if she conducted herself correctly, to remain with her as her own maid. All this was frustrated through the written, when forbidden the

house, pertinacious, solicitations of the above-mentioned young women ; and the result was, an excuse *to get out alone for a day*, to go to a friend of her family to ascertain the address of an aunt with whom she wished to communicate. The lady's entreaties, and offer to accompany her, were all in vain ; as she obstinately urged, that if she could not once be trusted alone, how could she ever be tried ? and so went, *never to return again to that house* ; for she was warned, that if she now disgraced them both, that should be the penalty. *She got drunk*, and in that state was carried again to the Institution, where, on awaking next day, she abused them all as the cause of her then trouble, and instantly departed. After another fit of intoxication, she took a lodging, intending to resume her former evil mode of obtaining a living. At this critical moment, it appeared, she began to reflect on the kindness she had received from the lady alluded to, and the first thing her eye fell upon in her box, which she had sent for, was a Bible and some tracts which this kind friend had given her, and which, on packing her box,—and whilst shedding bitter tears over her sad lot, and offering up many a silent prayer for her,—she had placed on the top of all her things. Poor Nisbet immediately wrote a note, and took it herself to the lady's house, where she implored its de-

bonnetted and shawled, as she had, she said, remained, *ever since the lady's departure*, in trembling anxiety, having full faith in the promise of return that had been made her, though, as it got towards nine o'clock, her heart naturally began to sink. Under other circumstances, her *excessive* hurry to get down stairs would have been laughable. When near the missionary's home, the lady parted from her; and she went with him *as confidently happy as if once more a child*.

What a contrast was here! But a few evenings before, she had been unrestrainably violent, cursing and blaspheming, and uttering fearful words, enough to curdle the blood to hear; and now, she was led away as gentle, humble, and inoffensive, as a lamb. Oh! the influence of Grace! "The wolf can indeed then dwell with the lamb, and the leopard lie down with the kid, and a little child shall lead them."

This City Missionary and his wife watched over her with much solicitude, and taught her, by their example and precepts, the principles of the Gospel; and though she could not be spoken of as a converted person, yet her mind was greatly enlightened, and it is hoped she may have eventually realized that peace which He alone can give, who once said to one of like character, "I say unto thee, her sins which are many, are forgiven." While re-

siding with Mr. Thomas, Nisbet voluntarily, and without any suggestion from others, joined the Total Abstinence Society, and pledged herself to abstain from all intoxicating drinks. She also resolved to emigrate to Australia, where she had two married sisters who would have taken her with them when they left England, had she not been in prison at the time. Having formed this resolution to emigrate, she sold her interest in the legacy before alluded to, rather hastily and without consulting her friends. In consequence of this, she barely obtained what would pay her passage-money, and procure a few necessary articles of outfit. But, through the kindness of Lord Shaftesbury, Mr. Rogers was enabled to supply her with a suitable outfit, and to place a small sum of money in her hands to meet the exigencies of the first few days after her arrival at Port Philip.

Having long known the character and disposition of this poor girl, Mr. Rogers was fully convinced that emigration was the only thing likely, under God, to elevate her position and restore her to respectable society. She required to be placed where she would be thrown upon her own resources, and where personal exertions must be made for the purpose of obtaining a livelihood. While in London she was surrounded with temptations too powerful

neutralized whatever capabilities she possessed for supporting herself without following a life of profligacy.* She was a very superior needlewoman, adapted for the business of a milliner, &c., and, under the advice of her relations in Australia, she may succeed well. She spent the last nine or ten days in Mr. Rogers' house, and conducted herself satisfactorily, manifesting much gratitude for the kindness she received. She was taken to Gravesend by Mrs. Rogers, the lady before alluded to, and some other friends. And they again visited her whilst the ship was delayed, and it was very gratifying and touching to witness the delight with which she hailed them severally on going alongside, for these visits were quite unexpected, and her feelings (and theirs also) were much overcome. The one before alluded to, had just read a tract, entitled "The Gold Ring," and as it gave an

* Mr. Thomas afterwards communicated to the lady—towards whom, up to the last, poor Nisbet seemed to evince so remarkable an attachment—that she had told him, after leaving the note before alluded to at her house, a gentleman, who informed her he lived in that neighbourhood (the West End), followed her with his solicitations—(she was a remarkably fine-looking girl, with a very soft and touching expression of face)—*but she felt, that until she knew whether that appeal were rejected, she could not pollute herself again; and so decidedly rejected his offers. My lady readers—never throw a fallen sister off, till she throws you off.*

affecting evidence of the power such a gift once had in bringing back godly impressions and feelings,—(with which intent it had been given)—she also, with that tract, gave poor Nisbet *a gold ring*, and asked her, whenever she looked upon it, to think of Him who had so freely forgiven her, and had desired her to sin no more.

Many prayers of these several friends accompanied poor Annie, that the Lord might give her a new heart, sealed with the earnest of His Holy Spirit, to fit her for the trials she might have to encounter; and that she might be as a brand plucked from ~~the~~ burning, to stand at last with those who have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb.

Almost similar may be elicited from the truly unfortunate; from those who resort to long-rooms and naval stations—*the worse than slaves*, of drunkards, sailors, soldiers, blacks, and foreigners of every grade, colour, and country. Reflection, or thought of any future, is entirely banished. And when the deep sigh which the writer has heard evoked, finds vent, its expression is, “Oh, if I should reflect on my degraded condition, *suicide would ensue*. If ever a thought of home and innocence comes over ~~my~~ mind, it must be banished or madness would follow. I often wish some accident would end my miserable

existence—that a railway train would smash my ——— carcase. *W***** have no souls.*” And then follow imprecations and curses deep and loud against the authors of their misery. Thus they alternately lament and blaspheme, until drink, if attainable, or exhausted nature, sink the wretched beings into a feverish repose, and from which disturbed slumber they only awaken to stagger still *on, on the road to destruction.* The number thus abandoned is so vast, that the chances of meeting those who accept their offers, is sometimes very casual. Thus a thousand wiles are invented to entice the unwary, and, Proteus-like, a thousand shapes attempted—now assuming when able, respectability—anon appearing as decent servants—again as married, with baskets marketing. Many of these seek to attract the notice of respectable middle-aged gentlemen, imploringly soliciting their company, stating qualifications, and urging every possible plea with fascinating smiles. But when the positive “No” is uttered, and there remains no hope of success, an earnest appeal is then made for relief, with the assurance, that poverty, nay, dire necessity, impels them. And this is but too often strictly true,—*thousands being penniless, hungry, and destitute.*

Surely by all the above we must see, that as regards the suffering, and evil condition of such a

mass of women, we, though a largely professing Christian nation, yet throw off a load of responsibility by the question, "Am I my brother's keeper?" "Am I to go weary and heavy laden all the days of my life perpetually bearing my brother's burden," says some fine lady—"when Providence so evidently smiled upon *my* birth, in making *me* to walk upon the high places of the earth, and because the mass, the *oi polloi*—equally in the arrangement of Providence, born into burdens—'dragged up, and dragging up' (as Lamb quaintly phrases it) from their earliest childhood, are suffering? And though with all my *enlightened* advantages of baptism, education, confirmation, ease, and social attractions, I find it difficult, or give it up as too irksome, to strive against nature and inborn corruption in myself, and but too often yield to its evil promptings, or excuse to myself and others their followings out by pleading, force of circumstances, constitutional tendency, disappointments, pique, jealousy, vanity; or, from ennui the *pour passer le temps* playing on the edge of tempting precipices, until suddenly in some giddy moment, I also fall: in fact, though a thousand excuses might be made for *me*—the rich, the high-born, the *idle*,—aye, there you have it, madam—that's just the extreme which makes *you* so vicious!—what right has any *poor* creature, though possessing the same passions, affections and yearnings, to repine or lose

her character—*her all*,” (*her all*—indeed! and which she so deeply feels to be, *her all*; that to forget this fearful loss to her, she flies to *drink, infanticide, suicide*!) “because *she* is isolated, fretted, despised? Governesses should only think of teaching, companions of enduring, sempstresses of endless stitching, and servants of toiling.” And yet, Madam, I would say to you, “GOD hath made of one blood all nations of the earth.” However MAN, in his presumptuous selfishness may divide, and subdivide, and separate, and grade, and *degrade* them. And I would also tell you that ‘the human heart is a vast field, inexhaustible in its fecundity, but which false cultures appear to have rendered sterile; or rather this field is still in a manner new. We are yet ignorant of the vast happy fruits it would soon be seen to yield, if we returned in earnest to reason, that is to say, to nature. In interrogating with reflection and docility this alone true oracle, and in reforming according to its faithful teaching our moral training, we should soon see a new universe burst forth. And let us not fear, with some contracted spirits, that, enemy to illusions and their vain gratifications, wholesome morality should ever, in dissipating them, deteriorate from true happiness. No, no; it is to reason alone, on the contrary, that belongs, not only to fix, but even to multiply to us the

perfect it more and more each day. Doubtless, in proportion as the art of existing with ourselves and with others, that art so necessary to life, but nevertheless almost entirely ignored in our system of education,* in proportion as this art progresses, will all those imposing phantoms, whether false virtues or false possessions which have too long composed almost the entire moral existence of man in society, be seen to vanish. In digging into the hidden treasures of the human mind, new sources of happiness will be seen to open out, the circle of its destinies will enlarge daily; and reason has not more useful discoveries to make in the moral world, than has in the physical, its still happier scrutinizers.

“It is thus, also, that as social art will progress towards perfection, almost all those political wonders, the object of history’s admiration, divested one after another of the vain-glory with which they have been clothed, will no longer appear other than the frivolous and too often fatal playthings of the infancy of the human race. The events, the institutions, and opinions, which an ignorant enthusiasm has most deified, will now excite scarcely a smile of astonishment. The powers of man, almost always employed to create for himself misfortunes, in the pursuit of pitiable chimeras will

* It would appear only to have been systematically cultivated during the short epoch of Greek philosophy.

at the last be turned towards objects more useful and more real; springs the simplest will be the directing agents, and genius will only occupy itself in the means to increase solid enjoyments and true happiness; those enjoyments and that happiness which flow directly, and without mixture, from our common nature"—(the author meaning, we presume, with Solomon, that "God made man upright, but he has found out many inventions!")

How true is the remark—and I would that we might *all* lay it to heart!—that, "we often grudge a penny to honest poverty, but we are seldom hucksters where our passions or our weaknesses are in question." The writer recently met with an admirable little definition of the word "Lady." He cannot refrain from giving it:—

"No word has undergone more changes than this, whether as regards its etymology or its orthography. It is a compound word in its origin. It was at first spelled 'leaf-dan,' or 'laf-dan,' from 'leaf,' or 'laf,' a loaf of bread, and 'dian,' to serve. It was afterwards corrupted to 'lafdy,' and at length was shaped into 'lady.'

"Thus we perceive that a 'lady' originally meant one who distributes bread. The true lady' is really she who still has the heart and the hand for the same office—especially when the poor need bread

test of such a definition as this, we fear their numbers would amazingly dwindle !

“ The distribution of bread is nowadays considered the work of the ‘ woman,’ not the ‘ lady.’ Were it resolved to distribute bread to the poor, a ‘ woman ’ would have to accompany the ‘ lady ’ who furnished it, supposing her to take the trouble to look after its distribution at all !

“ But how noble the conception of the true ‘ lady,’ according to the derivation given above ! How appropriate the present time to call attention thereto.”

What an admirable piece of “ advice,” too, is given to ladies visiting the poor, by “ Kingsley :” “ Never,” says he, “ let any woman say of you, ‘ Yes, it is all very kind ; but she does not behave to me as she would to one of her own quality.’ Piety, earnestness, affectionateness, eloquence—all may be nullified and stultified by simply keeping a poor woman standing in her cottage while you sit, or entering her house, even at her own request, while she is at meals. She may decline to sit ; she may beg you to come in ; all the more reason for refusing utterly to obey her, because it shows that that very inward gulf between you and her still exists in her mind which it is the object of your visit to bridge over. If you know her to be in trouble, touch on that trouble as you would with a lady. Woman’s

the one of which she speaks the last and least. We should not like anyone—no, not an angel from Heaven, to come into our houses without knocking at the door, and say, ‘I hear you are very ill off, I will lend you 100%. I think you are very careless of money. I will take your accounts into my own hands;’ and still less again—‘Your son is a very bad, profligate, and disgraceful fellow, who is not fit to be mentioned; I intend to take him out of your hands and reform him myself.’ Neither do the poor like such unceremonious mercy, such untender tenderness, benevolence at horseplay, mistaking kicks for caresses. They do not like it, they will not respond to it, save in parishes which have been demoralized by indiscriminate benevolence, and where the last remaining virtues of the poor—saving, self-help, and independence—have been exchanged (as I have too often seen them exchanged) for organized begging and hypocrisy.”

There is an excellent little tract entitled the “Various ways to be Useful,”* from which the writer extracts the following, *for ladies especially to reflect over* :—

“Every one has a talent which can be used, and ought to be used, for God and souls. ‘By talent is to be understood (says an excellent writer) almost

* Stirling Tracts, No. 493.

everything that we are, or possess, or meet with; for a good or bad use may be made of every natural endowment or providential appointment. Time, health, wealth, influence, a person's situation in the church, the community, or in relative life; these, and many things that can scarcely be enumerated, are talents which the consistent Christian will improve, to the glory of God and the benefit of mankind. Indeed the improvement of talents procures an increase thereof, and gives an accession of influence, and an accumulating power of doing good.' Every situation in life affords opportunities of doing good. Usefulness is not confined to the rich, the mature in years, the heads of families or the rulers of the earth; no, the poorest can do something—the servant can do something—the child can do something. If there is but a desire to be useful, and the heart be lifted up with the cry, 'Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?' we have reason to believe God will show the inquirer which is the path of duty. While every situation affords opportunities for usefulness—how great is the honour, happiness, and privilege of being permitted to do anything for God. Where there is an ardent desire to be useful, the soul is made in some measure like to God—and according to the measure of likeness to Him, will be the desire to imitate him:—

“ Like Him, the soul, thus kindled from above,
Spreads wide her arms of universal love,
And still enlarged, as she receives the grace,
Includes creation in her close embrace.”

One plan for securing our own happiness is to seek the happiness of others. Who can read of the practice of the excellent Cotton Mather without admiration? It is said to have been his custom, when he awoke in the morning, to propose to himself the following questions :—

“ 1. What can I do this day for the welfare of my family ?

“ 2. What can I do for the good of my neighbour or mankind ?

“ 3. What can I do for the glory of God ?

“ O how blessed is the person who thus daily feels in the presence of God ; in him may be seen the reality of vital godliness, of which we read in James i. 27, ‘ Pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father, is this, to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the world.’ Idle Christians are a disgrace to their profession, nor are they happy in themselves. It is to be feared that some persons do not look out for opportunities of usefulness, while it is delightful to see the ingenuity displayed by some in discovering ways and means to be useful ; even little children

sometimes excel in such pleasing things.* It has been well said, "Christ keeps no servants to be idle. Our receiving from Him is in order to our working for Him. God divides to every man severally as He will; some are appointed for service in one kind, others in another. If those who have less or few talents, seek to do good to the best of their capacity and opportunity, they shall be accepted."

"A solemn responsibility is attached to every talent; we must each give account unto God for the use made of the endowments bestowed upon us, and the improvement that we have made of our time, wealth, influence, station, and relationship. O it will be a fearful thing to be found at last, with many talents for usefulness, and many opportunities of serving God and benefiting our fellow-men, to have lived to no purpose. *Wealth possessed*, but, like the rich fool in Luke xii., "not rich toward God"—the whole either hoarded up with miserly care, or squandered in vanity, self-indulgence, and sin. *Health enjoyed*, but not used for God—only for the gratification of what was earthly, sensual, and ruinous. *Time lengthened out*, and spent only in worldly pursuits, to make riches, or to devote to purposes useless and sinful. Ah! how little do such persons think of the terror and misery that will fall

* See a most interesting book entitled "Ministering Children."

upon them, as they stand to give account of misemployed or lost wealth, health, time, and every other talent.

“ Visit the poor with tracts ; seek to have your own district ; read the tracts you lend ; be able to converse with your readers upon the contents ; often speak to them kindly ; and be very punctual in exchanging tracts. Also try and give those messengers of mercy ; never go from home without a tract or two, to give or put into some place that may be seen by the passengers ; many precious souls have been thus brought to Christ. A dear friend of mine once said respecting small tracts or handbills, ‘ Always carry small shot with you.’ What a privilege is the cheap postage ; you may always put a small tract in a letter for the smallest postage charge. *Put tracts in hedges, doorways, windows, gates ; they can be put where the living messenger cannot find entrance.*

“ Another plan of usefulness is the giving of books, or even lending them ; and again, the writing of pious letters is very useful. To female friends there is another very useful service, that I beg to recommend, and that is making garments for the poor. I write from observation ; here you may be a great blessing ; and I would recommend every female friend always to keep material at home, over which

small garments for the children of the poor—always giving them with a kind word and a tract.”

The Rev. James Smith of Cheltenham, in one of his little tracts on “Individual duty,”* has the following remarks:—

“‘It is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptance, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners;’ and it is equally true and faithful, that he has gone to receive a kingdom, and intends to return. We have his Word and his Spirit; but, *as the man*, we have not His presence, for He is at His father’s right hand, expecting till His enemies be made His footstool. We are recognised as His, and are required not only to confess Him, but to be employed for Him. To every Christian he has given some talent; and to every one who has any talent He says, ‘*Occupy till I come.*’”

“Here is AN EVENT referred to,—the second coming of Jesus. He is now absent, but He will return. His coming is certain, for He has pledged His word; it is necessary, for the present state both of the world and the Church requires it. When He will come is unknown. He intended it to be a profound secret. That period is not made known either by himself or his servants. It is concealed for wise and holy purposes. It may be immediately, or it may not be for a long time to come. *We can fix no date, and if we are wise we shall not attempt*

it. It is one of the secret things which belong to the Lord. All we have to do is, to keep it constantly in view, act in full prospect of it, and be ready at any time for it. It will never be any thing but a mercy to the diligent, devoted, and decided servant of God. Not to know when He will come, but to be ready for His coming, is my business and yours. His coming, whenever it is, will be *sudden*. As a thief in the night the Son of man will come. When men are crying, Peace and safety,—when the virgins are slumbering and sleeping,—when some have the talent wrapped up in the napkin and put carefully away, He will come.

“ Here is A COMMAND,—‘ *Occupy till I come.*’ The Lord gives talents to the whole of His servants,—to some five, to some two, and to some one. Or he distributes his money; each receives a pound, and each is expected to turn it to account. The talents are to be employed in order to be improved and increased. He that hath, and employs his talent, improves it; and to him that hath employed and improved it shall be given, and he shall have abundance. We may know what we have, but we do not know what it may become if diligently employed. The industrious tradesman may begin with a very small capital, but by ‘tact and push’ he may become one of our merchant princes; born in a hired cottage he may end his days in a mansion of his

own; in youth obliged to borrow of others, in age able to lend to many. So it is in Christ's kingdom,—we rise by degrees, and rise only by diligence, devotedness, and zeal. Every servant has *some talent*,—not one is left without; if he has not five pounds, he has at least one, and that one is to be employed.

“ *Some have a talent to teach children to read, and to unfold to their minds the gospel of the blessed God. This is an important talent,—not so splendid as some, but perhaps quite as useful. Its place is not the napkin, but the school-room. It is to be feared, that while there are many of our schools languishing or kept small for want of teachers, there are many in our churches and congregations who have this talent, but consider themselves exempted from the command to use it. They are too ‘respectable;’ that is, they are too proud. They work too hard in the week; that is, they may spend all their energies in the world and for the flesh, and then be excused because none are left to be employed for Jesus. They are—but time would fail to notice the innumerable excuses made for idleness, pride, selfishness, and carnality in its thousand forms. If you can teach, and do not, be sure, on good grounds, that your Lord does not want you, or expect you to teach. If you did teach, but have given it up, be sure that you have your Lord’s war-*

rant, signed by His own hand, for quitting the field. Children are growing up in ignorance, young people are going to hell in droves, and you wrap your talent in a napkin, and spend your Lord's day in self-indulgence and criminal ease. This is not obeying the command, '*Occupy till I come.*'

"*Some have a talent for writing*, and they could write letters full of simple gospel, accompanied with pointed appeals, loving exhortations, and urgent entreaties. To such Jesus says, '*Occupy till I come.*' Some have a talent for conversation,—they can interest and impress others when they talk with them; they should be careful to speak of Jesus, and try and win souls for him. Some could, by visiting and persuasion, induce persons to attend public worship who neglect it; and they should endeavour to crowd the house. Some have money,—that is a talent, and God requires that we use it for him. Reader, I know not what talent you have; but you have some. It may be only one, or it may be several. Are you using your talent for Jesus? Are you filling a place in the field, performing a work in the world, or, in the words of the text, are you occupying until Jesus comes?

"Every talent brings with it responsibility. It is given us for the good of others. We are bound to use it. We must give an account of what we have done with it. Every one of us is bound by the com-

mand of Jesus. He is our lawful King. We are His subjects, whom He has redeemed by His blood from a fearful doom that we may do His will, glorify His name on earth, and then reign with Him in heaven. We are bound to use our talents,—the *whole* of them,—and to use them industriously, hopefully, and because our Lord requires us to do so, and will soon come, demand an account, and reward every one of us according to his works. Authority, his authority,—binds us, but gratitude should constrain us to do all we can for His glory and praise. Reader, what has Jesus done for thee? Dost thou know? What art thou doing for Jesus? Are you ashamed to say? What might you do? What has Jesus promised you? Can you guess? Nay, it is so great and glorious, that it has not entered into the heart of man to conceive. Can you expect so much from Him, and yet manifest so little love, and be satisfied to do so little for Him? Take down the napkin, unwrap the talent, put the money into the bank, and get the interest ready against the Master comes.”

But the privileged classes of this country, both male and female, evidently inherit the spirit of Pharaoh of old, for the cry with us now, is as with him then, “Ye are idle, ye are idle; go therefore now and work, for there shall no redress, neither help be given you; yet shall ye keep yourselves up to the mark—

or if ye fall through we will have you put into Prisons or Penitentiaries.”

“ Ah ! little think the gay licentious proud,
Whom pleasure, power, and affluence surround ;
They who their thoughtless hours in giddy mirth,
And wanton, often cruel, riot, waste ;
Ah ! little think they, while they dance along,
How many feel, this very moment, *death*,
And all the sad variety of pain.
How many sink in the devouring flood,
Or more devouring flame.
How many pine in want, ...
*Shut from the common air and common use
Of their own limbs.* How many drink the cup
Of baleful grief, or eat the bitter bread
Of misery. Sore pierced by wintry winds,
How many shrink into the sordid hut
Of cheerless poverty. How many shake
With all the fiercer tortures of the mind ;
Unbounded passion, madness, guilt, remorse :
Whence tumbled headlong from the height of life,
They furnish matter for the tragic muse.”

CHAPTER VII.

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“Hearken unto Me, ye that know righteousness,
The people in whose heart is My law ;
Fear ye not the reproach of men,
Neither be ye afraid of their revilings.”

To trace the origin of woman's misery and oppression, is beyond the reach of learning's deepest research. Why she was doomed to be bought, sold, tortured, oppressed, and made to suffer every conceivable evil, staggers conjecture. Burnt alive with the dead corpse of her lord—buried alive when his dead carcase was consigned to the grave—put to death for his crimes—sold for his ransom, or to pay his debts—and even at one period, a doubt existing as to whether she possessed a soul! A *Christian Council* thought fit to decide the point, in the year 670, many among the ancient Jews having held to the contrary! Even at this day in civilized nations, she is shut up in perpetual seclusion, or crippled in

infancy to keep her from going abroad, or reared up purposely to be sold as a slave. In fact, time would fail to unfold the horrors arising out of false creeds, and the cruelties resulting therefrom. But, that Christianity so called, should promote and perpetuate the injustice, is inconceivable. "The doctrine of Devils, forbidding to marry," was indeed a most subtle wile of Satan, subversive of social rights, and destructive of morals—enforcing seclusion, isolation, and unprofitable monotony, at the command of a corrupted Church—a blight upon mankind, and a curse to woman.

It may not be, however, uninteresting to adduce a few of the strange opinions entertained about women by the ancients of different lands. Thus a clever writer in a singular work entitled "*Mahomet Legislateur Des femmes*," tells us "that from all time the East was the country where women lived in the lowest state of degradation, they were simply counted among the objects created for the use and convenience of man, without suspecting even that they possessed in themselves a life—a moral value. Orientals have carried their contempt for the nature of women to an extreme; for in the act of reproduction, they considered woman simply as a field, man as the seed. He, according to them, was the sole author of birth, the mother only furnishing to the child place and nourishment, as the soil furnishes them to the grain

thrown in. These barbarous prejudices were so generally disseminated and so strongly rooted in the morals of the people, that even their Legislators and Moralists, men otherwise of great wisdom, so far from opposing them, even consecrated them in their Codes, their laws and their writings. Thus Manou, the great Prophet-Legislator of the Indians, finds only in women, a love of their bed, their seat, and their dress, concupiscence, anger, bad inclinations, the desire to do evil, perversity, infidelity, and want of affection." (Manavâ-dharma-sâstra, ou le livre de la loi de Manou), to which he adds, "it is in the nature of the female sex to seek here below to corrupt men, and to subject them to the yoke of love and of the passions. Hence a woman ought never to do anything of her own proper will, not even in her own house. During childhood, she ought to depend upon her father; in youth, on her husband; her husband being dead, on her sons; if she have no sons, on the nearest relatives of her husband; in default of them, if she have no paternal relatives, on the sovereign: a woman should never govern herself after her own fancy. Though her husband's conduct be blameable, though he give himself up to other loves and be void of good qualities, a virtuous woman ought constantly to revere him as God."

Zoroaster, the Persian legislator, although much

more favourable to women, does not the less leave them in a state of complete subjection and of moral degradation. According to the Zend-Avesta, "the first virtue in woman, as the first in religion, ought also to be passive obedience to the husband, whom she ought to respect as God himself: she was even enjoined to present herself before him in the morning, standing, her hands under her armpits, to address to him her prayer, and to say to him nine times: 'What do you wish me to do?' The woman thus subjected to the yoke of the man and deprived of all personal will, has not the right to dispose of herself in any case, and the bride ought always to have some one who gives his adhesion to the marriage, and who replies for her to the Magistrate's questions, as with us, in the ceremony of baptism, the Godfather replies for the new-born infant."

Confucius, the celebrated philosopher of China, whose precepts have become laws to that country, and form the basis of Chinese morals and philosophy, has not a better opinion of the nature of women.

"Woman is to him only a wicked creature, intractable, and full of vices. He observes that women and slaves are very difficult to govern; that if they are treated with affection, they cease to be submissive; and if they are regarded with indifference, they complain of it. Other Chinese Philoso-

phers and Moralists explain very clearly the reason of their contempt for the nature of woman. 'When one is born with the body of a woman,' say they, 'it is a misfortune which has been drawn upon one's self through the faults of a past life, and a wicked woman cannot even obtain a passage into the body of a woman, when she returns to the earth through a fresh metempsychosis.' "

"Moses yields but little to the legislators above cited as concerns the servile subordination and moral inferiority of women. Among the Hebrews there must have weighed a great moral depreciation upon woman, on account of the sacred tradition which represents her as the author of the forfeiture of man; for, according to Genesis, it is the Almighty Himself, who, in chasing the first couple out of Paradise, put a difference between the man and the woman, in condemning the latter to be subordinate to the former (Gen. iii. 16). It is not, therefore, astonishing, that the Hebrews, desiring to make the woman expiate her original fault towards man, have largely used the right of masters, accorded to them by The Eternal.* Nor need we be astonished

* The writer omits the indemnity to woman, in the Great Salvation she was the medium of bringing into this world (Gen. iii. 15; Matt. i. 20—24; Luke i. 28, 31—34, 46—50), and therefore surely now the ban might be supposed to be for ever taken off her? for as through one woman came condemnation, so through another came salvation (Rom. v. 12,

that Moses, like Manou and Zoroaster, established, that the impurity of the woman, who brought a daughter to light, and consequently gave to the world a new cause of sin, should be longer than that of the woman who was confined of a male child. Moses assigns fourteen days' separation, and then sixty-six days' of purification to the first, and seven days' separation, and then only thirty-three days' purification to the second (Lev. xii. 1—6). This distinction, which physiological observations nowise justify, was alone attached to the idea of the physical and moral degradation of woman relative to man, which characterises mostly all the people of the East."

But a writer on woman has remarked, that the tradition of one of their Rabbis was, that God deemed it necessary to create a second Eve to solace Adam, not made from another of his ribs, but from common earth like himself. The induction drawn

18—19, 21). Strange, too, that to Buddha is given by his followers, a virgin as mother; and the Chinese believe that Fo-Hi, their most ancient legislator, was fructified by the Spirit of God. The Arabs even adored Lat Ozza, and Menat, whom they believed to be the daughters of God, notwithstanding their estimation of their own women. Hence Mahomed said of them, "They invoke female divinities rather than God, they attribute daughters unto God, but desire them not for themselves." (Al Koran, chap. xvi.)

by this writer is, that the first Eve was probably found too spiritual for his earthly wants.

In every case we may see in this notion a germ of that strange combination of the ideal and the real in the mind of man, which would seem to place woman before him as a mystic something, unattainable, beyond his imagination,—floating like an angel of light through his dreamy fancies—the attainable of the earth earthy, and most faulty. Few men but have their Eve and their ‘Lilith’—their type of heavenly beauty reposing in Paradise, and their actual every-day woman living more for them than for herself.

The probability is, that woman did acquire a double nature through her fall; for whilst Adam fell through that which was of the earthy part of himself, Eve fell through the aspiration to be, and to raise her husband to be, ‘as gods.’ And hence, perhaps, *that* something in woman, which man’s grosser nature cannot enter into. Did we ever hear of one of the lords of the creation taking to drink, or committing suicide, or going heavily all their days, because they had lost their innocence, or become impure? No—they leave that to women to do,—for themselves, *and for them*,—wipe their mouths complacently, and say, ‘I have done no harm in particular, everyone does the same.’

The ‘Talmud, which is a sort of complement to

the laws of Moses, shows the interdiction which weighed upon Jewesses in the matter of religion. It is there seen that they were excluded from the ceremonies of worship, and that prayer was not obligatory upon them. The entrance to the temple was also positively forbidden them. 'He who teaches his daughter the sacred laws,' it says, 'is as guilty as if he taught her obscenities.' (Maimonides' 'Study of the Law.')

* Certainly it would be difficult to carry farther, contempt for the sex, and to express more clearly the inferiority of her nature, than the four greatest legislators of the East have done; and if the character of woman is thus depreciated in countries called the cradles of civilization, and by the men who were at the head of that civilization, what judgment must the other people of Asia, who were plunged in the darkness of savage life, have formed—the Arabs, for example? In fact, we learn from those authors who have treated this subject, that woman was looked upon by them as a simple beast of burden, stripped of all rights, of all will,

* The Jews in their prayers "thank God that they are not women." The Jewesses "thank God that they are what they are." In all the still old-fashioned synagogues, the women may be seen chatting during the entire time of service. The writer once asked an English Jewess why she had not a book, or did not listen. Her reply was, that being in Hebrew, they were not taught it, and could not, therefore, understand the service.

and to whom was refused even the sweet consolation of a future life. The idolatrous Arabs believed in a future state for man ; and the Camel, which they left to perish on the tomb of its master, attests that they believed in a general resurrection (Abul-Pharajius, de Origine et Moribus Arabum ; Gagnier vie de Mahomet) : but they denied to woman a soul, and restricted her existence to life terrestrial. (Indeed, there are still in our days *Christian* sects, who, not being able to debarrass themselves of their ancient prejudices, deny to woman an immortal soul.) The little that Arabs cared for women, is best proved to us by the circumstance of their regarding the birth of a girl as a great misfortune, and a bad omen, and her death as a favour or a blessing from Heaven. They had even the barbarous custom of interring these innocent creatures alive, without any scruple, whenever they feared that their support would occasion them some inconvenience.

Even in the Epistles of Saint Paul we read (1 Cor. xi. 3, 7, 8, 9, 10 ; Eph. v. 22, 23, 24,) that it was only man that was created after the image of GOD, it is only he who is the glory of the Creator ; the woman, a secondary creation for the use and convenience of man, is consequently only the glory of the man, who is as superior to her as is the Saviour to all men. We thus see that the value accorded to women is far short of that accorded to

men, and that it establishes most positively the moral inferiority of their nature. It is not then astonishing that a Bishop, in the Council of Macon, in the year 670, (47 years after the death of Mahomed, which took place in 632), *put the question, whether women belonged to the human species.* It is true that the Council decided in the affirmative, *by referring to the text in Genesis*, but this fact proves to us how depreciated in those days was the nature of women, even amongst Christians of the West. The Arab-prophet Mahomed, enforced with all the authority of a legislator, of a moralist, and of a pontiff, the moral equality of the man and the woman. Under every circumstance we see him occupying himself, with the greatest solicitude, for the reinstating of the oppressed sex, never forgetting in his precepts to place the woman by the side of the man, whilst all other prophet-legislators appear only to have had the happiness of their own sex in view. Yet, the Arab-prophet accorded to man a certain superiority, thus : ‘ Men are superior to women on account of the qualities by which GOD has elevated those above these, and because men employ their good to endow women. Men or women who practise good works, and who are at the same time believers, will enter into Paradise and will not be defrauded of the least part of their recompense.

“ Whoever shall have done evil, will only receive

evil in return; but whoever shall have done good,* (whether it be man or woman), and who have been believers, will be among the number of the elect who shall enter Paradise, and who shall enjoy all its benefits without measure. Those men and women who abandon themselves entirely to God, those men and women who believe, pious persons of both sexes, just persons of both sexes, persons of both sexes who support all with patience, the humble of both sexes, men and women who give alms, the persons of both sexes who fast, chaste persons of both sexes, men and women who think upon God at every moment, will all obtain His pardon, and a generous recompense. Enter into Paradise you, and your companions.” And many other similar passages.

The *sanites* or orthodox Mahomedans have also, in commenting upon certain verses of the Koran, on the equality of men and women before the Tribunals—*decreed it to be equal*. They allow to the latter, even the right to exercise the magistracy in any question of propriety, only not in any case of punishment and taxation, and this doubtless, because the greater sensibility of women might shackle them in the severe exercise of justice.

Mahomed also permitted women to go to the mosques, but not whilst the men were there; “women may go to the mosques, but their houses are more

suitable ;” and this is only in accordance with the general opinion of Orientals, that the two sexes ought never to be indiscriminately mixed.*

He commanded them not only to read the Koran, but to learn some of its verses by rote, and especially enjoined upon them chastity, as the principal source of purity of heart, and nobility of soul, creating in us the very essence of virtue, rendering woman modest and reserved, in order to make us at the same time love and respect them. Commentators are not agreed upon the question whether women shall inhabit in Paradise the same place as men. Yet Mahomed, who enters into all the details of this abode of bliss, would not have failed to announce to the faithful the separation of the sexes, if such had been his idea. It would rather appear, from all that he has said, that the women should be mingled with the men, and that even those houris, virgins of a beauty eternally fresh, were only in the idea of the prophet,

* Knowing as we do, what profanities take place in *protestant* as well as Roman Catholic places of worship, can we condemn this? The Jews, to this day, separate the sexes during worship; and so does that ancient, Apostolic Church—one of the purest and most tried with living churches of any that we have—the Moravian, or church of the United Brethren. And indeed St. Paul also liked women to be more at home than out, (Titus ii. 4, 5; 1 Timothy, v. 13, 14.) and to be rather silent and learning at home, than teaching abroad, (1 Timothy, ii. 8, 13; 1 Cor., xiv. 34, 35.)

the women of here-below, clothed upon with all the charms of celestial life, or, as he expresses it, '*created into a new creation.*'

This supposition is founded upon many texts which promise to believers a reunion above with their families, of which their wives necessarily form a part.

“ ‘Those who fear the Lord, dread an ill account, and persevere out of a sincere desire to please their LORD, &c., the reward of these shall be Paradise, which they shall enter—their fathers, and their wives, and their posterity Whoso worketh righteousness, whether he be male or female, and is a true believer, he will surely raise to a happy life GOD will lead the true believer of both sexes into gardens, beneath which rivers flow, to dwell therein for ever. He will punish the hypocritical men and the hypocritical women, and the idolaters and the idolatresses. On a certain day they shall see the true believers of both sexes ; their light shall run before them, and on their right hands,’ (taken, doubtless, from Revelations, chapters iv. 5, v. 1, xii. 16 ; for in the note to this verse, it says, ‘one light leading them the right way to Paradise, the other proceeding from the book wherein their actions are recorded which they hold in their right hand,’) ‘and it shall be said unto them, good tidings unto you this day : gardens

through which rivers flow, ye shall remain therein for ever. On that day the hypocritical men and the hypocritical women shall say unto those who believe, Stay for us, that we may borrow some of your light; it shall be answered, Return back into the world and seek light. And a high wall shall be set betwixt them, wherein shall be a gate, within shall be mercy, and without it, and against the same, the torment of hell;’ (evidently a mixture of the Parable of the ten Virgins, and of the rich man and Lazarus), Sale’s AlKoran, chapters 3, 4, 13, 16, 36, 40, 48, 57. When such passages are compared with chapter 24th—
 ‘Marry those who are single among you, and such as are honest of your men-servants and your maid-servants; if they be poor, God will enrich them of his abundance, for God is bounteous and wise. *And let those who find not a match, keep themselves from fornication, until GOD shall endow them of his abundance. And compel not your maid-servants to prostitute themselves if they be willing to live chastely,*’ (blush, oh! ye christian men, and legislators, when ye read this, and know how many of our christian maid-servants are ‘*compelled*’ by their own masters, and then can have no redress, neither they nor their families!) ‘but if compelled thereto, verily God will be merciful and gracious to such women after their compulsion’—and with chapter 56, describing Paradise; ‘They shall not hear therein any

vain discourse, or any charge of sin;’ whilst this world’s enjoyments are thus condemned—‘know that this present life is only a toy, a vain amusement; and worldly pomp, and the affectation of glory among you, and the multiplying of riches and children, are as the plants nourished by the rain, the springing-up whereof delighteth the husbandmen; afterward they wither, so that thou seest the same turned yellow, and at length they become dry stubble.’ And in the life to come will be a severe punishment for those who covet worldly grandeur; ‘and pardon from God and favour for those who renounce it, for this present life is no other than a deceitful provision, but no soul knoweth the complete satisfaction which is secretly prepared for the upright.’ Does it then seem unreasonable to understand, *metaphorically*, the much objected to Mahomedan Paradise of Houris, of whom it is written in the 56th chapter: ‘We have created the damsels of Paradise by a peculiar creation, and we have made them Virgins, *beloved by their husbands, of equal age with them, for the delight of the companions of the right hand,*’ (evidently taken from, ‘And then shall He say to those on His right hand.’) Upon the above verse, the note is, ‘females subjected to none of those inconveniences which are natural to the sex. Some understand this of the beatified women; who, though they die old and ugly, shall yet be restored

to their youth and beauty in Paradise ; for one circumstance relating to these beatified females, conformable to what Mahomed had asserted of the men he acquainted his followers with, in the answer he returned to an old woman, who, desiring him to intercede with God, that she might be admitted into Paradise, he told her that no old woman would enter that place ; which setting the poor woman a crying, he explained himself by saying God would then make her young again.' (Gaznier, note in Abulfedæ, vit. Moh. p. 145.) Though the writer does not remember to have met with any *christian* speculations on the *how* or *what* of meetings in Heaven, yet, we abound in prose and poetic aspirations for such reunions—and it is not to be supposed that the fond mother would wish or expect to see her sickly, deformed, or idiot child, other *there*, than as Mahomed in the same 56th chapter, draws *his*, 'Youths, which shall continue in their bloom for ever.' Nor is it probable that an aged christian husband pictures to himself a—perhaps through sickness, trouble, or great age—drivelling, wrinkled, mumbling old woman, as the loved partner he hopes to rejoin ; far more probably, in connexion with such thoughts, there rises most prominently before his mind's eye, the blooming bride of his youth, or at least a something radiantly released from all 'the ill's flesh is

heir to ;' and so also, the perhaps suddenly stricken down parent, would be still by his loving child, imaged to herself through the eye of the heart—and be therefore ~~glad~~ glad in that metaphysical beauty, with which we are most of us, even in this imperfect state, but too apt to invest, rather the creations of our own wishes than their actual object. As regards the plural number spoken of in the Koran, that need revolt no one, for will there not be a plural number also to those who have wedded more than one wife, *and some even four*? And how of the widows and widowers who have intermarried? clearly proving to us surely, how vague and foolish all such prying conjectures, and sentimental or sensual fancies or desires must be, whether Mahomedan or Christian.

“There exists in general a very false idea relative to the Paradise of the Mahomedans; it is supposed to be filled with terrestrial voluptuousness, and purely sensual enjoyment, whereas those Mahomedans, gifted with some knowledge, explain it entirely in a contrary sense. ‘All those voluptuous sensualities of the Paradise of Mahomed,’ says Hye in his notes on the liturgy of the Turks, ‘are held as purely allegorical by the most rational of the Turks, and simply adapted to the weak compass of the human mind, like all those portions of our own

sacred writings, where necessarily the same rule was had recourse to.' *

D'Herbelot, in his *Bibliothèque Orientale*, is entirely of the same opinion, in saying, that Mahomedans place true happiness in communion with God, and celestial joy in the enjoyment of the light of His countenance, the only thing, say they, which constitutes Paradise wherever it is found. Echellensis, in his collection of Mahomedan sayings, gives us the following words of an Arab author. 'The reasoning soul who has felt imbued with its perfections, viz: those of wisdom, temperance, power and justice, will no sooner have left the body which retained it, than it will experience in itself infinite delights and immense enjoyment, and will become like those angels who approach most to the divinity. Insomuch, that, according to the measure of the perfections that it may have possessed, it will find itself more or less near to God Himself, who is the original of truth and perfection.' " (Synopsis Propos, sapient philosoph.* Arabum, p. 75.) And this is the *Buddhist* faith too—that metempsychosis of gradation into perfection of which the climax is, absorption into the divinity. Fine thought truly! however weakly worked out, "for we shall be one with Him, even as He is one with the Father." John xvii.

* Where can we find this allusion more correct than in the Song of Solomon?

“It cannot be denied,” continues our author, “that Mahomed introduced an immense amelioration in the position and the fate of women ; that he was in fact the Liberator, the Saviour of women of the East, as Christ was of those of the West.”*

Yet it is remarkable that in several countries of the North, women enjoyed, long before Christianity, *a fate much more worthy of them than they do even in our days, in any country.* “The Germans,” says Tacitus, “think that there is something sacred and prophetic in women ; therefore, they neither despise their counsels nor neglect their remarks.” (De Mor. Germ., v. 111.) They even went so far as to believe that the Divinity, from time to time, became incarnate in some of the women of their nation, whom they then adored in earnest. In Gaul a gene-

* Yet he affirmed that, “when he took a view of Paradise, he saw the majority of its inhabitants to be the poor, and *when he looked down into hell, he saw the greater part of the wretches confined there to be women!*” And who can doubt the exactness of such a vision as regards the latter part when we look around us and behold the masses of womankind everywhere about us, and in every civilized nation, fitted for what? the purity and peaceful enjoyment of that place, “where they neither marry nor are given in marriage—and where there shall in no wise enter anything that defileth, neither whatsoever worketh abomination, or maketh a lie?” and “is there not a (perpetual) lie in *their* right hands?” Of course the other sex who drive them to it *here*, will share it with them *there*.

ral council, composed of women taken from each Canton, had to deliberate upon peace and war, and to judge all differences. In a treaty made with Hannibal, it was stipulated that if a Gaul committed any offence against a Carthaginian, the offender was to appear before this Tribunal. (Plut. de Vixt. Mulier. Thierry Hist. des Gaules, ii. 1.) Later, in the time of Julius Cæsar, foreign influences contributed to change the condition of women in Gaul, who, since then, have found themselves in great subjection. (De Bell. Gall. i. 6. 19.)

Plato, the worthy pupil of Socrates, had a very high and very noble idea of women. In his 5th Book of the Republic, he wishes that women might not only be subjected to the same education, but also to the same offices as men, according to their aptitude, and bearing in mind their physical inferiority.

“But, now-a-days, women are only taught to shine through the beauty of their bodies, or, at the most, by a frivolous and superficial wit; they have besides no aim but that of seeking to set off their physical attractions, or to supply them through the toilette: which disposes rich women to effeminacy, vanity, and egotism, and turns those in the sphere of mediocrity from the care of their house and the education of their children; and which also makes men impute to the nature of women a weakness of character and a moral inferiority, which really only belongs

to the few means accorded them of acquiring and displaying a greater amount of moral energy. But a more solid course of instruction, which would impress upon the character of women a more serious tendency, and would leave her no leisure to bestow upon inferior and often dangerous occupations. She would no longer be tormented by that horrible weariness (*ennui*) which decimates the great world; she would no longer need *to kill time*; for then she could employ it usefully; not only profitably towards her family, but towards the whole human race; she would exercise upon man the double influence of beauty without coquetry, and an enlightened reason; the one would tell less upon the senses *and passing* desire of man; the other would be less cold and more amiable: the relations of the two sexes would become less material; and so far from their mutual attributes becoming perverted, or changing their objects, they would become only more established and more sacred, because they would have acquired more extension and more importance.

Now let us hear an English authority upon the subject of English women, Sir E. L. B. Lytton, that almost as fine scrutinizer into the depths of woman's being, and the springs of her often but too strange ways, as the French, those masters in the art, confessedly are.

In his "England and the English" we find the

following :—“ A notorious characteristic of English society is the universal marketting of our unmarried women ; a marketting peculiar to ourselves in Europe, and only rivalled by the slave-merchants of the East. We are a matchmaking nation ; the lively novels of Mrs. Gore have given a just and unexaggerated picture of the intrigues, the manœuvres, the plotting, and the counter-plotting, that make the staple of matronly ambition. We boast that in our country young people, not being affianced to each other by their parents, there are more marriages in which the heart is engaged than abroad. Very possibly ; but in good society the heart is remarkably prudent, and seldom falls violently in love without a sufficient settlement ; where the heart is, *there* will the *treasure* be also ! Our young men possessing rather passion than sentiment, form those *liaisons* which are the substitute of love ; they may say with Quin to the fair glove-maker, ‘ Madam, I never make love, I always buy it *ready made* !’ We never go into a ball-room without feeling that we breathe the air of diplomacy. How many of those gentle Chaperons would shame even the wisdom of a Talleyrand. What open faces and secret hearts ! What schemes and ambushes in every word ! If we look back to that early period in the history of our manners, when with us, as it is still in France, parents betrothed their Children, and, instead of

bringing them to public sale, effected a private compact of exchange, we shall be surprised to find that marriages *were not less happy, nor women less domestic* than at present. The custom of open matchmaking is productive of many consequences not sufficiently noticed; in the first place it encourages the spirit of insincerity among all women—‘mothers and daughters’—a spirit that consists in perpetual scheming, and perpetual hypocrisy; it lowers the chivalric estimate of women, and damps with eternal suspicion the youthful tendency to lofty and honest love. In the next place it tends to render the tone of society dull, low, and unintellectual; it is not talent, it is not virtue, it is not even the grace and fascination of manner that are sought by the fair dispensers of social reputation: no, it is the title and the rent-roll.

“You do not lavish your invitations on the most agreeable member of a family, but on the richest. The elder son is the great attraction; nay, the more agreeable the man be, if poor and unmarried, the more dangerous he is considered; you may admit him to acquaintanceship, but you jealously bar him from intimacy. Thus society is crowded with the insipid, and beset with the insincere. The women that give the tone to society, take the tone from their favourites. The rich young man is to be flattered in order that he may be won; to flatter him you

seem to approve his pursuits, you talk to him of balls and races ; you fear to alarm him by appearing his intellectual superior ; you dread lest he should think you a blue ; you trust to beauty and a graceful folly to allure him, and you harmonize *your* mind into ‘gentle dulness,’ that it may not jar upon his own. The ambition of women absorbed in these petty intrigues, and debased to this paltry level, possesses but little sympathy with the great objects of a masculine and noble intellect. They have in general a frigid conception of public virtue ; they affect not to understand politics, and measure a man’s genius by his success *in getting on*. With the women of ancient times, a patriot was an object of admiration ; with the women of ours he is an object of horror.

..... The *clique* of fine ladies and the *clique* of dandies still exist ; and these are the donors of social reputation ; we may say of them, as the Irishman said of the thieves, ‘They are mighty generous with what does not belong to them ;’ being without character themselves, we may judge of the merits which induce them to give a character to others.”

Few *female* writers have dared to touch upon the subject of woman, her privations, her sufferings and her wrongs. One or two alone, from time to time, have ventured to put forth a few thoughts upon the trammels custom has imposed upon “the sex.” And one of the boldest of these, *in her own life*,

unhappily, nullified whatever of force or of truth there might have been found in her, as a whole, very crude and indigested, “Vindication of the Rights of Women.” We allude to Mary Wollstonecraft. Godwin, the somewhat celebrated author of “Caleb Williams,” &c., in his rather strange and contradictory eulogy of her, and of this work (vide his Memoir, 1798), alludes to it, “as a composition which, though eminently deficient in method and arrangement, and a very unequal performance when the importance of its doctrines was considered, and the eminence of genius which it displayed, seemed not very improbable would be read as long as the English language endured.” Yet in 1834, when it fell into the writer’s hands, only thirty-six years after, the work had almost gone out of print; most had never heard of it, and the few who read it, treated it more with contempt than admiration.

“Dying at the early age of thirty-nine, after forming several *liaisons*—the last, with Godwin, terminating, a few months before her death, in marriage—and in their course, through disappointed affections, strong feelings, and an ill-regulated mind, with no basis of religious principle (for at twenty-eight she threw off all its restraints and obligations),—twice attempting self-destruction, and twice taking flight to other lands, to seek there forgetfulness; her foolish and wicked career was, humanly speaking, curtailed

through the wilful carrying out of one of her own independent theories, viz.: that nature unassisted was in herself sufficient to bring a woman through all the exigencies of childbirth; and her intention was to have been down to dinner the next day.

The case of this female writer clearly illustrated that woman, however capable of literary effort, or of independent action, or of both combined, *cannot stand alone*, except on the strong basis of religious principles. This Mary Wollstonecraft, in the course of three years, between the ages of twenty-eight and thirty, wrote several works of fiction, compiled a series of extracts in prose and verse upon the model of "Enfield's Thinker," wrote in the Analytical Review, translated eight works out of German and French into English, besides Necker's "On the Importance of Religious Principles;" an abridgment of "Lavater's Physiognomy," and Salzman's "Elements of Morality"—he returned the compliment by translating her "Rights of Women" into German—when thirty-one she wrote an answer to Burke's "Reflections on the French Revolution;" and the year before her death she was engaged in writing the "*Wrongs of Women*," but it never appears to have seen the light; Godwin having probably destroyed it, as he did *a comedy* (!) which turned upon her own story. Alas! poor Lady, her's was that,—

“ Learning, cobweb of the brain,
 Profane, erroneous, and vain,
 A trade of knowledge as replete
 As others are with fraud and cheat ;
 An art t’encumber gifts and wit,
And render both for nothing fit.”

For she possessed not

“ What nothing earthly gives, or can destroy,
 The soul’s calm sunshine and the heartfelt joy—”

the

“ Prize of virtue.”

And, as a quaint writer hath it, “ No beauty leaves such an impression, strikes so deep, or links the souls of men (a true lover’s knot), closer than virtue. No painter, no engraver, no carver, can express virtue’s lustre, or those admirable rayes that come from it, those enchanting rayes that enamour posterity, those everlasting rayes that continue to the world’s end, ‘*Many,*’ saith Phavorinus, ‘*that loved and admired Alcibiades in his youth, knew not, cared not, for Alcibiades a man ; nunc intuentes querebant Alcibiadem :*’ but the beauty of Socrates is still the same ; virtue’s lustre never fades, is ever fresh and green, *semper viva* to all succeeding ages, and a most attractive loadstone to draw and combine such as are present.” Would that all parents, guardians, and teachers, impressed this well upon the young !

“ The following just remarks of a learned French

philosopher,* are also most worthy of deep attention, as relative not only to this point, but to the entire scope of our work, viz., *the amelioration of our species, of our habits, and of our social usages.*

“ Ainsi, les principes de la morale s’établissent sur la base la plus ferme, leur enchaînement ; et leur applications se démontrent avec le dernier degré d’évidence : les avantages qui résultent, non seulement pour les sociétés tout entières, *mais* encore pour chacune de leurs membres, de son respect et de sa soumission aux règles de conduite qui dérivent de ses mêmes principes ; peuvent se prouver en quelque sorte mathématiquement. Mais il ne suffit pas que les lumières de la sagesse éclairent l’homme ; c’est par ses habitudes qu’il est gouverné ; il importe donc sur-tout de lui faire prendre de bonnes habitudes. La sévérité des maximes, auxquelles on a voulu l’assujétir dès l’enfance, sans motif valable, les lui fait bientôt rejeter, quand il devient son propre guide. Mais celles que sa raison avoue prennent d’autant plus d’empire sur lui, qu’il les discute davantage ; et leur utilité, pour son bonheur, lui paraît d’autant plus démontrée, qu’il les a pratiquées plus longtemps. *Telle est la puissance, et tels sont les fruits de la seule bonne education.*

“ Il importe d’autant plus de rattacher la morale

* Cabanis.

à ses motifs réels, qu'elle est d'une nécessité plus générale et plus journalière, et que toute autre méthode est incapable de lui donner une entière solidité. Les esprits sages auront toujours de ségards pour les opinions accidentelles qui servent à rendre un autre homme meilleur ou plus heureux, mais, sans discuter ici les avantages ou les inconveniens d'aucune de ces opinions, il est évident qu'on ne peut pas toujours, compter sur leur appui. Indépendamment de leur diversité qui rend leur action très incertaine et très variable, il est beaucoup d'esprits qui leur sont fermés sans espoir. Un plus grand nombre passent de l'une à l'autre plusieurs fois dans la vie, ou même finissent par les toutes rejeter indistinctement. Mais quoi qu'il en soit, rien n'est sans doute plus indispensable que d'affermir la morale de ceux qui les rejettent, et d'empêcher que ceux qui cessent de croire à leur vérité, pensent dès lors pouvoir fouler impunément aux pieds, comme chimériques, toutes les vertus dont elles étaient pour eux le soutien. Heureusement, la culture de bon sens, et les bonnes habitudes, suffisent pour cela. *Quoiqu'égaré trop souvent par des impostures, l'homme est fait pour la vérité, dont la recherche est son besoin le plus constant, et dont la decouverte le pénètre de la plus douce et de la plus profonde satisfaction. Quoique trop souvent agité par des passions aveugles et funestes, l'homme est également né pour la vertu : la vertu seule*

peut le mettre en harmonie avec la société. Sans elle, son cœur est toujours dévoré de sentimens hostiles ; sa vie est un orage, et le monde n'offre à ses yeux que des ennemis. L'habitude des actions utiles aux hommes, des sentimens bienveillans et généreux, perpétue au contraire, dans l'âme, ces vives émotions de l'humanité que personne peut être n'est assez malheureux pour n'avoir pas éprouvées quelquefois. En liant toutes ses affections aux destinées présentes et futures de ses semblables, le sage n'agrandit pas seulement sans limites son étroite et passagère existence ; il la soustrait encore, en quelque sorte, à l'empire de la fortune ; et dans cet asile élevé, d'où sa tendre compassion déplore les erreurs des hommes, source presque unique de tous leurs maux, son bonheur se compose des sentimens les plus exquis ; les vrais biens de la vie humaine lui sont réservés.

“ Les idées relatives a la morale publique sont indubitablement celles qui, par la manière dont elles entrent dans les têtes et reçoivent leur application, peuvent produire les plus grands effets, soit avantageux, soit funestes : il faut donc porter la plus grande sévérité de methode, et dans les recherches dont elles sont l'objet, et dans leur exposition. C'est principalement, pour elles, qu'il devient essentiel de connaître, jusques dans leur élémens les plus déliés le mécanisme des procédés de l'intelligence, celui des passions, et toutes les circonstances

particulières qui peuvent altérer ou modifier leurs mouvemens.

“ Mais les principes de la morale privée, et de l'éducation individuelle, n'ont pas moins besoin de cette même lumière : ils reposent, en effet, sur la même base. Ce qui les éclaire et aussi ce qui peut le plus les fortifier.

“ Si l'aspect des désordres qui règnent dans le monde, corrompt ou afflige les hommes légers et superficiels, une expérience plus réfléchie et plus saine prouve aux esprits attentifs *que les bien les plus précieux de la vie ne s'obtiennent que par la pratique de la morale.* Le véritable bonheur est nécessairement le partage exclusif de la véritable vertu,* c'est-à-dire, de la vertu dirigée par la sagesse ; *car éclairer sa conscience n'est pas moins un besoin qu'un devoir ;* et sans le flambeau de la raison, non-seulement la vertu peut laisser tomber les hommes les plus excellens dans tous les degrés de l'infortune ; elle peut encore devenir elle même la source des plus funestes erreurs.

“ Par une heureuse nécessité, *l'intérêt de chaque individu ne saurait jamais être véritablement séparé de l'intérêt des autres hommes : les efforts qu'il peut vouloir tenter pour cela sont des actes d'hostilité*

* Sans doute l'homme vertueux peut être malheureux ; mais il serait alors bien plus malheureux encore sans le secours de la vertu.

*générale qui retombent inévitablement, tôt ou tard, sur leur auteur.**

“ Mais c’est sur tout en remontant à la nature de l’homme ; c’est en étudiant les lois de son organisation et les phénomènes directs de sa sensibilité, qu’on voit clairement combien la morale est une partie essentielle de ses besoins. On reconnaît bientôt que le seul côté par lequel ses jouissances puissent être indéfiniment étendues, est celui de ses rapports avec ses semblables ; que son existence s’agrandit à mesure qu’il s’associe à leur affection et leur fait partager celles dont il est animé. C’est en considérant à leur source les passions même qui l’égarent, le plus loin de son but, qu’on se convainc à chaque instant davantage, que pour le rendre meilleur il suffit déclairer sa raison, et qu’être honnête homme est le premier et le plus indispensable caractère du bon sens.”

One lady writer has recently said, “ How is it that so much misery is suffered by women through this part of their nature ? (love). One would expect great care to be bestowed upon its development, yet is it not true, that the most powerful passion of a woman’s being is thought of and spoken of only by stealth ? It is thought *indelicate* to refer to love, and young women are left to gather their only notions of it from the sickly trash that fills the shelves of the

* Si les fripons, disait le sage Franklin, pourraient connaître tous les avantages attachés à l’habitude des vertus, *ils seraient honnêtes gens par friponnerie.*

circulating libraries. This strong and absorbing feeling, the *besoin d'aimer*, which Nature has for wise purposes made so strong in woman, is left to grow up undirected, and very often without any guidance or education whatever. Parents and Educators repudiate it, as forming no part of education, and leave it to be misdirected and perverted by the novelist and romancist. "Strange," says Mrs. Jamieson, "strange, and passing strange, that the relation between the sexes, the passion of love in short, should not be taken into deeper consideration by our Teachers and Legislators—as if there was no such thing in the world. But ask the priest, ask the physician; let *them* reveal the amount of moral and physical results from this one cause. Look at the evils that ensue, hasty, improvident, unsuitable marriages—repining, diseased or vicious celibacy—irretrievable infamy,—causeless insanity,—the death that comes early,—and the love that comes late,—reversing the primal laws of our nature!"

That eminent medical philosopher, before quoted, has also some admirable reflections on this head, and on the peculiarities—before alluded to, and too little considered—of *woman's structure, both mental and physical*. In one part of his physiology, he says:

"Je ne parlerai même pas des effets prodigieux de l'amour sur les habitudes de l'esprit et sur les penchans ou les affections de l'âme; premièrement, parce

que l'histoire de cette passion est trop généralement connue pour qu'il puisse être utile ici de la tracer de nouveau ; secondément, parce que tel qu'on l'a dépeint, et que la société le présente en effet quelque fois, l'amour est sans doute fort étranger au plan primitif de la nature.

“ Deux circonstances ont principalement contribué, dans les sociétés modernes, à la dénaturer par une exaltation factice ; je veux dire d'abord, *ces barrières maladroites que les parens, ou les institutions civiles prétendent lui opposer, et tous les autres obstacles qu'il rencontre dans les préjugés relatifs à la naissance, aux rangs, à la fortune ; car, sans barrières et sans obstacles, il peut y avoir beaucoup de bonheur dans l'amour, mais non du délire et de la fureur.* Je veux dire, en second lieu, le défaut d'objets d'un intérêt véritablement grand, et le désœuvrement général des classes aisées, à quoi l'on peut ajouter encore les restes de l'esprit de chevalerie, fruit ridicule de l'odiense féodalité et cette espèce de conspiration de la plupart des gens à talens pour diriger toute l'énergie humaine vers des dissipations qui tendaient de plus en plus à river pour toujours les fers des nations. Non, l'amour, tel que le développe la nature, n'est pas ce torrent effréné qui renverse tout : ce n'est point ce fantôme théâtral qui, nourrit de ses propres éclats, le com-
plôt dans une ruine universelle et éternelle.

C'est encore moins cette froide galanterie qui joue d'elle-même et de son objet; dénature par une expression recherché les sentimens tendres et délicats, et n'a pas même la prétention de tromper la personne à laquelle ils s'adressent; ou cette métaphysique subtile qui, née de l'impuissance du cœur et de l'imagination, a trouvé le moyen de rendre fastidieux les intérêts les plus chers, aux âmes véritablement sensibles. Non, ce n'est rien de tout cela. Les anciens, sortis à peine de l'enfance sociale, avaient, ce semble, bien mieux senti ce que doit être, ce qu'est véritablement, cette passion, ou ce penchant impérieux, dans un état de choses naturelles: il l'avaient peint dans des tableaux, à la vérité, défigurés encore par les travers et les désordres que toléraient les mœurs du temps, *mais cependant plus simples et plus vrais.*

“ L'époque de la puberté nous présente des phénomènes encore plus frappans et plus décisifs. Ils méritent d'autant plus d'attention, que tout s'y passe suivant des lois constantes et d'après le vœu même de la nature.

“ Comme l'imagination est sa faculté dominante, comme elle exerce une puissante réaction sur les organes qui lui fournissant ces tableaux, l'homme est celui de tous les êtres vivans connus, dont la puberté peut être le plus accélérée par des excitations vicieuses et son cours ordinaire le plus interverti par toutes les circonstances extérieures qui font prendre de fausses routes à l'imagination.—Ainsi, dans les mau-

*vaies mœurs des villes, on ne donne pas à la puberté le temps de paraître, on la devance, et ses effets se confondent d'ordinaire avec l'habitude précoce du libertinage. Dans le sein des familles, pieuses et sévères, ou l'on dirige l'imagination des enfans vers les idées religieuses, on voit souvent chez eux la mélancolie amoureuse de la puberté, se confondre avec la mélancolie ascétique, et pour l'ordinaire aussi, elles acquièrent, l'une et l'autre, dans ce, mélange, un degré considérable de force, quelque fois même elles produisent le plus funestes explosions, et laissent après elles des traces ineffaçables. Mais lorsqu'on permet à la nature de suivre paisiblement sa marche ; lorsqu'on ne la hâte ni en l'excitant, ni en la réprimant (car cette dernière méthode est encore un genre d'excitation), l'homme, ainsi que les animaux moins parfaits, prend tout-à-coup, à cette époque, d'autres penchans, d'autres idées, d'autres habitudes. L'éloignement des objets qui peuvent satisfaire ces penchans, et vers lesquels ces idées se dirigent alors d'une manière tout-à-fait innocente, et vague, n'empêche point un nouvel état moral de naître, de se développer, de prendre un ascendant rapide. L'adolescent cherche ce qu'il ne connaît pas ; mais il le cherche avec l'inquiétude du besoin. Il est plongé dans de profondes rêveries. Son imagination se nourrit des peintures indéci-
* sées, source inépuisable de ses contemplations ; son cœur se perd dans les affections les plus douces, dont il*

ignore encore le but ; il les porte, en attendant, sur tous les êtres qui l'environnent.

“ Chez les jeunes filles, le passage est encore plus brusque et le changement plus général, quoique marqué par des traits plus délicats. C'est alors que l'univers commence véritablement à exister, que tout prend une âme et une signification pour elles ; c'est alors que le rideau semble se lever tout-à-coup aux yeux de ces êtres incertains et étonnés ; que leur âme reçoit en foule tous les sentimens et toutes les pensées relatives à *une passion, l'affair principale de leur vie, l'abitre de leur destinée, et dont elles répandant quelquefois sur le nôtre le charme ou les douleurs.* Mais si la faiblesse de la femme fait, pour ainsi dire, partie de ses facultés et de ses moyens, sa sensibilité vive et changeante était encore plus nécessaire à la perfection de l'objet qu'elle doit remplir. Tandis que l'homme agit sur la nature et sur les autres êtres animés, par la force de ses organes ou par l'ascendant de son intelligence, la femme doit agir sur l'homme par la séduction de ses manières et par l'observation continuelle de tout ce qui peut flatter son cœur ou captiver son imagination. Il faut, pour cela, qu'elle sache se plier à ses goûts, céder sans contrainte, même aux caprices du moment, et saisir les intervalles où quelques observations jetées comme au hasard peuvent se faire jour.

“ Une sensibilité que retient profondément les impressions, des objects et d'où résultent des dé-

terminations durables, convient donc au rôle de l'homme. Mais une sensibilité plus légère, qui permet aux impressions de se succéder rapidement, qui laisse presque toujours prédominer la dernière, est la seule qui convienne au rôle de la femme. Changez cet ordre, et le monde moral n'est plus le même. *En effet, le système des affections dépend presque tout entier des rapports sociaux, et toute société civile quelconque a toujours pour base, et nécessairement aussi pour régulateur, la société primitive de la famille.*

“ D'ailleurs, la femme appartenant à celle des espèces vivantes dont les fibres sont, tout ensemble, les plus souples et les plus fortes, elle est assurément très-susceptible d'être puissamment, modifiée par des habitudes contraires à ses dispositions originelles. Mais il s'agit de savoir si d'autres habitudes ne lui conviennent pas mieux ; si elle ne les prend pas plus naturellement ; si lorsque rien d'accidentel et de prédominant ne violente son instinct, elle ne devient pas telle que vous disons qu'elle doit être.

“ Or, le bonheur des femmes dépendra toujours de l'impression quelles font sur les hommes : et je ne pense pas que ceux qui les aiment véritablement, puissent avoir grand plaisir à les voir portant le mousquet et marchant au pas de charge, ou régentant du haut d'une chaire, encore moins de la tribune où se discutent les intérêts d'une nation.

“ Dans la jeune fille, ce même besoin fait naître un sentiment ignoré jusqu’alors ; *la pudeur*, qu’on peut regarder comme l’expression détournée des desirs, ou le, signe involontaire de leurs secrètes impressions ; il développe, un ressort qui ne s’est fait encore sentir qu’ imparfaitement ; *la coquetterie*, dont les effets sembleraient d’abord, destinés à compenser ceux de la pudeur, mais qui véritablement sait tout ensemble leur prêter et en tirer à son tour une puissance nouvelle. Qui ne connaît, enfin, l’état de rêverie mélancolique où la puberté plonge également les deux, sexes, et le système d’affection ou d’idees qu’elle développe presque subitement ? Ces phénomènes suffiraient déjà pour montrer l’influence des organes de la génération sur le moral ; d’autres phénomènes la prouvent d’une manière peut-etre plus évidente encore.

“ Indépendamment des affections, ou des idées qui se rapportent aux fonctions particulières de ces organes, l’époque qui nous occupe produit souvent une révolution, complète dans les habitudes de l’intelligence. Ce n’est pas sans fondement qu’on a dit, que l’esprit venait alors aux filles ; et les plaisanteries relatives au moyen par lequel ce prétendu miracle s’opère, portent sur un fond réel et physique. Les premières années qui succèdent à la nubilité sont quelquefois accompagnées d’une espèce d’explosion de talens de plusieurs geures. J’ai vu nombre de fois,

la plus grande fécondité d'idées, la plus brillante imagination, une aptitude singulière à tous les arts, se développer tout-à-coup chez des filles de cet âge, mais s'éteindre bientôt par degrés, et faire place, au bout de quelque temps, à la médiocrité d'esprit la plus absolue. La même cause, ou la même circonstance, n'a souvent pas moins de puissance chez les jeunes garçons, souvent aussi les heureux affets n'en sont pas plus durables. Il paraît cependant qu'on observe plus ordinairement chez les femmes cette exaltation et cette chute climaterique de la sensibilité.*

We have also other and much valuable information furnished us upon the same points, by "Burton," in his quaint and learned "Anatomy of Melancholy,"—the only book, the great Johnson said, which ever had the power to wake him up an hour earlier in the morning to read. Subjoined are a few of his remarks and quotations.

"Many other maladies there are incident to young women, out of that one and only cause (love), and amongst these is melancholy. *But the best and surest remedy of all, is to see them well-placed, and married to good husbands in due time ; hinc illæ lacrymæ, that's the primary cause, and this is the ready cure, to give them content to their desires.* I write not this to patronize any wanton, idle, flirt, lascivious or light huswives, which are too forward many times, unruly, and apt to cast away themselves on him that comes next, without all

care, counsel, circumspection, and judgment. If religion, good discipline, honest education, wholesome exhortation, fair promises, fame, and loss of good name, cannot inhibit and deter such (which, to chaste and sober maids, cannot choose but avail much), labour and exercise, strict diet, rigour, and threats, may more opportunely be used, and are able of themselves to qualify and divert an ill-disposed temperament. For seldome shall you see an hired servant, a poor handmaid, though antient, that is kept hard to her work and bodily labour, a coarse country wench, troubled in this kind; but noble virgins, nice gentlewomen, such as are solitary and idle, live at ease, lead a life out of action and employment, that fare well, in great houses, and jovial companies, ill-disposed peradventure of themselves, and not willing to make any resistance, discontented otherwise, of weak judgment, able bodies and subject to passions (*grandiores virgines* saith Mercatus, *steriles, et viduæ, plerumque melancholicæ*) such for the most part are misaffected and prone to this disease. I do not so much pity them that may otherwise be eased; *but those alone that out of a strong temperament, innate constitution, are violently carried away with this torrent of inward humours, and, though very modest of themselves, sober, religious, virtuous, and well given (as many so distressed maids are), yet cannot*

malady will take place, and now manifestly shews itself, and may not otherwise be helped, for love's limits are ample and great ; and a spacious walk it hath, beset with thorns, and for that cause (which Scaliger reprehends in Cardan), not lightly to be passed over. Least I incur the same censure, I will examine all the kinds of love, his nature, beginning, difference, objects, how it is honest or dishonest, a virtue or vice, a naturall passion or a disease, his power and effects, how far it extends ; for love and hatred are the first and most common passions, from which all the rest arise, and are attendant, as Piccolomineus hold, or as Nich. Caussin, the *primum mobile* of all other affections, which carry them all about them. Love, universally taken, is defined to be desire, as a word of more ample signification : and though Leon Hebreus, the most copious writer of this subject, in his third dialogue makes no difference, yet in his first he distinguisheth them again, and defines love by desire. Love is a voluntary affection, and desire to enjoy that which is good. Desire wisheth ; love enjoyes ; the end of the one is the beginning of the other : that which we love is present ; that which we desire is absent. It is worth the labour, saith Plotinus, to consider well of love, whether it be a god or a devill, or passion of the minde ; or partly God, or partly devill, partly passion. He concludes love to partici-

OUR PLAGUE SPOT.

pate of all three, to arise from a desire of that which is beautiful and fair, and defines it to be an action of the minde, desiring that which is good. Plato calls it the great devill, for its vehemency, and sovereignty over all other passions, and defines it as an appetite, by which we desire some good to be present. Ficinus, in his comment, addes the word fair to this definition—love is a desire of enjoying that which is good and fair. Austin dilates this common definition, and will have love to be delectation of the heart, for something which we seek to win or joy to have, coveting by desire, resting in joy. Scaliger (Exerc. 301) taxeth these former definitions, and will not have love to be defined by desire or appetite; for, when we enjoy the things we desire, there remains no more appetite;* as he defines it, love is an affection by which we are united to the thing we love, or perpetuate our union; which agrees in part with Leon Hebreus.

“One Venus is ancient, without a mother, and descended from heaven, whom we call celestiall; the younger, begotten of Jupiter and Dione, whom commonly we call Venus. Ficinus, in his comment upon this place, cap. 8, following Plato, calls these two loves two divells, *or good and bad angels, according to us, which are still hovering about our souls. The one rears to heaven, the other depresseth us to hell; the one*

good, which stirs us up to the contemplation of that divine beauty, for whose sake we perform justice, and all godly offices, study, philosophy, &c., the other base, and though bad yet to be respected, for indeed both are good in their own natures; procreation of children is as necessary as that finding out of truth, but therefore called bad, because it is abused, and withdrawes our soul from the speculation of that other to viler objects: so far Ficinus. St. Austin (lib. 15, le civ. Dei et sup. Psal. 64) hath delivered as much in effect. Every creature is good, and may be loved well or ill: and two cities make two loves—Jerusalem and Babylon, the love of God the one, the love of the world the other; of these two cities we are all citizens as by examination of ourselves we may soon finde, and of which: the one love is the root of all mischief, the other of all good. So in his 15 cap. lib. de amor. Ecclesiae, he will have these four cardinal vertues to be naught else but love rightly composed; in his 15 book de Civ. Dei, cap. 22, he calls virtue the order of love; when Thomas following (1 part, 2 quaest, 55 art. 1, and quaest. 56, 3, quaest. 62, art. 2), confirms as much, and amplifies in many words. Lucian to the same purpose hath a division of his own; one love was born in the sea, which is as various and raging in young men's breasts as the sea itself, and causeth burning lust: the other is that golden chain which was let down from heaven, and with a divine

fury ravisheth our souls, made to the image of God, and stirs us up to comprehend the innate and incorruptible beauty, to which we were once created. Beroaldus hath expressed all this in an epigram of his:—

‘If divine Plato’s tenets they be true,
 Two Veneres, two Loves there be;
 The one from heaven unbegotten still,
 Which knits our souls in unitie;
 The other famous over all the world,
 Binding the hearts’ gods and men;
 Dishonest, wanton, and seducing, she
 Rules whom she will, both where and when.’

“This twofold division of love, Origen likewise follows in his comment on Canticles, one from God, the other from the divell, as he holds (understanding it in the worser sense); which many others repeat and imitate. Both which (to omit all subdivisions) in excesse or defect as they are abused or degenerate, cause melancholy in a particular kinde, as shall be shewed in his place. Austin, in another tract, makes a threefold division of this love, which we may use well or ill—God, our neighbour, and the world. In the course of our desires, God hath three things, the world one, our neighbour two. Our desire to God is either from God, with God, or to God, and ordinarily so runs. From God, when it receives from Him, whence and for which it should love Him: with God, when it contradicts His will in nothing; to God, when it seeks to repose and

rest itself in him. Our love to our neighbour may proceed from him, and run with him, not to him; from him, as when we rejoyce of his good safety and well doing: with him, when we desire to have him a fellow and companion of our journey in the way of the Lord; not in him, because there is no aid, hope, or confidence in man. From the world our love comes, when we begin to admire the Creator in His works, and glorify God in His creatures. With the world it should run, if, according to the mutability of all temporalities, it should be dejected in adversity, or over-elevated in prosperity; to the world, if it would settle itself in its vain delights and studies. Naturall love or hatred is sympathy or antipathy, which is to be seen in animate and inanimate creatures in the four elements, mettals, stones; *gravia tendunt deorsum*, as a stone to his centre, fire upward, and rivers to the sea. The sun, moon, and stars go still round, *amantes naturae debita exercere*, for love of perfection. This love is manifest, I say, in inanimate creatures. How comes a loadstone to draw iron to it, yet chaff, the ground to covet showers, but for love? No creature, St. Hierom concludes, is to be found, *quod non aliquid amat*, no stock, no stone that hath not some feeling of love. 'Tis more eminent in plants, hearbs; and is especially observed in vegetals; as betwixt the vine and elm a great sympathy; betwixt the vine and

the cabbage, betwixt the vine and olive (*Virgo fugit Bromium*), betwixt the vine and baies, a great antipathy; the vine loves not the bay, nor his smell, and will kill him if he grow near him; the bur and the lintle cannot endure one another; the olive and the myrtle embrace each other in roots and branches, if they grow near. Read more of this in Picolomineus (grad. 7, cap. 1), Crescentius (lib. 5, de agric.), Baptista Porta (de mag. lib. 1 cap. de plant, odio et Element. sym.), Fracastorius (de sym. et antip.). Of the love and hatred of planets, consult with every astrologer: Leon Hebreus gives many fabulous reasons, and moraliseth them withall. The third kinde is *amor cognitionis*, as Leon calls it, rationall love, *intellectivus amor*, and is proper to men, on which I must insist. This appears in God, angels, men. God is love itself, the Fountain of love, the Disciple of love, as Plato styles him; the servant of peace, the God of love and peace.

“And Love is that Horner’s golden chain, which reacheth down from heaven to earth, by which every creature is annexed, and depends on his Creator.

“Love proper to mortall men is the third sort, Valesius (lib. 3. contr. 13.) defines this love, which is in men, to be an affection of both powers, appetite and reason. The rational resides in the brain, the other in the liver (as before hath been said out of

Plato and others). *The heart is diversly affected of both, and carried a thousand wayes, by consent. The sensitive faculty most part overrules reason; the soul is carried hood-winkt and the understanding captive like a beast. The heart is variously inclined; sometimes they are merry; sometimes sad; and from love arise hope and fear, jealousy, fury, desperation."*

Much more equally truthful might be quoted from innumerable *male* anatomists, but few *female* writers have ventured so boldly upon the ground as the ones we quoted; the squeamishness pervading society having deterred most, especially ladies, from mooted the subject.

Hall, (the writer believes it is,) who, in his "Lives of the Poets," gives the following reasons, which are also some explanation of the backwardness on the part of women to enter in detail upon this subject. He says:

"Women in their writings are beset with doubts, and hampered with difficulties, and dare not take a decisive step any more than in real life. Neither are women taught to give way to, or express their passions, but to do all they can to suppress and conceal them. A tragic author must speak out;—a woman is sworn to secrecy and silence. Action and passion (both of them forbidden ground) being then the chief ingredients of tragedy, a female author in attempting it, must be hard beset. Nay, farther,

women are generally taught not only *not to harbour or to give utterance to the fiercer passions in their own breasts, but not to witness the outward signs of them, or sympathise with their inward workings in others. They turn from the subject with shrinking sensitiveness, and consider whatever shocks their delicacy as a crime.* This reserve and caution is an excellent discipline of manners and virtue, but a bad school for imagination and passion.” How difficult, then, for them to come forward, as the author could wish, in a bold effort to ameliorate entirely the existing state of things with regard to their sex, when “imagination and passion” form the staple of the “damning facts” which they have to meet at every turn, and to endeavour to stem. Yet it is an undeniable fact that many of them, in all classes, from the highest down to the city missionary’s wife, are practically conversant, and brought into perpetual contact, with its present distorted and miserable actings: for is it not our women, after all, who go more into its details, and view the sad consequences in poverty, suffering, vice, and crime, than men? Are they not the systematic and habitual district, jail, and hospital visitors and relievers? Those, who care not for having the Scripture command laughed at, which *they* quote as their rule and guide of action. In *rescuing*, they have to sit in committees, and to hear *fearful* recitals—or *how could they work beneficially upon the*

variety they present? They have to plead with, and for them—then why not bring all this amount of knowledge and experience *to work in the cause of prevention?* Most wearing and disheartening is the former—in the latter, hope would sweeten labour, and courage in a righteous undertaking, find its own reward.

“It behoves then women of all ranks to uphold and throw the shield of their protection around innocence, and to frown down and discountenance licentiousness, whether it meet them in the garb of a patrician or a plebeian, a millionaire or a beggar. Then would the family-house again become, as in the times of the Saxons in England, ‘a holy thing, the bond of marriage a sacred and symbolic engagement, holy above man—woman.’ ”

By all the foregoing we surely must see that something is decidedly wanting to direct the young of both sexes, in this important matter. For whilst custom has conferred upon men the privilege to range everywhere in pursuit of a partner for life, whether legal or illicit; and to choose from the fairest among a thousand beauties; roving here and there at pleasure or caprice, and everywhere welcome, if they have a well-lined purse or a desirable position; the same iron-bondage of custom, has doomed woman to silence, .

“ To never tell her love,
 But let concealment, like a worm i' the bud,
 Feed upon her damask cheek—and pine in thought,
 denied the right to approach the other sex with even
 prudish delicacy—or if some heart *should* have found
 utterance, 'tis but too often—by the same harsh
 custom—at once turned into the sweet plaint of
 Shakspeare's other fair one, who “ had ”

“ Most pretty things to say ; (but) ere she could tell him,
 How she would think on him at ~~certain~~ hours,
 Such thoughts, and such
 comes in the Father,
 And, like the tyrannous breathing of the north,
 Shakes all their buds from growing.”

And this especially among the high-born and rich ; the perverted customs of society denying them any right of approach to the object of their affection, and their education not encouraging them to reveal it even to their own mothers, while they often behold those whom nature designed as their protectors, prohibited either by law or conventional usages, or some foolish and inconvenient ban, attached to their source of living,* from marrying ;

* Behold an example of both, taken from a recent report of the Society for the Rescue of Young Women and Children.

No. 3. S. D., aged 25. The Missionary was requested to visit this young woman, whom he found residing at B—Square. He found that she had a child, and was ~~the~~ mistress of a Dr. —, of — College, where he held a *professorship*, by which he was bound not to marry. On further investiga-

and therefore driven to illicit intercourse, or the immorality—*never enough to be deprecated*—of availing themselves of the weakness of the wives or daughters, of not only the respectable, but the high-born ; thus bringing disgrace and sorrow into many a noble and before unsullied family ; or, spending fortunes (*in debt*), upon kept mistresses, many of whom an unjust national impolicy has also made unwilling victims to an imperative necessity.

tion it was found that this worthy professor had become tired of S. D., *and to get rid of her had left the country*. It would appear, however, that he had made arrangement to leave a trifling sum to be laid out for her benefit, and on the eve of this being paid, a letter came to inform the Missionary that she was taken ill, and not likely to recover. A few days after, she died a miserable death. Before her decease she was delivered of another child, and by the efforts of the Missionary the friends of the gentleman made arrangements to allow £20 a year for their maintenance.

It was discovered that she fell a victim to the villany of the doctor's uncle, while holding a situation in the family as domestic servant in the country ; that she was brought up to London ; subsequently transferred to the keeping of another relation, and finally became the mistress of the gentleman (?) referred to. There are other particulars of this case, but the Committee at present withhold them from publicity.

CHAPTER VIII.

Her ways are moveable,
That thou can'st not know them.

AN eminent Barrister, who wrote forcible articles in the "Females' Friend," during its short-lived existence; in describing the horrors and evils inflicted upon society by our unnatural laws and usages, said, "that pages of this Magazine have already introduced its readers to the knowledge of some of those detestable acts, by which young unaffianced females are entrapped to their ruin, to feed the appetite of the brutally sensual among men; and the fact has been revealed, that the extent and demand for innocence has served to reduce those acts to a system, and called into existence a class of persons, whose regular trade and every-day business it is to supply this demand, by a recourse to the most infamous means, and at the cost of the utter and irretrievable ruin, and misery of their helpless victims." These

are evils of long standing in society, coeval indeed with our wealth and civilization, and they have been of unchecked growth, notwithstanding the existence of common law authority, (somewhat doubtful indeed), which has proved *practically* inoperative."

Thus far the learned Barrister; with much more unfortunately too manifest, until he concludes in utter despair. Many besides him have felt the necessity of more energetic and comprehensive efforts than those hitherto adopted, and have proposed schemes unhappily, however, utterly futile. Among others, that enlightened Philanthropist L. J. Hansard, Esq., submitted his views in print, suggesting the grand idea of buying up all the bagnios by means of a large levy of one pound on each house in London. *He said*, "It must be remembered in contemplating the bagnios now in existence which we would suppress, that the habits of society have long permitted and encouraged their existence, therefore, it seems right that they should be equitably dealt with by the community, purchasing up at jury-awarded prices, the same as they have the power to do in regard to other houses for any public improvements, the unexpired period of all the leases of all the houses that are now existing, and that can be hereafter proved to be still generally used for such purposes. But it will be said, where are the funds to come from to accomplish such an undertaking?

If we want funds for London's relief from this pestiferous nuisance, we must look to the number of respectably inhabited houses which it contains as being the property upon which the levy is to be made, and their proprietors as specially benefitted by this act. It appears there are 189,665 houses in London, (1838), if, therefore, to rid London of the nuisance we complain of, no more than one sovereign were contributed from every house, there would be £189,665. This amount, even allowing for the expenses of collecting—(if these were not saved by the freewill, self-carried, contributions of the public), this amount would palpably be considerably in excess of the need as far as London is concerned to purchase the leases of the houses now held for the vile and contaminating purposes of seduction and prostitution; because as property in houses would be purchased, the houses themselves so purchased would become property value, responsible for the rest. And the property so raised, should be vested as the property of the individuals contributing, and thus forming themselves, as it might be established by the legislature or by the gracious act of a Royal Charter, into a corporate body, and saving whatever might remain over the purchase of *such* houses, as a fund out of which to help the *already prostituted* females thus cast out, back to their homes; or to procure for them the means of a respectable sub-

sistence. The houses so purchased, might also be fitted up and let at moderate rentals as improved dwellings for the industrious classes. The country, or provincial and manufacturing towns would follow the same example, if it were earnestly and effectually taken up in London ; and found, as it could not fail to do, to answer the purposes of curing this nuisance."

In the above extract we may admire the bold measure suggested by one of the most consistent and devoted Philanthropists now living. Nevertheless, if that gentleman had considered in how many ways such a scheme (if ever adopted), could be evaded, he would have seen that it would necessitate a never-ending repetition of expense ; because, if all those houses were pulled down or shut up, others would be opened immediately. And is it not notorious that other denominations of houses are always open to visitors ? " Coffee Shops," " Furnished Apartments," " Well aired beds," " Bedrooms," &c. &c., without enumerating those places which give no sign, but are equally accommodating—and to be met with in almost every street of this metropolis. And besides the hired accommodation, who will dare prohibit any female from renting and occupying her own apartment ? She may have some ostensible employment, or live on her income, while visitors are admitted at all seasonable hours. And who would dare

question a gentleman's business who calls ostensibly and frequently to spend an hour with cousin Miss A., or Aunt Mrs. B., whose greatest pleasure consists in receiving friendly visits from attached relatives.

It has, however, been suggested to the author by one who has seen these pages before going to the press, that his last remarks are a little irrelevant to the point urged by Mr. Hansard—viz. the cleansing London, and other towns, of *their bagnios, of places actually and professedly for seduction and prostitution*. There is no doubt, (this friend argues) that many entire quarters of London, as well as many streets, now peculiarly sought by the wealthiest and most respectable classes of this community, as the healthiest and most agreeable locales for them,—and in the vicinity, especially of Hyde Park,—have been *quite cleansed out*; whereas, before they were *notoriously unclean*. And it is equally an undeniable fact, that where any poor solitary one still lingers thereabouts, she is soon as glad to get away herself, as her neighbours are to be rid of her; not to mention the interest the landlord *then* has, in getting quit of such, as soon as possible. Nowhere, more than in a street, do virtuous ladies verify the poet's assertion, that,

“ Every woe a tear can claim
Save an erring sister's shame.”

And the poor Parish, however beautiful or well off

or before bold, soon shrinks abashed, from the many contemptuous pairs of eyes, brought to bear upon her, by both mistresses *and maids*, aye, and masters and man too, whenever she shews abroad ; her own servants even flaunting her perpetually with their “ impossibility to remain,—being ashamed before their fellow-servants in respectable situations,” when thus brought into such close juxta-position with them,—until she gladly escapes all this, by a flight into a more congenial atmosphere. Thus there is no doubt, that many more quarters might be cleansed out, and the virtuous poor be gainers thereby ; whilst it would be comparatively, a great check to vice, because this would gradually have to draw farther and farther back, quite into the suburbs, in fact,—even Brompton and St. John’s Wood still too near —*and many thus not have the means to reach it.* Others, not having the temptation so never-ceasingly, and at every turn, as now, presented to them, would not think of it. And as regards the class last alluded to, viz. non-necessitated, or non-coerced vice ; such are not the peculiar objects of pity and sympathy sought to be prevented or helped in these pages ; nor those indolent beings, who find a life of luxurious ease, and all the *alentours* of a virtuous woman, preferable, to the rougher paths of honest industry ; *and* most of whom, kept by elderly gentlemen, in their turn keep their younger “ fancy

men," and hide themselves under perpetual "refuges of lies."

For the same line of argument might lead to the positive advocacy of such places as bagnios, and *registered taxed women a disgrace to any nation*: as at Dresden, in Saxony, it has often been alleged, that the absence of all such places and persons, is a sorer evil than their presence would be, seeing that in their stead, almost all the household servants are corrupted, the Bürgers' daughters too, and the place overrun with illegitimate children; but it is absurd to place *this* to the charge of *that*, for it so *self-evidently* arises from the preponderating amount of military in that small capital (and all as poor as they are licentious), combined with the sadly lax state of morals in that otherwise fascinating and beautiful city—a city abounding in gardens within and around it, where high and low daily meet for mere pleasurable purposes; where the love of *dancing* is a positive mania; dress a ditto; and where both the citizens' daughter, and the maid-of-all-work, would deem themselves equally *injured*, if in any way restricted from these indulgences when *the early day's work* is ended—for there too, when our London day is but at its most busy time, theirs is drawing to its close—the midday meal, the early coffee taken out of doors, on the charming "Brülische Terrace," in the Grosse-Garten or the

“Neustadt,” and the very opera terminated by eight o’clock—giving all classes so much more liberty,—and which would of course be equally taken advantage of by young officers, their soldier servants, and the different kinds of plumed and silvered fine-looking *Jagërs*—if the place even abounded in *licensed* vice. For they would never *pay* for what they could get *gratis*. The author is willing to agree, that a vigilant determination on the part of the community to extirpate offensive persons and practices would to a large extent succeed, but then he fears it would need more interested motives to rouse it to action, than the mere love of virtue, or even the long catalogue of evil and misery, in all its ramifications, which has been presented to it.

After much correspondence with noblemen and others on the subject, the Earl of Shaftesbury requested to be furnished with the author’s views on what he had designated our “National impolicy,” and to which he replied much as follows: That having fully digested the subject, he must observe, that the corruption of ages, fostered by prejudices, and sanctioned by Governments, called Christian, required a firm and persevering resolution to stem the now wide-spread iniquity. If, not many years since, we deemed it our duty, as a nation, to purchase the redemption of the whole Slave population, within the British dominions; and the sum then paid, *twenty millions sterling!* ~~was~~ cheerfully given by the

majority to wipe that foul blot from off our nation's escutcheon; he conceives, that the moral elevation, nay *redemption* of hundreds of thousands continually becoming Unfortunates, deserves also a sacrifice *by the nation, and of a trifling amount comparatively*, which in a short time would be returned in money value only, a hundred per cent.; and confer on the community blessings surpassing the powers of his feeble pen to describe.

And is it not a strange fact, in connection with *that* national liberality, and *this* remissness, that on the former question, notwithstanding we may be said to have carried it *as a national one*,—there is upon it a great division of opinion, *on actual Christian grounds*; some asserting it to be a *Christian* duty to abrogate all slavery—whilst others hold, on the contrary, that though admirable on philanthropic grounds, on *Scriptural*, it has no authority; for that slavery, since all time, was permitted, and is nowhere forbidden, only *a release* commanded, after a certain number of years, &c.; and ~~that~~ in the New Testament, the sole allusion to it is, the case of Onesimus, whom St. Paul sent back to his master, still to do with him as seemed him best, but with the recommendation to receive him as a brother. We know also, that the Evangelical Alliance does not, (or at least in '51, when it held its great London meetings did not) exclude

from its membership, American Divines, though they were not contrary to slavery, if not indeed its advocates, which many are, or themselves positive favourers of slavery. As regards, however, the question now advocated, the word of God is throughout full of anathemas against the sins it deplores, and full of acts of vengeance against their perpetration *in the perpetually recurring overthrow of entire nations or cities, for those very vices which now deluge our own land*: whilst marriage, on the contrary, is everywhere inculcated—*all ranks and grades, and professions, of the Jews having married*, and God himself honouring it, by so naming and *similizing* His connection with the Jewish nation—and His Son's with the Church. In the New Testament, our Lord inveighs against *all* uncleanness, and contrasts any other sexual tie than marriage, as contrary to the first instituted rite of God's own forming and *intended primitive* carrying out, and upbraids the Jews with their upsetting innovations upon it. He honoured a marriage feast with His presence, and we are told, “manifested His glory there,” in the first of his miracles—whilst “the disciple whom He loved,” in his epistles, and in his inspired vision, dwells much upon, *and particularizes as positive exclusives from Heaven*, the indulgence in those very vices we are seeking to uproot, or at least to materially weaken and lessen.

It might not be possible to reclaim the tens of thousands already sunk too low for the most ardent Philanthropist to attempt recovering; and the greatest number of whom will probably pass away like the millions who have gone before them, their only record being "in damning drops from the destroying Angel's pen." Still, let the attempt be made to save the present multitudes, risen or rising into life; by the outlay of a few thousands annually—not, as now, privately contributed by individuals towards Societies, which are ever crippled by having to fight against such fearful odds—but *on the part of Government*. One writer, and it cannot be too often reiterated, has told us, after the most careful investigation, that about ten millions sterling are spent yearly in *London alone*, in licentiousness, or absorbed in illicit intercourse, How vast then must be the amount within the whole kingdom! So enormous as to baffle calculation, or to obtain credence.

CHAPTER IX.

“Cry aloud, spare not,
Lift up thy voice like a trumpet,
And show my people their transgression,
And the house of Jacob their sins.”

THE remedies about to be suggested to remove the first cause, (and which the author terms National Impolicy,) are but two. In the first place, as wars, in all ages, have demoralised women, by the consequent separation of the sexes; and, as we must keep up our army and navy; let the entire policy respecting *them, in times of peace*, be altered; or, we plead, we preach, we pray, we subscribe, we meet and meet again to deplore our ill success in woman's amelioration, in vain. It is, therefore, urged that all officers in Her Majesty's service, at home or abroad, who have their bare pay to depend upon, *have additional pay on becoming married, at full age, say between twenty five and thirty.* Let one result

of this policy alone be considered, viz., the thousands of ladies, some of rank, and others most respectable, now living in neglected isolation, and maintained, in thousands of instances, at the expense of Parents and friends. Such would then become wives, and save many officers, now debarred from lawful wedlock, from corrupting every female within their influence, *no matter what her rank or position, whether under her own or other roofs.* And let this be well-remembered—as it is well-known, to the bitter grief of many a dishonoured home. One such sad case, out of probably hundreds similar daily enacting throughout this kingdom, but hidden from view, is as follows:—

SUICIDE OF A YOUNG LADY IN A BATHING MACHINE.

On Tuesday last, the visitors and inhabitants of Walton-on-the-Naze were greatly distressed by the circumstance of a young woman, about twenty-two years of age, having committed suicide in one of the bathing machines. Our correspondent states that the deceased, whose reputed name was Snell, about three months since arrived at Walton from London, and up to the time of her death, occupied apartments at Mr. Sherman's, North Street. She had with her an infant six months old, whose guardian she represented herself to be, and for some time past it had been observed that her spirits were greatly depressed, neglect and the scanty means at her command evidently preying heavily on her mind. It had been noticed also that, since the arrival of

visitors, she has sought the utmost seclusion, even to absenting herself from public worship, and, on Saturday last, it appears, she went to Colchester, where she raised funds by pledging her watch, &c. On her return, after discharging some pressing claims, she intimated her intention to leave for London on the morning of the catastrophe. She, however, instead of doing so, repaired to the sands at high tide, and engaged a machine for the avowed purpose of bathing. The attendant suggested that, as she was a stranger and alone, his daughter should accompany her, but the offer was politely declined, and the machine was at her request placed out in deep water. After a lapse of about twenty minutes, some ladies bathing from the adjoining machine observed some clothes floating under the curtains of that of the deceased, and their attendant failing to obtain a reply from that quarter, search was made, when the lifeless body of the young lady, above alluded to was discovered, her head being firmly fixed downwards under the bathing steps of the machine. Her shawl and bonnet only had been removed. Instant attendance was afforded by Mr. Manthorp, surgeon, who was accidentally passing at the time, but, unhappily, although every means was resorted to to restore vitality, life proved to be entirely extinct. From letters, &c., found in her luggage, it appears that an attachment had been formed with an officer in her Majesty's service, resulting in the birth of the infant above named, and on his return from the seat of war she learnt he was on the eve of marriage. This, added to her abandonment by most of her family, no doubt led to this distressing event, which has cast a gloom over the entire district. Several documents have also been discovered, which were to be produced at the inquest, and which may tend to explain the cause of so direful a catastrophe.

The probabilities are, this officer may not have had the means to marry the young lady he seduced,

but on his return have met some one with money (another evil snare, and productive equally of endless sin and misery), and been tempted to act solemnly at the altar a part he knew was false—the drop-scene to which he was to be enacted by the deserted one, on that stage whose dark curtain no mortal hand might again lift up to reveal *her after—Where?*—Behind it no Butterflies would glide to her, nor the voice of the Charmer again reach her ear, charmed he never so wisely.

“ Das Grab ist tief und stille
 Und schauerlich sein Rand,
 Es deckt mit tiefer Hülle
 Ein unbekanntes Land.

Das Lied der Nachtigallen
 Dringt nicht in seinen Schooss
 Der Liebe Thränen fallen
 Vergebens auf das Moos.

DE SALIS.

Another undeniable fact is that the greatest number of officers in both services, spend more in corrupting and supporting unaffianced, unprotected women, than would suffice to keep wives respectably.*

Next it is urged that a much larger number of the *men* in both services be allowed to marry at full age, say from twenty-four to twenty-six, with also ad-

* We had some proofs of this in Lt. Parry's Trial.

ditional pay, when married. This will be pronounced more startling than the other proposition: "Soldiers paid for marrying?" Yes! And especially those sent to our Colonies. Suppose 100,000, or more, in both services were allowed from 6d to 1s. a day each, or £10 per annum, which would amount to £1,000,000, or upwards, yearly; and though a large sum, yet, when compared with the many *millions spent on corrupt women*, (as before stated), would be a positive gain to the community at large, for the greatest portion of 100,000 women, daughters of the poor, would then be saved from degradation, and not as now, be left unprotected, to starve, or toil in the most unhealthy form, as slopworkers and needle-women; in a word, seeking any and every means of subsistence, until, inadequate wages, want of employment, and other inevitable causes, drive them into the ranks of the truly unfortunate; there, speedily to fall victims to disease, in its most loathsome form, and *death—death spiritual as well as death physical.* Let hospital doctors be heard on this point, and if we are so revolted at women's sufferings from the brutalities of unbridled soldiery, in the happily, but occasional excitement of war, why are we not a thousand times more so, at the still more revolting—because perpetrated continually in the cold-blooded calculating gratification of lust—*brutalities of civil life?* For, supposing those young

women were married to soldiers or sailors, the multitudes of civilians, who at present find the young and beautiful *cheap* victims to their unhallowed desires ; and spend, as before stated, millions in this way, would be deprived of such opportunities ; and females, then becoming too scarce for their wicked purposes, they would be driven to seek the society of chaste women.

The other remedy, in conjunction with that just suggested, would, if judiciously carried out by Government, assuredly also help to cure many of the evils now abounding, add to the nation's wealth, and introduce a state of morals very different to the present. It is this : That there being, as we are informed on the best authority, in this kingdom fifteen million acres of waste land *cultivateable*, (besides fifteen million *uncultivateable*), let a portion of the first be purchased *by the Government*, in loans bearing interest, and being now *waste*, the price would be low. When purchased, let it become inalienable national property, held in perpetuity, and let in farms, varying from twenty to fifty acres each ; advances, if required, being made to Occupants, to be repaid within a certain number of years, or a given time ; for the first three years at a nominal rent, then on Leases of twenty-one years or more ; the rent as customary, to be paid half yearly, into a

Farms, thus let, being only granted to single men on their giving security or bond for the due performance of Covenants, *and under an imperative obligation to marry* within six months or a year of their taking possession. Thus upwards of 100,000 young men now crowding our Cities and Towns, seeking any employment, too often finding none, and thence becoming pests to Society; would then be usefully employed, while the same number of young women would find suitable partners, and *healthy occupation*; instead of being, as at present, milliners overworked—dressmakers underpaid—shopwomen unrewarded—servants wanting situations,—and slopworkers starving; besides the long list, *driven by necessity*, to fill up the ranks of that fearful host—the totally degraded; those who, sinking into premature graves, often heap curses upon the authors of their being and of their fall; from thence to re-appear before that Tribunal, which will surely judge the *causes*—these unhappy ones comprehended not, but by the writer boldly affirmed to be, *in a great measure, National Impolicy*—as well as *they*, its wretched victims.

Oh! for the eloquence of a Cicero, or a Demosthenes, or a thousand hands to write the long catalogue of woman's miseries, for burning words of truth to convince those who rule the destinies of empires,—and that of Christian Britain particularly—how ineffectual have been their laws, how dear is

their injustice, how cruel their policy; that the destiny of thousands upon thousands hinges upon their mandates; and that happiness might by them be promoted far exceeding the stretch of even the author's conjecture. While time would fail to record the *wrongs*; the *remedy* is at once simple, easy, and attainable; alone needing a *return to first principles*; although, of course, the vastness of the subject may make the difficulties therein appear insurmountable; *but the work is indispensable*. The immortal Wilberforce and others, *did* commence one grand struggle of *right*, (*not might*), against wrong, and at length struck the fetters from off the slave: More recently Lord William Bentinck emancipated one large mass of enthralled humanity, from the fearful Suttee—all honour to him! for he helped our cause, the cause of woman—and also in the cause of justice and humanity, both he and his amiable lady at once showed their cognizance of that other grand fact, “that God hath made of one blood all nations of men,” when they placed the Native Princes, and Gentlemen, whom they found on their arrival in India, *in general* slighted and despised by the European residents, in their right position. All honour to them! again we say.

Many mighty events have been accomplished in social, moral, and scientific policy, by determined perseverance. To denounce contemplated remedies

as unattainable theories, is unfair and unjust. Gas was an unattained theory once, now its utility is visibly manifest. Steam power was quite unknown, now witness its stupenduous operations, baffling calculation.* The electric telegraph is also *now* an attained theory, rejoicing in its discovery the entire civilized world. And shall animated matter thus speak to us of the power of man, when combined with perseverance in the things of time, and shall he not carry it out still more when his effort is to extend *beyond time*? Why then should we despair upon this intricate subject? "Onward, onward," is the motto of the day. What! only onward with science and arts? Let creedism be disavowed—Sectarianism, or separation of every kind, be disowned—and the holy principles of christianity, which are alone the cement to unite us into one happy family tie, be the great aim of all.

. Any one who has studiously observed society, cannot fail to have remarked, the neglect and contempt with which woman is often treated when unprotected or unaffianced, how scorned and contemned when fallen, how blighted hopes are nurtured within despairing bosoms, leading to pining sickness, melancholy, and insanity; or when the last expiring *hope against hope*, fades away entirely—for the female breast is peculiarly tenacious of this anchorage, and but quits it when, driven in despair of finding earthly

companionship and heart-sympathy,—she, in the recklessness of some rash moment, sullies for ever a life before unspotted.

Should “the powers that be,” therefore continue their short-sighted policy, let them cast aside the *guise* of desiring woman’s elevation, and hail the increase of iniquity and the failure of every society for protecting and reclaiming her. Let them hail every increase of expenditure to ruin her, and smile to mark her rapid downward progress to endless destruction. But let those who, like the author, are impelled alone by the dire necessity of large and liberal measures being adopted, urge—with all the ardour of cherished hope, with all the vehemence of imperativeness — by all the miseries endured, and by all the happiness anticipated—the attempt to effectually stay this deadly plague. Success must crown such efforts, and blessings hitherto unknown be realized both in our own time and throughout all future generations.

The author having, he hopes, fully demonstrated, that the failure of past and present attempts to save women from destruction, and to relieve the misery they endure in so many forms, has not been attributable to want of zeal or energy on the part of noble philanthropists, but simply to the oversight of the laws of God and the subversion of the natural requirements of society having rendered their labour

vain—or nearly so—and having, he trusts, made it evident too that the most strenuous efforts, and disinterested zeal, must still continue to end in disappointment, unless carried out in accordance with the designs of a gracious Providence: he will now proceed to lay fully before the public, not only the Remedy, which he considers would chiefly strike at the root of licentious Evil, and produce an entirely different and more healthy state of things amongst us, but also many minor ones, to more effectually alleviate the misery already in existence, and beyond the healthful action of *his special* Remedy; as well as suggesting a few of a different nature, to fill up many a gap, and minister to many a need, not coming within *its* peculiar provisions. For, although it must ever remain undeniable that in the beginning the wise intention of the Creator of mankind was that every man should have his own wife, and every wife her own husband,—still it has long ceased to be a matter of course,—and equally being non-compulsory, and to many distasteful either *à priori*, (through peculiarity of idiosyncrasy), or as a repetition; to others, who may have buried a betrothed in their heart, and will know no second love, marriage may be unpalatable. Thus many opposite cases have to be met and dealt with according to their different phases.

But fifty years' statistics have demonstrated be-

yond doubt, that 105 males are born to 100 females. The last census returns inform us, that from 1841 to 1850—ten years—the number of males born exceeded the females to the number of 139,000 and upwards. Does GOD create in vain? Can it be possible to conceive that in a nation like ours any rulers could remain so blind or callous to human wrongs, as to send tens of thousands of the finest young men to our colonies and debar them from lawful wedlock, whilst such a mass of young women are left behind to become corrupted and depraved—preying on the vitals of the nation—and causing the expenditure of millions sterling every year.

It may be objected, “Look at the many unhappy marriages already among the poor, and at the Divorce Bill agitation to emancipate such.” Well, the writer cannot see how that weakens his argument—for take the aggregate, and it will certainly be found, that there is much more brutality shewn by men towards the women with whom they cohabit than there is by husbands to their wives. And as long as *drinking* is another curse to this nation, and indecency, both of abodes and of publications tolerated, so long *must* there be found husbands to brutalize. But it is a matter of great thankfulness, the many efforts that have been made, and are still making, in the temperance cause; and also the passed through one

house already, admirable Bill of Lord Campbell's for the Suppression of Obscene Prints and Publications. As our French neighbours, too, are following, we are told, this lead, we may hail the fair promise of better times coming, *through these helps to our cause*; for, the vilest forms of this species of pandering to vice—through its most powerful avenue, the imagination—came, we grieve to be obliged to affirm it, from those shores.

As regards Divorce, it is not at all likely that because a man feels he must *respect the rights of the subject in his wife, as well as exact it for himself from others*, that, *therefore*, marriage will be held less sacred, or be less sought. On the contrary, the correctest inference is, that it will, *therefore*, work more *healthfully and practically*—binding the closer because the tie will then be more equalized: not all, as heretofore, tyranny—through a *solite* possession of body, and goods, and labour, on the one side—nor all slavish fear or depression on the other. So all success to the Divorce Bill; and let its legislation go hand in hand with that of marriage-promoting! Lord Campbell's Bill, and the *opera abominations* shew us an additional innovation in the year that is past, of foreign licentiousness, and an additional trifling with sin and death, and that dread Being whose very name we are told is “holy and reverend,” and nowise suited for *any* stage appeal. How such

pieces were ever permitted to be presented publicly before a nation so largely professing Christianity as ours, is the wonder; and serious reflecting minds must often be tempted to ask—when they contemplate the *extraordinary contradictions* everywhere abounding around and about, and in us, (some of which have been attempted to be demonstrated in these pages)—“Are we in a state of laughing gas inebriety, whilst surrounded by weeping realities? or do we *in everything* wish to travestie tragedy into comedy? or, in point of fact, *are we* a nation of self-deceiving bedlamites?”

Let us only read the 44th chap. of Jeremiah, and then look around us and see if there be not in the midst of us a large portion in like case, determinedly “burning incense to the Queen of Heaven, and walking after the words that come out of their own mouths.” They do not deny that “the Lord is their God,” nor did those Jews of old—but they would mix up idolatry with their worship, and so do these, *and God hated it then, and surely he is not changed now?*

As the author is not warped by peculiarity of colour or country, not prejudiced towards creeds or dogmas, and withal not wedded to sect or party, he hails with delight co-operation from every quarter: and is convinced, that combined measures alone can remedy existing evils. That quaint writer, “Old

Humphrey," tells us of a man having a smoky chimney. One neighbour advised this, another that, and a third something else ; the first remedy was tried, but did not succeed, *alone* ; the second was added, still the cure was not effected ; but *the three combined* produced a radical cure, to the satisfaction of the good-natured house-keeper ; who rejoiced that by the advice of his friends he was induced to try all for an end so desirable.

CHAPTER X.

Blessed is he that considereth the poor ;
The Lord will deliver him in time of trouble.
The Lord will preserve him and keep him alive ;
And he shall be blessed upon the earth ;
And not delivered into the will of his enemies.
The Lord will strengthen him upon the bed of languishing,
And make all his bed in his sickness.

BEFORE proceeding to point out the remedies of a preventive, or, a priori, more healthy system of social action, and less doubtful and harassing modes of employment; the writer invites consideration to the following questions; and for the public then to judge whether government ought not to be urged to make some effort to establish a National, thoroughly organized, "*Salpetrière*," ("Saltpetre-house," for cleansing the streets and curing the "street-walkers,") such as that about to be cited. For, does not private conscientiousness, and individual philanthropy, do the greater part of the dirty work of

the Nation? And, where have we a proper and special government Institution, such as the Salpetrière of Louis XIV.? which was formed, “to clear the streets of Paris of idle beggars, pilferers, and loose, disorderly women. Such, after having made an atonement by hard labour for some limited time, were either discharged, after being first marked on the shoulder with a hot iron, or else were sent out of the kingdom to people the Colonies. It was also a place where procuresses were lodged, under a strict discipline; but where girls who had been seduced, or were in evident peril of being so, were placed in a separate compartment of the establishment; and if any poor girl wished to reform, she was there taught whatever she was adapted for, and maintained until she had the power of earning her livelihood.”

Now, we have Prisons, and we have Penitentiaries like prisons, where all are horded together, pell-mell, the systematically very wicked, and depraved, with the mere destitute; and where both are equally, outwardly degraded in garb and hair—here it might be asked, in a parenthesis, why thus the hair of females always cut off? It would not seem that the Great Teacher desired the Magdalen whom His gracious forgiveness and favour saved and raised, to cut off her luxurious tresses—those tresses recorded to all generations! nor does it appear that “the woman

taken in adultery," who was also pardoned and set free by Him—nor "the woman of Samaria," who had led such a loose life—were either, or any of them, subjected to such (and, therefore, the writer must consider it unnecessary) humiliation. But to resume; surely a wide difference ought to be made betwixt the hardened, insolent, vicious, and the but once fallen; still more the compulsory, ensnared victim, the trepanned in fact, (the worst form, and most extensive now, of this sore evil) or the helpless and homeless, who still wish to, and would be thankful to, be put in the way to do right and to be industrious.

The universal *want* expressed by all interested in Penitentiaries, Dormitories, and ^{Refuges}, is, *some place where the young but just fallen, or the still unfallen, but destitute, and yet uninitiated in vice, could at once be taken in, as soon as they apply, and be kept there, and taught, until suitably provided for; without risk of funds failing, through private sources.* For the above places, they are not suited, coming out of them only more corrupted, in spite of any amount of surveillance; and, indeed, they are generally refused; or if any private institution cannot bear to turn them away, the lodging them out is attended with an inconvenient amount of expense, and great difficulty in procuring a suitable place or person to

most all in this particular) are attended with *delay* for the admission of *any one*; as committee days must be waited for, and the applications then presented be looked into, and funds be consulted, &c., &c.; during which time some, having no other means of subsistence than their unhallowed traffic, *and through that debarred from any other*,—get disheartened or laughed out of their good resolves, or *find, even at the end of their waiting, that they cannot be taken in*, from want of room, or of funds, or unsuitableness in the candidates themselves. Whereas, had we such a government institution as the “Salpetrière,” its doors ought to be *perpetually open to every class* for immediate admittance—as well to the policeman who clears the streets, as to the outcast who voluntarily seeks shelter.*

Of penal enactments, it will only be necessary to

* See *post*, an account of the disgraceful state of “The Camp at the Curragh,” and note well the following from the pen of its chaplain. “When any of these are apprehended for trespassing, or for being drunk or disorderly, they are committed to prison for a certain period. Then they are released with no resource but to return to their miserable haunts. *If there were asylums provided by the legislature, for the reception of these poor castaways, to which they might be consigned, as places of amendment, as well as punishment, some, if not many, brands might be plucked out of the fire,*” &c. &c. Mr. Carus Wilson adds—“I know at this moment of thirty poor girls in Portsmouth who would most thankfully abandon their evil courses; *but it is not easy to know how to befriend them.*”

suggest a short outline. First, then, with regard to the seducer. He should be compelled to marry his victim, or pay, at least, one half his income for the support of the woman and children (if any), or suffer penal servitude in case of failure. Married men should pay very largely in proportion to their income, or suffer penal servitude. Bachelors, after the age of thirty, should pay per cent. in addition to the usual taxes paid by married men, because they do not help to afford women natural and legal protection.

Home colonization, as before stated, would assist, to the extent of one-half at least, in renovating society; and be the means, too, of saving thousands, both of men and women, from destruction. Incontrovertible evidence is given by a gifted author, that besides the 15,000,000 acres *cultivateable* within this kingdom, there are millions of acres *deemed uncultivateable*, but which can be made available for human sustenance. Two quotations from his admirable work must suffice, though much more, equally striking, might be added. The writer strongly recommends the entire book* to the perusal of those of his readers who are sincerely interested in the amelioration of their fellow-creatures, *and the re-*

* "The Mother Country, or the Spade, the Wastes, and the Eldest Son; an Examination of the Condition of England, by Sydney Smith."

duction of the number of our poor—to those who wish not to see renewed those frightful scenes which were such a disgrace to our metropolis in the severe winter of 56-57.

Sydney Smith, then, tells us, that “a sickly labourer near Bristol could not induce the farmers to employ him. Engaged at ten shillings a week by a gentleman, he asked to rent two acres of rough waste, which were let to him at full value. In a few months he and his wife cleared it, burnt the furze, spread the ashes, and planted four perches of potatoes. The clothing of the family improved, health became better, the cottage was whitewashed, and enclosed with a wall and gate blossoming with the rose and woodbine. The pig became two, a few sheep were running, a little cow appeared, joined at last by another. These were exchanged for sheep. After six years’ service, the honest, *sober*, quiet labourer died, leaving two children—some money—two fine hogs—forty-nine good sheep advanced in lamb—and all on ten shillings a week, and two acres of waste.

“Let us couple this with another; that of Charles Marshall, day-labourer, at Ash, Farnham, Surrey. Twenty-six years ago, he got a grant of an acre of old gravel-pit, at a small quit-rent—cleaned, levelled, trenched, dug, and planted it. He struggled on until he built a cottage on it, his wife making him a present of *fourteen* children. A quick fence

encloses a rood of potatoes, another of barley, and two of vegetables for family and pigs. These latter are on one side of the house, bees on the other—a grape vine and evergreens surround his three rooms—and a washhouse has its oven, copper, and sink. Watchful of liquid and other manures, more is produced than he can use, and he sells some. The pork tub is full, sides of bacon hang in the chimney, the crocks are full of honey, a mangle and drying ground give profit in washing, he wants but a cow and another acre to use up his manure. He is now clerk of the parish—and we dare be sworn there is not a better in England.”

The author adds, “We have coupled these two cases. They make us proud of human nature, and ashamed of ourselves. *Here*, we do but talk and write—but these men *Do*.

“ ‘Of all the good we miss—or ill endure,
How little *human laws* can make or cure.’ ”

He then exclaims: “Oh English nobles—how little do you know, what noble men you govern! Oh Norman barons—how precious is that Saxon race who suffered you to conquer them from worse native slave masters. Keep them still the serfs you found them, by battering them down to the squalid abjectness of beggary—and they will again sink to the stolid dulness of the iron dog-collar, and the

despairing passivity, that cares not what comes of country or of home. Raise them to the free spirit of independence, which is the natural atmosphere of their lives, let them but *be free, to own the land they till*, to toil for themselves as nature meant them, and on every moor they will conquer another Agincourt, and on each barren waste achieve a nobler victory, than their ancestors gained for you at Cressy and Poitiers."

Let these suffice to prove,—that millions of acres can be reclaimed, and made to yield abundance, or when not that, still enough to meet the necessities of many,—that thousands of young men (marrying) may be profitably employed—their wives being such a *help* to them in the matter of pigs, cows, poultry, marketing, mending, cleaning, and cooking—and thus add, yearly, immense wealth to the national stock, and be one efficient and sure means of protecting young women from the degraded position into which thousands are now driven.

Take any view of the question, the same good must follow; whether we provide employment for tens of thousands, *now anxious to obtain it* but loath to quit their native land, who would thus at once become producers and blessings, to the nation, or whether we thereby secure the protection and housewifery duties Nature intended her for, of the same number of young women; all would have a bene-

ficial tendency ; while the vast amount of land redeemed from waste, and the abundance of food annually raised, after the first year or two, would create wants by the cultivators, and a demand for manufactured articles, to an extent incalculable ; ensuring comfort to individuals, wealth to the community, and a sure, legitimate, natural protection to women :—

“ For millions of hands want acres,
And millions of acres want hands.”

That such grants are not chimeras, even as free gifts, many a duchy and many a common could tell. There is at the present, to instance but one fact, a tract of woodlands and common, extending over 144,000 acres, the gift of a lady, who obtained it from her lord, a potent Duke, some centuries back—the legend goes, upon somewhat the same terms as the Lady Godiva of Coventry—and granted it by free charter to a set of starving villagers, who, and their descendants, were for ever to have a common use of all thereupon and thereunto belonging. Now at first view, the *soil* of this exquisitely undulating land of hill and dell, wood, river and running stream, must have appeared quite impracticable ; for it was—and what still remains uncultivated is, still, to bear witness to its powers of yielding under perseverance and care—mere huge masses of chumps and stone

and furze. For the removal of these impediments, the recipients had to moot it, and then to upturn the cumbrous impediments by means of crowbars and pick-axes; but that achieved, (of course they did it as they could, bit by bit,) after a year's salting, it readily yielded potatoes, and after manuring, there is nothing that will not grow upon it in the richest luxuriance, from every species of grain and vegetable and fruit, to the myrtle, geranium, verbena and rose, and these last even *out*, in both senses of the word, at Christmas. When cleared, this ground can fetch from £20 to £40 an acre. Meantime, from the woods skirting the river, the women and children could, and do, gain a livelihood. For *withes*—the rind of the lime, or any light tree that will twist—they can get from 10*d.* to 1*s.* for a hundred in a bundle, and they can make up from 20 to 30 bundles in a day. Of the holly they prepare sticks for umbrella-handles, &c., and can get for these 3*d.* a dozen. This is gathered and cut, by permission, from the river's woody margin. In the higher woods belonging to other proprietors, they are permitted, after the hoops for casks for exportation are there cut from the underwood,—a very interesting and pretty process, carried on, during the winter months, by the light of huge fires in the woods; the men sawing, the horses dragging, and these village “old men and maidens, young men and children” of

every growth—permitted to pick up the refuse shavings which, like the gleanings and binding sheaves of the olden Jewish time, they may carry home for their own fire lighting, and which they call chips. Besides these, they make up for sale very tidy little bundles of furze sticks, and get 1s. for 20 bundles of ten each. Formerly, until they cut it nearly all down, they used also to get from their own woods, logs, which they sawed up for burning, like the French *bûchons*.

For such, those who still possess wood can get 9s. a *cord*, which is a certain amount of cubic feet. Almost each one has their small bit too of orchard ground, which in those parts is wonderfully prolific, and yields the most delicious apples of every sort; some of an immense size, others equal to the American Newtown pippin, whilst one tiny kind, are but as a bite of that from whence they take their name, “bread and cheese.” Pears too are good, and in autumn, the entire little colony is alive with cyder and perry-making, reminding one of the “Old Man’s” Langen-schwalbach selzer Wasser brewing,* for the parson is as interested in it as the smallest child; and ask any one then, to do anything for you—be it man, woman or child, boatman, farmer, or servant, the answer is invariably the same, “Can’t—I’m at my cyder.” Some are gather-

ing the apples, some are heaping them up, some are storing them away, some are pressing them, some are at the mill, some are cleaning the rugs, some are preparing the casks, some are filling them, and all, both great and small, are more or less filling themselves also, by the same opportunity. The amount of apples then munched, and pints and half-pints consumed, must be seen to be comprehended.

For 10s. they buy a pig, and if she bear a good litter, it is a decided case of “qu'on peut servir tout le monde,” as a Lohn Kutscher (Voiturier) so indefatigably reiterated to the Hon. Baptist Noel of his “bonne voiture et bons chevaux,” accompanying each “n'est ce pas?” with a stirring “poke in the ribs” of that Rev. gentleman, whilst driving beside him on the coach-box, and as so humorously described by Mr. Noel in his “Journal of a Tour in Switzerland”—for they sell all but one porker, for home-consumption, or for cutting up and selling to those of their neighbours who cannot keep one. Its victuals costs them next to nothing, for they feed it upon *wash* mixed with a little fine bran and boiled up together. Their cows and horses they turn out to grass, and the donkeys, which most of them keep, feed themselves from the hedges and ditches. These they use to bring them forest coal from an adjacent beautiful forest, and which they get at 6*d.* the cwt., and 1*d.* the tolls, selling it again

to their neighbours, who have not boys or donkeys to fetch it for themselves, at 1s. the cwt. When any of this small body of colonists scraped a little together, they purchased a boat, and then rented fishing (salmon) in the river, which, with its beautiful *weirs*, (or little breaks,) flows past their village. For about a mile and a half of this in extent, they pay a couple of pounds per annum—have seven months' fishing, and may sometimes catch as many as three salmon in a night, some of which occasionally weigh from 38 to 40 odd pounds, and for which, in the season, they get from 2s. to 2s. 6d. per pound, selling them to those fishmongers of the neighbouring towns, *who send them up to London*. In early spring they catch tiny eels, which they press into a sort of cake, and much relish. Others, again, have invested their savings in barges, which carry these different kinds of wood to neighbouring seaport towns for sale; and almost all the men who have none of their own, hire themselves, by the job, to go with these barges. When not thus occupied, they farm their few or more acres; for some, more careful, have bought of others less frugal; and added "field to field, and house to house." The village, and "under the hill," as they call it and the common, and woods, and roads, are everywhere intersected with the purest little rills of delicious running water, colder and more healthfully exhilarating, than the finest iced champagne. And these villagers and

“*common*” men, ought to be well off—sitting as they do, rent and tax free—for they have almost all built their own little cottages in the bits of ground originally enclosed by their ancestors; and only within the last fifty years have they been forced to pay poor rates, nor need they ever have done this had not some one discovered and informed against them, that they had broken the strict letter of their charter, in enclosing and parcelling off ground amongst themselves; and in selling the wood out of their own community; the original bequest being, that they were all to share and share alike—all to have wood, water, and common alike free, to turn out their horses and cows and pigs and donkeys upon, and to cut down from; and to cultivate, alone, for home consumption—in fact, the excellent benefactress’s intention was, that they should be all as one large, happy family, and so far they *have* carried it out, that they are all connected—half-a-dozen *names* being the only variation in their stock—and in one other respect too, they carried it out, quite patriarchally, for three generations may be still found, tent-fashion, pell-mell, in a cottage of two rooms for cooking and sleeping in; but above all, they rejoice in such Scriptural Christian names as Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego (literally three brothers), and Solomon, and Cornelius, and Trephonia, and Priscilla, and Ezra, &c. &c. But into this Utopia—and

which even nature seemed to intend should be such : for its sky is ever most blue, and its atmosphere most pure ; its sun, how brightly beautiful, when it gilds with every variety of tint, the many-foliaged mountain tops, or dances upon the rippling stream, or bathes in a flood of gold, the pretty little chapel at the river's brink, and makes one forget in its warmth that there is a winter. As for its moon and stars in their brilliant light, everything stands out so clear ; and defined, and hushed-like, that no sound is heard save the gentle murmur of the ever-gliding waters, but,

“ In reason's ear they all rejoice,
And utter forth a glorious voice,
For ever singing as they shine,
The hand that made us is divine.”

It is impossible to contemplate such glorious sights, and to wander about this favoured region, where, through the woods, a short walk brings you to the exquisite ruins of a fine old Abbey ; or a drive of undulating hill and dale, rich in every variety of verdure, to an ancient castle ; or to reflect that everything in the wildest, most prolific luxuriance, is there assembled, that can captivate the eye and the ear, (for the feathered songsters abound too)—without being reminded of an exquisite verse the writer once saw *engraven upon the rock*, in an equally enchanting valley in Germany.

“Ich denke Wer die Wege,
 So wunderschön gemacht,
 Er hat das Ziel der Reise
 Noch herrlicher gedacht!”

But into this Utopia has entered—even as of yore he did into that other beauteous spot,—the vile tempter ; here, in the form of the Demon drink, with his train of attendant evils. To propitiate him, barter was necessitated, then sales, and ultimately many a comfortable birthright lost ; so that, whilst some still flourish, and have cottages, and land, and boats, and shops, *and public-houses* ; others are eating a scanty morsel by the sweat of their brow, bowed by age, and “clothed in motley.” Within a stone’s throw of each other, and in a small village not extending over a quarter of a mile square, there are *now four public-houses, and there used to be seven dancing-rooms !* when, thirty years ago, it was called, “*the city of refuge*,” for the lawless of the two counties upon whose borders it stands. Yet, perseveringly for that number of years, two different sections of the church of Christ, besides the *three* parish ones, (which all partly claim some portion of its boundaries,) have worked in it, and around it ; and the “*goodings*,”* are distributed at Christmas at one place ; and gifts given at another ; and schooling accepted from all, according as *these very independent people’s* whim or

* Money, food, clothing.

time, or locale permit ; and consequently, as may be supposed, about one to ten can read, and about one to twenty can write, and *all*, are eminently ignorant and neglected ; for what availeth all these good things, as long as the Monster Evil still sits there, *and swallows them all down ?* Yet, all this only the more proves, that in spite of such a besetting sin, and its many ugly effects, in illegitimacy—(though they marry, and intermarry, and that young), sickness, quarrelling, fighting, (and thereby oftentimes fines and imprisonment), and occasional “accidents by field and flood,” suddenly ushering souls into eternity, whilst others, in madness, *suicide*—yet, all this only the more proves how much—*apparently uncultivateable*—land, has been *made to yield*, and how much may be gained beside. So we end as we commenced, by saying, give starving, willing, able men, but the chance, and see whether some of our “millions of acres will not yield to our millions of hands.”

CHAPTER XI.

And thou Son of man, be not afraid of them,
Neither be afraid of their word, though briars and thorns be
with thee,
And thou dost dwell among Scorpions :
Be not afraid of their words, nor be dismayed at their looks,
Though they be a rebellious House,
Thou shalt speak my words unto them,
Whether they will hear, or whether they will forbear.

IN addition to home colonization, what vast tracts of country abroad, are under British rule. Both Canadas, Nova Scotia, South Africa, the whole continent of Australia—and now India. All these offer their uncultivated broad acres to Englishmen. Surely means could be devised whereby the thousands seeking employment might be located at a small expense, while our ships of war might be usefully employed in carrying thither thousands of industrious couples who are now at home, debarred by circumstances, from lawful matrimony—our young men daily becoming more and more reckless and un-

chaste—our young women continually pining away, or discontented, or falling into the ranks of the unfortunate,—and our prisons perpetually full ; as may be seen from our sad statistics. In a letter to the *Times*, “an East-end Incumbent” advocated *rather an increase of, or greater equalizing of the poor-rate, than emigration, to meet the destitution in London.* Upon this, the writer will stop to offer a few remarks, and to ask, if the curate overlooked in his view, *the fact*, that almost all poor-rate payers grumble at what they already have to pay, be the parish what it may ; *and think idle paupers a serious incubus, not, “the bone and sinew, the physical and mental energy of our population.”* Besides, would the working classes, and especially the higher classes of artizans, thank you for transforming them into paupers ? and would not their very “energy and spirit” be broken by the feeling of such daily dependence upon any unearned bounty ?

The Lord Mayor shewed his common sense and his oneness with the great family of mankind, when he sympathised with, and justly termed, “the working classes of this country a most respectable body.” We have certainly as a nation, reason to be proud of their habitual industry, and quiet, virtuous habits, as compared with those of many other lands ; who half their time drink, and dance, and play the fool, and stupidly bow down to they know not what, or

• openly throw all belief overboard. Let us look at what the working of such a state of things *might* be; in referring back to some reports of a Commission which was appointed by Government in his late Majesty's reign to inquire into the administration and operation of the poor laws; and then judge, whether every public and private virtue in the country might not risk being thereby sooner or later destroyed. The Rector of the parish of Christchurch, Spitalfields, stated himself to have been then accessory to a distribution of above £8000 within one year; besides the operation of the various local charities, which he certifies, on his "*own personal observation.*" Now, who could wish to see the *increase* of such a state of things? for the writer believes it is an incontestable fact, *at this moment*, that Spitalfields is about one of the poorest, most depressed, and least enlightened spiritually, though also one of the most populous, of our London districts. They still marry when but children, still are squalid and wretched in their appearance, and still *need much to be done for them, physically, mentally, and spiritually.* Whilst the writer advocates *all* means of improvement, and adds some suggestions headed "Workhouse Visitation," as deserving notice,* he would

* TO THE EDITOR OF THE RECORD.

SIR,—Your article on "Workhouse Visitation" is most important, and your correspondent deserves the thanks of the

ask whether the philosophy of *preventing* Crime and Pauperism would not be the wisest study for all?

community for directing attention to it. He states that for the spiritual oversight and instruction of the inmates a chaplain is appointed, at a salary ranging from £50 to £100 per annum, and the duties required of him are generally one full service on Sunday, and prayers one day in the week, with occasional visits to the sick. Now, this is by far too favourable a statement of the case in many large places. What is the condition of many Unions in South Wales? I know one embracing twenty or thirty parishes (and one of these parishes has a population of 30,000 souls), where the chaplain was paid £20 per annum. He had two livings, and was resident three or four miles distant. He had to perform two full services weekly, superintend schools, visit sick and aged. When he resigned no one could be found to take so onerous a duty for £20 per annum; the Guardians decided no chaplain should be appointed, and they have thrown open the religious services to volunteers.

In another case of a large Union where there is no chaplain, the incumbent of an overwhelming population does the duty gratis, rather than see the inmates neglected. There are many cases in the Principality in which no chaplains are appointed. It may be asked, does not the law require that the pauper should be provided with *stated religious* instruction? Certainly. But the Poor Law Board are the parties whose duty it is to see the law enforced, and if they will not, the Guardians generally are only too happy to escape the payment of a chaplain. In the case first mentioned, on the representation that no chaplain could be obtained at £20 per annum, the Poor Law Board recommended that an offer of £40 should be made. This aroused some of the ratepayers, a hundred or so among thousands, and they presented a pe-

Some one has written; "there are two motives that strongly influence rude minds—one of these is restitution, and the other is frustration. To be foiled after a very clever dodge, is the fate which would render the delinquent hopeless, would break his spirit, and make him give in to the policeman at the very sight of that functionary. To make him refund equally spoils his courage. The man who knows that he shall be found out, who sees that he must be industrious, who understands from constant experience that he will be made to repay fivefold every advantage that he snatches lawlessly, will be inclined

efforts would suffice. The subject was dropped. There is no individual responsible to the Guardians that religious instruction shall be given. Sometimes, even on the Sabbath, it is *altogether omitted*. And what is likely to be the condition of the schools, the sick and aged, when left entirely to voluntary effort, and no controlling power, may easily be imagined. The Master of this Union was lately dismissed for the grossest immorality; another is now on his trial on a charge of the grossest neglect. The whole system of our religious instruction in Unions requires revision; nor should it be left to the Guardians to act as they please, and either to give it, or withhold it. They cannot act thus as regards the body of the pauper; every Union must have a medical man. Why should the souls of the poor be thus neglected? This, and the too frequent absence of proper classification, is the cause of the remark in your correspondent's letter, that "no cases of greater moral depravity and ignorance are met with than those sent from workhouses."

IOTA.

Swansea, Oct. 14, 1856.

to submit to his fate by anticipation, and to prefer a free employer, a calling in life more or less honest, to the brief chances of felony with the workshop and compensation in prospect."

Captain Chesterton's twenty-five years' experience seems to back this in a measure, for he says, that though "he could not rely with assurance upon the corrigibility of *habitual thieves, and systematic evil-doers*, (and amongst this number, alas! women, *the most irreclaimable*), that the case was far different *with first or casual offenders*." As an index of the relative proportions of these two classes, it appears that 33 per cent. of recommitments was the steady ratio for years, and Captain Chesterton notices, that two-thirds of our prison population might therefore, be deemed reclaimable. As to the rest, notwithstanding all that has been attempted in the way of reformatory Institutions, (including the School of Probation at Westminster, which unquestionably has been the means of rescuing some of the least hopeful class), he cannot repress his conviction of the "all but universal hopelessness of thieves," and in this, *and in every class, he believes a majority of hopeful subjects to predominate among the males rather than among the females,—*"so very many of the latter, under whatever form of conviction, belong to the loose order." In the "Convict Prisons Reports," there is a paragraph much to the same effect viz.: that "Experience

shows, that of 1,000 criminals, 200 will relapse into crime, *with less success than before*; 300 will abandon crime as a bad speculation, and because their skill in thieving is pretty well lost; 400 will bonâ-fide, and from principle and choice, adopt a good course of life, and become useful members of society; and 100 will break down into permanent invalids, and *end their days in a workhouse.*" The history of Edward Agar, who was sentenced to transportation for life in January 1857, is a case in point; as the last remarks upon his career, in the *Times* of January 15th of that year, point out, in asking; "how it is reasonable that habits formed at the age of thirty, in the manner of his, are to be superseded by *more desirable persuasions* concerning right and wrong?" &c. Can we doubt that had early good instruction been given to such a person, or to so ingenious a boy as George Davenport,* they would have been induced at

* A REAL ROBBER'S CAVE.

George Davenport, not more than thirteen years of age, and with a peculiarly sinister expression of countenance, was charged before Mr. D'Eyncourt with stealing a quantity of apples, value five shillings, from the garden of a gentleman resident at West Hackney. The prisoner was found in possession of the apples, and must have waded through a filthy ditch, beneath a dark archway, to enter the premises from which they were stolen. A singular fact was connected with the boy's way of life. Some time since some constables discovered, while passing through a back field in the same locality,

once to prefer a *prospect of getting on well and securely*, to the uncertainties attending fraud and deceit? In an article upon Ragged Schools, inserted in the *Times*, we read that :—

“ During the last few years above 500 of the worst of the London *gamins* have been sent out as colonists, chiefly at the cost of the Ragged School Union. Nor, when they reached Australia or Canada have they been sent adrift, for adequate guardianship has been provided until work was obtained. As the effect of the prior industrial and moral training, not 10 per cent. have forfeited the good will of their patrons; but, by the local authorities, they are acknowledged to be industrious among the most industrious, and moral among those who are most characterized by self-control. It is not strange, then, that one wrote home to say that, as driver of the Melbourne mailcart, he received 150*l.* per annum, that he had saved 250*l.*, and that he intended to transmit 100*l.* to pay the passage of his parents to that prosperous colony. Many candidates still remain, who seek to earn in another land the bread they cannot honestly obtain in Old England. But, alas! in reply to these earnest applicants, the Central Committee are compelled to say—“ We have no funds!” Surely, a portion of the revenue now appropriated to erecting costly palatial prisons, like those at Holloway and Pentonville, would be more wisely expended in transferring some of these reformed vagrants and outcasts to

a complete cave, beneath the earth, the mouth of which was carefully concealed, while the interior afforded every accommodation for its tenants. There were a frying pan, gridiron, and other utensils for cooking, while a brick chimney, cleverly built, served to carry off the smoke. In this hiding-place, the prisoner together with another boy was taken, and doubtless, it had served as a retreat for others.

a land where their history is unknown and where the strong arm of trained labour is required? At least, by this plan we should respond to the cry of the farmers of Australia—"Send us some more of Lord Shaftesbury's lads!"

Another pleasing result of Ragged Schools is included in the number of shoeblacks who stud the broadways of London, clad in cheerful blue, yellow, or red jerseys, and whose cry, "Clean your boots, Sir?" is fast becoming incorporated into our language. Civil, cleanly, and attentive as they now are, not a few of the 110 lads thus employed came from homes—if homes they had—whose filthy aspect was a fit type of the moral filth of the district. Had they not been rescued by ragged school teachers, it would not have required the prevision of the seer to foretell their destiny; for too many would have illustrated the striking words of Inspector Pearce—"I never see a criminal boy at the bar of a police court but I think, Well, you will cost the country 300*l.* before we have done with you!" But, though six years have not elapsed since this branch of labour was introduced, these boys have earned above 7,000*l.*, their united earnings for the last financial year being 2,270*l.*, representing 544,800 pairs of boots. Thus, then, do these outcasts not only support themselves honourably—for all labour, be it mental or manual, is honourable—but many have assisted to rescue parents and sisters from lives of vice and degradation, and all because they were led to enter and adopt the advice of the ragged school.

Nor can the fact be omitted that during the last three years not less than 3,342 of these poor victims of neglect obtained regular employment. Very gratifying is it to learn that of these 837 obtained the prize presented to those who had retained their situations for twelve months and upwards to the satisfaction of their employers—many more being debarred this reward solely through the necessarily stringent rules framed by the central committee, as trustees of the public. Thus, instead of adding their personal corruptions to the

vices of their class, they are steadily fulfilling the great law of labour; and upwards of 60, as teachers, are repaying the kindness which rescued them from want or vice, by aiding, in the powerful language of Dr. Chalmers, to "excavate the heathen of this great city."

Other and as striking benefits of the ragged-school system might be adduced. For "slums" have been opened to the public, which were once almost sealed to the police; dissolute parents have been reformed through the direct influence of penny-banks, parents' meetings, and "ragged churches;" and of Portland-town the police record, that while prior to the opening of the ragged-school in 1849, 239 lads were charged yearly, the number of culprits is now reduced below 50. Nor is this all; for who may tell the moral influence exerted by the 2,139 gratuitous labourers engaged in this noble work, some of whom add lustre to their coronets by their patient and affectionate labours?

But, unhappily, most pictures have a background of gloom; nor would this sketch of ragged schools be a correct photograph if the shadows were omitted. Most ragged schools are in debt, economically as they are conducted—the education of each scholar not costing more than above 12s. per annum. At this time 63 schools are indebted to their treasurers in sums amounting to nearly 5,000*l.*, and others are likely to die through the unnatural death of starvation. It would also seem that the Ragged School Union itself, upon which the origination of new and the friendly oversight of old efforts so much devolve, is labouring under a financial crisis, its grants to schools during the last three years amounting to 12,412*l.*, and its expenditure having exceeded its receipts by 4,650*l.* Out of the 150 ragged schools united to the central society, about 120 depend more or less on its annual grants. Were, then, such assistance withdrawn, there can be little doubt that many of the affiliated institutions would be compelled to

London. This result, however, we cannot anticipate, unless, indeed, society, in the face of bitter experience, should determine that it is easier to crush evil in the flower than in the germ, and that to punish is better than to prevent crime.

For "slums," where the very air wafts fever and cholera, and dens of infamy, euphemistically yclept "Lodging-houses for Travellers," still abound. Unlicensed penny theatres, known by their wretched frequenters as "gaffs," still, by unveiled vice, mock decency out of countenance. In the byeways too, of London, "dolly-shops," or unlicensed pawn-brokers, are not a rarity, where all kinds of articles may be left in semi-pledge, and no prying questions asked. With temptations like these, abounding as they do in the low districts of Southwark and Westminster, it requires stronger moral courage than most city Arabs possess successfully to contend. Hence, should the doors of the humble ragged school be closed, the only plan of social amelioration which has acquired the confidence of these British pariahs would cease to illumine the moral darkness which may be felt, and society will discover, a day too late, that it must encounter a giant which, when a pigmy, might have been subdued by love.

I am, Sir, &c.,

E. J. HYTCHE.

Jan. 18, 1857.

Should however no such *healthy* inducements to rise out of vice or pauperism be offered, but, on the contrary, the former, in *its punishments even, well cared for ; whilst destitution, however previously respectable, is scorned and kenneled ;* may we not all, with the Lord Mayor say, "If the *poor* were treated in such a way as that, was it not natural that they should resort to *crime* rather than submit to it?" Indeed, if

we look at—not convict *life*, but *luxury*—such as we find it described by an eye-witness thus: “a London thief of any notoriety, after having been a short time in Sydney, would scorn to place himself or his assigned wife in so mean a Vehicle as a Gig, nothing less than a carriage and pair is commensurate with the rank in felony to which they have arisen in Australia. A better idea of the effect of all this upon a stranger cannot be conveyed, than by the following anecdote of an officer who visited New South Wales on leave of absence from his regiment in India. Having gone with a friend in a Gig from Sydney to the Races at Paramatta, they were passed on the road by many genteel equipages, including close carriages, curricles, and landaus. In answer to the stranger’s questions, his companion informed him, that one brilliant set out belonged to Sam Such-a-one, who had been a convict, but was now a free man, and a man of fortune; that another was the property of a convict who kept a draper’s shop in Sydney, but was assigned to his wife, who had brought out with her a large sum of money; that a third belonged to a ticket-of-leave man, who had obtained that indulgence almost immediately after his arrival in the colony, &c. At the race course, where ‘all the beauty and fashion’ of felony were assembled, the stranger’s astonishment was complete at the number of instances in which he obtained simi-

lar answers. After some grave reflections on so singular an exhibition, he ironically remarked, *that he thought he had better return as soon as possible to India, for the purpose of there committing some crime that should subject him to a short sentence of transportation, for it really seemed to him that it was the best way of getting on in the world.*" The danger however of such men returning to this country as tickets-of-leave, we have recently very severely felt; and we have seen in Edward Agar's case that no amount of success will debar from the *gambling*—for it is such—in crime; nor will mere education, save even our already (as narrated in the Ragged School Statement) successful little *Gamins*; for, as justly and experimentally remarked in the Convict Prisons' Report, "Statistics prove that *mere education* is not to be received, either as a panacea or preventive of serious crime, as it is plainly a two-edged sword, which cuts both ways, for evil and for good, *according to the religious principles and moral habits of the possessor.*"

Now, in that very ragged school description, all interesting though it be, we read (a natural enough boast) of their "industry and morality—that not ten per cent. have forfeited the good will of their patrons,—and of the affluent circumstances of one who wrote home to say, that as driver of the Melbourne Mail Cart, he received £150 per annum,"

&c. ; but not a word of—the only guarantee for them through life, and best safeguard for themselves—their religious principles. We know that in ragged schools much is often learnt by the weak-minded but better disposed, from the clever, vicious, ill-disposed, which, though it may not perhaps meet the eye of teachers, is known by parents, and masters of boys, *as of a very corrupting nature*; and yet this may not hinder them from being sharp, or from keeping up an appearance of good behaviour.

Many conscientious persons are discouraged from assisting in this branch of social effort, because they see, that in the generality of these schools, the teaching is not of a sufficiently *solid religious nature*; only a superficial smattering, accorded to a very limited portion of the time, while *human knowledge* monopolizes the most, as if it were “the one thing needful,”—combined with the healthful action of lungs, hands, and feet. This may arise in a measure from the fact, that a large mass of ragged school patronisers and supporters are, simple Philanthropists, or possessors of more benevolence than evangelical feeling.* Might such not reflect that

* The author, however, must state that he, individually, comes not within the sweeping censure once pronounced by Lord Shaftesbury, at a public Ragged School Meeting, that, “whilst others sat in high resolve, they *worked* ;” for he is a Ragged School supporter and Sunday Teacher, but he deemed it right to add the above remarks, to attract attention

all time has exemplified, and the present daily experience of most, brings it tiresomely, *if not sufferingly*, home to them,—since the common schoolmaster has been so promiscuously abroad—that “knowledge puffeth up;” even if we go not so far as to chime in with the poet, that “a little knowledge is a dangerous thing.”

But in the case of women, we do think *it is*; and to them is like putting a powerful, but lightly-moved engine, into an inexperienced hand to work, *without making them first well acquainted with the moving and stopping principle*. For who can doubt it,—that looks around and sees the petty shopwindows crowded with penny publications (*and daily being added to, which shows what a sale they must have*) full of the most exaggerated and harrowing tales, and rhymes, and exciting absorbing trash of every description, which feeds unwholesomely these female imaginations, and fritters away their best—nay *all*—their feelings? (The writers, however, of such works ought to be still more censured than the ignorant readers.) Let mistresses witness, who find,

to the subject; and in the hope thereby to increase their funds and their working; as many, ready to co-operate in all good works, at present abstain from helping on these schools for the reasons shown, and because they feel that they have not influence sufficient to induce any *change*, nor funds nor interest enough to *form* others, according to their evangelical views.

to the cost of both time and temper, their maids' minds in anything but their work; let the general run of shop milliners witness, who have so often to part with their hands owing to incorrigible inattention to orders; let respectable private dressmakers witness, who, to their cost, and often to the loss of their customers, cut out in vain, try on in vain, and set the work in vain, *for earless, eyeless, fingers* which render up the article only fit—to be returned. Thus valuable, *and sometimes unmatched*, silks, or other materials, are spoilt, to the extreme vexation of both lady and dressmaker. And all this, why? Because the young persons had “souls above buttons.” Because they must have “that beautiful story,” where everybody fell in love with everybody, and all the rest cut their own and everybody else's throats, upon their lap to read, “*under the rose*”—*robe*. Because their writing materials,—always equally handy, but popped under some bit of work, when prying eyes are inconveniently near—are had perpetual recourse to, to carry on the voluminous correspondence necessitated, with dear Moll and Poll and Tom and Bill, as soon as a few capitals can be formed to place before all the little prepositions and pronouns, except the first person singular, which is invariably a little “i.” And because all possible odd moments must be prolonged, to continue the confidential communications with “Cook,” who is the

never-failing Mercury—her domain the Aréna of fate—and herself often needing to have her own letters read to, and written for her. And can we wonder, after this unstable smattering of many things, that the poor persons, should speedily follow the uncertain leadings of such imaginations, and become the easy prey of any seducer?

In conclusion, who would not wish, through early, solid, simple, *made comprehensible* Bible teaching, and Gospel precepts; and then early emigration; to obviate those harassing scenes so feelingly described recently by Mr. Rose, one of the under-sheriffs for London. "Month after month," he wrote to the editor of the *Times*, "hundreds of prisoners are tried, causing thousands of hearts to be wrung with indescribable agony; and whatever selfish depravity may appear in the dock, our common nature brings to aid them, hearts full of sensibility; and sacrifices almost incredible are constantly made by the mothers, wives, sisters, and friends of prisoners, but more particularly by women; men cannot go through these scenes. Often I hear the mother with glazed eye, saying, 'Father's taken to his bed since this affair—it's unnerved him;' or 'Father couldn't bear an interview.' And Father sits in the lobby, while mother goes into Newgate; her love neither chilled by selfishness nor daunted by danger, nor weakened by worthlessness, nor stifled by ingratitude."

And who would not wish that *every poor man* might have his "May?" How touching are the following lines, from the *heart*, as well as pen of an artizan in the very humblest walks of humble life; what a blessed gift of the Beneficent, that he could, when his shuttle was laid aside, find such vent for his pent-up feelings; relaxing thus, through so softening a medium, even *his* wearied frame. The lines are entitled,

THE POOR MAN'S MAY.

"Sweet May! they tell me thou art come,
 Ah no! not come to me,
 Who may not spare a single hour,
 Sweet May! to come to thee!
 God knows how hard I've worked this week
 To earn my children bread,
 And see—we have an empty board,—
 My children are unfed.
 And art thou still the ~~same~~ sweet May,
 That I did love so well,
 When humming like a happy bee,
 Along thy primrose dell,
 I thought, Oh! what a lovely world
 Is this, dear God, has given:
 And wondered anyone should seek
 For any other heaven?
 There hawthorn buds are come again,
 And apple blossoms too,
 And all the idle, happy birds,
 May sing the long day through.
 The old green lane awakes once more,
 And looks, perhaps for me;
 Alas! green lane, my heart may die,
 I cannot come to thee."

Or who, with any feeling, can read The Corn-

Law Rhymer's "Factory Child," without wishing a better sphere of labour, and a better fate, for *the many hundreds of such* who shame our Christianity? Read but that touching "North and South" delineation of Dickens in his "Household Words," and *there*, is conviction sufficient, that though *poetry*, the following lines are *no fiction*.

THE FACTORY CHILD.

BY THE CORN-LAW RHYMER.

'Twas on a winter's morning,
 The weather wet and wild,
 Three hours before the dawning,
 The father roused his child;
 Her daily morsel bringing,
 The darksome room he paced,
 And cried, "Thy bell is ringing,
 My hapless, darling haste!"

"Father, I'm up but weary,
 I scarce can reach the door,
 And long the way and dreary,—
 O carry me once more!
 To help us we've no mother,
 And you have no employ:
 They killed my little brother,—
 Like him I'll work and die!"

Her wasted form seemed nothing,
 The load was at his heart;
 The sufferer he kept soothing,
 Till at the mill they part.
 The overlooker met her,
 As to her frame she crept,
 And with his thong he beat her,
 And cursed her as she wept.

Alas! what hours of horror
Made up her latest day;
In toil and pain and sorrow,
They slowly passed away:
It seemed as she grew weaker,
The threads the oftner broke,
The rapid wheels ran quicker,
And heavier fell the stroke.

The sun had long descended,
But night brought no repose;
Her day began and ended
As cruel tyrants chose.
At length a little neighbour
Her halfpenny she paid,
To take her last hour's labour,
While by her frame she laid.

At last, the engine ceasing,
The captives homeward rushed:
She thought her strength increasing—
'Twas hope her spirits flushed:
She left, but oft she tarried;
She fell and rose no more,
Till, by her comrades carried,
She reached her father's door.

All night, with tortured feeling,
He watched his speechless child;
While, close beside her kneeling,
She knew him not, nor smiled,
Again the factory's ringing
Her last perceptions tried;
When, from her straw-bed springing,
" 'Tis time!" she shrieked, and died!

That night a chariot passed her,
 While on the ground she lay ;
 The daughters of her master
 An evening visit pay ;
 Their tender hearts were sighing
 As negro wrongs were told,
 While the white slave was dying,
 Who gained their father's gold !

Perhaps too some of those poor houseless, homeless, starving wanderers,—who were so *humanely sent on “two miles and a half farther,”*—after they, footsore and exhausted, hoped “a shelter” was reached at the union—to find only “a bare stable, without fire or food,” and this, in the severe winter, and month of February 1857,—may have echoed Béranger's

DYING BEGGAR.

“Worn out with age, infirmity, and pain,
 Here in this ditch, I lay me down to die.
 ‘The wretch is drunk!’ exclaim the passers by.
 ‘Tis well, to lose their pity is a gain :
 Some, with averted head, in scorn pass on ;
 Some fling me halfpence. *Christians*, go your way,
 Haste to the feast, the concert, or the play ;
 Leave the old beggar. He can die alone.
 Yes : I am dying—dying of old age—
 They say, men die, not of starvation now.
 I hoped some *Union* might yet allow
 A shelter, and my miseries assuage.
But they are full, and I—forlorn.
 I’m not alone, at least in misery.
 The roadside was my childhood’s nursery ;
 Let the old beggar die where he was born.

When young and strong, I would have learned a trade,
 I asked Mechanics to instruct me. 'Go ;
 We have too many hands, and wages low,
 There is no room for you ; go beg,' they said.
Ye rich, who bade me labour, 'twas my lot
 To live upon your refuse ; and the law
 Forbade me not to sleep upon your straw,
 The dying mendicant will curse you not.
I might have been a robber ; poverty
Excuses much. 'Twas better to implore
 Than to demand, and I have stolen no more
 Than some stray apple ripening on the tree.
 Yet often would your cruel laws confine
 The vagabond in prison, dark and drear,
 And rob him of his sole possession here.
 Old beggar as I was, the sun was mine.
 Where is the poor man's country ? What to me
 Are your rich crops, your corn, and oil and wine,
 Your glory, and your wealth ? They are not mine,
 Nor your high parliaments and pageantry,
 Why, as a noxious insect, crushed ye not
 My life at once ? Ah ! rather, *fellow-men,*
Why taught ye not my hands to work ? and then
Mine had not been this scorned and weary lot.
 The worm, protected from the wintry blast,
 Had been perchance, the industrious ant, and ye
 Had been a brotherhood of love to me.
 I die—a beggar, and your foe, at last."

"Mr. Ruell, chaplain of the Clerkenwell Prison, after deposing, that 'he did not know a single case of capital offence, where the party had not been a Sabbath-breaker,' is asked whether the prisoners of the different prisons he has known, when reproved for their

misdeemeanours, have made any observations on the habits of the higher classes of society. Mark his answer—it is very amusing. ‘Frequently;’ saith he, ‘and it would be difficult for me to describe the shrewdness with which their remarks are often made. Some have been so pointed, in reference to persons in higher ranks, *as to call forth my reproof* They take a peculiar pleasure in referring to any remarkable departure from the principles of religion or morality among the great, as affording a sort of sanction to their own evil conduct.’ This he calls the great barrier he has found in his ministry to impressing the minds of the lower orders with a sense of religion and moral order.

“‘It is difficult,’ said the philosophical and enlightened Bishop of London, ‘to estimate the degree in which the labours of the Christian ministry are impeded, especially in towns, by the example of the rich!’ And that most able prelate, insisting afterwards on the necessity of ‘legislating very tenderly for the poor,’ on offences shared with impunity by their betters, contends that, ‘the influence of the higher classes, were their example generally exemplary, would prevent the necessity of any religious legislation for the poor:’ but ‘he entertained no hope of such a state of things being speedily brought to pass.’ While, then, all the evidence thus summoned imputes the fault to the great, *all the legislative enact-*

ments we have been, and shall be, called upon to pass (prophetic truly, being written in 1834) “*impose coercion solely upon the poor* If it be true that the negligent or evil example of the aristocracy be thus powerfully pernicious—not we will acknowledge, from a design on their part, but we will take the mildest supposition,—from a want of attention—from *a want of being thoroughly aroused to the nature and extent of their own influence*—If this be true, how necessary, how called-for have been these expositions. . . . The principal machinery of reform should lie in the discipline of the workhouse. It is a fact that where the comforts at a workhouse exceed those of the independent labourer, pauperism increases; but where the comforts at the workhouse have been reduced below those of the independent labourer, pauperism has invariably and most rapidly diminished. On this principle all reform must mainly rest. A workhouse *must be a house of work, requiring severe labour, and giving less remuneration than can be obtained by honest competition elsewhere*. The asylums for the aged and the infirm should, on the contrary, be rendered sufficiently commodious to content, though not so luxurious as to tempt, the poor. There may well be a distinction between the house for labour to the idle, and that of rest for the exhausted. . . . It is time that a Government so largely paid by the people, should do something in their

behalf. 'The poor shall be with you always,' are the pathetic words of the Messiah; and that some men must be poor and some rich, is a dispensation with which, according to the lights of our present experience, no human wisdom can interfere. But if legislation cannot prevent the inequalities of poverty and wealth, it is bound to prevent the legislative *abuse* of each;—the abuse of riches is tyranny; the corruption of poverty is recklessness. Wherever either of these largely exist, talk not of the blessings of free institutions; *there* is the very principle that makes servitude a curse. Something is indeed wrong in that system in which we see 'age going to the workhouse, and youth to the gallows.' But with us the evil hath arisen, not from the malice of oppression, ~~but~~ the mistake of charity. Occupied with the struggles of a splendid ambition, our rulers have legislated for the poor in the genius, not of a desire to oppress, but of an impatience to examine. . . . It is difficult to arouse the great to a full conception of the times in which we live; the higher classes are the last to hear the note of danger. The same principle pervades the inequalities of Social Life as that so remarkable in the laws of physical science: they who stand on the lofty eminence,—the high places of the world—are deafened by the atmosphere itself, and can scarcely hear the sound of the explosion

Here is a—as charming as true—rhetorical end to Book ii. of *England and the English*, by Edward Lytton Bulwer, Esq., M.P. Query, does the Right Honourable M.P. for Hertfordshire, and her Majesty's Secretary for the Colonies, still echo these sentiments of 1833 in the Legislature of 1858? Or, better still, does he now feel *a necessity laid upon him*, to “occupy till” the Messiah, he has so “pathetically” quoted, “comes?” For, what can be more beautiful than all the *theories* he has propounded to us in the above quoted Book?—in his “Student?” and in—those delineations of all *woman should be*,—his many novels? Equally, what can be more certain, than that he has received more than “one talent,” or “five talents?” and that he will as certainly have “to reckon” with that Messiah, “at his coming,” that “He may know how much *he has gained* by trading with them.” Is he not even now in that “enviable station of a great country gentleman in this beautiful garden of Eden; he may unite all the happiest opposites—indolence and occupation, healthful exercise and literary studies. In London, and in public life, we may improve the world—we may benefit our kind, but we never *see* the effects we produce; we see no gratitude for them; others step in, and snatch the rewards; but, in the country, if you exert equal industry and skill, you cannot walk

your labours. Nature smiles in your face and thanks you! yon trees you planted; yon cornfields were a common—your capital called them into existence; they feed a thousand mouths, where, ten years ago, they scarce maintained some half-dozen starveling cows. But, above all, as you ride through your village, what satisfaction creeps around your heart. *By half that attention to the administration of the Poor Laws which, in London, you gave to your clubs,** you have made industry replace sloth, and comfort dethrone pauperism. *You, a single individual, have done more for your fellow-creatures than the whole legislature has done in centuries.* This is true power; it approaches men to God; but the country gentleman often refuses to acknowledge this power;—he thinks much more of a certificate for killing partridges!†

But we live in the times of which it was prophesied that “many should run to and fro, and know-

* “In Stanford Rivers, Essex, one man, Andrews, a farmer, with the concurrence of the rest of the parishioners, resolved to put down pauperism. In 1825, the money expended on the poor was £834: by management and energy, in 1828, it was only £196. ‘All capable of work were employed; the labourers improved in their habits and comforts during the four years this system was in progress; there was not a single commitment for theft or any other offence.’ Oh, if the country gentleman *would* awake to a sense of what he might be!”

† England and the English, Book ii. chap i. p. 74.

ledge" (not goodness), "should be increased." How much need then that we *nationally*, as well as individually, look to our steps; for, it is an accepted Axiom, and proved by all history, both ancient and modern, that, *in proportion to civilization is demoralization*. The greatest kingdoms the earth ever saw, had, invariably, reached the height of both, and then—sank. But our forefathers, we all acknowledge, had not our spiritual advantages, *and freedom of action under them*. Our Bible within every one's reach—our learned yet simplified commentaries upon it, so current, so numerous, *and so cheap*;—and our elucidations of prophecy, *combined with our times, in which they are being so visibly worked out, that even the most worldly and sceptical men of science and research confess—quite apart from any religious credence—that the changes taking place—whether of the heavens, the earth, or the sea—are vast and marvellous, in everything, place, and peoples: and denote some fast approaching crisis*. And yet, are we practically and morally better? Have we ruled the Indians permitted to our conquests with more equity than their former conquerors did? Have we "adorned one Christian character" amongst them, or even carried consistently out our profession of it there, in ourselves, and towards them? Let some startling little items in this book answer—let the next chapter speak. Do we not perpetually, nationally and politically, "pooh-pooh" scriptural commands,

and gospel guiding? and yet, in connection with almost every public occasion, open such *with a profession of faith*? Surely then a mere form of words? For, the Mahomedan, whilst he does the same, (*and with respect to everything great or trivial*), yet, bows with reverence to *any* allusion to his Koran, and acknowledges at all times, its dictum—*whether privately followed out or not*. The Hindoo, the same with his Shasters—but we deem our creed quite irrelevant, generally speaking, to our *politics*, or our *permitted practices*. In fact, we are, as a Nation, Christians, but in some Utopian sense—and which, strictly speaking, goes not beyond the name, (*much vaunted*), public forms, and stated church services.

Else, how could we, as any body who has been long resident in India, knows well all European Christian ranks there did,—from a Bishop's wife, clergymen and their wives, and military and civil dignitaries, down to the uncovenanted clerk—countenance by their presence the heathen rites, and participate in the festivities, in honour of *Doorga*? whose image and attendant priests were there, and which was visited as part of the evening's exhibition. What did the Jews in Moab, that so offended God? (Numbers xxv.) Certainly Christians at such parties did not bow down to the Idols, (though at Juggernaut festivals the soldiery had to present arms headed by their Christian officers.)

come enticed by the lascivious movements and gestures of their singing women and dancing girls—the most favourite of whom usually placed the price of their personal attainment so high to Europeans, that it was ruinous to youth; and once in that vortex high principles, home, family, all, gradually became lost to view—and hence so many self-exiled for life, so much family unhappiness, indifference, and finally separations *à toujours*. Were it not so, how could such an exhibition by a British governor, of the precious tooth of Buddha have been permitted? The Rev. James Lewis, relates that, “With a like superfluity of idolatrous zeal, so recent as the year 1828—and the exhibition was repeated again in 1843—the Delada, the precious tooth of Buddha, preserved in the great temple at Kandy, Ceylon, and which had not been brought out of its sacred retreat for fifty years, was publicly exhibited by the governor, Sir Edward Barnes, (as the blood of St. Januarius is shown by the priests to the Neapolitans), for the devotion of the myriads of faithful Buddhists who had assembled from all parts of the Island. At that period our government appointed the Buddhist priests, defraying the expenses of ‘devil-dancing,’ then continued at Kandy for seven days, and paid the accounts as per voucher, for Her Majesty’s service. In the same temple in which the Delada (tooth) was enshrined within its golden case,

hung a beautiful image of Buddha himself, presented by Miss Barnes.”

May all this now change! and speedily. May poor India be brought to remembrance before God very differently to what she has heretofore been—and may our own midst be purged of its *crying sins*.

“Then, bright as morning, shall come forth,
In peace and joy our days;
And glory from the Lord above,
Shall shine on all our ways.”

* “The Indian Government,” by the Rev. James Lewis.

CHAPTER XII.

“If I go forth into the fields,
Then behold the slain with the sword !
And if I enter into the city,
Then behold them that are sick with famine !
Yea, both the prophet and the priest,
Make merchandize against a land,
And men acknowledge it not.
Before me continually is grief and wounds.”

“WHAT is to be done?” the *Times* asks, relative to our poor. “A stern political economy answers, ‘Nothing.’ We are to leave the problem to work itself out. We are to button up our pockets, shut our doors, and look out of windows at the spectacle of poverty running through its phases, and coming to a natural conclusion. Pray don’t disturb the experiment. Poverty, provided the conditions be favourable for it, will undergo first the vinous fermentation ; it will become rather excited, argumentative, and menacing ; then it will pass through the acetic fermentation, and sour into crime. It is then ripe for our gaols. We know how to deal with it in that state ; and, so generous are we when we are quite certain, we are right, that we can afford to spend on a criminal twice as much as on a pauper,

and thrice as much as on an honest labourer out of doors. Take the cost to our country of our Courts of Justice for one year, £754,931 ; Police and Criminal Prosecutions, £1,012,582 ; Correction, £1,424,907 ; Total, £3,192,420. All this is comprised under the general head of Justice ! for *Mercy* there is *nil*.

“All evils, however, have their limit. They become at last so exorbitant, so preposterous, as to convict themselves of absurdity. We believe it to be so just now in this matter of ‘Justice,’ and in the enormous cost of prisons, police, and correction. It obtrudes itself on the public eye with the pompous vulgarity of a handsome county prison stuck, as the frontispiece of a genteel county town, *vis-à-vis* to a first class railway station. You can’t help noticing it, try ever so much. So people—that is, the few people who are absolutely committed and bound to the existing practice—are beginning to ask how it is that poverty is so fast maturing into crime, and why crime is becoming so enormous, so vested, and so highly favoured an interest. Among other things, they discover that *many of the poor creatures who crowd our gaols in winter-time, and who cost the country so much, are either sent there straight from the workhouse for some act of insubordination, or are committed for some act the natural result of sheer destitution*. Though a learned judge observed from the bench, that he did not see why it was necessary a man should live, that is not the universal opinion ; and there is a large

class who will work when they can get work, and steal when they can't. Thousands of persons of this sort are sent to prison, where they cost the country nearly a pound a-week, when they would have been glad of half that sum in honest wages out of doors. If we remember right, the authors of the existing Poor Law system promised us two things,—first, that the maintenance of the poor would cost much less; secondly, that it should cost *the State* nothing. In an irregular and unexpected way both these promises have been signally disappointed. The maintenance of the poor is now done through the medium of the criminal prisons, which are filled with half-starved labourers and refractory paupers. The poor ask for work, and are refused, though they only ask for ten shillings a-week or so, and offer labour for it. So they 'qualify,' as the term is; they commit some offence, and get into a warm cell, where they are well clothed and fed till the spring, when they are as glad to get out as their keepers to let them go, neither party, however, much the better for it."

Let especial attention be paid to this *closing* paragraph. The startling revelation made by Mr. William Howitt, in the *Times* of February, 1857, should help to do away with this, backed by the scale of wages in Australia, so benevolently published by a clergyman in December 1857. He wrote to the editor of the *Times* as follows:

Sir,—As there is such a general complaint of want of employ-

ment for mechanics in this country at this time, I have thought the publication of the enclosed letter, which has just been received by one of my parishioners, might produce some good, by turning men's thoughts to a quarter of the world where employment is abundant and wages high.

The writer left my parish about fifteen months since. His wages here were 2s. 9d. per day.

I am, your obedient servant,

S. J. L. HAMMICK.

The Vicarage, Milton Abbot, Tavistock.

“ My dear Mother,—With pleasure I now sit down to write a few lines to you, and hope they will find you in good health, as, thank God, we are all well and in good spirits. I must now tell you all I have been doing since we landed in this colony. As soon as I landed, I met in the street an old shopmate of mine in London. I got work immediately at 12s. a-day, to work eight hours. He was very busy, and begged of us to work overtime, and he would pay us extra wages; but the journeymen have agreed to work only eight hours, so I was compelled to do the same, but should prefer to work ten hours for 15s. instead of eight hours for 12s. Carpenters' wages is 1s. 6d. per hour; masons' wages 15s. for eight hours, on account of losing time in wet weather. So I worked for the same master all the time I was in Melbourne, until Joseph sent for me to come to Horsham; so since I have been here, I have been very busy, working until nine or ten o'clock every night. We have finished the new school, and a new school for the school-master, and now me and Joseph has taken a new public-house to build, so we are still very busy, and shall be, as we are bound to finish it by next April. We are to have 500*l.* for the labour and nails. The man we took it from is to provide all windows, doors, all prepared flooring, skirting, and all locks, hinges, bolts, and screws, and weatherboards for the outside, and half-inch lining inside. He

will buy all this in Geelong ready for fixing. It is sent here from America, and galvanized iron for the roof; so me and Joseph have to saw the rafters, joists, and all stanchions for partitions, and to complete the labour of fitting and finishing the house. We shall be very busy, but I think we have an excellent price for it. Our timber here costs nothing; it is called red gum. Me and Richard have been cutting down timber to-day, and Joseph and his mate is sawing. The price for sawing here is 30s. a-hundred; it is as hard as English oak. Two men can cut 150 feet in a day. Joseph has a saw-pit on his own land. I can tell you a little the difference of piece working here and at Milton, by one article, which is gates. A settler here had ordered ten common gates of another carpenter, but the man left, and he asked if we would make them for him. He had agreed to give 50s. per gate for them, six feet gates, rough and strong for cattle yard. Me and Richard made two gates per day after the timber was sawn, and Joseph and me was there six days hanging them. We had our board and lodging, and 15s. a-day for hanging them, and then he paid us 25*l.* for the gates, and 9*l.* for labour.

“At home I have paid 1*s.* 6*d.* a foot for timber, and sold the gates at 10*s.*, and waited perhaps, six months for my money. Now, my dear mother, I must tell you how the country agrees with my health. Thank God I never was better in my life. I have much better health here than I had in England, and we are all very well. When Joseph sent for us, I did not like Mary Grace to be living so far from us, so she gave notice, and all came here together; now she is gone to live with a settler. Meat is cheap here, we can get beef at 4*d.* per lb., and Joseph bought a quarter of a nice cow for 25*s.*, and last week we bought a quarter of a large ox for 50*s.* Thousands of weight of shins of beef, bullocks' heads, and sheep's heads, and all coarse joints, are thrown away, no one will take the pains to cook it. Thousands in England scarcely know what it is to have a belly full of beef. Here thousands of weights

are rotting for want of people to eat it. I wish I could send you home a fat bullock. When we came to Geelong we found Mr. Cole's butter wanting, but now we have a fine dairy. I have bought a fine cow and calf, and a heifer near calving. Joseph has plenty of poultry, and has given Emmeline two hens and a cock, so, thank God, we have plenty of all necessities. Please to give our best respects to sister, Jane Adams, and John, and all the dear children. . . . If William was here we would give him a job to earn 1*l*. a-day, but before he could get here the house will be finished, and I don't know what to say, as it is a good deal up and down in this country. However, if William will venture to come I will pay his passage and send him home his sailing orders.

"I hope, dear mother, to see you again. There is a large steamer talked of to run regular between this and England, in forty days, for 14*l*. each, so I shall hope we may all meet again, and if it please God, we shall all meet in heaven to part no more. I hope none of you grieves about us, as I do assure you we are better off than any working people in England. Some drunkards or idlers may send home bad accounts, but I assure you all, this is the country for industry and sobriety. Any one that will work gets well paid. So I must now conclude with my kindest love to you, and hope you make yourself quite happy.

"From your loving and affectionate son,

"RICHARD SPRY."

Again, how cheering is the prospect in Canada. We read, "the despatches from Canada, just issued by the Colonial Office, amply confirm all the previous accounts as to the growing prosperity of that province, and the demand which exists for labour. This is particularly the case in Canada West, more

especially in the newly settled districts. Mr. Hawker, the government emigration officer at Toronto, says : ' I apprehend no difficulty in disposing of all emigrants in search of work, who may come to this nation of Canada. As to skilled labourers and good farm-servants, male and female, there is every prospect of their finding employment at good wages. Houses are being erected in almost every town and village, and as the farmers have enjoyed an unusual degree of prosperity for several years past, farm improvements are extended, as well as superior cultivation become universal. I am, therefore, of opinion, that all mechanics, such as blacksmiths, wheelwrights, carpenters, bricklayers, masons, tailors, shoemakers, &c., as well as agricultural servants, who may seek employment in Canada West, will be able to obtain it, and that farmers will find farms suited to their means, and if prudent and industrious, will be sure to succeed.' ” Ought not Government to be petitioned to go well into this subject during the present session, and provide against any future severe winter's emergency? Ought we not in a body to petition that our streets may not again be disgraced by presenting to our view, such a mass of our fellow creatures, starving, wringing our hearts with the harrowing recitals of their *hopeless suffering*, and emptying our purses *to so little purpose*. For, the utmost efforts of private benevolence is *then* but

a drop in the ocean of so much distress, and in such manifold ways needing relief, assistance, and continued provision. During the winter of 1856, the heavy murmur that used to reach the ears of those residing near any of our workhouses, resembled equally the deep surging of that destructive element ere roused into a storm.

Why were not some of the 16,000, soliciting employment, sent out by government to those farmers, who, in Australia, are calling for Lord Shaftesbury lads? *who cannot be sent to them for want of funds, which the practical British will not give, to carry on vigorously what is working so well*, but prefer statues, and monuments, and presents-giving to those who need them not, whether among the living or the dead; and rearing costly palatial prisons; or buildings for meetings, museums, clubs, and libraries. What a mass must curse us, when they read of our magnificent, ostentatious donations, towards embellishing or emblazoning *the dead*. And why are we so heathenish in this our day of knowing better, as to erect such, of costly art, to every body and thing? Why, when we wish to testify our great admiration of an heroic person, or deed, do we not dedicate to them a sum to buy up and sweep away moral and physical nuisances, and in their place to *house*, (not *kennel*) and instruct "HIS portion," the poor.

Would not this be a higher tribute erected in their name, or to their memory, both to those present and those gone, than brick and mortar, jewels, or money, or mere receptacles for *permitted sin*? All which, *mere things, must pass away, whilst immortal souls never shall.* However, happily, one step has now been commenced in the right direction in India, in the church about to be built in one place in commemoration of sad scenes; and in the funds towards carrying on the soldier's Institution, commenced by Sir H. Lawrence, as the known to be most agreeable monument to him.

Let us look too at this new field of labour (India) which promises to be opened up through the late stern interference of Providence. For the writer cannot consider this fearful Indian permitted outbreak as other than a visitation upon our nation for its great shortcomings towards Him there, and its palpable (as surely is clearly shown to any right-thinking mind by the following and antecedent facts) injustice towards so large a portion of its oriental subjects, in the very question of their lands seized by us, and selfishly—with dog-in-the-manger greed,—*allowed to lie waste to so vast an extent*, rather than be restored, through right of purchase, to its own children, and so have bound them by such strong ties to the soil and to us, that they would have had much more than mere life to lose in any disaffection to-

wards us. And is it not remarkable that, so far back as 1792, Colonel Dow, of the Bengal army, in his "History of Hindostan," wrote, and in almost the same words, as now so many are still treating the subject, that:—

"The affairs of India, though long of great importance to this kingdom, have only very lately become objects of public attention. Facts coming from afar made little impression: their novelty could not rouse, nor their variety amuse the mind. With a self-denial uncommon in a spirited nation, we heard, without emotion, of the great actions of some of our countrymen; and, if we listened to any detail of oppressions committed by others, it was with a phlegmatic indifference, unworthy of our boasted humanity. A general distaste for the subject prevailed; an age, marked with revolution and change, seemed ready to pass away without being sensible of events which will render it important in the eyes of posterity." (Is not this precisely the spirit in which Government received the first accounts of the present outbreak?)

"The current of public opinion has at length taken another direction. Men are roused into attention with regard to a subject which concerns the welfare of the state. They begin to decide, in their own minds, upon affairs which stand in need of the interposition of the nation; and they show an

inclination to be informed, as well as a willingness to correct mistakes, and to redress grievances." (Again, is not this *precisely as now*?) "This consideration has induced the author of the following observations to submit them, with all due deference, to the public. He has been, for years, a silent spectator of the transactions of the British nation in the east; and it is from the means of information which he has possessed that he hopes to give something new to the world. With hands guiltless of rapine and depredation, he assumes the pen without prejudice, and he will use it with all decent freedom, without fear.

The empire of the Hindoos over all India, came down from the darkest and most remote antiquity to the 170th year before the Christian era, when it was dissolved by civil discord and war. Bengal, like many other provinces, started up into an independent kingdom, and was governed by successive dynasties of Rajas, who chiefly resided, at the now deserted, capital of Ghor. Under these princes, it continued a powerful and opulent kingdom, to the beginning of the thirteenth century, when it was first invaded by the Mahommedans, under a prince of the race of Chillagi, who possessed the countries near the source of the Oxus. The name of this Tartar invader was Eas-ul-dien; but he was soon after reduced to subjection by Altumsh,

the Patan-emperor of Delhi, who formed Bengal into a province, governed by a lieutenant, who derived his authority from the conqueror.

“Bengal, during the dominion of the Patans in India, was frequently subject to revolution and change. When a prince of abilities sat on the throne of Delhi, it held of the empire; when the emperor was weak, it became an independent sovereignty, under its governor. When the valour and conduct of Baber put an end to the government of the Patans at Delhi, some of that race remained untouched in Bengal. The misfortunes of Humaïoon, in the beginning of his reign, not only prevented him from extending the conquests of his father, but deprived him even of the throne which Baber had acquired; and death followed too soon upon his return to permit him to reduce the wealthy kingdom of Bengal by his arms. The glory of this conquest was reserved for his son, the illustrious Akbar, who, by the expulsion of Daoôd, the last king of Bengal of the Patan race, annexed it, in the year 1574, to his empire. Viceroys from Delhi governed the kingdom from that period, till the debility of Mahommed Shah gave scope to the usurpation of Alivcdi; and now, by a wonderful revolution of fortune, the sovereigns of that distant province are created by the deputies of the East India Company.

“Government, among the natives of a country,

rises imperceptibly from that impenetrable obscurity with which time and barbarism have covered the origin of mankind. When states are subdued by foreign enemies who are advanced in the arts of civil life, a new constitution generally starts up from their pressure upon the old. Some laws of the conquerors must necessarily supersede some of the regulations of the conquered; but the ancient form of government remains in all the lesser departments of the state. When the Patans conquered India, when the Moguls extended their empire over that country, many of the indigenous laws of the northern nations of Asia were introduced; but the great system, in most of its parts, descended from the regulations which Brahma transmitted, with his followers, from remote antiquity.*

“The British nation have become the conquerors of Bengal, and they ought to extend some part of their own fundamental jurisprudence to secure their conquests. To call the possessions of the Company by any other name, is to leave them undefined. *The sword is our tenure, and not the firman of an unfortunate prince, who could not give what was not his own. The thin veil of the commission for the Dewanny is removed; and we see a great kingdom at last in our*

* The above has been added, as many may feel interested in a sketch prior to our possession, and which they may have forgotten.

power, whose revolutions we directed before." (We have proved this in the short space of half a century.) "It is an absolute conquest, and it is so considered by the world. This it was necessary to premise. The author of the *Enquiry* will now proceed to his plan for restoring our conquests to their former prosperity. But he proceeds with diffidence: he sees the magnitude of the subject, he feels his own want of abilities. He hopes not to escape without censure, as he confesses himself liable to error; but he shall answer his own purpose, if he can throw some rays of light upon a subject, which, though interesting to the nation, continues still involved in obscurity.

"Policy precedes regulation in every society; and a nation has public before it has private concerns. The great line of general arrangement is prior to the inferior detail of government, the latter being necessarily a superstructure raised on the foundation of the former. In Bengal we are to suppose, that a new treaty is to settle its great affairs; otherwise we build on the sand, and the rain comes and washes all away." (If not this yet, at least the premonitory hurricane has come.)

"This fundamental regulation being settled, another of equal boldness, but no less practicable, ought to succeed. An established idea of property is the source of all industry among individuals, and

of course, the foundation of public prosperity. When mankind are restrained from possessing any thing which they can call their own, they are but passengers in their native country, and make only those slight accommodations which suit fugitive wayfarers through the land. A carelessness for industry is the natural consequence of the transitoriness of the fruits of toil; and men sit sluggishly down, with their hands in their bosoms when they are not for a moment certain of possessing property, much less of transmitting it to their posterity or friends." (And not only this, but as we have seen, they have at last *resented* even, the deprivation of a right, before decreed *in their* (Hindoo) *religion*, and accorded to them by their previous usurpers; *of transmitting their property, to their posterity natural or adopted, or friends.*)

"The decline of agriculture, of commerce, and of trade in the kingdom of Bengal, have been already represented, and the ruinous consequences of farming out the lands from year to year, have been amply explained. Though long leases might greatly contribute to remove these evils; there is no possibility of doubt, but the establishment of real property, would more immediately and effectually promote a certainty of prosperity to the kingdom. Let therefore, the Company be empowered, by Act of Parliament, to dispose of all the lands in Bengal and Behâr, in perpetuity, at an annual sum, not less

than the present rents. This single operation would have a chain of beneficial effects. The first sale of the lands would raise a sum which cannot be estimated with any degree of precision, but we may venture to affirm, that should the scheme be properly advertised before it was to take place, and a fourth part of the lands only to be disposed of every year, until the whole should be sold, no less than ten millions, besides a certain and perpetual revenue, might be drawn from the hidden treasures of Bengal, and especially from the other opulent kingdoms of Hindostan.

“Mankind, it is easy to perceive, would, in an empire, where no real property exists, crowd to a country in which they could enjoy the fruits of their labour, and transmit them to their posterity.”

Could not a slight sprinkling from home be *colonized* in some of the more healthy *upper parts* of Hindostan as a sort of equipoise, *and on precisely the same terms as our native subjects? but not in such numbers as to be detrimental to their decidedly, in all equity, first claim upon us.* We have disregarded this quite long enough, and it is high time now to make the *amende honorable*.

“Cultivation would be the consequence of security. The farmer would improve to the height, lands that were his own. The revenue would be regularly paid without the heavy expense of a band

of oppressors, under the name of collectors, who suck the vitals of the country; and nothing would be required but a few comptoirs for the purpose of receiving the rents. The whole face of the country would be changed in a few years; in the place of straggling towns, composed of miserable huts, half of which are washed away every season by the rain, great and opulent cities would arise. Inhabitants would crowd into Bengal from every corner of India, with their wealth; the deficiency in the currency would be restored, commerce would diffuse itself through every vein, and manufactures would flourish to a degree before unknown.

“Men of speculation may suppose that the security of property to the natives might infuse a spirit of freedom, dangerous to our power, into our Indian subjects. Nature herself seems to have denied liberty to the inhabitants of the torrid zone. To make the natives of the fertile soil of Bengal free, is beyond the power of political arrangement. The indolence which attends the climate, prevents men from that constant activity and exertion, which is necessary to keep the nice balance of freedom. Their religion, their institutions, their manners, the very dispositions of their minds, form them for passive obedience. To give them property would only bind them with stronger ties to our interest;

and make them more our subjects ; or if the British nation prefers the name, more our slaves.

“ Men who have nothing to lose are only enslaved by disunion ; and the terror of the impending sword. Drive them to the last verge of poverty, and despair will stand in the place of spirit, and make them free.” (Just before this outbreak, there was excessive famine, sickness and distress in the country. Private letters from the upper provinces stated, that it was distressing to drive on the roads ; they were strewn with the famished and dying, whilst the bolder, in the shape of marauders, made it dangerous to travel.) “ Men possessed of property are enslaved by their interest, by their convenience, by their luxury, and their inherent fears. We owe our freedom to the poverty of our ancestors, as much as to the rude independence of their ferocious barbarism. But it is even difficult in the cool air of our climate, to retain in the midst of luxury and wealth, the vigour of mind necessary to keep us free. To confer property on the inhabitants of Bengal, will never raise in their minds a spirit of independence. Their sole hopes of retaining that property, will be derived from our policy and valour. When we fall, their lands will deviate to other heirs.

“ The revenues of Bengal, when properly paid, amount to four millions. Should this sum appear too small for perpetuity, many ways and means of

increasing the taxes, without raising the rents, will present themselves. The British nation, famous for their political freedom, *are still more famous for their judgment and wisdom in imposing taxations.* Let them transfer to the banks of the Ganges a part of that science of finance, which has so much distinguished their councils at home. The wealth of the people of Bengal is a treasury which will never fail, if drawn upon with judgment. Taxes may rise, in a just proportion to the wealth which this regulation will inevitably throw into our dominions in the East.

“Very extensive possessions in the hands of an individual, are productive of pernicious consequences in all countries; they ought, therefore, to be prevented in the present regulation. Let the purchasers be confined to a certain quantity of land, not exceeding, upon any account, fifty thousand a year. To prevent the accumulation of landed property, let the spirit of the laws of a commonwealth be adopted, and the lands be divided equally among all the male issue of the proprietor. *Let the moveable property be divided among the Mahommedan part of our subjects, according to the laws of the Coran. Let the Hindoos, in the same manner, retain their own laws of inheritance; which are clear, simple, and defined.*

“When Baber, at the head of his army, took possession of the dominions of the Imperial family of Lodi, he continued to the crown the property of all

the lands. These being annually rented out to the subject, furnished those immense revenues which supported the unequalled splendour of his successors in the throne. The property of individuals consisted, at first, of moveables and money only; and the officers of the crown could not even dispose of these by will, without the written consent of the prince. Time, however, wrought a change in things. The posterity of Baber alienated, for particular services, estates from the crown in perpetuity; and these descended in succession by will, or if the proprietor died intestate, by an equal division to his children, according to the law of the Coran. This kind of property was also transferable by sale; and it has been judged, that one third part of the empire was given away by this species of grants from the crown.

“These grants, however, were not always a sufficient security against the violence of the crown. Some of the Emperors found themselves obliged to resume many estates by an edict; and it must be confessed, that political necessity justified the measure. Princes who contended for the Empire were lavish in their donations; and had not an act of resumption sometimes taken place, the revenue of the crown would, in process of time, have been annihilated. There was, however, a kind of equivalent given to the proprietors; a pension was settled upon themselves, and their children were received into the service of the

government. The wealth of the officers of the crown is, after their death, considered as imperial property; but, unless it is immense, it is never appropriated by the prince; and, even in that case, a proper provision is made for the children, and they have, by an established custom, a right to be employed in some of the departments of the state.* The women of the deceased receive annual pensions according to their rank; and they may either live in widowhood, or make new alliances by marriage.

“The Mogul system of government admits of no hereditary honours. Every man must owe his preferment and rank to himself, and to the favour of his prince. High birth, however, was respected; and, to a person of abilities, it was a great recommendation at the court of princes proud of their own noble origin.† The ranks and degrees of nobility were for the most part official, excepting those of the military kind. Judges, men of letters, and eminent merchants have been frequently dignified with titles, and admitted into the circle of the principal

* Here is splendid generosity! and right taking the precedence of might. Oh! Britons, strive to attain to it! And would that our beloved Sovereign would command our Indian Governors to go and do likewise in her great and good name!

† Alas! how are these mighty fallen in estimation since the barbarians of yesterday—in comparison of *their* ancient dynasty—came, and saw, and conquered!

nobles in the imperial presence. The nobles consisted of three orders. The Emirs, who were the first officers of state, and the viceroys of provinces; the Chans, who held high posts in the army; and the Bahâdurs, who may in some measure be compared to our knights. The number of which these three orders consisted was arbitrary, and each of them had peculiar privileges in the Empire, and a demand on the respect of the undignified part of the subjects.

“ Never to forgive oppressions against the helpless and low, was an established maxim among all the princes of the house of Timur.

“ The Hindoos, or the followers of the Brahmin faith, are in number far superior to the Mahomedans in Hindostan. The system of religion which they profess, is only perfectly known in the effect which it has upon the manners of the people. Mild, humane, obedient, and industrious, they are of all nations on earth the most easily conquered and governed. Their government, like that of all the inhabitants of Asia, is despotic; it is, in such a manner tempered by the virtuous principles inculcated by their religion, that it seems milder than the most limited monarchy in Europe. Some of the reigning princes trace their families, with clearness, above four hundred years: many of them, in a dubious manner,

Revolution and change are things unknown; and assassinations and conspiracies never exist.

“ Penal laws are scarce known among *the Hindoos*; for their motives to bad actions are few. Temperate in their living, and delicate in their constitutions, their passions are calm, and they have no object but that of living with comfort and ease. Timid and submissive, from the coldness of a vegetable diet, they have a natural abhorrence to blood. Industrious and frugal, they possess wealth which they never use. *Those countries, governed by native princes, which lay beyond the devastations of the Mahommedans, are rich, and cultivated to the highest degree.* Their governors encourage industry and commerce; *and it is to the ingenuity of the Hindoos, we owe all the fine manufactures in the East.* During the empire of the Moguls, the trade of India was carried on by the followers of Brahma. The bankers, scribes, and managers of finance were native Hindoos, *and the wisest princes of the family of Timur protected and encouraged such peaceable and useful subjects.*

“ The nation of the Mahrattors, though chiefly composed of Rajaputs, or that tribe of Indians whose chief business is war, retain the mildness of their countrymen in their domestic government. When their armies carry destruction and death into the territories of Mahommedans, all is quiet, happy, and regular at home. No robbery is to be dreaded, no

imposition or obstruction from the officers of government, no protection necessary but the shade. To be a stranger is a sufficient security. Provisions are furnished by hospitality; and when a peasant is asked for water, he runs with great alacrity, and fetches milk.* This is no ideal picture of happiness. The author of the Dissertation, who travelled lately into the country of the Mahrattors, avers, from experience, the truth of his observations. But the Mahrattors, *who have been represented as barbarians, are a great and rising people, subject to a regular government, the principles of which are founded on virtue.*

“Men who submit to bodily servitude, have been known to revolt against the slavery imposed on their minds. We may use the Indians for our benefit in this world, but let them serve themselves as they can in the next. All religions must be tolerated in Bengal, except in the practice of some inhuman customs, which the Mahommedans have already, in a great measure, destroyed. We must not permit young widows, in their virtuous enthusiasm, to throw themselves on the funeral pile, with their dead husbands; nor the sick and aged to be drowned, when their friends despair of their lives.

“*The Hindoo religion in other respects, inspires the purest morals. Productive, from its principles, of the greatest degree of subordination to authority, it prepares*

* “He asked water, and she gave him milk,
She brought forth butter in a lordly dish.” Judges v. 25.

mankind for the government of foreign lords. It supplies, by its well-followed precepts, the place of penal laws ; and it renders crimes almost unknown in the land. The peaceable sentiments which it breathes, will check the more warlike doctrines promulgated by the Coran. The prudent successors of Timur saw that the Hindoo religion was favourable to their power ; and they sheathed the sword,* which the other Princes of the Mahommedan persuasion employed in establishing their own faith, in all their conquests. Freedom of conscience was always enjoyed in India in the absence of political freedom.

“ *Attention must be paid to the usages and very prejudices of the people, as well as a regard for their religion. Though many things of that kind may appear absurd and trivial among Europeans, they are of the utmost importance among the Indians. The least breach of them may be productive of an expulsion from the society, a more dreadful punishment Draco himself could not devise.*” (See ! fifty years after, the bomb bursts, by interference with caste prejudices, and see at appendix, some interesting letters on the first outbreak, and some extracts on caste—“ that which was lame was turned out of the way, when rather it should have *let be* healed.”) “ *But the caution about religion is superfluous ; these are no converting days (!)* Among the list of crimes committed in Bengal, perse-

* Let our Bible have free scope and 'twill prove our best

cution for religion is not to be found; and he that will consent to part with his property, may carry his opinions away with freedom." (!)

How sadly true this sarcasm knells, at the present crisis in Indian affairs, upon the ear of Christianity! Now let us read what moderns have written about our policy; and mark well *the agreement between the following and the foregoing.*

"London, Tuesday, July 14th, 1857. Purchase of Freehold Property in India.

"In a minute on the Sattara case, paragraph 18, Mr. Willoughby, now a Government nominee in the India House, and a Member of Parliament, says:— 'We should be glad to see a relaxation from that maxim of our rule in India, which is hostile to the acquisition of property in the soil.' He further advocates 'the redemption of the land-tax, now paid to Government;' and adds, 'that the creation of rent-free estates would be a vast benefit to India, developing its resources more quickly than can be so long as Government is the landlord of the whole country.' Since the date of this Minute, (May, 1848) the British domain in India has been increased by the Sattara State, the whole of the Punjab, the Nagpore State, the Oude Kingdom, and many small States, with Jageers, that in themselves, would probably exceed the size of Great Britain;

and at the rate we are now progressing we shall, ere many years, be indeed the sole 'landlord' of every field in that peninsula, which is about the size of Europe, and contains one hundred and fifty millions of inhabitants. India is the only land in the world in which the people may not invest their capital in the purchase of a freehold. They may become rich, bury their wealth, invest it in ornaments for their ladies, spend it in ceremonies, religious or social; but they cannot invest it in the purchase of an estate to hand down to their children! Why, no one can tell, but that it has never been done, *in our sense of the expression*, and therefore it is never to be done! This is a subject we have often discussed with the natives of India, and the result has been offers to purchase lands held of Government or rent-lands in some cases that had been so held by the families of those willing to now by purchase become sole proprietors *for centuries*. To our understanding we never have heard a valid ground for objecting to the idea of thus creating a body of landed proprietors. Government, the 'sole landlord,' levies a land-tax or rent. This it is proposed to redeem by purchase, where the renter is willing to do so; or if unwilling, he remains as at present—tenant at will. But not only in the States lately acquired, but in our old possessions, are vast tracts uninhabited, with only the sites of villages remain-

ing. Of these tracts, many have remained thus desolate since the great deluge of 1802—1803, followed by the as great famine in the next year. War has precluded these ever recovering their former state, and large tracts, referred to by Sir Thomas Roe, Tavernier, Berniger, and others, are still as the named deluge and famine left them—desolate.” Is not this iniquitous? Has not the cry gone up into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth? It has. *We have it now before us.—His “visiting for these things.”* “To the lands in these tracts are no claims that may not easily be disposed of, if there be any at all. They might at once, in many instances, be sold to men of wealth. None others would think of investing money, for they only would have the means of employing the hands requisite to make the investment profitable. In India we see such men as Sir J. Jeejeebhoy, Bart., searching for an outlet for their superabundant wealth, all of whom would delight in the acquisition of a landed estate of their own, but as before observed, India is the only country in the world in which the Government is the sole proprietor—and it is hostile to the acquisition of a freehold property. The native rulers, with more judgment, frequently rewarded faithful services by a grant of land, but nearly as often made grants in return for costly gifts. But in any case a year’s rent, in the shape of a present to the throne, was expected

from each new holder on coming into the succession. Our suggestion would make the purchase more valuable, in so far as it would be free of all gifts from each successor to the property. It is not only that to this time we have in no way sold land, or, but in very rare instances, granted for faithful services estates, and then only for one or more lives, but that we are day by day absorbing the principalities that to some extent tended to gratify the very natural desire of the people to become owners of fields and estates in their native land. But that nothing might be lost in very truth to make us whole and sole owners and proprietors of every field in this country as large as Europe, we are instituting through Enam Commissioners, inquiries into the claims of those we found in possession when each State was annexed to our rule. That no effort should be lost to make our rule distasteful to the people of the soil, we sell not in the European fashion, or propitiate the good will of the people in the native one, by granting estates for a handsome present, renewable on the demise of each incumbent. We seldom reward good services by a gift of land; and the source of a landed proprietary is being daily circumscribed by annexations, while the minds of all those that possess estates are perplexed by the inquiries just referred to of Enam

of things ; yet to it in some degree may doubtless be attributed the feelings we know to exist, of a sullen discontent in some portion of the Native Army. The annexations, too, of late years have thrown thousands of men out of employment, men for whom we can offer no such services as they had in native Durbars. In some petition from the people of Madras it was said, there would soon be in the country but two classes, the native cultivator and the European tax-gatherer. We have heard natives say, there would soon be but one calling for the people, '*twisting bullocks' tails*,' in reference to driving them on at the plough. We propose not the sale of land as a panacea for the *many* evils all can see now existing in India ; but we are convinced that were the matter duly deliberated on before the Legislative Council, and thus ventilated, it would, if gradually carried out, be of immense advantage to the country at large as well as the Government. We could name large tracts of land that have for many years been '*without a light*,' to use a native expression--tracts that must remain so, unless disposed of to capitalists. Government can incur no risk, a fixed sum being placed on the plot offered for sale. The present occupant, be there one, would have the option given him of purchasing or not. No village dues could, of course, be sold, nor grounds of complaint be given to any. '*The best of*

all workmen is he who works for himself, are words we take from the Minute of Mr. Willoughby, that gentleman is now in a position to initiate the subject he advocated in 1848."

Who can read the above and not remember that portion of Scripture? "Woe unto them that join house to house, that lay field to field, till there be no place, that they may be placed alone in the midst of the earth." "This is in mine ears saith the Lord of Hosts, of a truth many houses shall be desolate, even great and fair, without inhabitant," and truly, "those who were clothed in scarlet, have embraced dunghills." "Thou shalt not remove thy neighbour's landmark, which they of old time have set in thine inheritance, which thou shalt inherit in the land that the Lord thy God giveth thee to possess it." "Cursed be he that removeth his neighbour's landmark, and all the people shall say amen." "Remove not the old landmark, and enter not into the field of the fatherless, for their Redeemer is mighty, *He shall plead their cause with thee.*" and Proverbs xxiv. 2—14, and Isaiah v. 11—14.

But to give another extract, headed, "Sale of land in India." "We gather from an article in the Friend of India, (27 August, 1857), that the Honourable Court in a Despatch to the government of India, dated the 6th of May last, wrote, 'We should have no objection as an experiment to sanction the

alienation in perpetuity, to any persons of substance and respectability, of land belonging to Government, upon condition of the application of a certain amount of capital to the cultivation of the most valuable products of the soil.' The *Friend*, who has evidently seen the whole despatch, shows us how the principles now enunciated recognise the sale of Government land, but also points out that the despatch is inapplicable to the assigned districts in the Nizam's dominions, to which, a particular reference is made; for the treaty of 1853, expressly precludes the alienation of any portion of the assignment. The fact is, that there are now in the Punjaub, six millions of available acres still uncultivated, and that in the Nizam's assigned districts, which we have no power of alienating—though the Court otherwise assume in their despatch above quoted—forty-six and a-half per cent., of the whole is uncultivated. We further gather from the same article in the *Friend of India*, that owing to an increase of assessment in the assigned districts, and a bad season in 1855-6, the revenue fell off by Rs. 65,747, 4-6; the land thrown up being no less than 72,311 beegahs. We do not for a moment suppose that anything we can say will have the least effect on that most immovable body, the East India Company. But as they have at length spoken, and shown signs betokening a recognition of great principles in this instance, while we give

them full credit for their advance in the science of political economy, *we would address ourselves to the general reader, but more especially to the commercial communities more immediately interested in the continuance of our rule in India, and in the question of that country being able to take the place of America in affording us a continuous supply of cotton.* We have more than once stated it as our impression, that the mutiny in India would not be crushed before the early days of the coming year. *The cost of the struggle will be in all ways enormous, and the bill must be paid..* But what is its cost to this country, compared with the loss it would sustain through a rebellion of the slaves in America? Such a rebellion is a far more likely occurrence than was a mutiny of our Indian army in June last. The last was not anticipated; but the slave insurrection has often been predicted, and should it ever occur, the atrocities of the mutiny will pale before new horrors. Strange it is that the first news of this concession, so long and vainly implored, should come to us *from India.* Manchester spoke of an association for forming and growing cotton on a large scale in India; but Manchester has abdicated its position and power, losing place and consideration, else this concession would have been notified to the Chambers of Commerce there. To stand still is to retrograde, as Sir Ro-

yet not to follow the path discovered, is folly in the extreme. If the proposed experiment might be made in the assigned districts of Berar, why not in our own neighbouring province of Khandesh, where already Messrs Ritchie, Stewart, & Co., of Bombay, have established an European agency? *In that province there are millions of acres of cotton soil covered with jungle, and a railway will soon bisect it. Peace then once restored, no time should be lost.* We know that, some twenty-five years back, a purchaser would have been found (a Brahmin) of land he and his had cultivated for centuries, as tenants at will. The person to whom we refer had means, and had the 'experiment' then been made, the system would now be in full operation, and we might have found, in this day of trial, that the landlords who held under our seal, were our stanch friends, from personal motives," (and especially if we would give such Brahmins position also, for it is intensely stupid and conceited to imagine, that the natives of India are not fitted for political positions. The modern Brahmins are pre-eminently so, for they are "born diplomatists and financiers," as some one remarked. Many of our oldest statesmen have remarked their great ability; evidence of which, to quote one instance, may be found in "the Duke of Wellington's supple-

Punt, (the Brahmin Minister of Scindia), *only not so clever*” !

“*In a former paper we specified a large tract of superb land below the Western Ghauts and Eastward of Surat, that had been, (as it is now), a jungle for very many years, and for which an offer was made by a wealthy Parsee of Surat about 1828. The offer was backed by the collector of the district, and by the Local Government, but declined by the Court of Directors. If, however, the Court’s experiment is made general for India, some competent person may yet be found to tender for this wilderness. We are of opinion that there is no practical wisdom in hampering the scheme with ‘conditions.’ No one will be found to purchase land and not turn it to the best account, according to his own views. The sale is made to the highest bidder. Let him make a ‘Kirk in a mill’ of it, if he likes, which he assuredly won’t. But our views are by no means confined to the sale of waste land. We would in the words of Mr. Willoughby, (Satarah Minute, May, 1848), ‘allow the cultivator to redeem the land tax, becoming whole and sole owner of his farm, but remaining a tenant at will,’—if such be his pleasure. The whole case lies in a nutshell; and we do not see one ground of valid objection to what is proposed. The government reserves to itself the right of selling, in such and such districts, the ryot having a like privilege to*

purchase or remain as now ; as to anticipating the land revenue of the portions sold, surely there is an equivalent in cash available for the General Treasury—an equivalent, moreover, which is not liable to remissions on account of bad seasons. Let but a legislative enactment pass, making the purchaser of land whole and sole owner, to do therewith as he will, (*a like privilege extending to those to whom he may give, bequeath, or sell, or to those who may inherit the property*), and we feel assured that many will be found to bid for now profitless tracts of land, as well as for estates offered for sale by the present occupants. *By this means no man is disturbed in his possession ; and if the scheme is carried out, we shall shortly see a race of landed proprietors, who will have a vested interest in the stability of our rule. India will then cease to be the only country in the world in which no encouragement of this nature is held out to economy, industry, and labour."*

Yet in 1859, we have still to ask, What has become of the public pledge of a permanent settlement with the whole conquered and ceded, or North Western Provinces? *It remains still unredeemed*, although given in 1803—repeated in 1805—amended in 1809, and up to 1813 believed in!

Mr. Mead, as regards Madras, has given his record, that there "the native aristocracy has been extinguished, their revenues lost equal" to the

rulers and the multitude, the native manufacturers ruined, no corresponding increase in the consumption of foreign goods, not a fourth of the land taken up for tillage, whilst 200,000 men annually leave its shores to seek employment on a foreign soil."

Again ; before, whether Mahomedan or Hindoo governed, their princes and nobles ever took a noble pleasure in associating their names with some fine edifice, road, or canal, or public work of more or less utility. Foreign adventurers even followed their example, as may be instanced in the Martinière College at Lucknow ; but, except Sir Henry Lawrence, James Abbott, and a few such *exceptions*, the English, as a mass there, have had but one thought—*self* ! how to amass and leave—or how to luxuriate in every form—and whilst those who held these vast lands in possession, " have been labouring for a hundred years to discover how to get twenty lacs out of a district," (wrote Colonel Cotton, in 1854,) " which is not able to pay it, not the least thought was bestowed on the hundreds of lacs it was losing from the immense cost of transit, which swallowed up all the value of the Ryot produce, if they raised it. If the whole loss to India from want of communication be taken at only twenty-five millions sterling, it is twelve times as great a burthen as the interest of the (Indian) debt. Public works have been almost entirely neglected in India. The

motto hitherto has been—do nothing, have nothing done, let nobody do anything! Bear any loss, let The people die of famine, let hundreds of lacs be lost in revenue for want of water, rather than do any thing! Who would believe that without half a dozen miles of real turnpike road, with communications generally in the state they were in England two centuries ago—with periodical famines and a stagnant revenue—the stereotyped answer to anyone who urges improvements is, ‘He is too much in a hurry, he is too sanguine, we must go on by degrees;’ and this too, in the face of the fact, that almost without exception, money laid out upon public works in India, has yielded money returns of one hundred, two hundred, and three hundred per cent., besides innumerable other advantages to the Community.”*

We must bear in mind too, that water is the Indian Farmer’s greatest want, although, according to the same authority already quoted, “in the worst year that ever occurred enough was allowed to flow into the Sea to have irrigated ten times as much grain as would have supplied the whole population,” and yet the East India Company added the tax levied by their Mahomedan or Hindoo predecessors for the repair of Tanks (vast reservoirs sometimes miles square) to their general assessments, but have

* Public Works in India—by Lt.-Col. Cotton, 1854.

let them go to ruin ; the Cultivators having still however to pay sometimes *at the rate of 50, 60, or 70 per Cent.* of the gross produce of the soil, as if the tanks were there, in perfect repair, and yielding the quantity of water required by them.

In the famine in Guntoor, when a quarter of a million of people perished, the Committee for Public Works then reported, that the loss thereby in money was *more than two millions sterling!* Here was a foolish policy!

British Settlers are also hampered by the absence of improvements—for only forty miles from Calcutta those who cultivate different articles for that market, find the difficulty of transit so great, that whereas, where there is a little bit of road they can send twenty or twenty-five maunds of produce in a Cart with a couple of Bullocks ; where there is no road, that, obliged to be conveyed upon each Bullock's back, is not more than about two maunds ($1\frac{1}{2}$ cwt. English), and this slowly, *on the narrowest possible path between rice fields.*

CHAPTER XIII.

“ Marriage is honourable in all.”

“ Hail, wedded love, mysterious law, true source
Of human offspring, sole propriety
In Paradise, of all things common else !”

WHEN, in 1852, the 40th Regiment was sent to Australia, but, “ according to the rules of the service, only a few wives were allowed to accompany their husbands, that worthy friend of woman, Mr. Miles, late M.P. for North Somersetshire, took up the matter, gave handsome donations, and wrote to the papers, urging subscriptions, which speedily flowed in from all quarters. The author thought it his duty to write also, and two of his letters appeared in the “ Morning Advertiser,” for July of that year. Whatever effect they may have had, suffice it to say, that Mr. Miles obtained funds sufficient to send out *all* the wives in that Regiment, to the honor of the numerous contributors, and the

indelible disgrace of our legislators ; who, not only “ forbid to marry,” but separate those already joined together. This is one of the reasons why our streets are crowded with unfortunates, and why we have above 80,000 degraded beings amongst us, and 70,000 illegitimates annually (in London alone, 7,000!) victims, to a certain extent, of this injustice. Read the following accounts of “ The Camp at the Curragh” sent by Mr. Henderson, Presbyterian Chaplain, and Mr. Carus Wilson, to “ The Times.”

“ The camp is situated nearly in the centre of the wide and extensive Curragh. The unfortunate female outcasts are not suffered to trespass upon the Curragh, as far as human vigilance can prevent that evil. Hence all the leading roads around it are infested day and night by the sad specimens of depraved and degraded humanity. When any of these are apprehended for trespassing, or for being drunk or disorderly, they are committed to prison for a certain period, varying from forty-eight hours to a week. Then they are released, with no resource but to return to their miserable haunts. If there were asylums provided by the Legislature for the reception of these poor castaways, to which they might be consigned, as places of amendment as well as punishment some, if not many brands, might be plucked out of the fire. Reformatories for refuge and discipline

might prove an incalculable blessing to thousands of poor wretches, whose present state appears to be only a horrible descent to dismal graves. Who that thinks of these objects of commiseration, and of the mothers that nursed them, does not sigh and pray for a door of escape to be opened to them?

“*If national reformatories* for such hapless creatures were localised throughout Britain, no one could rightly estimate the happy results. A lodgment in gaol under present arrangements entails heavy expense upon the country, and a vast amount of irksome duty upon the constabulary and others. Yet to what purpose? The parties committed to prison lie there for a time, are sent forth anew on their downward career, are again laid in prison, until an awful death closes the heartrending history; whereas a reformatory, affording time for reflection and remonstrance, might, through the Divine blessing, restore lost daughters from a lot worse than death. There are not provided now any inviting gates in every district into which conscience-stricken or heavy-laden sufferers might seek to find entrance as a relief from mental anguish or bodily torture. In the cold, tempestuous nights of this dreary winter, what numbers of those who have shivered all night long through the pitiless storms under hedges, or behind the ditches, might have thanked God for a refuge such as a reformatory?

“ I trust, Sir, that this matter may arrest the attention of the benevolent and influential in society, so as to produce vigorous, practical, and prompt efforts to ameliorate the deplorable condition of those for whom every one’s heart must plead. May I express my fond hope that your own powerful advocacy will enforce their claims upon British philanthropy ?

“ I remain, Sir,

“ Your most obedient servant,

“ ALEXANDER HENDERSON,

“ Presbyterian Chaplain.”

“ Curragh Camp, February 20th, 1857.”

“ Sir,—I am glad to see that public attention is drawn in your pages to the wretched condition of the poor girls connected with the Camp at the Curragh of Kildare. The state of things is such generally in our garrison towns as to call loudly for some efficient interference.

“ But prevention is better than cure. The beer-houses and gin-palaces are the grand instigators to all this mischief. If not primed with drink, the poor creatures would in most cases shrink from their difficult career. But, more than this ; it is a fact, of which abundant evidence presents itself, that the beer-houses and gin-shops have their regular staffs of prostitutes on their premises as a necessary appendage to their horrid system.

“ I know one case in which a poor penitent woman stated that she had often met as many as 200 soldiers and sailors and fallen girls in the *salon*, who had every facility for retiring from the dance for other purposes. She mentioned other beer-houses with similar arrangements, but on a smaller scale.

“ It may be asked, why don't the magistrates and police prevent such nuisances? But what can be expected when, perhaps, the magistrate is a brewer, and his only object is to push the sale of his liquor as extensively as possible?

“ I know of one instance very recently in which a brewer is said to have turned out one of his publicans because he did not sufficiently push the sale of his liquor.

“ And as to the police, it is well known that they are often bribed by the publicans with a *carte blanche* to the tap whenever they please. How, then, can they be depended upon for the upright discharge of their duty?

“ If prostitution is to be diminished, with all its fearful mischief to both sexes, the axe must be laid at the root of the tree, and the encouragements to drunkenness must be removed.

“ I know at this moment of thirty poor girls in Portsmouth who would most thankfully abandon their evil courses; but it is not an easy matter to know how to befriend them.

“How much better to cut off occasion from those who seek occasion, and to dry up as far as possible the channels of drunkenness.

“Yours faithfully.

“W. CARUS WILSON.”

Eglinton House, Ventnor.

Here, too, we trace the reason why, from four to five hundred women (which the author has seen), are at once on board our ships of war, and every ship the same whilst in port. And here also we can trace the fall of more than half the young men in London, and other large towns and seaports, who are corrupted by miserable beings driven to sell their virtue to obtain a degraded subsistence, and who then, as the chaplain above quoted, justly remarks, become “the tempters of youth and innocence.” Yet political economists will doubtless scout the idea, before proposed, of giving extra allowance to soldiers and sailors, on becoming married; nay, to suggest even lawful wedlock for them, will probably call forth sneers; but to propose that wives be allowed to accompany their husbands when sent to our colonies, or to India, with additional pay for the men, and the expenses of export, &c., borne by the nation, will be at once decried as the ravings of a visionary; whilst to plead for *wives* to be allowed to be with their husbands when in port, would of course be renounced as impolitic and unattainable.

Let us, however, examine what the nation *has done* for the German Legion at the Cape ; and impartially go through the pro's and con's, which were then offered to the public through the medium of the press.

First, then, " Governor Sir George Grey informed the parliament of the Cape of Good Hope, that Her Majesty's government had had under consideration his urgent call for a body of military settlers on the border. The plan described to the colonists by Sir George Grey is indeed remarkable. The men would be permitted to carry their wives and families, or, if any of them were not married, which is probably the case in the German Legion, they would be permitted before going to enter into the married state. Should this anticipation of Sir George Grey's be fulfilled, what a remarkable sensation it is likely to create in certain neighbourhoods of our own country ; what a strong admixture of British blood is likely to be carried out by the proposed emigration ! The force would go out to the colony in a state of complete military organization, with camp equipage, and an Enfield rifle for every man, a settlement awaiting them in that hospitable colony, and a warm welcome. The Legislative Council had given to the Governor thanks for the announcement ; the Legislative Assembly had accompanied its thanks with a vote pledging it to provide 40,000*l.* towards

the expenses of the new German military settlers—a solid testimony to the spirit in which the colonists are prepared to receive their promised brethren.

The German soldiers were not expected alone; another expected arrival was that of the Enfield rifles.

Then we had in *the Chelmsford Chronicle*, a most glowing description of the charms of that land, (and the author has been assured by those who have visited the Cape, no ways exaggerated), *and its desirableness in every respect*, besides the great agricultural pecuniary temptations, held out to these foreigners to go there as military colonists.* After this, the *Times* of August 29th, 1856, took up the theme, and panegyrized the government intention, although let us bear in mind, it was indignant at our own starving, hard-working people, *who could be so useful in a country of that kind, where plenty invites them to possession, seeking government help to emigrate anywhere*; and although “the Legislature of the Cape had been ready to vote a sum of money for the expenses of these soldier colonists.” Then, why not our disbanded militia sent, who were most of them working men, besides having had as much, if not more, practice in our different camps at home, than these Germans,

* And now see some of the successful fruits, in the unadulterated and cheap African wines sent home to us from the Cape.

sought for and bribed so high at the eleventh hour? Surely they could handle an Enfield rifle as well as a German—as, indeed, could *any* of our *Englishmen*, with but simple shewing, and a little practice,—for what thoroughly organized drilling could possibly be necessary to meet the emergencies of attacks from savages? Not to mention the claims also, of so many—cast equally adrift as the militia,—“the Turkish Contingent.” We read in the public Journals, of the embarkation of the “*Italian Legion*,” to another “Land of Promise,” *Parama*. Why not, we again ask, *our* countrymen instead of these Italians? Can none of the representatives of the people be found to advocate *their* claims not to be starved in by their mother country when so many are found to advocate in both Houses, the *non*-claims of needy foreigners; needy, probably, because too adventurous and republican, to be able to stay upon their own soils, and therefore come and corrupt ours, and eat our children’s bread.

But the deed has been done,—we must think, unreflectingly and prematurely by our Legislature, and which was commented on as follows:—

“The conditions for the colonization of South Africa by the men of the German Legion have been promulgated. Although the whole plan and the details are copied from the conditions of service under which pensioners have been settled in New Zealand, Australia, and America, there are many

advantages granted to the Legion which were not conceded to the pensioners. The grant of half pay has been rendered necessary, because these Germans have not pensions to support them. *The grant, however, being for three years, is a liberality we have never yet seen exercised towards the British soldier.* We do not regret the liberal feeling exercised on this occasion, *but we wish that, like charity, it had begun at home.*"

The debates upon Mr. Adderley's objection, were excellent, as given in the *Times* of May 26th, 1857—especially Mr. Henley's figures, in his "many a true word said in jest,"—and Mr. Whiteside's most pithy brevity. Yes, our Militiamen were then being most uncompunctiously "stripped of their trousers and turned adrift without a sixpence." Many, as it is well known, to return to their despairing families, who had to support them, they knew not how, until they could find, the almost impossibility, of a return to their previous employments, old masters having filled up their places, and new masters being difficult to find, especially towards winter.

Turn we now to the "The Something required in India"—and see if we cannot get up a national movement in favour of an entirely different order of things for our soldiery, likely to be located there.*

* "While considering the home preparations for the suppression and punishment of this revolt, the question will

Cannot the late Sir Charles Napier's hints be taken into consideration, by our Commander-in-Chief, and the keeping of Bengal sepoy's? The revolt over, this will become the first great problem for solution. Native troops to a great extent we must, it is obvious, continue to have, even in Bengal. There are stations which can only be garrisoned by natives of India; there are duties which Europeans cannot perform. But hitherto the native army of India has been far too largely employed for purposes which a police ought to perform. Its application to those purposes has hindered the formation of a proper and efficient, and far less expensive, police system. And, in reference to the reorganization of the Bengal army, the state and improvement of the police of Bengal and the upper provinces, and the formation of local corps, ought not to be omitted from consideration. Part of our native army is composed of Goorkhas from the mountains of Nepal, and to a less extent of Sikhs from the Punjaub. There are, in their respective spheres no better troops in the world. No one would think of reducing them. Probably the Goorkhas will be increased, although, like ourselves, they are unable to endure the extreme heat of the plains. Still, after both Sikhs and Goorkha troops have been duly considered, the Hindoo element reappears. Its use is unavoidable, but it must be kept in due subordination. From the Hindoo soldiery that may hereafter be retained in the Bengal army, the sacerdotal caste must henceforth be completely excised. But, after what has passed, and is passing, not even a large addition of Goorkha regiments, not even the formation of a lower caste Hindoo army in Bengal, can re-inspire security. Something more is required, and that something is undoubtedly a large permanent increase of European regiments. Any considerable augmentation of European troops would obviously increase the military expenditure of the Indian government; and that increase of expenditure is no

some of our leading military men at home and in India; and by them be carried into permanent working form? That high authority has borne us out in our previous statements, of the present disgraceful organization of our soldiery's ménage. In "The destitute state of the soldiers' wives at Colchester," and also at Parkhurst Garrison, Isle of Wight, we have *detailed* accounts of it; as given below,* whilst we find that war aggravated the evils doubt a great difficulty to be overcome. With peace and tranquillity the revenues of India will, however, increase. but whether or not, the security of the English ascendancy in India requires a permanent addition to the European force hitherto in the service of its government."—(1857.)

* "I had not anticipated that in asking a question concerning the distress among the soldiers' wives at Colchester, Sir John Tyrrell would have produced before the House part of a correspondence upon this sad subject.

"Since my statement was read, I have been urged to appeal through you to the public for immediate assistance and sympathy.

"It will surprise those who imagine that the soldier is being made a respectable, moral, and religious member of society, when they are assured that more than 130 soldiers' families were, at the commencement of the late severe weather, utterly destitute of proper clothing and bedding, and nearly starving; that, had it not been for the charity of their officers and of the townspeople, they would have perished; and that even now, if the benevolence of those who visit these unfortunates be relaxed, the same result would ensue.

"I can bear witness to there being much degrading misery among these families, which were never in a like

already sufficient, but, at the same time "*proved, that soldiers' wives are not all worthless and idle, plight before—degrading, for it is the misery of extreme want with the remembrance of former comforts, which have not been lost by misbehaviour.*

"It is absurd to wait for the results of a Government inquiry into this distress, for it is absolutely necessary for those who take an interest in the case to have funds to feed those who cannot obtain work, and who cannot subsist upon their soldier-husbands' pay, diminished as it is by 'stoppages'—to find clothing and bedding, and to redeem those articles which were pawned during the first weeks of want.

"It is, moreover, necessary to remove the poor creatures from the squalid lodgings they occupy in the worst neighbourhoods, to cheap and well-ordered dwellings. Above all, it is necessary that the voice of public opinion should be heard protesting against the continuance of this distress, which has been produced by the transmission of the depôts of certain regiments from Ireland to this place.

"Subscriptions will be thankfully received by those gentlemen who were mentioned by Sir John Tyrell in his speech on Friday last, and by

"Yours obediently,

"P. MARTIN DUNCAN, M.B., &c.,

"Physician to the Essex and Colchester Hospital,
Colchester."

"We have had at Parkhurst Garrison, Isle of Wight, exactly the same kind of circumstances as those alluded to at Colchester, and not a whit less severe and grievous to contemplate; there has been with us suffering even to death, and so urgent that immediate help was felt to be a positive duty.

that *they can* and *will* work; that the outcry was great at the hint, of such as had been provided for

“To collect from friends and neighbours as much as was deemed necessary to begin at once to afford some help.

“To rent houses, and furnish them with necessary articles of furniture (each room had one large iron bedstead, bed, blankets, sheets, &c., two chairs, one table, washing-tray, buckets, brushes, &c.) Each room was then let at from 7d. to 1s. a week. We have now nine houses, and thirty-seven families thus decently lodged.

“Our object was—1, to protect the wives and families of soldiers from the excessive demands commonly made for lodging rooms out of barracks; 2, to promote habits of cleanliness and order, by supplying vessels and articles for washing, &c.; 3, to encourage the deserving characters by allowing such only to partake of the benefits of the plan; 4, to provide work for the women.

“It is a rule that no soldier recently married is to have a room, and those with the largest number of children are received first.

“There is also a separate fund for assisting those having large families with a little clothing, to enable the children to be kept at school.

“I would only add that the plan during the four months of its operation has fully answered the expectations of the promoters, but the want of proper lodging houses is much felt here. The eagerness with which our rooms are sought is a proof that the money and effort have not been spent upon a case of common difficulty, but of real distress.

“In the name of those who act with me, I beg thus to thank all the friends who have helped us, and I am sure that the objects of this charity are also grateful for the work.

“I remain, Sir, your obedient servant,

“W. F. HOBSON, Chaplain.

them being discontinued.” In allusion to another paragraph in this interesting little account of those “Soldiers’ Wives and Children,” we would ask—“why can their work only be bought *at the contract price?*” Why, if—and can we doubt so self-evident an experimental fact, to those of us who have tried the difference?—if the socks made by the women are three times as durable as those manufactured by machinery and supplied by contract; can they not be bought by Government at their *durable* price?—which could be *no loss*; the contract being given to the garrison Chaplain, and the price allowed, strictly what *he* thinks *just*, not *generous*—private benevolence adding the rest. It is stated that *by contract* 1s. a pair is allowed, but, that the knitted socks are well worth 9d. *for labour*, and it would seem the wool costs 6d. only, therefore 3d. more upon each pair of socks, *which are three times more durable.**

* “It has been proved that soldiers’ wives are not all worthless and idle; they can and will work, and here is a practicable plan to provide work for them. At this station, for ten months past, soldiers’ wives have been employed in various kinds of work, an account of which is below. Knitting is the chief employment. The worsted is provided for them, and 6d. per pair of socks is paid for the work. These have been chiefly sold through the commanding officers to the soldiers.

“Considerable loss was incurred in starting the plan, and continued loss in a less degree must occur, and this will

Sir Henry Lawrence in his admirable "Asylum" for the orphan and other children of the non-compel us to give up the work unless some extraneous help be afforded. The eagerness of the women to obtain the work is excessive, and at the hint of its being discontinued, especially at the present time, the outcry here is great.

"The future loss, to provide for which is the object of this letter, will arise chiefly from the fact that socks sold to the army can only be bought at the contract prices,—*i. e.*, 1s. per pair. Now, though the socks made by the women are three times as durable as those made by machinery and supplied by contract, yet officers can only take them at the above price, and hence the loss upon each pair of socks is 5d. or 6d. ; add to this that the workers ought really to be paid as just wages, 8d. or 9d. per pair, and then the loss will be increased.

"This is our difficulty. Any help by donations, &c., will be thankfully received, and duly accounted for, and perhaps this letter may be a hint for other stations.

"Applying the encouragement of this plan with resolute strictness to honest workers, the dishonest and idle soon appear, and there is no fear of any charity thus employed being, as direct alms too often are, abused.

"A provident club and a clothing club, instituted for the women, with a bonus of 2d. per shilling, are a further help which they are enabled to avail themselves of by means of the working plan. These are very timely helps in sickness or removals.

"I remain, Sir, yours respectfully,

"W. F. HOBSON, Garrison Chaplain.

"Depôt Battalion, Parkhurst, Isle of Wight.

"LIST OF WORK DONE.

Soldiers' socks, knitted, 500 pairs.

Other socks for children, ladies, and officers.

Plain work of all kinds.

missioned officers and soldiers of Her Majesty's and the Hon. E.I.C. Services," has already paved a way for carrying out Sir Charles Napier's excellent idea *to provide our army out of itself*, instead of the distasteful (and often cruel) present enlisting system. Here are both men and women, ready to be made serviceable *on the spot—and a very healthy spot too*—and out of them perpetual corps in India, might be kept up, and *wives allowed* :—for there is no country under the sun, where soldiers more need this healthy and virtuous safeguard, than in India, where the climate and the native women tempt to *extreme* licentiousness, and to drink, both which causes, but too often combined, get the poor men into perpetual scrapes, and severe punishments. The tribute to Sir Henry Lawrence's memory, towards keeping up such, is, as the writer has before remarked, a step in the right direction, for which we feel *most thankful*. May it be carried out farther, as the author earnestly desires, towards the lessening social evils at home and abroad, *by encouraging soldiers' marriages*. To the following interesting little notice* of Sir H.

Knitted Bed coverlets.

Anti-macassars.

Ladies' embroidered collars, sleeves, &c., &c."

* "The Lawrence Asylum was established by Sir Henry in 1846, and is situated at Sonawur, a hill about three miles distant from Kussowlie, the first hill station on the road from Umballah to Simlah. It provides for the orphan and other

Lawrence's Asylum, the writer rejoices to be able to add, for the information of those who may not have

children of the non-commissioned officers and soldiers of her Majesty's and the Hon. East India Company's services, serving or having served in India, an asylum from the debilitating effects of a tropical climate, and the demoralising influence of a barrack life, wherein they may obtain the benefits of a bracing and healthy atmosphere, coupled with an education, plain, useful, and religious. Destitute orphans and fatherless children are received without charge, as also the children of fathers below the rank of sergeant, except in cases where the father holds an appointment by which his pay is increased. When charges are made they are on a very moderate scale, and proportionate to the income of the father. At the date of the last report, there were 123 boys and 76 girls in the asylum. Since that date the numbers have greatly increased, and now the mutinies largely increasing the number of children made orphans, and leading to a large augmentation of the British military force in India, have immensely augmented the strain on its resources. The institution enjoys a limited support from the government, but its main reliance has ever been on voluntary contributions. Sir Henry Lawrence was, until his death, an annual contributor of 10,000 rupees, and he was not the only steady supporter of the Institution who has fallen. It was natural that in considering how they might honour the memory of an illustrious man, the admirers of Sir Henry Lawrence should at once think of the Institution on which his heart had been so fixed, and with which his memory must be permanently connected. They have, therefore, formed a committee at Calcutta, whence this appeal reached us, purposing to raise a fund to be added to the permanent endowment of the institution, and to be called "The Sir Henry Lawrence Fund." They conceive, and they must be right, that those who desire to honour the memory of Sir

noticed its announcement, that in India, the endowment fund subscription is headed by Lord Canning, with the handsome figure of 1000*l.*, and that at the meeting at Willis's rooms here, a sister of Sir H. Lawrence gave 1000*l.* It is built for the reception of 400 boys and 300 girls. A similar school for the army in Rajpootana and Western India, was founded by Sir Henry at Mount Aboo, when Chief Commissioner in 1856, and towards this he contributed 200*l.* a year. It is to be hoped *Government* will be induced to help these funds by yearly grants, and by instituting a military school in connection with it, for the boys; and midwifery and hospital instruction, as well as early training *to become valuable nursery maids*, for the girls. *Such are much needed in India*, especially now, that so many healthy locales for families have been discovered in that land, which no longer necessitates the former expensive home trips, dangerous separations of husband and wife, and unnatural absence of both, from their children — often not seeing them from the time they parted with them as *infants*, till they meet them again as grown up youths and maidens, educated under other guar-

Henry Lawrence, will feel that they are raising to him the noblest monument that man can have, and the monument which his generous spirit would most have desired, in the perpetuation of the work of benevolence of which he was the originator and founder, and was ever the most strenuous supporter.

dianship, (and but too frequently that of mere paid strangers), with affections estranged, habits formed, &c. In fact, beyond the mere parental tie, *anybody's children as much as theirs*. It is well-known that the natives of India exercise a very demoralizing effect upon children there, and as they are chiefly intrusted to the care of men, they are often injured beyond remedy, besides being usually very unmanageable, rude, and ignorant. In fact, "Indian children," have passed into a proverb, and those lodging keepers even, who will admit them "fresh as imported," (for many will not), all charge accordingly and *anticipatorily*, of all sorts of damage, noise, and disorder. Religiously well grounded, well mannered, and well principled nursery maids therefore, *made out of these soldiers' children*, would prove as invaluable a boon there, as indeed a similar class of servants would in this country. (But to enter upon which, is reserved to another chapter.) Let only the experiment upon the plan of Sir Charles Napier, be tried at once, by the Legislature in India; should it fail, it need not be carried farther out in the colonies or at home. If, on the contrary, however it prove, as conducive to a totally bettered state of things, as the author anticipates, then, who will begrudge such a *national economy, not expenditure*—economy of money, morals, bodies, and souls.

There are others besides the writer, who think,

that any departures from God's Laws are always, sooner or later, followed by misfortune, in proportion to the deviation. They also think, that had we planted, as we ought to have done, Soldiers in our conquered and annexed lands in India, almost from our first possession, we should not have been now paying the penalties we are : for, we should have had thousands of Indian Englishmen by this time, well calculated to have kept the peace for us there.

It is true that the exquisite spots, India now offers for sojourning in, were then, quite, or comparatively, but little, known ; else, long ere this, had the younger sons of our gentry offered themselves as officers, and the stalwart sons of our farmers as soldiers, with the legitimate intention of making for themselves a home in India, as their Norman and Saxon ancestors did in the lovely vales of England, and mountain homes of Scotland. Such settlements would now have been prospering ; and men thus going over with their wives and children, had they practised the social virtues, (not vices), and practically illustrated their Bible, instead of, as the generality of the English have been there, a libel upon it ; had they thus gone out, planted armed villages, and spread around them civilization, arts, and sciences, our language, and our Bible ; a commercial and military community would by this time have been dwelling in the land in peace and safety. The

natives might too have been attracted to study our Christianity, if we had, through its fruits proved it to be—which it ever is—the alone true source of all our well-being; and thus the gospel by its example have superseded the superstitions and anomalies of the Hindoo and Mahomedan. But instead of all this, what opinion can the Indian races form of us, who go amongst them for a few years only, dishonour our Christian profession, treat them like dogs instead of loving them like neighbours, and finally, having taken from them all we can, leave them worse than we found them? Such conduct is only equalled by our insane folly in supposing that we could expect these nations to be interested in guarding us, or making our annexing interests, theirs.

But why dwell on what we might have done? why not do it now, with all the additional advantages of our experimental knowledge, of our easy transport, our shortened means of communication, and our explored and tried locales?*

* See in the Appendix some most remarkable “Notes and opinions of a Native *on the present state of India and the feelings of its Natives*,” written in 1848, and then presented by the author to the writer. The Mir Shahamet Ali was a learned Native gentleman of Hindoostan, who had been educated in one of our colleges there, and was well known to Sir C. Trevelyan and Sir Claude Wade. He then came over to see this country, and on the occasion of his writing a book on the Affghan war, was presented to Her Majesty.

For in the evidence of Mr. J. P. Wise, we find it affirmed, "that wherever Europeans have been settled during the late convulsion, those parts have been less disturbed. They have also been highly useful discoverers, of coal beds—which give employment to several companies, yielding large returns—(that of the Bengal Company for one, which pay to the railway alone, £2,000 per mensem for the carriage of coal from Ranee gunge to Calcutta)—of the steam communication both by sea and river—and of the horse-carriages, which have proved so useful lately in expediting both officers and men to the seat of war. They have also increased in quantity, and improved in quality, many valuable and easily transportable products, and even brewed beer, (which may not generally be known), on the Neilgherries, preferred by the soldiers, though but 9d. a gallon, to that ordinarily retailed to them at 1s. the bottle. In fact, as already stated, India is a mine of wealth—if the large manufacturing towns and their rich merchants would but turn their attention more to it—examine into its resources of cotton, grains, oil, muslins, embroideries, shawls, calicoes, precious stones, ores, and *rich luxuriance of soil*—and use their vast capitals and resources in assisting their fellow-creatures and fellow-subjects of the East, by giving them means of employment, and of extending their usefulness, in the many ways their peculiarities of climate and delicate suppleness of limbs best fits them for the practical working out of, under judicious inspection. Rich native merchants too, had they their equal rights simplified and guaranteed to them, would imitate their example, and become—what they all along ought to have been allowed to be—the benefactors of their country, instead of—as some of them have become, where they have been able to make a little—hoarders, from the sheer fear of extortion, and the personal insecurity, which made them dread poverty for themselves and families. Even in the one mat-

be employed *in entire families*, thus working out the slave system, without slavery or coercion, or any of the difficulties of the negro character to combat. It may also not be known to all, but it is to some, that the very appearance of these planters who gave their testimony before Parliament, went farther than anything to prove that health and strength had been the attendants of their out-of-door employments in India, in healthy parts, as much as it is in this country, under the same circumstances; and many who have been in India can bear witness that such men when they used to visit the Presidency were remarkable for their robust appearance and healthy hue. Had they been just shipped from England they could not have looked better, or seemed merrier. *And why not military Colonists?*"

Some could have been drafted out as *Emigrant Recruits* from the Unions according to a system of Emigration and Recruiting proposed so far back as 1833 by Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton. "Nothing in the army," he writes, "requires so much reform as the system of recruiting it. A Central Board with its branch Commissioners, with its command over the able-bodied applicants for work, might be a very simple and efficacious machine for supplying our army—not as now, from the dregs of the people—but from men of honesty and character. * The expense of our present system of recruiting is enormous,—it might be in a great measure, saved by a Central Board." In reference to Emigration, he asks, "Is it true, that population presses on Capital? In this country, it assuredly does, the area of support is undeniably confined—

meanwhile the population *increases*. Very well, we know exactly how many to remove. Mr. Wakefield has settled this point in an admirable Pamphlet. He takes the British population at twenty millions; he supposes that their utmost power of increase would move at the rate of four per cent. per annum, the constant yearly removal of the per centage, viz. 800,000, would prevent any domestic increase. But of these 800,000 you would need select only those young couples from whom the increase of population will proceed—these amount to 400,000 individuals; the expense of removing them, at £10 a head, is four millions a year. *We now therefore know exactly what it will cost to prevent a pressure of the population on the means of subsistence.* But what individual emigration companies can either preserve the balance or persuade the people to accede to it? *Is not this clearly the affair of the state, as in all ancient policy it invariably was?* Thus in 1833—and still in 1858, we find Lord Ebury writing, “it is a horrible stigma upon us, who are in any way connected by property, or otherwise, with this most wealthy and luxurious Metropolis, that several hundred persons actually perish yearly from the want of the common necessaries of life Such we find it in the inflexible figures of the Registrar General.” The fearful amount of misery then (March, '58) crying

for help—and still in the winter of this year doing the same—for even the *Times*, to fill up a column, called attention to the *Field Lane Dormitories*, and recommended a visit to their overflowing homeless, breadless, raimentless, *starved-out*, nightly inmates, before their more favoured brethren sat down to their Christmas plenty and their Christmas hearths and hilarities.

Now why not remedy the past Home and Indian impolicy, by at once organizing a species of *military colonization* for India, in the healthy parts of our vast Indian Empire? Read at chapter xii. the different accounts of the *uncultivated, untenanted* tracts of land we possess *everywhere*, and which, without any detriment to the just and prior claim of the natives of the soil, is *amply sufficient for all*, and for the twofold purposes of *justice, and of attaching to us* the Natives of India; and of European military colonization. We read in Mr. Willoughby's minute on the Sattara Case, (see chapter xii.) that, "since May 1848, the British domain in India has been increased by the Sattara State, the whole of the Punjab, the Nagpore State, the Oude Kingdom, and many small States *with Jageers that in themselves would probably exceed the size of Great Britain.*" Now many Trades are much needed in Hindostan; such as Tailors, (clothes either purchased in the East, or

got out from England, and especially for officers, being exorbitantly dear), female dress and corset-makers, (to non-necessitate *men* being, as now, obliged to be always employed by ladies to make—and for those who do not know how to do it for themselves—fit on their things), Milliners, Sempstresses and Tailloresses. Boot and Shoe and Glove-Makers, Pin and Needle-Makers, Watch-Makers, Goldsmiths and Silversmiths, Tinsmiths, Ironmongers, Cabinet-Makers and Carpenters, Saddlers, Harness-Makers, Coach-Builders, Stationers, Booksellers and Binders, Glass and China Manufacturers, Flannel-Manufacturers, Schoolmasters and Female Teachers, and Bible and Tract Depositories. Young men knowing such Trades or Manufactures, and carrying out wives with them, could be useful in the ways suggested, besides importing with them teachable handy young girls to supply the stock, where vacancies through sickness or death might occur. Such supplied by Government to the younger sons of Gentry, Commercial Gentlemen, or Farmers, (many of which latter, might take out some of their own overplus labourers, or the overstocked tenantry of their neighbourhood), or as before proposed, some drafted out from the unemployed or starving applicants at our Unions, &c.; or those workmen making every sacrifice to reply even, to an advertisement for work—as some might be willing to emigrate

though all might not,—to such, grants of lands might be given to cultivate (Cotton, Tea, Indigo, or the Silkworm), or to farm or build manufactories; or erect workshops upon. These lands might be held by them on military tenure—that is to say, by able-bodied well-armed men self-supplying a military force, ready at need to join the regular corps, always in a state to keep in check the neighbouring Chiefs, and kept up by the landholders in proportion to their holdings. In fact, married yeomanry soldiers under married yeomanry officers. Even as we read, that in the times of the Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman strifes with the Welsh; “there could be added to the regular Troops, on occasion, all the military forces of the Marshes, comprising numerous bodies of Flemings, and other foreigners” (but don’t let us have *other foreigners there*), “who held their establishments by military tenure under a Royal Charter, granted by Henry II.—one being made their Chief Mayor.” It has been objected to the writer, that any number of Europeans that we could send to India, would, in a few years, become absorbed in the native population; as was the case with the Portuguese in early times, such descendants as a general rule, being an inferior race of people. *But English are not Portuguese*—and we think the class of persons proposed to be sent out would be the last to prefer a black to a white, unless

driven to it by some imperious necessity of temperament and by a decided, as now with our Soldiery in India, *manque de mieux*. Moreover, organized as suggested, *each man taking his own wife with him*, with a surplus of women to meet casualties, and a restriction,—upon pain of forfeiture of a renewal of grant to any heirs produced by intermarriage with a native or any illegitimate offspring whatever,—would soon check this, *and vice*. Besides, these Colonists could intermarry among themselves, be nursed and educated among themselves, and in cases of debilitation, (*which occurs in all climates*), a little change to some of the now many discovered Sanitariums of India, would soon restore, as well there as in this country.

Be it understood, that all such gentlemen, and those under them, would have to get, of course, the natives of the place to do the actual *laborious out-of-door* part of the work; such as “hewers of wood and drawers of water;” who would be obtainable *very cheap*, and if kindly treated, prove most useful, being *naturally very quick and clever to catch up what they see or are taught*. If their poor minds and souls were enlightened by the same opportunity, what rich harvests for Eternity might we not hope to reap! Were such Christian men as Lords Shaftesbury, Ebury, Ingestre, Ellesmere, and Carlisle; who feel their re-

that hundreds actually perish yearly, from the want of the common necessities of life ;” to obtain these grants from Government, carry out at their own expense such emigrants, and see them fixed in their quarters ; what happy men they would return to their own homes ; feeling they had been the Benefactors of two great Empires, and had traded with their immense capitals to the best of their ability. Besides, *Hindostan* is a country that will *well* repay a visit, were it from mere curiosity or *désœuvrement* ; how much more when united to such high and holy motives, and their workings out ?

CHAPTER XIV.

“And all thy children shall be taught of The Lord ;
And great shall be the peace of thy children.”

THE want of properly trained nursery maids has long been felt, and that nothing exists, to meet this want, is generally acknowledged. Ladies have long desired an Institution of this kind, to which they could apply, with confidence that such young persons might be relied upon, as much as anybody can be, and not likely to undo in the nursery, all the good desired, and sought to be, instilled when with the mother. Before parents, it is astonishing how demure a nursery maid can look, how promptly and gravely she can reprimand the child for any incorrect word or deed, *acquired from herself*. It is also astonishing how, by means of private shakes, slaps, and threats, the little ones are taught “*not to tell* ;” and still more astonishing the number of little accidents when out,—through the negligence of these

young persons, gossiping with their female or male friends, and leaving their young charges to tumble as we have often seen them, and upset too out of those perambulating infant nuisances—which they are schooled to hide. On one occasion the writer saw, two of these young girls so intently talking together, that when they did make a move onwards—and which the other pedestrians obliged them to do—the one with the toes-breaker troubled not to look round whilst turning the unsteady transport, but so suddenly jerked it, that in an instant both babies were dashed out *upon their heads*—how, not killed on the spot, seemed marvellous! But what *after effects upon these heads, may have been produced, who can tell?*

In Germany—where the name of these wheeled dangers has long been *Legion* (and probably like that one, now gone to the Cape, introduced from thence here)—crippled and humped children are so numerous, that it has invited inquiry into the cause; when, the almost invariable answer has been, “an accident through the carelessness of the nursery-maid, but hid, until malformation appearing, necessitated a Doctor’s examination—usually discovering some broken—or dislocated bone, *then*, past replacing.” Meantime of course the child had cried, fretted, and looked ill, but all was set down (by “nurse” to mamma) to its “terrible fractiousness.” Nay a friend of the writer has even seen in that

country, both ladies and gentlemen, of rank, frightfully deformed and dwarfed, through having been let fall, *tout bonnement* out of the window, by one of these flighty guardians. But we have worse than that to tell of nursery-maids in our own country. One instance was related to the writer by the person who knew the lady to whose child it occurred. This lady fancied she had a respectable, *and always nicely dressed* servant, as attendant upon her Baby, who, like most fond mother's children—was *soigneusement mise*. Picture then, reader, to yourself her horror, when one day on going through some distant part of the Town, she beheld in a beggarwoman's arms, *her own child dressed in filthy rags*, and in its pretended mother—equally revoltingly attired—her *tidy respectable nursery maid*! It was the Babe's recognition, and cry of "mamma," which first startled and attracted the mother's attention. And this was the airing *that* nursery maid gave her mistress's child! In Edinburgh—and also told to the writer by the person who was sent for, to take charge of a motherless Baby, until the father could find some one to whom to confide it—a professional man had a nursery maid whom he believed a *non-pareille*. Having a friend to dine with him, one day, he sent for maid and child to exhibit, having previously much vaunted the treasure he possessed in the wo-

pressed his astonishment at seeing such a woman in such a place, *he having had her sent up to him with others to choose from, in a house of ill-fame!* The host was utterly incredulous—the guest persisted—till at last, it was agreed between them, that nothing should be said to the servant, but that they should go together to the house in question, and that the gentleman should desire to have that particular person (who had told him, of the times at which she was to be found there, and her fictitious name) sent up to him, &c. She came, and Master and Servant were confronted—the girl being ignorant what gentlemen were there. It appeared, she took the Child out at the stated period for its airings, left it at a Friend's, and then pursued her other avocation, until it was time to return home, where she appeared, as *douce* and demure as you please. “And,” added the old woman (a monthly nurse of great respectability), “there’s but ower mony o’ thae young nursery maids wha rin the same rant until noo; mony’s the gentlemen, and especially doctors, wha are afeared to tak’, or to recommend, ony ane o’ them! Eh! but an they’re a bad lot generally!” *

* Mr. Tait, in his “Enquiry into the Extent, Causes, and Consequences of Prostitution in Edinburgh, 1842,” gives also some strange anecdotes to illustrate his statement, that servants, *whilst servants, simply to add this gain also to their*
 income from a distinct branch of prostitution in that City.

In the same city, the mother of a lady known to the writer, was once left when a child, in a court, by the nursery maid, whilst she ran on a bit to talk with a gossip, and when she returned the child had vanished. Another respectable looking servant-like person had gone up to the child, and asked it to go with her, to have some "sweeties." Of course the child consented, got the sweeties, and still went on and on, with the tempter (much like we children of a larger growth, still perpetually do), till finally, just outside the town, she handed her over to a *gang of gipsies*. Providentially, as they were preparing to decamp, a friend of the little girl's family, coming into Edinburgh by that way, at once recognized the child by her dress, and calling her by name, recaptured and brought her home, to the joy of the distracted parents, who had vainly sought for her in the intricate streets, closes, courts, and up and down stairs ins and outs, of the *then* "Auld Reekie," and before "the modern Athens" had raised its proud site, towering, like many younger ones will do, above its old-fashioned elder sister.

Thus, then, we see, what physical as well as moral risks our children run, and apparently, in most, if not all, nations—for *les Bonnes d'enfants à Paris*, are one of *the sights*, and especially in the Luxembourg Gardens, of a morning, with their attendant *flaneurs*, of many kinds. What wandering Eng-

lishmen failed to find them on the ramparts of Geneva? As for Germany, and especially Saxony, it is the very hot bed of the genus. Of some of their peculiarities in our own land, but a *faint* sketch has been given. For amongst this class with us, may be found *systematic thieves*. The writer speaks from personal knowledge and close individual watching of peculiar cases. There are those who will take no other sort of situation, however apt, or calculated for superior service, and such are always to be found *changing*, at the same time that the children's (they have been attending upon), *clothes change hands also*, and mysteriously diminish, without of course, any one's *having the right to tax them with their disappearance*; or, if they risk a search, are liable to a prosecution. Besides, this class having so many opportunities of going out, where should any missing article be found? And they are often quite *au fait* of the Barbican smelters, and cast-off clothes, old lace, &c. shops, there, and elsewhere abounding; and quite beyond the reach of the uninitiated. Nothing then is left but to discharge the nursery maid—but you must give her a character; or, again behold, the liability to prosecution if you dare to express the doubt in your own mind: and if you simply state that things *did* disappear, you are immediately asked if you at the same time discharged all your other servants? If a negative is the

reply, "ergo," sums up the Lady come for her character, "You think then this person is not honest?" So "the person" is declined, when she calls for her answer, demands the reason, is told,—and then for the hurricane of abuse, and threats, (sometimes carried into execution) which fall upon the late Mistress's devoted head! But the effect of some nursery-maids' injudiciousness and tricky ways are lasting beyond childhood, even up to man and woman's estate. For, who but may have known some grown-up young ladies of their acquaintance, whom nothing could induce to enter a dark room, or to sleep alone, in any room? Whilst others dread, even in daylight, being left in a room by themselves. As for (quite big) boys, there are plenty, who must have some one to sit beside them till they fall asleep, or if otherwise coerced, risk fits, from the state of alarm they are thrown into! And all this, *why*? Because, when infants, the nurse had not the patience to stop with them till they were asleep, in her haste to get down to the servants' hall for a gossip; and when old enough to understand her, were threatened, if they objected to be alone, or to being left in the dark, with having all sorts of things to come and take them away, if they attracted mamma's attention by crying. Not to mention the great love the vulgar mind has for telling children frightful stories; finding much amusement in their alarm, and the tyrannical pleasure in the

them back into some transient ease of mind. Whilst children, thus fed upon the marvellous and the horrible, get, so strangely fascinated by it, that all places but the nursery, become speedily irksome; and Parents strive in vain to instruct, amuse, or detain them.

So now, Reader, would it not be desirable that some influential Ladies should, in connection with the Schools they may have formed, establish nursery maids' training? Could not girls, deemed the fittest; by their attention to rules, order, conduct, and quietness, combined with aptitude of acquirement; be drafted out of such Schools into some adjoining building, where the babies of the poor might be taken in whilst their mothers are out working, (as is done in so many places, and for instance, in that admirable "Cripples' Home" of Miss Blount's, to which such a nursery is attached) for the girls to practise upon them, dressing feeding, and gentle handling, as necessary a part of instruction, as the knowledge of cutting out, making, mending and getting up clothes; or nursery-room cleaning out and arranging. With this, should be vigilantly inculcated, a rigid adherence to truth, an absence of all deceit and trickiness, and no *temper* permitted to be shown; so that whilst even from babyhood, fractiousness, wilfulness, and destructiveness, ought to be checked, yet it should be done

with gentle, consistent firmness; not by violence at one moment, fondling at another,—the usual nursery routine. To teach them how to amuse as well as instruct the infant mind, ought also to be an important branch of their training; this might be done through objects and pictures, combined with suitable portions of Scripture, Hymns, Songs, and instructive Tales.

These girls should also be taught to make, mend, get up, and *keep tidy, their own clothes*. On leaving for a situation they should be suitably provided with all necessaries, to look quiet and respectable, in their appearance, and with *a sufficient change of linen*, (rather a want with most servants), *as also hair and tooth brushes*; for habits of *thorough* personal cleanliness should be deemed indispensable to enable them to set a good example in these respects to children, who are, from earliest babyhood, first, so imitatively observant, and next so watchful, if what is insisted upon with them, is practised also by their inculcators. As at a certain age nursery-maids usually dine with the lesser children, a part of their training should comprise the general rules of good behaviour, and a correct method of eating at table. It would be advisable to fix a scale of wages for these girls; and to keep a registry, in which the name of each should be entered, her age, peculiarities of character, (for no teaching or training will ever ste-

reotype all to be alike ; and what one lady might particularly object to for the peculiarities of her child, another might find exactly suited to her's), capacity, date of leaving, and address of service entered. Should they not suit particular places, a fair and repeated trial ought to be given them, in a permission to return to the Institution till another situation offers, else, they might be driven to destitution,—in case they had no homes, or unsuitable ones, of their own, to go to ;—for sometimes ladies are so unreasonable and fidgety in their nursery arrangements, that many who might prove suitable to some, with such, might find it an impossibility to remain. These girls ought to be expected to refund to the Institution *one third* of what their outfit cost ; and this, by quarterly instalments during their first year's service, to be returned to them as a gift, if they have given satisfaction during that period, and retained one situation, at least twelve months of the time. Spare rooms should be kept as a home for them, attached to this school and training Institution ; so that when not enquiring for or looking after a place, they might improve themselves, and be an assistance, by helping both in the school and Institution ; and for this they ought to sit rent free, but provide their own food, and cook it in the general kitchen, which, with a washhouse and scullery, ought to be attached to the building.

CHAPTER XV.

“Why hast thou smitten us, and there is no healing for us?
We looked for peace, and there is no good;
And for the time of healing, and behold trouble!”

THAT social amelioration is thoroughly needed in our land, the agitation now going on, upon so many vital points connected with it, sufficiently testifies. Perpetual interruptions have retarded these pages being sent to press, and in the mean time many things urged by the author during a steady advocacy for the last thirteen years, through lecturing and publishing of tracts, are now, he rejoices to see, taken up by others. Even the Opium iniquity and Oude annexation have already become legislative questions. Would that the “Great (non)-social evil,” might also! And there is hope, since the, “deputation to the Rt. Hon. Spencer Walpole at the Home Office; for the purpose of soliciting some assistance from the Government with a view to the suppression of the public exhibition of prostitution

in the streets ; and also with regard to the closing of night houses." But the deputation ought to have added, what "one more unfortunate" most wisely has, the abolition of those places, where, "the dissolute—*exclusively the dissolute*—of both sexes—are permitted to assemble, in oyster and coffee rooms, making a common rendezvous on the pavement in front ; and of *dancing-rooms*, visited only by the profligate, and where the notoriously immoral ply for hire." This "one more Unfortunate," also substantiates, what the author has heard asserted to him by a lady friend, who has warmly taken up the subject, and faithfully set the lukewarm *cause* of legislation, before the individual legislators, and other influential men of her acquaintance, viz., "that *they could not take it heartily up, because each one's conscience obliged them to back out, even as of old did another multitude when they were desired to throw the first stone at her.*" For: "it is wonderful how many eminent men, as well as men of rank and fashion, are the dupes of courtesans. The highest professional attainments, and the most exalted positions are laughed to scorn by women whose wiles *a city gent* would ridicule ;"—not to mention,—"the married men, who are not ashamed to take a confidential friend to 'a bit of dinner with madam ;' " and the utter absence of all compunction on their parts ; so marvellous, even to these courtezans, with their recollections of home not quite effaced,

So *she* sagaciously adds, "while you gentlemen seduce, keep, abandon, and then patronize us indiscriminately, as you do, *be careful how you legislate for the suppression of one portion of your victims.* Appoint Commissioners who are fitted for the office, intelligent, respectable, and responsible *gentlemen*, and make it worth their while to devote themselves entirely to the reduction of the scandal complained of. But let not the ignorant constable of a few shillings a week, and it may be an unfeeling and unthinking brute, interfere with us as he will. *Recollect it was man who made us what we are.* It is *man* who pays for the finery, the rouge, and the gin. It is *for man* that we are, as well as *what* we are. It is *man* who, when we apply ourselves to industry, and honesty, *employs* us upon starving wages; and if man had his way, and woman's nature were not superior to his, there would be no virtue extant. Say, then, is it for man to persecute even the most profligate among us? *What is he better than the worst of us?*"

So *writes* "another unfortunate," and so has *spoken* more than one, to the lady alluded to; intensely *ridiculing, despising, and condemning* their aristocratic Visitants and Protectors; and marvelling, '*how they could leave* refined, educated, beautiful females of their own rank, to associate with *them*, so debased, so ignorant, so dissipated, and so deceitful.' *Their own words.* Many said, simply as *women*, they were

no longer prized or sought by men, for that they fully realized, Romans i. 26, and that often *foreign women alone could be found to suit men's purposes.*

For any one to turn from this statement as indelicate, would be absurd in the extreme; as long as they turn not from their Bibles; for there they read such things *were*, and those who have husbands and brothers hear from them that such things *are*. Hence too so many Parents nowadays, dreading, whilst they desire, marriage for their daughters,—loathing the thought, of one reeking from such dens, receiving into their arms their chaste and innocent ones. For no one can tell in these corrupted times into what hands they may fall—the most polished and specious being often the vilest.

We have already ventured to quote the remark of a great Lady of this Realm, when she read an appeal on the subject of the amelioration of the sex—and we repeat it—“*get the men to act right, and the bad women will soon be reformed.*” But to assert, as the *Times* of 25th February did, that the “Great Social Evil,” as they call it, “will remain a problem in our time, nor do we see in the present stage of human feeling upon the subject that much advantage is to be derived from its discussion. We acknowledge and we deplore its existence, but we know of no remedy which would not rather aggravate than soften the evil—that is, if it involves any

serious effort to grapple with the evil itself," &c. is palpably *nonsense*. "We cannot import," it added, "this offence as a crime, into our Penal Code." *Why?* Why less now than before—when we did not so vaunt our progression and enlightenment? And besides, the writer has already shown in these pages that this Government or Her Majesty, could as well take the matter up,—as the French Government or Louis XIV. did,—in the formation of a similar Salpêtrière. In fact, meeting, many of the difficulties, which the *Times* thinks "another Unfortunate" has rendered, through her explanations, hopeless.

"We have never been very hopeful upon the subject," it continued, "but what little expectation one might have entertained was sadly dashed by her letter, which we believe is a revelation of the feelings of the class to which she belongs. Now, the singularity of the communication consists in this,—that the writer, who must be supposed to be tolerably well acquainted with the feelings of her associates and friends, bids us, in considering the subject, to dismiss from our apprehension all the crudities with which divines and philanthropists have surrounded it. The great bulk of the London prostitutes are not Magdalens, either in *esse* or *posse*, nor specimens of humanity in agony; they are not—the bulk of them—cowering under gateways, nor preparing to throw

themselves from Waterloo Bridge; but are comfortably practising their trade, either as the entire, or partial means of their subsistence." Now who, that ever went into the subject, or wrote about it *fully*, imagined otherwise than that *there were distinct classes*? And "another Unfortunate," might have paid herself an additional compliment—(to the many she did bestow upon herself and fellows)—had she added, that *her kind* also never spunged off the private benevolent, in taking advantage of their dormitories and homes; *although they do often send the comparatively uninitiated, and even sometimes take them there themselves*—nay more, allow them, for a time, to share their own lodging, such as it may be, if they find they cannot be immediately admitted,—*to prevent their becoming as common as themselves.*

But is it not sad to *know*, that the money given by private benevolence for reformatory purposes is too often turned by the hypocritical chanter-misère class of the fallen, into *sanitary sources for both body and purse, to suit their own convenience*? as the writer *well knows*, and as many, connected with Dormitories, Reformatories, and Hospitals, also know, if they chose to come forward and confess it; but of course, they will not, as long as they are wedded to a system, *because it is their system or their hobby.* For some, once wild, do, when they turn, positively hobby this reformatory idea to the most absurd ex-

treme ; and find plenty amidst the ranks of the fallen to humour *it*, whilst it humours *them*, and affords *them infinite amusement*. The writer is making no mere assertion here, but states from his own knowledge ; and from what has fallen from the lips of these women, viz., that certain private Institutions and public Hospitals, come in their regular routine “for them” to go into, for a time, *when they feel themselves on the eve of delirium tremens, or are diseased, or have got out of elbows, and find the market low*—telling those who are not aware of such helps, “to go into so-and-so’s Dormitory, and recruit there for awhile ; when tired of it to bolt, or misconduct themselves in some way so as to get turned out, for that in some they can still enjoy considerable liberty besides being made much of ; imposing of course upon the serious, who readily take *the reaction of depression* usually following these sufferings, for the sorrow or despair attending repentance. Once up again, strengthened, and mixing with the rest ; they soon however show their true colours. • And *therefore*, the author cannot advocate any further “appeals to the Public for funds, in order to establish fresh homes for the rescue of fallen females ; but would rather have those assisted already in existence, and in need of support, as daily advertised in the ‘Times’ headed ‘the Great Social Evil.’ (For a list of all such Institutions see Appendix.) These

are surely enough for the private purse to keep patching up* until the public can unite *en masse* to

* It is also *most desirable* that some different system should be pursued in the training of the women in these Institutions. For up to the present time they have been turned out *deplorably inefficient*, and especially *as servants—knowing nothing whatever of cooking, nor of parlour attendance*; and yet allowed to be engaged in both these capacities. It is much easier to congregate a mass of females into a room, and set them all stitching, or embroidering, or crocheting, or at a wash-tub; than to pick them out according to their abilities—and to steadily instruct them. Even in an Institution, the officials usually keep a good private table; and upon this the women ought to be allowed to practise; both in its laying, its serving, its dishing up, and its cooking. Besides there are now several Books of instruction upon these subjects—all, perhaps a little intricate, in parts; but any lady Visitor, *taking a class of this kind*, and improving upon them through her own common sense and experience, might greatly assist knowledge in these branches; the practical part being superintended by the matron; in seeing rooms carefully done out, furniture polished up, small articles carefully dusted, and in the usual change of dress for parlour attendance, &c.

Up to the present (and there is no use in longer hiding the matter), the kind-hearted and benevolent have long enough suffered patiently and uncomplainingly from this abuse of their kindness, in having any sort of person handed over to them. For those who have taken servants from private Institutions, have found them incorrigibly dirty, careless, and indolent; and when sent a message, often off to their old haunts and their old lovers; if distant, taking the benefit of an omnibus, so as to get back in something like time—or *giving a rendezvous to their old associates early in the morning before any of the rest of the family are astir!* Most of them, saddest to relate, too often, under the effects of drink. From Miss

protect and prevent,—by petitioning Government, to cleanse our Streets and our Metropolis through the medium of a Salpêtrière—by stringent enactments to push back to inconvenient distances all objectionable Houses and Lodgings—and “to unite,” as another Correspondent of the *Times*’ remarks, “the Refugee Question with the *Delicate* question, as it is most inappropriately called.” His view seems correct of that branch of the subject. That we have allowed our land to be overrun with foreigners—who have imported amongst us vices now knowingly practised, the very whisper of which attaching to any one but half a century back would have subjected them to the fear of capital punishment—the writer has before alluded to: added to which, within the last two years we have had frightful murders committed by them, and with a recklessness of life and *meanness* of purpose which, were they not proved, would be deemed incredible. When we are told

Neave’s admirably conducted Manor House, Little Chelsea—although *all thieves*,—the servants sent out *always* give satisfaction—as they are not allowed to go till well tried, and well qualified; and then each, only to take the situation, she is judged by the Matron suited for. Thus in the best houses, they are gladly received, and the demand is greater than the supply. Yet, these, are *thieves*—usually supposed the most incorrigible of offenders! A singular case of the kind, above complained of, which occurred in the house of a lady friend of the Author’s, is given in the Appendix; and reads more like a romance than a reality of low life.

that "it is utterly out of the question that we should gratuitously fathom the depths of fanaticism or vindictiveness which may exist in the breast of a political exile," we may admit it—and especially as long as some portion of our community will not only countenance, but even encourage, their inflammatory (and often most impertinently declamatory) speeches against our nation, because it will not take up their cudgels;—but "that a tradesman should take such an order, and so conveyed, as that of Orsini's, and should execute it without misgiving," because, "contrivances of this description have been among the commonest of all projects for the last six years;" and because, "there is probably not a manufacturer in Birmingham who has not been asked at some time or other to construct some extraordinary instrument, avowedly conceived for extraordinary purposes of destruction,"—does *not* appear to the writer, "the most natural thing possible."

Very much the contrary, and very *unnatural* to fabricate ourselves arms, for the express purpose of being turned against ourselves! as in the Caffre and Crimean wars. Why should not some system be organized to check the obtaining from us the manufacture of dangerous missiles, much on the same principle as we require chemists, to take the name and address of parties applying for powerful poisons without a medical order? Our manufacturers of

arms ought to be directed, when they get any peculiar private order of that nature, to require that the party or parties enter their names in a book kept for such registry, and that they ascertain whether the person ordering be the principal or an agent; a notice could then be sent to Scotland Yard; and again a second on delivery of the order; the parties being also required to enter their receipt of the articles in the same registry, and thus a watch could be set upon their use, *or export*. If the latter, the Government of their destination might be telegraphed, informing them what they were about to have landed on their shores; when all stigma would be removed from ours. Or, if deemed fit, the order could be intercepted at once here, if for a Nation at war with us. This would neither interfere with the liberty of the subject, whether British or Foreign, nor impede the progress of scientific discoveries in such missiles. Of course any foreign inventor carrying out individually his own invention under cover of our free land, after the fashion that Orsini is reported to have manufactured his own powder, could not well be reached; but the difficulties attending such an attempt, and the observation it would attract, would here be the best safeguard. If the Registry System, however, were carefully carried out, few Englishmen would be found willing to incur a responsibility, or run a risk for a foreigner,

and still fewer foreigners would venture upon it on their own account, if to carry out a nefarious design.

What "another Unfortunate" asserts *most truthfully*, has also been in the foregoing pages *anticipated* by the writer ; and is equally remediable as the rest, if, instead of lavishing our wealth upon costly public buildings, ostentatious monuments, commemorations, and amusement, for the starving bodies and benighted souls of our people ; we were to contribute towards cleansing our metropolis, and affording suitable cheap accommodation for our poor ; checking their shameless—and often therefrom naturally arising incestuous habits. This "Unfortunate" but corroborates the city missionary's report, already quoted, when she says, "we all slept in the same room. There were few privacies, few family secrets in our house. . . . No principal ever kept watch and ward over me, and I never lost that which I never had—my virtue. I was a fine, robust, healthy girl, thirteen years of age. I had larked with the boys of my own age—I had huddled with them, boys and girls together, all night long, in our common haunts. I had seen much and heard abundantly of the mysteries of the sexes. To me such things had been matters of common sight and common talk. For some time I trembled and coquetted on the verge of a strong curiosity, and a natural desire, and so I lost—what? not my virtue, for I never had any.

“According to my own ideas at the time, I only extended my rightful enjoyments. Opportunity was not long wanting to put my newly-acquired knowledge to profitable use.....At fifteen I commenced my career as a prostitute. I cannot say that I felt any other shame than the bashfulness of a novice introduced to strange society.....Now, what if I am a prostitute, what business has society to abuse me? Have I received any favours at the hands of society? *If I am a hideous cancer in society, are not the causes of the disease to be sought in the rottenness of the carcase?* Am I not its legitimate child? Why does my unnatural parent repudiate me, and what has society ever done for me that I should do anything for it?”

What she asserts is most true, and whilst these pages are going to Press, there has appeared a sad account of the state of common lodging Houses in London, in Dr. Lethcby's Report. The Writer can also endorse, “a Country Vicar's” true bill, as to the same corrupting family arrangements existing in country places—for, unhappily, such is the precisely similar state of affairs in the Village described in this work—big and little, Parents and Children, male and female, all indiscriminately ~~habiting~~ ^{inhabiting} one room.

“In manufacturing towns, the intercourse between the sexes is usually depraved and gross. The number of illegitimate children is, I allow, proportionally less in a manufac-

turing than in an agricultural district, but a most fallacious inference has been drawn from this fact ; it has been asserted by some political economists, that sexual licentiousness is therefore less common among the population of the latter than of the former—a mischievous error—the unchaste are not fruitful. The causes why children are less numerous in manufacturing towns are manifold : of these I shall allude but to two—the inferior health of the women, and the desperate remedy of destroying the burden prematurely in the womb. The existence of these facts will be acknowledged by anyone who has seen with inquiring eyes, the *actual* state of the Manufacturing Population. *The great evil of licentiousness is almost less in its influence on the Principles than the Affections.* When the passions are jaded and exhausted, the kindly feelings, which are their offspring, lie supine. The social charities, the household ties, the fond and endearing relations of Wife and Husband, Mother and Child, are not blessings compatible with a life of impure excitement. The Ancients tell us of a Nation of Harlots, who exposed their children :—the story may be false, but he who invented it, and showed how profligacy banished the natural affections, had studied with accuracy the constitution of the human mind.”*

“ I pay,” continues one Unfortunate, “ business visits to my tradespeople, the most fashionable of the west end. My milliners, my silk mercers, my bootmakers, know, all of them, who I am and how I live, and they solicit my patronage as eagerly and cringingly as if I were the lady of the Right Reverend patron of the Society for the Suppression of

* Bulwer’s “ England and the English.

Vice. They find my money as good, and my pay better (for we are robbed on every hand) than that of my Lady; and if all the circumstances and conditions of our lives had been reversed, would my Lady have done better or been better than I?"

Is not the above what we have striven to show? and on our own knowledge, no theory, though we are no "Unfortunate." Again: "The majority—nearly all—of the real undisguised prostitutes in London, spring from my class, *and are made by and under pretty much such conditions of life as I have narrated—and particularly by untutored and unrestrained intercourse of the sexes in early life.* We come from the dregs of society, as our so-called betters term it. What business has society to have dregs—such dregs as we? You the pious, the moral, the respectable as you call yourselves, why stand on your smooth and pleasant side of the great gulf you have dug, and keep, between yourselves and the dregs? why don't you bridge it over, or fill it up, and by some humane and generous process, absorb us into your leavened mass, until we become impenetrated with goodness, like yourselves? Why stand on your eminence and shout that we should be ashamed of ourselves? What have we to be ashamed of? we who do not know what shame is—the shame you mean! Why stand you there mouthing with sleek face about morality? What is morality? Will you

make us responsible for what we never knew? Teach us what is right and tutor us in good, before you punish us for doing wrong, we, who are the real prostitutes of the true natural growth of society, and no impostors. 'One more Unfortunate,' is a mere chance intruder in our ranks, and has no business there." (This the writer *heartily* echoes, and thinks it a pity money should be wasted on such—or *sympathy*—*they* see what is *right*, but *resolve* to *act* what is *wrong*.) "A few are victims of seduction" (as we have already given one most interesting case). "But seduction is not the root of the evil—scarcely a fibre of the root. A rigorous law should be passed and rigorously carried out to punish seduction, but it will not perceptibly thin the ranks of prostitution. Seduction is the common story of numbers of *well brought-up*, who never were seduced, and who are voluntary and inexcusable profligates. Married women, who have no respect for their husbands, and are not content with their lawful earnings, *these are the worst among us, and it is a pity they cannot be picked out and punished.*" (So thinks the Writer too.) "If I were a married woman, I would be true to my husband. I speak for my class, the regular standing army of the *force.*" *And she speaks truth*, as the Writer, also from personal knowledge, can assert—for such of this kind as do get married here, or on emigrating, make gene-

rally, tidy, active, wives; looking after their own and husband's things, studying to keep a nice home for him, and to please him as much as they can.

“Another Unfortunate,” justly calls, “the poor hard-working sewing girl *not* a prostitute.” It is a cruel calumny to call them such in mass; and as for their virtue, they lose it as one loses his watch, who is robbed by the highway thief. Their virtue is the watch, and society is the thief. These poor women are toiling on starvation wages, whilst penury, misery, and famine, clutch them by the throat and say, “Render up your body or die.” This also the writer has demonstrated here, and elsewhere—viz: *the inconceivable agony to persons at ease, of a tyrant stomach; on the one hand goading on to madness; and on the other, an empty larder, an empty grate, a threadbare garment, and the consciousness, (if at all on the sunny side of age), that but the wall or street's-space separates, from a meal, and perchance also a garment—if, willing to sell, what not the world's wealth can ever buy back.* But, let “Another Unfortunate” still farther corroborate more of the preceding statements. “Admire this magnificent shop in this fashionable street; its front fittings and decorations cost not less than a thousand pounds. The respectable master of the establishment keeps his carriage, and lives in his country house. *He has daughters too*; and his patronesses are fine ladies,

think when they admire the taste and elegance of that tradesman's show, of the poor creatures who wrought it, and of what they were paid for it? Do they reflect on the weary toiling fingers, on the eyes dim with watching, on the bowels yearning with hunger, on the bended frames, on the broken constitutions, on poor human nature driven to its coldest corner, and reduced to its narrowest means in the production of those luxuries and adornments. This is an old story! Would it not be truer and more charitable to call these poor souls 'Victims?' . . . and soften by some Christian expression, if you cannot better the unchristian system, the opprobrium of a fate, *to which society has itself driven them by the direst straits . . .* Are they not its children, born of its cold indifference, of its callous selfishness, of its cruel pride?" One more extract from "another Unfortunate," and we close our evidence: "Philanthropists may build reformatories and open houses of refuge, and Magdalen Asylums; and 'Amicus' may save occasionally a fallen sister, *who can prevail upon herself to be saved*; but *we*, who never were sisters, who never had any relationship, part, interest, or communion, with the large family of this world's virtues, moralities, and proprieties; *we, who are not fallen, but were always down—who never had any virtue to lose, we who are the natural growth of things, and are constantly ripening for the harvest, who, interspersed in our little, but*

swarming colonies throughout the kingdom at large, hold the source of supply, and keep it fruitful; what do they purpose to do with us? Cannot society devise some plan to reach us?" Surely—if, as the writer before remarked, less were expended both publicly and privately, both nationally and individually, *upon outward show*. Indeed the Mania for gratifying the eye, and the pomp and pride of life, seems now to have reached its climax,—*in everything*; to the sacrifice of all the simple beauties, comforts, and sweets of life. In our dress we view it, in our internal arrangements we view it, and in our very forcing of *Nature* to be *unnatural*, we view it. How rare now-a-days to enter a garden where sweet fragrance preponderates? How rare to find a conservatory richly laden with exquisite odours? How rare to see the familiar old faces of childhood in the nursery garden—when hue, scent, and form all so pleasingly blended ~~in~~ a state of *cultivated nature*? For now, it is size, gorgeousness, variety, and *costliness*, which alone are prized; and the more *unnatural* a plant is, the more it is valued,—whether vegetal or human.

CHAPTER XVI.

“ Charge them that are rich in this world,
That they do good, that they be rich in good works ;
But if any provide not for his own,
And especially for those of his own kindred,
He hath denied the faith,
And is worse than an infidel.”

ANOTHER desirable training for females, to fit them for useful and remunerative occupation, might be established through hospital and lecture attendance, (as in Paris and America), where, after going through a regular course of midwifery, and other *diseases peculiar to women and children*, they might obtain, as there, a Diploma of qualification, and then undertake accouchements, &c.* That women are most adapted *by sex* for this, who can doubt? That ori-

* The writer is informed since these pages went to press, that Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell is now trying to form such an establishment to be managed entirely by women—for a report

ginally women-midwives alone were employed, the most ancient (Scripture) authority testifies,* *and as still practised in the East* ; a peculiar class of women always performing this service. If such an Institution were formed, with the help of benevolent medical men, and superintended by ladies, anxious to instil sound principles, and simple practical religious truths, into the minds of young persons, in the leisure periods from their course of study ; under such a course of training, how much good might be done by them, *among all classes* ! For the presence of such sober, serious, well-conducted persons, would be a great check upon servants, who are apt to take sad advantage of the temporary absence of a mistress, under those circumstances ; whilst to the poor, many of whom cannot read, nor know how to pray, they *ought* to prove an especial comfort. They should also be carefully taught, to read, speak, handle, and move about, *in a soft and gentle manner*—and though prompt, never to be hurried nor noisy. There should also be a fixed scale of charges for them, whilst sent out by the Institution ; and a home in connexion with it for those who have none of their own,—but which need not prevent their marrying, or setting up for themselves.

A French woman, Madame Boivin, was the first, they say, who contrived and used *the Speculum*.

* Exodus i. 15—22.

She was an authority in diseases peculiar to women. Why then should not some of our countrywomen be educated to fulfil a similarly useful mission? but under professional guidance in any peculiar difficulty, or in what may necessitate the knife. For, how many of the sex suffer intensely, and are, whilst but yet in first youth, quite laid aside from all enjoyment, through this inexplicable part of their structure; and yet cannot bring themselves, nor often will their relatives allow them to be brought, under a course of professional treatment, which entails upon them so much that is painful—and to some impossible to overcome. It would then be one of the greatest boons we have yet conferred upon suffering woman, were relief thus scientifically afforded them *through their own sex, from whom they need neither shrink nor conceal aught*. In the United States female practitioners in medicine now freely compete with their professional brethren. This may not be necessary, nor desirable, beyond the sphere we have designated *and the treatment of young children*, which ought to form also a portion of the medical studies of women. There is already an Hospital in Soho Square for female diseases under high patronage, and the skilful care of Dr. Protheroe Smith. Would it not be well if this *Christian Physician* were to take the matter up? and in connection with that Hospital, form a clinical

school, *and a suitable Home attached to it, for females,—such as above suggested?* The Writer prays he may be led to do so!

Whilst the “New Society of Female Artists” has sprung up to give encouragement to some of the sex in that branch of employment,—though we fear it will, if unaccompanied by something more solid to fall back upon, be a source of bitter disappointment to the many; as artists seem everywhere to abound, and most of them in deplorable circumstances,—and whilst a “Home for young women,” has also been established at 44, Great Ormond Street, apparently for the educated homeless after their daily labours, at a cost of from 2s. to 2s. 6d., (arrangements being made to provide meals at a cheap rate): yet, there still seems to be a great want in this country of some comfortable home *for solitary men and women, of solitary habits.* Abroad, there are many different *creations* to meet this need, and especially for women. It is much to be desired that there were some such in this land. Our peculiar style of second and third rate lodging houses, are well known—nay, have acquired European celebrity—with their everlasting greasy chops and tough steaks, their dirty salts, and broken mustard-pots of dried-up tasteless contents, and their slipshod, unkempt, maid-of-all-work; the grates that will not draw, and the damp coal-dust

that will not ignite ; with the harassingly undue preponderance of B flats and F sharps, squalling children, and feline odours, all, most repugnant to a cultivated mind, *and peculiarly trying to the nerves of genius*. Yet, to such, how many poor Scholars are doomed ! and how many hard-working, unostentatious Philanthropists ! Such love not Clubs, nor can they afford to belong to them, “ And I may not deny,” says quaint old Burton, and many of us will surely agree with him, “ that there is some profitable meditation, contemplation, and kind of solitariness, to be embraced, which the fathers so highly commended—Hierom, Chrysostom, Cyprian, Austin, in whole tracts, which Petrarch, Erasmus, Stella, and others, so much magnifie in their books—a paradise, an heaven on earth, *if it be used aright*, good for the body, and better for the soul.

“ Dioclesian the emperour, retired himself, &c., in that sense, Vatia knows how to live alone ; which the Romans were wont to say, when they commended a countrey life ; or to the bettering of their knowledge, as Democritus, Cleanthes, and those excellent philosophers, have ever done, to sequester themselves from the tumultuous world ; or, as in Plinies villa Laurentano, Tullies Tusculan, Jovius, study, that, they might better enjoy leisure to serve God and follow their studies. Methinks, therefore, our too zealous innovators were

not so well advised in that general subversion of abbies and religious houses, promiscuously to fling down all. They might have taken away those gross abuses crept in amongst them, rectified such inconveniences, and not so far to have raved and raged against those fair buildings, and everlasting monuments of our forefathers devotion, consecrated to pious uses. Some might have been well spared, and their revenues otherwise employed; here and there one, in good towns or cities at least, for men and women of all sorts and conditions to live in to sequester themselves from the cares and tumults of the world, that were not desirous or fit to marry, or otherwise willing to be troubled with common affaires, and know not well where to bestow themselves, to live apart in, for more conveniency, good education, better company sake; follow their studies (I say) to the perfection of arts and sciences, common good, and as some truly devoted monks of old had done, freely and truly to serve God; for these men are neither solitary nor idle, as the poet made answer to the husbandman in *Æsop*, that objected idleness to him, he was never so idle as in his company; or that Scipio Africanus in Tully, never less solitary than when he was alone, never less idle than when he seemed to be most unoccupied. But this is a certain kind of idleness; it is far otherwise with some men according to Seneca: So that which Mercurialis (consil. ii.) sometimes expostulated

with his melancholy patient, may be justly applied to every solitary *and idle* person in particular: *nature may justly complain of thee, that whereas she gave thee a good wholesome temperature, a sound body, and God hath given thee so divine and excellent a soul, so many good parts and profitable gifts, thou hast not only contemned and rejected, but hast corrupted them, polluted them, overthrown their temperature, and perverted those gifts with riot, idleness, solitariness, and many other wayes; thou art a tratour to God and nature, an enemy to thyself and to the world; thou hast lost thyself wilfully, cast away thyself; thou thyself art the efficient cause of thine own misery, by not resisting such vain cogitations, but giving way unto them.*"

Now, as the Writer does not advocate any one's giving way to vain "cogitations," which so often in particular befall poor isolated, *left destitute, Ladies*; he would suggest for our Country-women some such "*protestant*" foundations (*Stiftung*) as those in Hamburg, and other Cities of Germany, as well as in the kingdom of Denmark, &c., where there are foundations formed, styled, "*Adelige Damen Stiftung*." These provide "Cloisters,"—as they are there termed—for Ladies who are then designated "Canonesses;" a dignity unknown to the sex in England, but which in point of fact confers upon them rooms, a certain rank, and certain privileges;—as it does upon our *Canons*, though not of course in kind, but simply,

a position, and a provision, for single ladies left unprotected on the demise of their Parents, or on the decay of their families: and are constructed upon donations sunk for the purpose in a common fund by the Parents, during their life-time. Out of this, a superior sort of residence, with grounds, &c. attached, is provided for the use of those ladies who choose to occupy rooms there; but if not, they are equally at liberty to draw an Income from it, commensurate with the sum paid in: the chief end being to ensure ladies of birth from destitution, isolation, or the harrowing anxiety of rent to meet, and the depressing feeling of dependence, or of *possessing no home*. The Income therefrom may occasionally increase, when premiums are payable on the capital. The Parents usually pay in a fixed sum, on the birth of the child to whom they wish to secure these benefits, and which entitles her to enter upon them at the age of twenty-four, even should her Parents be still alive. If however they only commence inscribing themselves at the age of twenty-four or twenty-five, they of course pay a larger sum than if paid for them in infancy.

In Denmark, there is *a palatial* Institution of this kind, where the ladies club together; the money is invested in land, which often comprises villages, fields, woods &c., and from which the Income is yearly drawn: partly in money and partly in grain.

fruit, game, *and labour*—as for instance in harvest time, when the villagers, &c. are expected to stock the Farm. A superior person has the superintendence of the whole, and they have also their own jurisdiction, usually administered by some neighbouring Count. These Institutions are sometimes very rich, having handsome legacies left them; and through the premiums payable, besides the regular Incomes, these ladies have it occasionally in their power to assist poor students, or to set up poor girls with *the expected “bringings,”* on their marriage. •

In German country-places, similar Institutions are common, though somewhat different in construction and working to those of Denmark. They exist likewise in almost every City, to ensure for the (Bürgers)—tradespeople’s or Citizens’—children, a safeguard from want or dependence. This is attained, by their paying whatever sum they may please for each child, into a general Fund; which increases in time, until, to very old age, it may, according as circumstances have favoured it, pay as much as one hundred per cent.

Would it not be well if British professing Christians looked a little more in this way to the future of *their* children? For The Word tells them; “If any provide not for his own, and especially for those of his own *kindred*, he hath denied the faith, and is worse than an Infidel.” Yet, we are overwhelmed with

orphans, and Appeals to the Public, on behalf of those, whom, if we may judge, from the mode of living of their Parents, *ought not to have been left destitute, or even in doubtful circumstances.** Nor is it just, nor an honourable feeling, that a large proportion of the community who will not, on principle, inflict pauperism themselves on the Community, should be appealed to, to bear the burden of those who recklessly thus leave their families unprovided for.

Germans, as a people, are considered *much* poorer than we English, and more lax in practical religion. Yet they “deny not the faith,” in this particular, but on the contrary, *prove it practically, by the greater simplicity and abstemiousness of their lives, which admits of their “providing for their own kindred.”*

* One exceptional instance has just been published as follows:—

THE LATE DR. STOWELL.

Many of our readers will be glad to learn, that the Rev. Dr. Stowell, formerly of Rotherham, and more recently of Cheshunt College, effected an assurance on his life some years since. The policy was taken out with the General Assurance Company in 1840; and the amount, £1,000, with £112 bonus, was paid last week. Some provision is thus made for the future support of the Doctor's family; *and we shall be gratified to know that such a prudent example is extensively followed.* We have only to suppose that this insurance had been neglected to learn its true value. They who have had experience in such an enterprise alone can conceive the difficulty that would have attended an attempt to raise this sum after death by a public appeal.

Money left in Banks, or Executors or Trustees' hands, how apt it is to get involved or lost; whereas, in sinking at once a sum in such foundations as the above, and well secured, ensures the largest human amount of certainty to those we love or are connected with, of provision after our death.

In "England and the English" we see some thing of this kind proposed during life time *apropos* of Clubs. "A Gentleman of the name of Morgan," says the author, "in a letter to the Bishop of London, proposes the scheme of clubs, not for individuals only, but families—a plan which might include education for children and attendance in sickness. Managed by a Committee, such clubs would remove the possibility of improvidence and unskilful management in individuals. *For professional and literary men, for artists, and the poorer gentry, such a scheme would present the greatest advantages.* But the time for its adoption is not come: two great moral checks still exist in our social habits—the aristocratic pride, not of *being as well off* as our neighbours, but of *seeming better off*; and that commercial jealousy of appropriation which makes us proverbially like to have *a home of our own*. If ever these feelings decrease among us, *I have little doubt that, from the institution of Clubs will be dated a vast social Revolution.*"

Again, between the monastic system of Rome and the individual action of Protestantism, can no middle course of combination be found which would usefully occupy, *ladies without family-ties*, and undesirous to form such for themselves? There are some admirable Protestant establishments of this kind in Germany—especially the parent one on the Rhine.

at Kaiserworth (a little town in the neighbourhood of Düsseldorf), founded by the Pastor Fludner, about thirty years ago. A penitentiary, a lunatic asylum, an orphan house, an infant school, an hospital, and a normal school to train deaconesses for the education of children, are but portions of his extended work, a work prompted by love, and carried on by private benevolence. The Hospital was begun in 1836, with *one nurse and one patient*. In 1854 it numbered 120 beds, and since its commencement, 6000 boarders have passed through the Institution. The service rendered by the Deaconesses is gratuitous, though they receive a small salary for dress, and in old age or sickness find an asylum at the parent Establishment. The good done, and the occupation afforded for women of the upper as well as lower classes, is incalculable; taking the mind off from dwelling so perniciously *upon self*, and giving healthy food to both soul and body. In Berlin there is also one, presided over by a Lady of rank, and such Institutions are encouraged by the King of Prussia. In 1853 the number of Deaconesses were 116, employed in 23 hospitals. At Horn, near Hamburg, Mr. Wichern formed in 1849 an "Inner Mission"—for training up young men to be keepers in Prisons, superintendents of Asylums, and visitors of the poor, besides his Reformatory for Boys. How desirable it would be to have such also in our Coun-

try, in combination with the excellent *Lord Shaftesbury's Westminster Reformatory* ! Yet it is lamentable to see the perpetual appeals made through the public press to keep up even this desirable Institution ! Although were funds sufficient it would become much more extensively useful, both at home—in correcting, and in drafting off from poverty and crime hands fit to emigrate—and abroad, in supplying Farmers, who call from Australia “for Lord Shaftesbury's lads.”

The “Nursing Sisters,” originated through Mrs. Fry, is an excellent Institution of its kind, but too limited, and *too little known*, and besides being restricted in its operations and in its candidates. There is an Establishment in London (and elsewhere) of Protestant Sisters of Mercy, but which approaches too closely to the Nunnery system to be palatable or desirable, perhaps, to advocate an extension of; although it is stated to be, widely useful in its working. What seems therefore still most desirable, is, *free labour in a free home, for ladies without ties, en attendant qu'elles s'enfassent.*

CHAPTER XVII.

“For my people have committed two evils;
They have forsaken ME the fountain of living waters,
And hewed them out cisterns, broken cisterns,
That can hold no water.”

THE public were lately given some statistics of expenditure connected with public Buildings, &c.—and it stated, that, “For Mansions now occupied by Her Majesty no less than £19,000 was taken last year; the new Houses of Parliament also represent a Palace,*and here of course the outlay assumes larger proportions. Nearly £145,000 was paid in 1857 towards the completion of this marvellous pile, one item including, the charge of £3,343 13s. 9d. for the manufacture of ‘Big Ben.’ Nearly £50,000 was incurred last year for the maintenance and repair of the present official fabrics—and the charge for hiring houses, all but £20,000, for increase of accommodation. The supply and expense of furni-

“ In the year 1857-58 the sum total of £214,574 was expended on the national collections, against £202,476 in 1856-57, and £228,866 in 1855-56. The British Museum ‘ establishment ’ figures for £50,347, the buildings thereof for £38,814, and the purchases for £17,425 ; the National Gallery for £29,469 ; scientific works and experiments for £3,672 ; the Royal Geographical Society for £500 ; the Royal Historical Portrait Gallery for £1,240 ; the department of science and art for £66,011 ; the Museum of Practical Geology for £6,092 ; and the Royal Society for £1,000 ; £316,896 is the sum total expended on the grounds and buildings of the Kensington Gore Estate from 1852 to 1857.

“ The Parks taken altogether cost about £90,000 of public money—pleasure gardens, such as those at Kew, Hampton-court, and Kensington, being included under this designation. The three West-end Parks are the most expensive, standing for £27,000 in the whole ; Kew carries off £15,000, and Regent Park somewhat less than £7,000. Kensington and Victoria Parks are set down at about £5,000. Greenwich for about £2,000. Richmond, Bushy, and Hampton, for a total of some £8,000. Scotland and Ireland come in for their respective allotments in this respect, and upon pretty equal terms ; Holyrood Park costing about £4,400, and the Phoenix Park about £4,500. In these figures we have been

representing the actual expenditure in the year 1857, *which, though liberally conducted, left a balance of available funds exceeding £18,000.* It will probably be in the Reader's recollection that exception used to be regularly taken to those grants of public money in the House of Commons, *on the ground that the objects were not really or properly public in their character, but simply metropolitan, and that the convenience of the metropolis, ought not to be consulted at the cost of the Country at large.**"

But this the writer does not consider *the point* of the objection, for, the country at large, may be said

* "For a lengthened period our expenditure has increased most alarmingly, despite emphatic assurances in every successive Royal Speech that we were at peace with all nations. The income for the past year has been no less a sum than £67,881,512! It will thus be seen that we are now expending twenty millions a year more than we did twenty years ago; and since 1835, when the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel were in power, our military expenses have actually been doubled! Nor let the momentous fact, as mentioned by Mr. Bright in his letter to the unemployed, be overlooked;—"We shall have to raise in taxes this year fifty millions sterling more than will require to be raised by an equal population, living not in England, but in the United States of America." It is however plain that the question of the hour is one of money. We want to know, as the Spectator shrewdly puts it, what is the amount which the nation requires for its public outlay after all needless superfluities, gew-gaws, and misappropriations are cut off. We want to know whether the goods furnished to the public, and the services performed for it, *are those which are most needed.*"

to benefit both by the parks and the public buildings of the metropolis when they visit London; and which most, if not all families or individuals do, more or less frequently, or for fixed sojourns at stated periods. The question seems to be, is a Nation professing to be guided by Christian principle, as its rule of action, justified in such lavish national expenditure upon objects,—*undeniably healthy, for both mind and body, as well as innocently enjoyable,—so long as she pleads inability to support her children*, or to advance their eternal, as well as temporal interests? Is it not much as if a mother were to give her child gardens, and rooms full of curiosities, but deprived it of food, raiment, instruction, and repose, occasionally varying the scene by imprisoning it with a lot of wicked children, or hanging it if it were naughty, or became exasperated? What Mr. S. Cave, the Hon. Sec. to the N. W. London Preventive and Reformatory Institution, wrote on the subject of “Prisons, Homes, Schools, and Reformatories,” may not inaptly be glanced at here. There we find Para. 4. one of the absurd contradictions, which the writer has before alluded to, as an *apparently*, impracticable combination! And yet at Sandwell it is managed. A lady too, in unison with her Rector,—and both of them individually persons, of family—thus takes in girls to instruct them in household duties; exacting a small payment to enable her to

provide them with suitable clothing, &c., *as well as to make them appreciate* the advantages of being taught in a private gentleman's family in the country, where occasional company and visitors give a wide field for practice. Being also high-church, as it is termed, they are well looked after in their religious and moral habits, and attendance upon all the different week, and each day early services is enforced. In a parenthesis, the writer must remark, upon the glorious, (but shaming to us!) example of, "A Philanthropist of the principality of Oels, who has sent over to London a sum of 20,000 Prussian crowns, to form a fund for the encouragement and reward of poor servant girls bearing a good character, (British Standard, March 26, 1858)." Were the Prince Consort and the Duchess of Kent—being of that Nation, so remarkable for their urbanity and kind consideration to servants—to set a similar example in this country, such a lead would be sure to be followed; and thus a better style of servant be produced amongst us than at present, when the general complaint, is of their inefficiency, combined with extreme sauciness, and manners anything but gentle, courteous, or respectful. The contrast is quite refreshing in Germany; and delightful to see the love with which the highest classes address their servants, *and never by them presumed upon.* A good deal of this is

But this is a digression from the National responsibility—to which the writer must return, with the solemn reproach, once uttered against Israel in *her* pride, and outward seeming: “Hear the words of the LORD. By swearing, and lying, and killing, and stealing, and committing adultery, they break out, and *blood toucheth blood*. My people are destroyed for lack of knowledge!” Now is not all this in the midst of *us*? Are not our masses ignorant and brutish—their abodes filthy and obscene,—even to some, still, of our prisons? Are not our soldiery, who expend their very lives for us, more filthily kenneled than we even kennel our dogs, or stable our horses? For, we would *not like, nor allow them to make use of* “*one common trough for all purposes;*” * nor do we

* Common Sense, “however, makes some strange explanation of all this mismanagement, relative to dress, which has been,” says he, “whispered about, any time these last twenty years, but which has not yet been told in plain English. It is this:—The Horse Guards officials insinuate, that they are precluded from moving in the right direction by the influence of the Court. It is said that no alteration can take place in the uniform of the British army without the consent of the Crown, which means at the present moment the consent of the Prince Consort, *inasmuch as Her Majesty is not very likely to set herself up in judgment on the details of male attire*. The result is, that whatever improvements are made, are generally done more with regard to the beautiful than the useful or the economical. Interested army tailors suggest alterations in uniform to military courtiers, who pre-

“neglect ventilation, cleanliness, and warmth for them;” nor would we “*encumber them to fainting point,*”

by men who have never done a day’s hard work in their lives, or known what it is to rough it, under the most favourable circumstances, in a temperate climate.”

Now *a priori*, why not the Queen? who showed so much feeling for her Guards in the Crimea, and for those of her troops in India. The alterations suggested are mere matters of common sense:—and who is ever more open to a common sense, benevolently practical appeal, than Her Majesty? Surely Her opinion and Royal sanction upon these points would not lay our gracious Lady open to the dictum of History as a second Boadicea? Or, if the Royal consent is transferred to the Prince Consort, why should H. R. H. in the face of facts—and very painful ones too—wish *fancy* to usurp *utility* and *comfort*? Though a soldier, “a man’s a man for a’ that,” and short of “*Punch*,”—that liberty taker with all creation—who could be guilty of the boldness to suppose that the Prince Consort would descend from his *molto a fare utile*, to the puerilities of transmogrifying men into monkeys? For one is irresistibly reminded of this, when one reflects upon the *visible*, as well as *described*, fettered and burdened accoutrements of our soldiery; and then looks upon the other poor animal on the top of some barrel organ, (both, remarkably enough, manœuvred to the sound of music), straining and striving in his “*toggery*.”

Besides, a solid Christian Nation like ours—the, one may almost say, Umpire and balancing power of all others,—should not descend to make mere puppets of any portion of her subjects. Let the Nation trust, that through some channel, the Royal Mandate may be issued for the matter of soldiers’ dress to be at once looked into, and beneficially altered, before the poor fellows leave these shores, to meet in India with plenty of personal aggravations *from without themselves*, without carrying a few on themselves.

when hunting or running for us. And yet, our poor soldiery are *every way* oppressed, and made into *mere machines for our service*. They may not enjoy free respiration, nor free ventilation, nor even exercise, (for in drill they are numbed or suffocated,) nor wholesome food, *nor wives nor children* : as we read in the accounts of the "Meeting at Willis's Rooms, to consider the distressed condition of the wives and families of our soldiers," where H. R. H. the Duke of Cambridge was pleased to remark :—

"It may be thought by many that it will be objectionable to have such an association at all, on the ground that it will encourage improvident marriages in the army. If I thought that it would have that effect, that would be a reason which would deter me from appearing to preside over this meeting. It may be thought a painful subject to allude to, but with the experience which I have personally gained in the army, strengthened as my opinion is by the experience of others older than myself, I am persuaded that a more unfortunate thing for the service could not happen than to encourage the marriage of soldiers, and for this simple reason, that a soldier taken individually is a man well to do in his class of life, whereas a married soldier has unquestionably to struggle hard to gain his daily bread, and not his own bread only, but the bread of those who are dependent on him. In fact, a married soldier and his

wife and children are placed in such a painful and unfortunate position, that I am satisfied that those who consider the subject, whether military men or civilians, can arrive at but one conclusion with respect to it. But it is not the encouragement of marriage that the association wishes to promote. It is formed in order to meet a great emergency at a moment when it is most necessary that it should be met, namely, during a period of war, when of all times it is most natural and desirable that those wives and children who are left here in a melancholy state of destitution should be considered by the people and the country. *Certainly there is nothing more painful, when a regiment embarks for foreign service, than to see the misery that is occasioned to numbers of women and children, who are left behind upon the shores, the wives and families of those brave and gallant men, all, or a large proportion of them, not knowing where to lay their head."*

More shame to the nation !

The second part of His Royal Highness's remarks are precisely what we wish to see effected, viz : "The object in view, again, is not to encourage sloth and idleness—not to say to the families of soldiers, 'you have nothing to do, you need take no care of yourselves, you needn't look to your conduct or to the mode in which you are to gain a livelihood :' but the object will be to encourage the

honest and hard-working, to obtain employment for such as are in a position to work for their living; and to send the children of the association to school; *and with respect to this latter point, let me remind you that one of the most unfortunate features of the families who are left behind upon these occasions is, that they have not the advantage of the military schools, which is a very great loss indeed.* The consequence is, that the children are thrown upon the parent either to send them at a considerable expense to small, insignificant, and inefficient schools, or not to send them at all. To meet that grievous calamity it is proposed that the association should assist the parents of children in obtaining for them an entrance into the national and other schools. They will thus be educated, and will be placed, we hope, in such a position, that in after-years they may be enabled to gain an honest and respectable livelihood. *It may be said by some that it is the province of the Government to undertake such an important matter as this, and not to leave it to the private charity of the general public.* I confess that I do not think that such a thing would be desirable. If it were undertaken ~~by the Government~~ it would, I think, have rather the appearance of encouraging marriage. At all events, it would prove that marriage among soldiers was not discouraged, (and, as I have explained that it would be most unfortunate

for the army if marriages were encouraged) I think it far better that we should, as individuals, ~~associate~~ ourselves in the promotion of a good work like this, which really becomes a work of charity, and that it should not come from the Government as one of those ordinary sources of relief, which they, in their Governmental character, would consider it right to extend to the army.”*

Appealing to our soldiers, as Sir F. Love did ; “for he believed that when soldiers read the proceedings of that meeting, it would make them pause before they entered into early and *improvident* marriages ;” would be just, *were they encouraged to form provident marriages, at years of discretion, with the sanction of Government, and the approval of their officers—but as it is*, it is simply absurd to suppose they could view it, in any such light, *as long as they are permitted to read a Bible*, unless, as the Earl of Shaftesbury, with his usual practical Christianity, remarked—“Our armies were to be recruited from mere school-boys, and were to continue an army of school-boys ; then, it might be well to ignore marriage altogether ; but if it were to be recruited from

* But here is surely a contradiction to carrying out the principle of discouraging soldiers’ marriages. For they, their wives, and children, should be made to feel its evil effects through all official military personages not publicly sympathizing in their self-entailed forbidden trade.

adults, and we were to have veterans in our army; we could not ignore it upon a large scale. We must recognize it to a certain extent, *and so recognizing it, we must recognize also the wives and offspring of such a marriage.*" Or, *make eunuchs of them.* Even a *Hedley Vickers* was engaged to be married, and General Havelock was married; whilst many a clergyman *who is in no position to support a family, pleads his inability to abstain from marriage, on account of health.* The Apostle says, "*to avoid fornication, let every man have his own wife, and let every woman have her own husband I would that all men were even as I myself,*" (Paul would have made an admirable C. C.; for he would have "ignored" marriage, and also fornication;) at the same time, that he had the modesty to confess, "but I speak this of permission, and not of commandment, for if a man cannot abstain let him marry," he does not add, "or ~~commit~~ fornication," or go into Oriental Bazaars, be excited to frenzy by the women there, and become diseased, and drink, *and go mad*—as many of them do under the effects of all this, *and a fierce tropical sun.* Has H. R. H. ever felt any law forbidding marriage, galling? How many officers can abstain? Is a soldier's *purse mended by sinful courses*, though it is not by marriage? Or do *such* indulgences render him *stronger*? Marriage, Sir F. Williams informs us,

“disables a man from getting through his work or from being able to march.” Ergo, then if a soldier cannot abstain, and may not marry, and yet his debaucheries lead him into trouble, it is presumable he has *the chance* of escaping punishment, if he have the presence of mind to attempt some such irresistible appeal to his commanding officer’s self, as it is related a soldier, tied up to be flogged “for being drunk,” bethought himself of, at the last extremity; when, looking piteously at his chief, he cried out; “Oh Colonel, Colonel, wunna ye tak pity on a puir drunken deevil like yoursel?” “Tak him doon, tak him doon,” roared out the Colonel, “flesh and bluid canna stand that.”

We know what the law of the soldier’s life is, for we have it from Sir Charles Napier, the hero of Scinde, in a work which he published on Military Law. After stating that the duties of a citizen may be divided into three parts; “his duty to God, to the laws of his country, and to mankind at large,” Sir Charles adds, “but the soldier has nothing to do with these three duties; that is to say, he has nothing to do with them in his character of a soldier. *It is true that, as a man, he is a being responsible to his Creator, both for his religion and morals,* but as a soldier, obedience is the ‘Law and the Prophets.’ *His religion, law, and morals, are in the ‘Orderly Book.’* The conscience of a good soldier is in

the keeping of his general; who has the whole responsibility, before God and man, for what the soldiers do in obedience to his orders.”*

Another military writer thus sums up his description of a soldier's position: “*The grand distinction of humanity, the responsibility of a moral agent, is made over once for all to a superior authority.*”

In a Pamphlet on “Soldiership and Christianity,” are the following pungent remarks. “In a debate which recently took place in Parliament, in reference to the bands playing in the Parks on Sundays, the same doctrine (of non-responsibility) was most nakedly and emphatically advanced. Among the objections raised, one was, that in the bands ordered to play, there might be some religious men whose consciences would be wounded by being required to do what they might consider a desecration of the Sabbath, and a violation of the divine law. But when this plea was put forth, it was treated with the utmost contempt, as too transparent an absurdity to be entertained for a moment. What! it was said, a soldier pretend to have a conscience! Why, a soldier's a machine, and ought so to regard himself! Colonel North then remarked that, ‘*He did not know what would become of the army if they carried*

* Remarks on Military Law, &c. by Major-General Sir Charles Napier, C.B. p. 5.

this liberty of conscience into the ranks.' Mr. Drummond said: 'Two friends of his were in the Artillery at Malta, and were ordered to fire salutes during the celebration of what some persons would call idolatrous worship. They were censured on the spot for their refusal. The case was remitted to this country. It was considered of sufficient importance for the Duke of Wellington to demand a court-martial on those two officers, and they were both 'broke.' *A military man must not draw distinctions. He must be a machine, and if he does not choose to be a machine, let him leave the service. It was tiresome enough to deal with other people's consciences, but for heaven's sake let them hear nothing of the consciences of military officers. (Hear, hear.)*'

Thus then that law of nature which many soldiers may not be able to resist, and which, not being allowed to indulge legitimately, drives them into fornication, and drink, and being out at night (for which they have often been flogged in India—that most trying climate to both men and machines), will *all* hereafter be answered for by their Military authorities? How thankful we civilians ought to be, that *we are such*, and unanswerable for others, when arrived at "ripe years"—unanswerable for setting aside a large amount of immortal Souls as unaccountable beings—unanswerable for *a profession of Christianity so palpably contradicted in practice.*

But what nonsense is all this! The ever-courteous urbane, and kindly-feeling, Duke of Cambridge added, at the end of the Meeting before alluded to:—"I am afraid that those observations, may have fallen rather coldly on the hearts and feelings of many, because as civilians they could not put themselves in the position of a military man. . . . My observations, which might have appeared harsh or very military, *were induced by the most cordial feeling of the warmest heart*; because I knew the sufferings that were caused by those imprudent marriages, *and because I did not see how the army was to exist with efficiency if such a proceeding were encouraged.* But as regards the proposition to relieve the sufferings of *the wives and families of our glorious army*, that is a measure which I most cordially and heartily concur in. . . . and I feel persuaded that the good effect which will be produced upon the army by the sentiments which have been expressed, will be such as to be felt from one end of the country to the other. . . . and that it will become a great *national undertaking, which will flourish to the end of time.*" Amen, says the writer—as it is clear it cannot, *unless in the organization of a new system, or the setting at naught* "the discountenancing imprudent marriages," and in which case, *to carry out the proper principle*, the Wives and Children of such, should be left to shift for themselves.

Who has been to blame *heretofore* in the “glorious army” being so ill-treated, it would not become the writer to enquire; but H. R. H. having now publicly professed “the most cordial feelings of the warmest heart,” on the subject, and also confessed that H. R. H.’s antagonism proceeded from his “not seeing how the army was to exist with efficiency, if such a proceeding were encouraged;” let us hope soldiers will in future, *be better fed—better housed—and better clothed, than before the reins came into H. R. H.’s hands.* *Au reste*, no one would dare for a moment to suppose that H. R. H. of Cambridge desires to set himself up against God, *and His created Law*—so let us hope that he may be led, as, he cannot see it singly, to view the subject through a distinguished officer’s eyes—one who was as conscientious, upright, and self-denying, as he was a good Soldier, and a shrewd sagacious observer, *and ameliorator*—the late Sir Charles Napier: and let us still further hope that, unsolicited by the soldiery or petitioned by the Public, H. R. H. may nobly resolve to increase the pay of both soldier and officer—improve their Barracks—*organize their marriages—and educate their children to be drafted into their places.* If, according to Sir C. Napier’s *sketch*, all this were fitly *carried out by Government, both at home—and abroad when our soldiers are sent for a continuance—such would always be available, after the one first expense.*

Now let us contrast with all the foregoing the following from the pen of an officer (Hugh Scott, Esq., late Capt. 92nd Highlanders), in his "Second Letter to the Right Hon. Sidney Herbert, M.P., Secretary at War, on the present condition of married women in the army. Saunders & Otley, 1854." The Pamphlet has just been put into the Writer's hands, and it is most striking to find in some parts of it in *almost the same words*, the very ideas which he has been so long seeking to impress upon the public. Capt. Scott says:—

"The evils of the present system are conceded on all sides. It is admitted that the degradation of woman, and the desecration of marriage, are alike opposed to Divine and human law—are equally opposed to the voice of Scripture and to common sense.

"Now this is confessedly to us, who have been watching the progress of this question, a matter of great triumph—to us who have been fighting an up-hill battle through a reluctant Press; but let us not rest satisfied with this hardwon victory. We are as yet in the thick of the fight. We have yet to apply a remedy to a state of things which we have declared to be disgraceful, and which is admitted to be disgraceful.

"Now it is the fashion of this country, when any defect manifests itself in the public administration,

appeal should be made to her gracious Majesty the Queen, and to Parliament. It is to them that petitions are addressed, and it is from them that measures emanate (provided the grievances stated in these petitions be real and tangible grievances), intended to alleviate the wrongs complained of. This right of petition is one of the most valuable privileges of Britons, and it is a right which belongs to the profession of the army as clearly as any right belongs to any other profession in the kingdom; *and we know of no subject which would be more legitimately matter for petition than the condition of the married class. It would be a course both respectful and constitutional.* Not the most scrupulous stickler for the maintenance of authority—not the most enthusiastic admirer of the Book of Regulations, could censure a course so strongly recommended in that army statute-book. It would prefer a complaint in no sense vexatious, but a complaint on all sides admitted to be well founded. . . .

“A project which would shift the responsibility for the social condition of the army off the shoulders of the Government is undesirable (the whole scheme should be organized by the Government; and whether it be a paying undertaking or not, the Government should carry it through).

“The argument which has been frequently em-

tion for married soldiers, is, that you encourage men to marry, which is a serious evil for a marching regiment. We always answered this objection by alleging that we only proposed to improve the accommodation for those married with leave. But however suitable such an argument might be against gainsayers, it was an argument which blinked the great question at issue—the social condition of the army at large.

“It appears to us, that if any measure can effectually operate upon the army *in the way of dealing with the social condition, marriage, so far from being discouraged, must be encouraged.* The moment you begin to stop what are called imprudent marriages, by orders or legislative enactments, you infringe upon the first principles of political economy, *and you create and foster immorality.* Let marriage be allowed its fullest development, and you then can operate upon a community, and no sooner. Laws are only of use when they are supported by the public feeling of the community. When they violate it, they are so much waste paper.

“Orders in the army are necessarily imperative and without appeal. Orders are given out to be obeyed. When they are disobeyed, and with impunity, they cease to be orders. The orders on the subject of marriage in the army are openly disobeyed by every regiment in the army, the result of

to be orders. We must suppose, then, that no such orders exist.

“They are referred to, indeed, by commanding officers for the purpose of harassing the men who have disobeyed such an order, but this is, if possible, more hurtful than if they were avowedly enforced.

“We think, and in this we are supported by all those who have studied economic science, that if the present restrictions were removed from marriage in the army, marriages would be less frequent, and a higher class of women would come into the army.

“We are aware that we are in this matter opposing ourselves to the theoric—or we should rather say the prejudices—of a large class in the profession. But we feel assured, that in judging from simple experience in a system so radically defective as the army system in the matter of dealing with the married class, such experience is of little avail; indeed, to all intents and purposes utterly useless.

“But then, it will be said, you advocate costly expenditure; and Parliament will never allow such expenditure. This again just reopens the question, Is the army a profession of such importance as to require such an expenditure—is Parliament disposed to deal with the social condition of the army at all?

“We are indeed prepared to say that as a mere question of finance, we have every reason to believe that fair interest will be derivable from such ex-

penditure; but we take higher ground, and say, if we understand the duties of a government at all, *we hold that they are bound to supervise the morals of a profession whom they pay*; and, whatever may be the expenditure, the country is bound to discharge the debt. This blinking of the question is unworthy of the people of England—unworthy of the Government of the people of England.

“Nothing, we say, has been done by Government, either by legislation, or even by a fair administration of what legislation has already granted.

“We presume it will be universally admitted that a lapsed population can only be reclaimed by an amelioration of their physical and moral condition. Now, neither of these means have been employed by the Government.

“Neither have decency and morality been enforced, nor are they possible in the barrack-room. Nor has spiritual instruction been adequately imparted without the barrack-room.

“We need scarcely enter upon the consideration of our first proposition. We will simply state the fact that we have seen whole families living, sleeping, eating and drinking, in the society of seventy or eighty common soldiers; a slender curtain was all that intervened between the families and the men. But this was one, and perhaps an extreme instance. But what we have seen, and what is, we believe, an

almost universal practice, is one family to every room, holding from eighteen to twenty men. We question whether this practice is less hurtful than the former case.

“The only further modification we have witnessed of these degrading scenes is the aggregation of families in the same room. To this modification we are more strongly opposed than even the preceding. The filth, degrading influences, and immorality, we believe to be more flagrant than in the apparently more disgraceful mixture of sexes as detailed above.

“So long as such is the arrangement of sexes in the barrack-room, it is quite clear that the Government does not discharge its duty in providing for the social well-being of the profession under their pay.

“The only answer which the Government can render is this—that they cannot afford so costly an outlay as the provision of adequate accommodation would entail.

“To this we reply that this outlay would be remunerative; and that even if it were not, that the country is quite able to afford such outlay. . . .

“The objections, in fact, to reform in the army are entirely hypothetical. They are founded upon the miserable fallacy which pervades the reasonings of those who have opposed our Army Movement *ab initio*, that the army is so fearfully and radically immoral, that all attempts to remove this immorality

“With such objectors it is impossible to argue, for the simple reason that they are determined not to be convinced, because they in their hearts detest religion, morality, &c. These men are remnants of an obsolete era. The age has long discarded them.

“The question then before the Government and the Country is this: Whether or no the army possesses any claim upon their consideration? We think that we have fully substantiated both of our propositions,—1st, That the physical comforts of soldiers and their wives are not attended to; *and that the degradation of the female sex and the desecration of marriage are the lamentable consequences:* and 2ndly, that no efficient spiritual instruction can be imparted to the soldiers under the present system: and having substantiated these propositions, we feel that we have discharged our duty towards a profession in which our happiest days have been spent, and which we must ever regard with a more than filial interest. It now remains for the Government of these kingdoms to say whether they will do their duty. It remains for the people of England to say whether they will support this Government in their endeavours to ameliorate the social condition of their defenders. We do not conceive that, under any circumstances, will the British army prove deficient in the hour of danger, *but the country may depend upon it that no soldiers are so efficient as moral men. Demoralize the*

soldier, and you deprive him of half his vigour. Degrade his wife and his family, and you paralyze his energies, and you debase his character.

“Virtue is the source of courage. Pluck this out of the breast of man, and you leave him a miserable wreck.

“I do not believe that Government will perpetuate a system of injustice without any precedent in the history of any class in these kingdoms—a system at once ruinously expensive and flagrantly immoral—a system which reduces marriage below a state of concubinage, which disturbs those holy feelings connected with the mutual relations of husbands and wives—a system which consigns helpless children to eternal ruin—which squanders the money of the nation, and which degrades manhood to the level of the brute creation.”*

* In the *Times* of 23rd October, 1858,—after much more to the purpose,—Lieut.-Colonel Edwards, C.B., wrote: “In respect to the restriction of the marriage of soldiers, the Chief Commissioner does, I am to state, consider this to be a great evil and hardship, which a *Christian Government* is bound at least to relax and diminish, though the practicability of removing it altogether may be doubted. He believes that men are not better soldiers for being *unmarried*, but that the *very reverse is the truth*—that the women and children (at least in any reasonable numbers), are not any impediments to the regiments when on actual service, as they are left behind in cantonments. The whole matter, in fact, is chiefly one of expense—which *ought* to be incurred for the sake of so im-

And as if all this were not already enough of military evil—we have Chatham, a very hot-bed of pollution for our youth, both Recruits and Cadets. Let any one read the account of it,* and say, if it is

The following announcement in the *Times* of May of this year (1859), shews us that some part of what we desire is being carried out. “The authorities at the Horse Guards having announced their intention of sending out the wives and children of soldiers serving in India, to join their husbands, now that tranquillity prevails in that country, orders have been received at Chatham garrison to allow each woman the sum of £1, and each child 10s., these sums to be paid on their embarkation. The wives and children of the soldiers will be forwarded with the next detachments of troops proceeding from Gravesend to India.”

* “Close and smoky, and rickety and narrow, huddled together at the bottom of a hill, which seems to be cut and carved and pierced into the semblance of a woman’s crochet-pattern, lies a maze of streets and alleys. If you unwisely penetrate into these streets you will find all the evils and all the vices of the metropolis you have for one day left, and you will find them compressed and intensified. The gin-shop is here more frequent in its recurrence and more gross and shameless in its allurements, and it will be strange if your modesty be not shocked by other sights which obtrude themselves in forms still more revolting.

“This place is Chatham. It is the school and the retiring refuge of our Indian army; the first and the last home of the British Linesman. Hither the ruddy recruit is brought to learn his drill and his duties as a soldier. Hither the veteran, after long years of service in an exhausting climate, returns to repair his constitution or to obtain a chance of life. The place has been chosen for these purposes by the authorities of

not harrowing to a Parent's heart to *know* that the carefully-watched Boy who went forth from the the army, and of course the choice has been well made. The advantages of this military Utopia are not apparent to the naked eye of the mere civilian. They are but very dimly visible when seen through military spectacles of the highest magnifying power. There may have been a time—when the English troops employed in India were few—when some facilities might have accrued from concentrating the depôts at one spot convenient for embarkation; and there may also have been a time—although we must go far back to reach it—when the resources of the place were equal to the purposes for which it was used. That certainly is not the present case. What the hospitals are we have over and over again stated—not upon our own information, but upon the authority of military reports. We have worked this theme until we and the public are tired with the reiteration, and dispirited by the hopelessness of all good results. A sick soldier lands from India in the last stage of dysentery, and he is placed—in a cellar. The barrack accommodation emulates the insufficiency of the hospitals. How crowded, how unhealthy they are, we have often pointed out; but the crowning fact appeared in the Naval and Military Intelligence of our yesterday's impression, whence it seems that the normal scarcity of water in the Chatham Barracks has 'within the last week increased to such an extent that garrison orders have been issued directing that the troops are to discontinue their baths in the several ablution-rooms, and that every precaution be taken to prevent any waste of water.' When, in addition to this disallowance of water and denial of cleanliness, we read the fact that 200 sick are packed in a building in the centre of a barrack crowded with troops, the next sentence seems to follow with logical sequence, and no surprise is elicited that measles and smallpox have broken out among the men. If it be necessary for the honour and safety of the country that

chaste eye of a Mother and the pure embrace of fond Sisters, is there, at once plunged into an atmosphere of pollution?

these men should sicken and die, we have nothing to say. It is a soldier's duty and a soldier's natural fate to lay down his life for the protection of his fellow-citizens; but, unless the exigency is very strong, and the necessity is very apparent, the authorities are incurring a grave responsibility, and even the public must feel it a duty to insist that the system be stopped, and stopped at once. There really is no object in sending every recruit up to Chatham, while there is every reason to keep him away from that town. The country lad who listens to the eloquence of a recruiting sergeant is not usually endowed with the virtues of an anchorite. He has not come from a class that would be proof against coarse temptations; and the chances are, nay, the certainty is, that before he has learnt his drill he has lost all the freshness and soundness of his constitution. Our military surgeons are often pedantically particular in passing recruits when they first present themselves; let them answer, how many of these would pass if their examination were deferred until they were on the point of embarkation. We believe not one in three.

“Perhaps we shall be asked—‘What is the alternative?’ There are a hundred expedients that would be better than the present practice. Surely Aldershott, which has been acquired at no small cost, and which is kept up at no little expense, might be used as a drill-ground. A standing model camp is a very worthless thing if it is not better adapted to teach a lad his military duties than a crowded barrack in a town of ginshops and brothels. In a camp the boy would be kept under the eye of his officer, and he would at least have fresh air. He would also be taught, or he ought also to be taught, something more than the goose step. But, if Aldershott is wanted for other and more dignified and spectacular purposes,

A statue is now contemplated, we are told, to General Havelock. Surely, such a Christian as he is represented to have been, and a Baptist too, one who renounced for himself these “vanities of the Gentiles,” — would not have approved of such a heathenish mode of *exalting him*? Why not have let any Fund that was intended for the purpose of doing him national honour, be so appropriated as to raise, not a *dead stone effigy*, for the gaping multitude to gaze idly at—but his ever-living name, to the highest Heaven, on the lips and from the hearts of the Soldier, his Wife, and Children? Such a commemoration—and worthy of a *Christian* nation—as there is another alternative obnoxious to no objection. The recruit who finds his way up to Chatham is destined for India; why not let him embark at once? We do not propose that he should be landed raw and undrilled at Bombay or Calcutta. But there is a British possession half way between his native country and the land in which he is to serve,—a station which has a healthy climate, and where he might, while waiting to take his place in his regiment, learn the drill, and perhaps even see some service as a soldier. The Cape of Good Hope is the place for these depôts, and not the town of Chatham. In the shadow of the Table Mountain our lads of adventurous spirit will be much safer than on the banks of the Medway, and they will, moreover, accustom their constitutions to change from their native climate. We are not putting forth this as an original idea of our own. It has already been much canvassed by military men, and strongly approved by officers of great reputation. N. 11.

that to Sir Henry Lawrence ; *a living memento, erected in the name of Havelock, of, improved Barrack, School, and industrial occupation combined*, even as he combined Soldiership and Christianity ; to be worked out together *as living realities both, not as the dead and the living chained together*, like a soul unable to escape the deeds of the body, whilst the latter remains dead to *its* vitality, and to its being judged presently for “the deeds done in the body.” For as General Havelock’s soul is now emancipated from all *dead works*, so should his memory.

CHAPTER XVIII.

“To the Law and to the Testimony ;
 If they speak not according to this Word,
 It is because there is no light in them.”

ANOTHER part of our National sin is, our government's not assisting more largely the labouring and working classes of this country to emigrate ; although we have such heart-rending and multiplied appeals on their behalf from our clergy—such appeals *for* them—and such tempting prices offered *to* them, from Canada and Australia, not to mention that land of abundance, crying out to be colonized—the Cape of Good Hope. * And this, whilst available government funds exceeding £18,000, are still left (for ornamental and pleasurable purposes), from the very

* But we thank God, 400 *Scotch* emigrants from the pastoral districts, have now sailed for Cape Town. The first ship from this country with emigrants under the auspices of the Colonists of the Cape of Good Hope.

liberal expenditure during the past year, and “a grant of £1,500 for Carisbrook Castle—no portion of which appears to have yet been expended.” We all know how we estimate private professing Christians, when we see them denying themselves pleasure or expenditure which interferes with the duties they deem they owe their poorer, more suffering fellow-creatures; and we at once accord to them the stamp of sincerity, perceiving that they shew their faith by their works—that they are social ameliorators of the passage time, as pioneers to the never-ending realm of love. Of one such the following is a refreshing *memento mori*. “He being dead, yet speaketh.” The late Admiral Duff, of Drummuir, has bequeathed £1,000 to each of the six largest towns in Scotland, and to an equal number in England, the interest to be appropriated to the maintenance of Scripture readers; the money to be vested in the magistracy, and the direction of the readers in the parochial clergymen of the districts in which they labour. The towns in Scotland are Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Greenock, Dundee, and Inverness. Besides his landed property, the admiral is said to have left a large sum of money, reported to be £80,000.—*Banff Journal*, 1858.

We also know how the least professing of us, sneer at, and despise a private professing Christian, who is always excusing himself from unpleasant, un-

ostentatious sacrifices, because "he cannot afford it, and ought not to be called upon;" if we see him indulging in fine houses, pleasure grounds, and scientific pursuits "to keep up his position," as he is pleased to term it. What position? whether he be great or small. "Behold, Thou hast made my days as an hand's-breadth, and mine age is as nothing before Thee; verily, every *settled* at his best state is altogether vanity. Surely every man walketh in a vain show; surely they are disquieted in vain: he heapeth up riches, and knoweth not who shall gather them." Such an one we equally at once feel to be *a trifling slammer*. If there were no *profession*, there would be no *sin*. Or, there is an amount of "double-mindedness," which we are told, renders a man (equally with a Nation), "unstable in all his ways." As regards Nations, "O, house of Israel, cannot I do with you as a potter? Behold as the clay is in the potter's hand, so are ye in mine hand. At what instant I shall speak concerning a nation, and concerning a kingdom, to pluck up and to pull down, and to destroy it. If that nation against whom I have pronounced, turn from their evil, I will repent of the evil that I thought to do unto them. And at what instant I shall speak concerning a nation, and concerning a kingdom, to build and to plant it. If it do evil in my sight, that it obey not my voice, then I will repent of the good wherewith I said I would

benefit it." And all time has proved that The Great Creator has kept His word. Did the pomp of the fine buildings, *and palaces and pleasure gardens, which have never since been equalled*, of Babylon, preserve it? Did the magnificent Cohorts of Assyria preserve it? Or the fertile plains of Sodom and Gomorrah preserve it? Or the magnificent Temple of Jerusalem, and, its still more magnificent religion preserve it? Or the classical voluptuousness of Pompeii and Herculaneum preserve them? No. "Yet destroyed I the Amorite before them, whose height was like the height of the Cedars, and he was strong as the Oaks; yet I destroyed his fruit from above, and his roots from beneath." Unless we also are so politically blinded that we *must* pat our own national back with great self-satisfaction, we surely could see that our Christian brethren and sisters *have been* given up to the sword, and to "the tender mercies of the wicked, which are cruel," in the East. When the Israelites of old,—*who had light*, even as we present Christians have—decidedly erred and displeased God, still they sent for their Prophets, and priests, and Princes, and exculpating themselves, *insisted* upon an answer of peace. So now, in India, we "have robbed and taken for a prey . . . and the hire of the labourers who have there reaped down our fields, which we have allowed to be kept back

the ears of the LORD of Sabaoth. We have lived in pleasure there, and been wanton," *we have been ashamed of Jesus, and of his dictum*: "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature. He that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved." For we *forbid* interference with the *idolatrous* belief of soldiers and students; we will *not* impart to them *this saving* faith; or if, spite of our precautions, it still is imparted, we frown it down.

The following extracts would be sufficient to prove this, if we had not already cited so many other instances.* Let the Reader also carefully peruse an

* Towards the close of the last century the Brothers Haldane were converted. They belonged to a good family, and were possessed of ample means. James wished to consecrate himself to the work of evangelizing the heathen in Bengal, and along with two devoted clergymen of the Church of Scotland and Dr. Bogue of Gosport, prepared to go to India, and commence a mission in Benares. *But the Directors of the East India Company refused to allow them to set foot on the British territory in India, one of them remarking that sooner than let these missionaries go amongst the Hindoos, "he would see a company of devils let loose in Bengal."*

A Meeting of the East India Court of Proprietors was held on Wednesday, 24th March, 1858. Mr. Jones proposed a resolution declaring "that it is our duty to return the kingdom of Oude to the King, or some representative of his family." Before Mr. Jones had concluded his speech, he was "counted out." This precious Court of Proprietors, which, according to some persons, was to prove such an efficient

article from the *British Standard* of March 26th, 1858—We have disgraced our Christian profession before these Indians, and so have been given over to the fury of the Heathen. “Facts are damning things,” and therefore it is of no use our *blinking our Indian misrule* nationally, and misconduct individually*. Happily, there were of “the salt of the earth” even there, or, the terrific events permitted, might not have been stayed, until not one *wretched professor*

refused to permit the discussion of a question which, if it cared anything for English honour, or India rights, it would only be too anxious to consider.

The East India Company and Missionary Societies.—At a recent meeting in Southampton, the Rev. E. Grove, of the London Missionary Society, related the following incident:—The late Hon. Company sent out a private order to Lord Hardinge, forbidding officers to subscribe to the missionary cause, and directing the names of such officers to be recorded. Lord Hardinge gave the order to a subordinate for promulgation; the officer replied that he would promulgate it, but at the same time his resignation must be accepted; his Lordship put the order into his pocket, and thus it was that England had heard so little about it.

* See an admirable work just brought out by R. Montgomery Martin, entitled “The Indian Empire,” dedicated to Her Majesty, with an introductory letter to Lord Stanley. The first part was very recently put into the writer’s hands, and after the Indian portion of this work was written; but the similarity of opinions were so striking, that it is comforting to know this difficult subject is now being so fully and ably

had been left ! For, though it is true we ordered a fast here, still, if we may judge from the Press, supposed to be the mouthpiece of the nation, it was anything but such a Fast as The Lord declares He chooses—for from the Pulpit every possible inflammatory account of the war was read and the natives of India everywhere held up to execration.* Much

* In public speaking and correspondence the same spirit was evinced, and reports adhered to, in spite of, we may almost say in some cases, impossibilities. How refreshing, on the contrary, would have been the constant public insertion of such redeeming traits, in the midst of so much that was harrowing, as the following :—

“AUDI ALTERAM PARTEM.”

(To the Editor of the Times.)

Sir,—At a time when every newspaper is ringing with the vices of the Hindoo character, I appeal to you, in the interest of truth and of our common humanity, to publish the following thrilling incident from Mr. Rees’ “Narrative of the Siege of Lucknow.” It is gratifying to human nature to learn that even in the Hindoo nature are depths of nobleness—that it is capable of deeds of heroic self-sacrifice, such as have never been surpassed. Those who know India best will, perhaps, be least surprised. The incident occurred at the moment when the first relieving force reached the residency :—

“The 78th Highlanders coming upon the Bailey-guard battery, and not knowing it to be within the Residency, stormed it, and bayoneted three of our men, whom they mistook for insurgents. They never resisted, and one of them waved his hand, and crying, ‘*Kooch purwani* (never mind),

sympathy was demanded from the flesh for the flesh, and money largely solicited to "heal up the it is all for the good cause; welcome, friends!" fell and expired.

"I am, Sir, your Obedient Servant,

"AN ANGLO-INDIAN."

"THE PUNJAB."

(From a Lady.)

"Punjab, Murree Hills, Nov. 1.

"A few days ago, a melancholy thing happened in our own household. A favourite and faithful servant poisoned himself, to save our lives. I must tell you how it happened. We were sitting at whist about 10 p.m., when in rushed Kotadine with a face of horror I shall never forget. He was dreadfully excited. He said, 'Sahib, sahib, you are in great danger; there is a plot to murder you this night after you are asleep. The murderer will enter in by your bathing-room door, and will cut your throat with a carving-knife, which he has for the purpose.' We of course made inquiry, and seized the accused party, (a table-servant), and had him put under a guard, where he remained all night. Poor Kootadine was crying bitterly the next morning; and on asking him the reason, he said the Mussulman servants were bullying his life out about having saved the life of a Christian dog or *soor* (pig) as they politely call us. Well, this went on all day. Nothing we could do to comfort the poor man was of any avail. He took a dose of arsenic, which killed him in two hours. Almost his last words were, 'Sahib, you are saved, but I must die for you;' and most assuredly he has done so, dear C., for a better or more faithful creature did not exist. He had been with us for years, and had served us to the last. This man was the

breaches." But where was there a confession of *national* guilt? of deserved punishment? of remorse for having brought all this blood upon the peoples? for having driven the already ignorant and corrupt into darker blindness and treachery? Where the individual humbling for sins of omission and commission? Except in isolated private meetings and individual instances. And that these convictions are no mere "*pietistical*" fancies, the *facts* passing in the East at the time have borne out. Yet let us not run into the other extreme, and fancy, that all is to, or can, be immediately rectified, through the *mere extension of the missionary field, upon however liberal or free terms*. No, no, 'tis too late for *that commencement, now*; the raw material, *Justice*, must first be proved to our oriental revolters, to be *genuine*, and then, some good produce may be expected, and faith in it, be its accepting reward. Else, a mere idle mass of machinery, however admirably arranged, how useless, if it be only worked for show; or even if kept on being extended, *without any profitable returns of its power*? The fire for that motive power should be sought from above, equally, the oil

still more wonderful. I cannot tell you how grieved I am for his loss. We shall never get his like again. The courage with which these people lay down their lives is more than I can understand. The fact is, it is *kismet*, fate, with them entirely."

that can alone keep it ever going, *the Grace that worketh by Love*, its moving springs, — a living, active, uncompromising, unshackled, ever present Faith, in our Indian officials themselves.

Where too was the anguish of spirit, for barren professors cut off in the midst of their thoughtless lives?—those who did *not*

“Preach Him to all, and cry in death,
Behold, Behold, the Lamb!”

Canon Stowell *did* speak out, in his own bold, uncompromising evangelical style, and it was taken up by the Press, as “*unsuitable at the present time!*” That the massacre still *thereafter* raged, seemed to astonish many; and doubtless, *they* were ready to exclaim, “Wherefore have we fasted, and Thou seest not? Wherefore have we afflicted our soul, and thou takes no knowledge? Behold ye fast *for strife and debate*, and to smite *with things wherewith ye grieve others*. Ye shall not fast, as ye do this day, to make your voice to be heard on high. Is it such a fast that I have chosen? Is not this the fast that I have chosen, *to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke?* Is it not to deal thy bread to the hungry, and that thou bring the poor that are cast out to thy house? *When thou seest the naked, that thou cove*

him, and that thou hide not thyself from thine own flesh," &c.

If our national conceit would only allow us to look at the Jews, and then upon those words: "Behold I have graven thee upon the palms of my hands; thy walls are continually before me;" would we Christians, who are the wild olive, and to receive whom, *they* are cast out, not tremble, lest a worse thing should befall us, than *their* present dispersion?

Some one has well written on the subject of social amelioration. "We hear in our day much of the elevation of the masses. *It is an omen for good, but we have yet to learn the way to effect this*, and we may do it from our blessed Saviour. It is not by keeping aloof from them, it is not by acts of legislation, nor by magnificent schemes of philanthropy, nor by grand institutions of a charitable kind, but by coming into actual and friendly contact with them, by associating and identifying ourselves with them—by recognizing the common tie of brotherhood—by acknowledging the universal claims of humanity and Christianity—by acquainting ourselves with their condition, and sympathizing with their trials; *aye, and pitying their very faults too, many of which are chargeable more upon their position than upon themselves* (this, peculiarly applicable to the natives of India.) By descending, in short, from our proud and lofty elevation, and trying to raise them to the

enjoyment of the same comforts with ourselves. This was what Jesus did, and why should we be ashamed to copy his example?*

It may be asked, can we, of ourselves, nationally or individually carry out such amelioration as that needed? Or must we hope for some such outpouring of "the spirit of grace and supplication" upon us first, as seems, in their troubles, to have recently visited our American brethren? The account is most remarkable, and apparently well authenticated, as we read it, continuously, in the *British Standard*. The "systematic visitation" there alluded

* The following little bit so pleasantly backs up the writer's views, that having just read it, it is added in this place, thinking no repetition superfluous in the momentous change needed in India. It is headed, "What is wanted in India."—"Let the Hindoos of respectability be treated with due respect. Let due consideration be given to deserving men. Let merit and honesty be well rewarded. Let the intercourse, which is now very limited between natives and Europeans, be increased, and, in a word, let the partition wall, which now exists between natives and Europeans in the public service, be removed, *and then the authorities will see that there will be no grumbling on the part of the people against them.* We are aware that the unfortunate rebellion has impeded the progress of all works of public utility; but as it is drawing to a close, *and as Lord Canning seems to be fully alive to the wants and the requirements of the country, we entertain no doubt that his lordship will adopt measures as may seem requisite for the equitable administration of justice in India.*"—*The Madras Rising Sun*, March 22, 1858.

to, is deserving of notice. A few years back a great numbering of the poor took place amongst us to ascertain similar statistics, viz: The amount of those who attended means of grace, or sought instruction for themselves or children; and for this purpose, district and local visitation was warmly undertaken for a short time, and with that avidity peculiar to any novelty. Now it has died away again, and hundreds remain unvisited and uncared for. But in America, we are told, "it is continued in vigorous operation," and that in this way, thousands of persons, many of whom were formerly vicious and degraded, have been reclaimed to a better moral character, and a higher social standing; moreover, that it has the courage to extend its visitation so as to include the respectable and fashionable, &c. The number of rich people in high life, who were found never to attend any church, was enormous—though in the upper circles; religion was to a certain degree "fashionable, and church-going taken as an evidence of respectability." Precisely as with us. "The form of godliness without the power thereof." Would that all were on the contrary, and especially amongst our officers, like "the gallant General Sir Thomas Macdougall Brisbane, Bart., Colonel of the 34th Regiment, who, when stationed at the Castle, Edinburgh, in addition to his many munificent gifts, presented an ample supply of Bibles and Testaments

for the use of the regimental school, the hospital, and the several companies of that distinguished corps;” or like the Messrs. North, Grant, and Gordon, and the Earls of Kintore and Tarthesk, &c. The *British Standard* exclaims, “Such being the religious condition of Scotland at the present moment, surely England will be stirred up.” And since the above was written, it has been stirred up—thank GOD—as witness Exeter Hall, &c., thrown open on Sundays—its crowded attendance ministered to by the heads of the Episcopal Church—and its prolonged Prayer Meetings, at the termination of the service—hundreds remaining for that purpose: besides the arousing efforts in other Protestant places of worship.

So let us hope, that there is really “a good time coming,” since so many of the questions—we desire to see affirmative realities—are being publicly agitated: and may we not have still to read, year after year, such frightful accounts, in figures ascertained, and respectably vouched for—besides the non-ascertained and not included—of misery, destitution, and vice, as heretofore.

Of the “*Houseless poor*,” we were informed in one appeal, that, “the relief supplied from the 5th January to the 5th March, 1858, was, night lodgings, 33,175; rations of bread, 76,095.” For the “unemployed poor in the east of London,” the incumbent of the parish of St. Philip’s, Stepney, pleaded for “a poor

population of 20,000 : among whom are large numbers of dock labourers and others, without food or fire—the demands for their relief most pressing—for unless timely aid were supplied, hundreds of families must be broken up, and seek refuge in the work-house.” Of the “coalwhippers,” we find *one hundred and sixty families were relieved, through private contributions sent to the Incumbent of St. James’s Ratcliffe—but “only to the amount of 2s. to each, whilst far more than were relieved had to be sent away without anything.”* “The Stranger’s Friend Society,” earnestly implored relief “for upwards of 700 starving families, as then on the books (March); mothers with sick husbands, five, seven, or nine, helpless children: fathers out of work, with their wives lately confined: and widows and orphans in real and ascertained distress.” In Southwark, the Incumbent of St. Jude’s stated that, “out of the total population under his charge, at least 5,000 belong to the very poorest classes; and of these a large proportion were in a state of destitution, bordering on starvation.”

Lately we had a distressing case, of the uncertain life of a probably virtuous Tailoress,* and another

* “MANSION-HOUSE.—Jane Simpson, a rather good-looking and decently dressed young woman, was charged with attempting to commit suicide.

“Police-constable 621, whilst on duty in the Mansion-house.”

heart-rending one of a coach-trimming maker, who, on his return from seeking to obtain some arrowroot for his wife, *who was lying in her confinement*, found an arrest in his House, and in utter despair, at railings opposite the India-house in a state of stupor, and upon asking her if anything was the matter with her, she replied that she should be better directly. Immediately after, however, he saw her in the act of falling, and upon going up to her, observed her throw away a small paper bag, which upon picking up he found to contain oxalic acid. He asked her if she had taken any, and she said she had, and that she should not trouble any one much longer. He then took her to a chemist, who gave her a draught, then to the hospital, and finally to the police station, where she stated that when she went to the chemist's to get the poison a young man was with her, who told her if any questions were asked to say she wanted it for bonnet cleaning, and said he would wait outside for her while she got it, but when she came out he was gone, and she then walked some little distance before she took any of it.

“In reply to the LORD MAYOR she said she was a tailoress, but had been out of employment for six weeks, which was the reason of her attempting to destroy her life.

“It appeared further that in March last she was charged at this court with attempting to drown herself, and was dismissed after a suitable admonition.

“The LORD MAYOR told her the good advice formerly given to her seemed to have been thrown away, and he should now require her to find one security in 5*l.* for her good behaviour for one month. If she could not do so, she must go to prison, where she would have an opportunity of conferring

tempted suicide. He had been out of work, and been refused relief, though testified to be of respectable, hardworking habits; thus himself, wife, and several children had been for some time in the utmost state of destitution.

The Minister of St. Matthew's, the Mother Parish of Bethnal Green, has published a harrowing account of *his* poor. The Honorary Secretary to the King Edward Ragged School stated, that the "distress in Spitalfields was so great, and the claims upon him for help so numerous, that the small amount left at his disposal would in a few days be exhausted." The Rector of Lambeth says, "of the 27,000 persons who, after the subdivision of the large Parish, still remain under the care of the mother church, more than two-thirds belong to the working classes, and of the remainder but very few are in a position to render any assistance to those around them. A most kind and ready response had been made to his appeal by his parishioners, but the fund raised was quite exhausted, *while the need of help was more urgent than before.* The reports of clergy, Scripture readers, and district visitors, all tell one sad tale of suffering and distress. Many of the children who usually attend our schools are compelled to remain at home through want of shoes, while their parents, through the impossibility of obtaining work, are in a state bordering upon desti-

In Westminster, the Master of a Ragged School "drew attention to a large number of the labouring classes now out of work, many with families, and wholly without means to secure even one meal a day or bread for breakfast. Some of his pupils come to school, without having tasted anything; and in one instance, two girls and one boy of a family of seven, came not only without breakfast, but had (with the exception of one pound of bread, which had been divided among seven, including a mother who was suckling a child) not tasted anything of an eatable kind for twenty-four hours, and this not the first or second time." But we might go on multiplying endlessly.*

Yet, we have Ottawa and Canada,† both rich fields

* Appendix.

† "OTTAWA.—The new seat of government is situated on a point admirably adapted for facilitating the operations of trade and commerce. Between the shores of the Ottawa and the waters of Lake Huron lies a territory rich to profusion in mineral wealth, and vast forests, which will afford for many years to come the source of profitable employment to the hardy labourer. Fast as the axe levels the forest, the plough of the agricultural emigrant will turn up the soil, and rich harvests will be won for the supply of the extensive markets of the old and new worlds. But beyond this tract of timber and mineral lands, through which must shortly flow the waters of the Huron to mingle with those of the Ottawa, lie other lands yet unexplored and unsubdued to the wants of civilization. Across the inland sea of the Huron there are the Red River Settlements, the garden of the Hudson's Bay territory.

offered to government for the emigration of the poor. Then judge, if we shall not be nationally most

over which monopoly and exclusion have so long thrown the veil of all but impenetrable mystery, but from which, despite all restriction, there reach us rumours of rich and fertile lands, abundant harvests, and exhaustless wealth in the forests, the waters, and the mines. Still westward lies a vast tract of territory, the solitudes of which have rarely been disturbed, save by the trapper or the Indian in pursuit of the wild animals hunted for their furs. Century after century has passed over the regions watered by the noble Saskatchewan, the natural produce of the teeming soil has decayed upon it year after year, the leaves of the dark forests have fallen in hundreds of successive autumns, and have enriched the plains to an extent with which the well-cultivated lands of this country can bear no comparison. Nature has given, not only a fruitful soil, but a genial climate to these districts, and magnificent crops of golden grain of all kinds must reward the industry of those pioneers of civilization who at no distant day will awaken the slumbering echoes of this hitherto sealed land."—*Canadian News*, March 4, 1858.

"TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

"SIR,—As containing information valuable to many persons who at this season contemplate emigrating to America, I forward to you the accompanying copy of a circular which has been addressed by the Minister of Agriculture in Canada to the Reeve of each municipality in that province, and which I trust you will think worth a place in your columns.

"I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,

"CANADIAN.

"London, Feb. 16, 1858.

"Bureau of Agriculture and Statistics, Jan. 22.

"Sir,—As the emigration of the last season has made it

culpable, if we do not rise as one man *to solicit such aid for our starving poor of the respectable working classes ; who are so often seeking work and finding*

apparent that it is desirable to ascertain distinctly the various classes of persons whom it would be prudent to encourage to emigrate to Canada, and to deter those for whom there appears to be little or no prospect of success during the ensuing season, I shall feel obliged by your answering without delay the following queries, so far as they refer to the municipality in which you reside. And I am desirous of obtaining such information, based on the opinion of the Council, where it can be procured without waiting too long, as it is of importance that the information asked for should be in possession of this Bureau as soon as possible.

“ ‘ It is the opinion of the Department that the under-mentioned classes are much required in Canada, and would meet with employment and encouragement :—

“ ‘ 1st. Capitalists of all classes.

“ ‘ 2d. Farmers with small capital, say from 50*l.* sterling up, provided they are able to labour.

“ ‘ 3d. Agricultural labourers.

“ ‘ 4th. Female servants.

“ ‘ 5th. Boys and girls over 12 years of age, brought up to industry.

“ ‘ 6th. Tradesmen and mechanics of all kinds, who have capital to set up business in our towns and villages, and keep themselves and families for a year or two, till more prosperous times arrive.

“ ‘ That the undermentioned classes have little or no encouragement to come to Canada this next season, viz. :—

“ ‘ 1st. Office Clerks of all kinds.

“ ‘ 2d. Literary persons without capital, and unused to manual labour.

“ ‘ 3d. Office-seekers of all kinds.

none, and crying out to us, "the place is too strait for us, give us place that we may dwell."

For no one surely will now say "our working classes will not work," with such a Report as the following in the *Times* of February 12th, 1858? "There appeared in a newspaper of Sunday last, an advertisement stating, that a number of Masons, Carpenters, Bricklayers, and Painters were required; and as there are unfortunately too many out of employment at the present time, a *crowd* of them applied—it proved however to be an imposition—but to show the anxiety of these artisans to obtain employment, some of them exclaimed, 'We have been there morning, noon, and night, and can never get a glimpse of the advertiser.' The mouthpiece of the party said, that so great was the poverty of some of the applicants that they had been obliged to sell their children's clothes to buy the envelopes, and two

" ' You will oblige by stating how far you think the above opinions are correct, and by filling up the columns with the number of the several classes who you think would find employment in your municipality; and also by stating, as far as you can ascertain, what addition has been made to the population in your locality by immigrants during the past season.

" ' I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

" ' P. M. VANKOUGHNET,

Minister of Agriculture, &c.

"To the Recrs of the Municipality of _____"

stamps required in each case (as the requests to be employed were sent through the post), that *he knew of 200 applications*—and among them one poor man had walked up from Gravesend and another from Woolwich.”

Again, the *Star* of 22nd March, informed us, that “a deputation from the unemployed Spitalfields Weavers had a lengthened interview with the Right Hon. J. W. Henley, President of the Board of Trade, to present a memorial, showing the distressed condition of the whole body, *and praying the Government to render them some assistance.*” The Memorial is interesting in point of trade statistics.

To effect this—and a better state of things *in toto* for our army and navy, both services being recruited out of their own ranks, marriage encouraged, and their wives trained, or assisted to useful occupations, to help towards their own support, whether at home or abroad:—to effect all, or some of these *preventive Remedies*; might not the so objectionable “Church rate” (still petitioning against) be removed from off all non-conformists—and in its stead a *Protestant rate* be levied? which surely no one would have the face to *protest* against, as long as it was applied, to *social ameliorative legislation*? The Church of England ought to be self-supporting through its own Members, its lavishly-paid clerical dignitaries, its Government, Aristocracy, and Gentry,

and its distinguished Head of the Realm. The sect called "Friends," or Quakers, amongst us, are the most benevolent and philanthropic of our British subjects ; and the Writer doubts not, would joyfully unite in any ameliorating legislative levy or rate, of the nature and for the purposes suggested ; whereas at present—and which is a disgrace to our enlightened freedom of conscience and worship—they are positively *rifled* of their goods, against their will, —surely *as illegally*, as if still, by the Barons of old—for if this is *legal*, and *ought to be compulsory*, so then ought to be Church of England attendance, discipline, and bringing up ! The Author of this work is of the Established Church, but if the Nation would *not* sanction his *forcing* his Children to belong to that Communion, why should that Nation force *its national children to nominally belong to it, by obliging them to contribute towards what virtually they object to ?*

Lord Ebury wrote an article in the Times lately, headed, "London Destitution," in which he deploras the *apparent* (for it is not *real*), impossibility to stem it, and wisely remarks, that it is "a horrible stigma upon us, who are in any way connected by property or otherwise with this most wealthy and luxurious metropolis, that several hundred persons actually perish yearly from the want of the common necessities of life . . . such we find in the inflexible

figures of the Registrar General Intemperance and vice may, perhaps, in some degree be the causes of this grievous array of figures; but vice and intemperance in such rank excess as we find them are reproaches to our national religion and civilization, not less heavy than superfluity denied to poverty, and consumed upon luxury and feasting."

The "British Standard" points out to us the true principle of Christian effort as follows.

"In London, with a population now about equal to that of Scotland, there are only 700 churches and chapels in which the Gospel is preached, while Scotland has 2,000! The work in Scotland is being done by the churches themselves as they come to be awakened to a sense of their duty and responsibility. In London the churches must also be reckoned the true centres of power. Christianity is an aggressive system of truth, and by the leaven of the Gospel, the whole lump is to be leavened. Ministers and people are now working at this principle in Scotland. Ministers and people are called to the same work here. This is the true principle of Christian effort. The walls of Jericho did not fall until the people shouted. The walls of the kingdom of sin in London will not fall until we have the Gospel trumpet giving forth its loudest, clearest, and most certain sounds, and the Christian people uttering their earnest Amen!"

The Early Closing movement, once, and that but a very few years back, so powerfully resisted, is now, thank God, become almost general. May it be followed by another of the social ameliorations desired by the author *to lessen vice* (or, in every case, the temptations to it), *in both sexes*—viz: the removal

of the unnatural and absurd ban to apprentices and shopmen marrying, inflicted by their employers.

In conclusion, the writer wishes to meet a remark likely to be made, "that after all, this work is but a collection of shreds and patches, quotations and newspaper paragraphs." It is precisely and purposely so. For though, throughout advocating marriage being honourable *in all*, attainable *to all*, desirable *for all*, and would be sought more *by all*, were it not so deeply supplanted by its direst foe, vice; yet—facts are adduced to bear this out, and all attainable *pros and cons* brought forward to induce the reader to weigh well the subject in all its bearings, and then to form his own unbiassed judgment; trusting that judgment may lead to combined action, to "the long pull, the strong pull, and the pull altogether," and produce legislative fruits. The hydra-headed effects which spring from poverty, need to be more prominently held up to view, and more closely inspected; whilst some of the causes which have produced this mass of misery, vice, and crime, ought to be thoroughly gone into.

In the daily papers, the accounts perpetually recorded of such things, are but lightly skimmed over by some, unnoticed by others, and ignored by the mass; who are alone made aware through the sudden excitement produced in the public mind, from some very startling occurrence, that it actually was in the

very paper, at which they had been listlessly gazing for some half-hour. With the majority, impressions die speedily away, and they presently lull themselves into the hope, "that things are not so bad as some people would make them out to be."

As regards the many reformatory and charitable Institutions amongst us ; it is astonishing the numbers one meets with, who are entirely ignorant of the existence of such places, and this too among the higher and wealthier classes ; many of whom are nevertheless kind-hearted and generous ; and who, when once they are initiated into these ameliorative mysteries, not only feel interested in them, but are willing to help and to enlarge them. Though the author may deem, and indeed has striven to shew that, *the main source has not yet been cut up to*, yet stagnation is no part of his advocacy ; and every little stream that helps to carry off any portion from the overflowing sewer of impurity, suffering, and death, ought to be acknowledged, *as a temporary relief, but not to rest satisfied in, and to the exclusion of a greater pressure from without being brought to bear upon the main works.* There are plenty able, though idle, engineers and labourers to undertake and carry this through, if they but would. May it be given them to see its necessity !

Foreign vices could not but come within the compass of this *omnium gatherum*, seeing they are now so

unhappily leavened into our own mass, and in their suite have brought foreign crimes, foreign outbreaks, and fresh outrages where least expected upon our women, all needing a stricter watch within us, and a juster rule in the far East—now happily, however, brought nearer to our hearths and hearts, as much by circumstances, as by steam and rail. Yes, happily—for out of this night's weeping, we may look for the dawn of a brighter morning than any that has yet visited our oriental subjects and allies. May the Sun of Righteousness arise upon them with healing in his wings, and the once dark places of cruelty, lust, and rapine, be bathed in Light and Love!

Some readers may object to the mixture of religion with politics as a thing never done, quite quixotic, utopian to the last degree, tending to turn us all into a nation of Milkinsops, of Drivellers, of Quakers; striving to do away with the fine old might-is-right property system, with our characteristic city princes, with our public munificence, with our gorgeous feastings in honour of both the living and the dead, with our national deifications, with our verbal (by seeking to turn it into a real) "renunciation of the pomps and vanities of this wicked world and all the sinful lusts of the flesh, with all covetous desires of the same," and with our close imitation of the Jews, who "look down

they look up at the vomansh," which at least, was the reason, a venerable one of themselves once gave a friend of the writer's to the query, "Why the men all sat below; the women all above in open galleries?" And if one still goes into a synagogue, it seems very like the true one: for "nods and becks, and wreathed smiles," may be seen showering down upon the expectant gazers below, whilst those majestic words which once made Sinai unapproachable through its terrors, and caused it to smoke and consume with fear, are being sonorously given forth in the Law, or rolled sweepingly down in that glorious volume of triumphant song, which He who "overthrew both the horse and his rider," could alone inspire as worthy to accompany His own self-uttered God-like vocals, and which has been transmitted since the time of the Temple's glory. And such, one would think, ought still to make each ear vibrate and each heart thrill to its inmost being, of all the assembled there—but alas! no, the few alone are devout; to the rest, the form of words is there, the perfect Law is there, the well-known tones are there,—and that's enough. And so it is enough with us *as a nation*—for, "politics and religion are not one," cry the majority; and according to them (or at least their practice) our creed national should run somewhat thus: What is

macy? The theory of mystifying. What is religion? An incomprehensible something to be observed in an outward form of words, and when convenient to be largely quoted. Who are Evangelicals? A troublesome set of meddlers, and upsetters of the world. Who is "the Prince of this world?" An impertinent question, not convenient to answer, and connected with an uncomfortable amount of Gospel information upon it, which it is not necessary to refer to at all times.* Who is the Prince of Peace? The nominal head of this realm. Who are the peace-makers? Genuine adherents of His, who wish to see His precepts and practices carried out *nationally*—which is simply preposterous. What is the meaning of constantly praying for "His kingdom to come?" It means nothing at all *now*, only an indefinite something hereafter, when we have all finished our separate, and national little matters, after our own ways. Thus, to sum up, shewing, that Religion and Politics *cannot* amalgamate, though they may be lumped in together, and through perpetual friction, intermix a little—that in the Jewish dispensation it did not answer—and that philosophers know and have proved, that it is a governing law of nature, that all ages, nations, and Peoples, have their Cycle to run, by which time they get fairly used up, and in their places fresh

* Luke iv. 5—9. John xiv. 30. xij. 31. Eph. ii. 1—4.

ones spring up: therefore, Christian-political-amelioration, is but fanatical Utopianism, in other words. And this National Creed, if a right thinking rational being, with a soul to be saved, acts to be accounted for, and an Eternity to be made fit for, do not believe, why he is a mere pietistical ninny; and more fit to don the female than the male attire.

The writer then meantime, must, he feels, bow to this dictum of some—*en attendant mieux*, and of which he despairs not, all heterodox though his notions may at present be deemed.

And, a good time may be coming for England, in spite of her enemies within and without her—spite of *the idolaters, whom she has not only admitted into her midst, but encouraged and helped with her gold and her silver, her privileges and her protection, to enlarge themselves throughout the length and breadth of her Dominions, to propagate their creed, and to convert and victimise her Children.** Yet, for all this, if she will but cease from her political self-satisfaction—(the error of Nebuchadnezzar)—and “break off her sins by righteousness, and her iniquities by showing mercy to the poor, it may be a lengthening of her tranquillity.” But, all “those that walk in pride, God is able to abase;” and at any moment His finger may be writing against a professing and enlightened nation, MENE, MENE, TEKEL, UPHARSIN.

* Hosea, ii. 8.

* * * * *

Reader—thus far we have recapitulated in company the contents of this *Appeal*—for as its dedication announces, it is an Appeal, to the British Legislature, and the British Public. A feeling of delicacy has withheld the author from attempting its dedication to the Great and Good Head of this kingdom; but he prays that it may reach Her eye; and also that of many others, who adorn their spheres, as our Royal Lady does her Realm.

Surely such *urgent* and *vital* points need but to be well set before the right thinking, to be taken up by them—and who so fit to take the lead as our beloved Queen?

Whilst none of us may desire to see in Her Majesty a second Elizabeth—albeit “of glorious memory”—yet; we may be tempted to wish,—in such momentous, (and also stupendous,) changes as these, so necessary to the welfare of Her Majesty’s Dominions and to our being visited by the Divine blessing,—that the Tudor blood in Her veins might be roused to *command*, the adoption of *speedy but permanent*, remedial measures: so that, if possible, our beloved Britain might aspire to realise the Chinese distich

“ Where spades grow bright, and idle words grow dull ;
Where gaols are empty, and where Barns are full ;
Where church paths are with frequent feet outworn ;
Law court-yards weedy, silent and forlorn ;

“ Where Doctors foot it, and where Farmers ride ;
Where age abounds, and youth is multiplied ;
Where these signs are, they clearly indicate
A happy people and well-governed State.”

And now Reader

ADIEU.

“ IF HE WILL WORK, WHO SHALL LET
IT?”

APPENDIX.

Chapter III., page 67:

I would observe on this point, that absolute continence has very different effects, according to sex, temperament, and individual idiosyncracies. Its effects upon women are different to its effects upon men. The former support generally better its excesses than its privations; at least those privations, when they are not absolutely voluntary, are attended to women, especially in a state of solitude and idleness, with inconveniences men are rarely subject to. Bilious and melancholy subjects of a sensitive yet strong fibre, generally experience through the continuance of an unseasonable continence an amount of restlessness which denaturalizes sometimes entirely their humours, and changes all their habitual dispositions, exposes them to inflammatory diseases or convulsions, impresses a dangerous activity on their imaginations, and their characters become soured, unsatisfactory, and unhappy.

If we remount to the very source of happiness, we will see that it in particular consists in the free exercise of the faculties, and in the feeling of power and ease in calling them into action. The operations of the organs are not all equally necessary; and, in our wants, there are some which bear better interruptions or retards than others; but it is a general necessity of the living machine to feel and to act, and life is so much the more entire, that all the organs feel and act more strongly, without leaving the order of nature. And this is what constitutes physical well-being; and out of it, too, springs moral happiness, forming one of its particular results or rather it is only the same well-being considered under another point of view, and other respects. It seems unnecessary to add, that it is not always indispensable to happiness, to experience actually the impressions upon which it depends; the memory, or the consciousness of their being in

our power, often suffices. But when this consciousness becomes uncertain, when the feeling of power begins to dull, then existence takes a somewhat restless and peevish turn; the imagination then needs to re-assure itself by impressions of a fictitious force, exercised upon exterior objects; impressions constituting in themselves the commencement of decadence, which only make the blank sought to be filled up by them the more felt, and are but very weak substitutes for losses but too real. The prime of age is also that of ambition, of that egotistical and sombre passion, whose enjoyments only tend to irritate insatiable desires.

Yet there is a depth in temperaments depending upon primitive organisation, of which the action may be temporarily disguised by the mode of life, but which resists with force every opposing cause, and which it would seem impossible entirely to eradicate.

Habits are sometimes capable of altering the temperament. One might even ask if they cannot also destroy or change it; if it depends not solely upon them; if it is not their slow and gradual action which has produced it.

The reply is in facts, and these facts come of themselves for observation. Observation teaches us that the temperament may be modified up to a certain point, by the circumstances of life, that is to say, by regimen, taking this word in its most extended sense; but it also teaches us, that a very marked temperament changes not. The accidental causes which moderate or suspend its effects, having ceased to act, it resumes its course, and all its effects revive; often even, when the application of these causes are prolonged, they gradually lose their power, and the original nature re-appears with all its attributes. Observation farther teaches us that constitutional habits are transmitted from the parent to the children; that they remain, like an ineffaceable mark, in the midst of circumstances the most diverse, of education, climate, occupation, and regimen; in the midst of all the rubs they necessarily receive from all these circumstances united; they resist time itself. And if the human race did not intermix continually, everything would seem to prove, that the physical conditions peculiar to each one, would be perpetuated by propagation; so that the men of each epoch would, in this respect, exactly represent the men of anterior times.

If again we consider the operations of our intelligence, we see that they depend upon the faculties attached to our organs. And if we look for the principles of morals, we find their rules ought to be founded upon the mutual relations, of

man to man; that these relations flow from their wants and their faculties; and that their faculties and their wants depend upon their organisation. Hence that so celebrated motto of antiquity—"Know thyself."—*Cabanis. "Physiologie du Moral et du physique de l'homme."*

Another writer remarks, "That other inward inbred cause of melancholy is our temperature, in whole or part, which we receive from our parents, which Fernelius calls unnatural, it being an hereditary disease; for as he justifies, such as the temperature of the father is such is the sons, and, look, what disease the father had when he begot him, his son will have after him, and is as well inheritor of his infirmities, as of his lands. And where the complexion and constitution of the father is corrupt there, (saith Roger Bacon), the complexion and constitution of the son must needs be corrupt; and so the corruption is derived from the father to the son. Now this doth not so much appear in the composition of the body, according to that of Hippocrates, in habit, proportion, scars, and other lineaments; *but in manners and conditions of the mind.* Their voice, pace, gesture, looks, are likewise derived, with all the rest of their conditions and infirmities; such a mother, such a daughter; their very affections Lemnius contends to follow their seed, *and the malice and bad conditions of children are many times wholly to be imputed to their parents.* I need not therefore make any doubt of melancholy, but that it is an hereditary disease. And, that which is more to be wondered at, it skips in some families the father and goes to the son, or takes every other, and sometimes every third, in a lineal descent, and doth not always produce the same, but some like, and a symbolizing disease. *So many several ways are we plagued and punished for our fathers defaults, in so much that, (as Fernelius truly saith), it is the greatest part of our felicity to be well born; and it were happy for human kind, if only such parents as are sound of body and mind, should be suffered to marry.* An husbandman will sow none but the best and choicest seed upon his land; he will not rear a bull or an horse, except he be right shapen in all parts, or permit him to cover a mare, except he be well assured of his breed; we make choice of the best rams for our sheep, rear the neatest kine, and keep the best dogs; *quanto id diligentius in procreandis liberis observandum?* and how careful then should we be in begetting of our children? In former time some countries have been so chary in this behalf, so stern, that if a child were crooked or deformed

old, (by the relation of Curtius), and many other well-governed commonwealths, according to the discipline of those times. Heretofore, in Scotland, saith Hect. Boethius, if any were visited with the falling sickness, madness, gout, leprosy, or any such dangerous disease, which was likely to be propagated from the father to the son, he was instantly gelded; a woman kept from all company of men; and, if by chance, having some such disease, she were found to be with child, she, with her brood, were buried alive. And this was done for the common good, lest the whole nation should be injured or corrupted. A severe doom you will say, and not to be used amongst Christians, *yet more to be looked into than it is.* For now, by our too much facility in this kind, in giving way for all to marry that will, too much liberty and indulgence in tolerating all sorts, there is a vast confusion of hereditary diseases, no family secure, no man almost free from some grievous infirmity or other. Where no choice is had, but still the eldest must marry, as so many stallions of the race; or, if rich be they, fools or dizzards, lame or mamed, unable, intemperate, dissolute, exhaust through riot, (as he said), they must be wise and able by inheritance; *it comes to pass that our generation is corrupt; we have many weak persons both in body and mind, many feral diseases raging amongst us, crazed families, parents peremptores, our fathers bad, and we are like to be worse.*"

Chapter IV., page 95.

Extract from a private letter, (May 31, 1850), of the late Sir C. Napier, published in the Times by Lt. Gen. W. Napier.

"We all pay respect to a cow in presence of a Hindoo—a respect he laughs at, for he knows we do not feel it. But at the same moment we take his oxen and *himself* from the plough by force; we send him a thousand miles march with a regiment; he loses his harvest, his ground remains untilled, his family perish, his oxen, overloaded and overdriven by the soldiers, drop on the road, and he is not paid a farthing for them; his cart, broken, is left on the road, he is made to drive another, whose owner has fled in desperation, and after six or eight months—I knew one case of years even—he returns a ruined man to his once happy home. He *may* find his wife and children alive; he *may* find, if she is not pretty, that she has remained faithful among his friends of the village; but it

is as common to find that one of the European magistrate's uncovenanted native people has taken her. And as regards females, the Europeans are, though magistrates, pretty loose, I have heard, in these matters; but this I only know by hearsay, and cannot answer for, though I perfectly believe it. However, as this is a matter of private bargain, there is no great cause for complaint. We know that the English dare not act with *open* violence against women—the natives *do*; and I believe very few magistrates have the energy and ability to control those natives who are employed. “But there are some glorious magistrates who really do exalt the honour and power of England in the East. I came through a district governed by a Mr. Banks. I do not know him; I never saw him, but I really felt proud of my countryman. Yet even there I found tyranny by the ‘board’ which rules the Punjab; he cannot help that: all he does himself is superb. Well, I must finish. All I say to you is at *present* between you and I in confidence.”

In a letter from Neemuch we read:—“We have no church—no clergyman—no one to bury the dead or marry the living. At Nusserabad there was no clergyman, and there had not been one at Mhow since 1837, although at both stations there are European Troops, to whom the light and consolation of religion in the dark hours of sickness and of death would be dearly prized. Surely, this state of things is capable of remedy—and Christian men will not be left in these days of enlightenment without the comforts of religious worship and instruction—without the observance of a single religious rite, to mark the Sabbath from any other day in the year.”

An officer stationed at Rangoon writes:—“We have no church yet, though there are four native regiments and one European regiment, besides European artillery. The Roman Catholics have a fine large chapel, chiefly built by the men of the 84th. There is a splendid pagoda on the hill; I think it is the finest I have seen, and the Burmese have just laid out 10,000*l.* in new gilding it.” Will not our Government provide a place of worship for their troops? Shall we any longer suffer the Romanists and the heathen to taunt us, and say, “Where is their God?” Surely some steps should be taken to rescue our friends at Rangoon from this sad condition. Is it to be wondered at if they fall into the snares of Popery and infidelity, when no man careth for their souls?

“Every old Indian must have observed how rare a sight is a native Christian in the Upper Provinces. Several things seem

to contribute to this sad state of affairs. Among these may be mentioned the expense to Government ; the licentious lives of Europeans ; the paucity of missionaries ; and the diversity instead of the unity of Protestant churches. To remove all these obstacles, let it be supposed that there existed a Church of India, uniting the churches of England and of Scotland with the dissenting Churches of each. Now, seeing that all unite in the essentials, and differ only in forms, let the latter be abandoned, and the former only insisted on, for the common cause of Christianity in India, while differences remain as they are at home. The best way, perhaps, of disseminating our religion would be for a minister to reside wherever there is a doctor, and, by acting together, the desirable scheme of medical missionaries might be thus realised."—*Indian News*, 18th November, 1857.

In regard to the immediate cause of the late insurrection in India, and fearful bloodshed and misery which has ensued, there can be no doubt but that its immediate cause was the annexation of Oude, and thereby the gross breach of faith in violation of Lord Wellesley's treaty of 1801, which was printed and sanctioned by the order of the House of Commons in 1806.

"I know that in 1836 and 1837, when Lord Broughton attempted to effect this measure for the sake of seizing £17,000,000, stated at that time to be in the King of Oude's private treasury by his discarded prime minister, Hakim Méndhy Allie Khan, he was only prevented from carrying out the measure by the energetic remonstrances and commands of his Majesty, William IV., who was induced to take this decided line of action entirely in consequence of the Duke of Wellington, Lord Wellesley, Sir Gore Ouseley, and several other Indian authorities, in whom he could place confidence, assuring his Majesty that it was their firm opinion that if the President of the Board of Control and Lord Auckland were permitted to enact this unjust and impolitic measure it would cause a mutiny in the Bengal army—four fifths of which was composed of Oude men—and very possibly an insurrection throughout India, which might shake our power there to the very base, as well as destroy the character of the British nation for honour, honesty, and good faith. And had it pleased the Almighty to have prolonged his Majesty's—William IV.—life a fortnight or three weeks longer, the whole of the disgraceful intrigues relative to the kingdom of Oude, which he had frustrated, would have been laid before Parliament and the country. In the recent accounts from

India relative to the attack upon General Wheeler's entrenched position at Cawnpore by Nana Sahib, it was stated that one of the batteries was directed by Aga Meer's son, who was second in command to Nana Sahib. Now, the public generally are very ignorant as to who this Aga Meer was—therefore I venture to refer to an article in the *Morning Post* of March 1, 1837, relative to the King of Oude, which you will find upon investigation to be correct, and which, twenty years since, explained who Aga Meer was, and the cause for the pension granted to his sons—which Lord Dalhousie has taken away. Hakim Mendhy Allie Khan first got up a cry against Oude after his dismissal, by establishing a native newspaper at Cawnpore, in which he attempted to write down his late master the King of Oude and his Government, and then wrote a letter to Lord William Bentinck, stating that there were £17,000,000 in the King's private treasury, and suggested that Oude should be annexed. This letter was sent home to the Court of Directors by Lord William, and the subject canvassed by the Court, and also by the members of the Board of Control, upon three several occasions, and a solemn decision came to that Lord Wellesley's treaty of 1801 could never be broken with any degree of honour, justice, or advantage by the British nation; and there are strong notes to this effect entered upon the minutes of the proceedings of the Board of Control by the late Sir Henry Ellis, at that time a member of the Board of Control. Yet, notwithstanding these decisions, Lord Broughton, then Sir John Hobhouse, as President of the Board of Control, under the powers vested in him by the Act of Parliament passed on the 28th August, 1833, when Lord Auckland went out as Governor-General, gave him orders to annex Oude, without the knowledge or sanction of His Majesty William IV., Parliament, or the Court of Directors of the East India Company, and this gross act of impolicy and breach of faith were prevented from being enacted solely by the energetic action of His Majesty William IV., in 1837, shortly before his death.

"Thus you will perceive that this intrigue of the self-styled Liberal Ministry has been the 'Fons et Origo' of this bloody and disastrous insurrection in India. I have the honour to be, your obedient servant,

GEORGE PALMER."

Nazing Park, Waltham Cross—*Indian News*, Nov. 25, 1857.

We would strongly recommend our Readers to purchase

merely as a matter of justice and *wholesome national self-condemnation*. "The Oude Catechism." "Has Oude been worse governed by its native Princes than our Indian territories by Leadenhall Street? by Malcolm Lewin, Esq. late 2nd Judge of the Sudder Court of Madras." MOTTO. — "*The moderation of England is not unlike the ambition of other nations.*" Duke of Wellington. — "The Spoliation of Oude," by Major R. W. Bird. Naussau Steam Press. "Oude, its Princes, and its Government vindicated," by a native of Oude. Davy and Sons, 1857. "Reply to the Charges against the King of Oude." Reed & Pardon. "Nana Sahib's Claims against the East India Company, with Extracts from the Hindoo Sacred Writings relative to the Law of Adoption &c." C. H. Biddle, 7, Bouverie Street, Fleet Street.

NATIVE PRINCES AND CALCUTTA "CHRISTIANS."

As we may now safely consider the re-establishment of our power in India as on the eve of completion, we may look back, as it were, and congratulate that even in ills there is a choice—the princes and chiefs deeming our rule, at least preferable to a Sepoy Raj.

In the recent turmoil, neither Holkar, Scindiah, the Guicowar, the Putteala chief, the Goorkhas, or the Nizam, acted otherwise than most loyally towards us, and neither directly nor indirectly afforded aid to their countrymen in rebellion.

Yet the least knowledge of their respective histories will tell that one and all of the above have grievances to complain of. As regards the Holkar dynasty, *after* the enthronement of the present prince, we imposed restrictions on the succession, a matter that is, we know, the cause of much distress and regret at the Court of Indore, as well as in Malwa at large.

With Scindiah we went to war in 1843 because of some petty intrigue among the women and slave girls at Gwalior. The bloody actions of Maharajpore and Panniar were the result; and the power we then thought to be finally extinguished has now proved our best support in the hour of trouble, forgetting the injuries it received at our hands, because our rule was preferable to that of the Sepoy. The Guicowar, too, has many causes for dissatisfaction, but he, like the rest, has been most loyal; though we can say of our own knowledge, that a word from him, and all the petty chiefs of Goojerat would long since have been in rebellion. We have seen letters from persons in high positions in Goojerat which confirm

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this. The Puttealah prince has, we believe, no very crying grievance to allege. A short time since he contemplated a visit to this country; but if reports speak truth, Lord Dalhousie's government raised various obstacles. This prince, at the opening of the Cabool campaign, lent us a large sum of money, through Sir G. Clerk, in whom the people had confidence. He declined to receive interest, and we believe he is one of those chiefs (referred to in a valuable communication lately addressed to the *Times* from Umballah) who in a like manner accommodated us during the last Punjaub war. The writer (now no more, we fear) says there was "some sharp practice" in the repayment, and, as we happen to know the merits of the matter, we may as well detail them, as an instance of what sometimes occurs under British rule. The sums advanced to us were due at a certain time when it was not quite convenient to pay, and the agents of the chiefs saying it was a matter of indifference, we, when in a position to pay, refused interest beyond the originally-stipulated period, a decision indorsed by the Council in Calcutta!

But this is a digression. Next follows the Prime Minister and virtual ruler of the Goorkha State, Jung Bahadoor, against whose nation we waged war in conjunction with Oude, taking from it the Turrai, which we made over to H. M. of Oude in lieu of an old (bad?) debt. But Jung Bahadour has visited this country, and that fact will explain much. The Nizam concludes the list. His grievances are many, beginning with the days of Hushmut Jung *Feringee** (as he was called), and ending with the cession of Berar. Any one having a practical knowledge of the interior of India will admit that had any one of these named sovereigns gone against us and joined the Sepoys in rebellion, we should indeed have had a most difficult part to play in regaining our position in India. Had the Guicowar risen, all Goojerat would have been up; had Scindiah and Holkar, one or both, revolted, the Decan, including Sattarah, Southern Mahratta Country, Poonah, Sholapoor, and Nagpoor, would have been up in arms against us. But they happily preferred our rule to that of the Sepoy; and on this their decision wholly, we believe, turned, for none of them has or can have any cordial love for our rule. One of Dawlut Row Scindiah's French Generals (Perron) said to his Highness, "Maharaj, bury your guns, or put them with your infantry into forts; keep in the field with your own Mahratta horse; never let there be less than twenty

* A *soubriquet* applied to Colonel Kirkpatrick, formerly "Resident" at Hyderabad. *Hushmut Jung* implies—"A Host in Battle."

miles between you and the Company's army, and that space *drive*." Had this advice now been followed, we should see swarms of horse "driving" the country in all directions, leaving only a desert to march over, and great would be our difficulty. A Mahratta banner would draw forth thousands for plunder and revenge. The heart of all would be in the cause; but the swarm appears not when the prince is only in the field to aid the vulture who one day will feed on his remains. If we have gathered experience from the past, we shall not rule as heretofore, but seek to make friends of the people and chiefs in subordinate alliance with us. To the Princes of Rajpootana we have made no reference. With them we have not much intermeddled (until of late, most unwisely, at Oodypoor), and they consequently proved loyal.

But some may say, that if in the late struggles the safety of our rule depended so much on the States named, let us lose no opportunity of annexing them, as the shortest way of disposing of the question. True, that in a primitive state of society the death of a chief may alter the whole course of political affairs, and so it may in India; but only for a time. The chiefship never dies. The third or fourth successor to the deposed is more dangerous in the hour of rebellion than the deposed progenitor, because the sympathies of the people are with him. "The Christian inhabitants of Calcutta," who are utterly ignorant of India, would ignore the existence of its people, except as producers of goods for export, buyers of our manufactures, or as subjects for gentlemen of the long robe. To them it were superfluous talking of the equitable relations among subjects as surest when the legislature is of a popular origin. With the natives of the soil they would have nought to do, except in the ways mentioned; none of them should hold a place in our councils; none have an appointment worthy (in salary?) of an European. Yet what else could come of their ignorance of the interior of India? These "Christian inhabitants of Calcutta" never consider that laws which concern all should be approved of by all, so as to meet general convenience; nor that in a diffusion of political power is a safeguard for the general welfare. No; they would have all in their own hands, ruling and legislating for millions, of whose language, habits, castes, and creeds they are in utter ignorance. These are the men to join in a cry for consolidating our empire, swamping those states to which we are now indebted for safety, until, like the King of France, they might be told, "This is not a riot: it is a revolution." The real or imagined interests of the ruler and ruled have always clashed;

But, according to the principles laid down by these gentry, the latter would have no representatives in the councils that legislated for them. The absent would have no advocate, no more than the legislator would have knowledge of the subject which affects the millions to whom the laws would apply. An obstinate act of taxation lost America to this country. The same may occur with India, should we follow the advice tendered by these "Christian Inhabitants" of Calcutta.

"On the 3rd of October one band, about 1,200 strong, was overtaken by Jung Bahadoor's Ghoorkas in Juanpore. The brave little men, with their short curved knives, dashed at the foe like tigers, closed, slashed away, and in ten minutes were driving them behind them in headlong route. The insurgents left 250 dead on the field. Both Ghoorkas and Sikhs attack any odds with a contempt the result proves to be well deserved. The whole Sikh nation is heartily on our side, and if the worst came to the worst, or if England should resolve to abolish caste, we might let loose the warrior nation on the plains. God help the Hindostanees then! 3,000 more Ghoorkas are expected from Nepaul. Jung Bahadoor, and, indeed, all the great chiefs, have behaved singularly well throughout the rebellion. Jung bore the contradictory orders of the government, who first asked for troops, then sent them back, and then asked for them again, without resistance. Holkar exposed his own life to a furious rabble, and Scindiah, though from less perfect motives, still helped us through the crisis at Agra."

"We shall indeed rejoice if the native princes who stepped forward so readily in our defence do not combine, and join the enemy, declaring war on the Power they originally meant to support. Did they thus, is it here, amid the friends of Polish and Italian independence, that blame should be cast on them? Do they owe our "mild despotism," as it is called, any gratitude? Were they to strike for nationality, could we justly blame them? Were they, in a word, to declare for India's freedom from the control of the stranger, to raise on high the banner of independence, to sound the tocsin of nationality:—could we, a free people, blame them, however we might deplore such an occurrence? Let us with brevity consider some particulars regarding the allied princes.

"Scindiah had, not long since, we believe, a narrow escape of annexation; and in 1843 his territory would, we feel assured, have passed away from him, but for the stir made here at that time because of the conquest of Scinde."

"The Rajah of Puttealah, when we were in want of money,

sent elephants, camels, and carts laden with abundance for the army marching on Cabul, and declined to receive any interest on the loan. Yet, very lately, when he wished to come to Europe, impediments were thrown in his way.

"The Roa Rajah of Ulwur, not long since, we believe, narrowly escaped becoming a state pensioner through his territory being annexed.

"Holkar of Indore was placed on his throne by the Resident on being duly adopted, but Blue-books tell that the British functionary was censured for the act; and at the same time it was intimated that the time had arrived for swamping that State had the Resident not been so precipitate. We raise between £80,000 and £90,000 of revenue as an export duty on opium alone, from Holkar's territory—his own income being under £20,000. Yet, were he to propose a local tax on opium, all can imagine the sort of reply he would receive from our Governor-General in Council.

"The last we shall name is Bhurtpoor. The ruler of this State was a child, when we adopted his cause against his uncle Doorjun Sal, in 1826. We took the capital of our *protégé*, sacked and plundered it: the Commander-in-Chief of our armies, in a most undignified manner, personally searching for plunder, of which in virtue of his office he was to obtain one-eighth. The walls of the capital of our *protégé* we razed to the ground, and subsequently declined allowing him to raise even a curtain wall round it!

"These are our allies! But in addition there are claimants to Nagpoor, Sattarah, with many other large and small principalities, all of which, according to immemorial usage and treaty, would now have their own hereditary native princes, did we not introduce rules alien to the people and soil, forbidding the rite of adoption. Our last ill-gotten acquisition is Oude, a kingdom containing four millions of inhabitants, and whence come the majority of the Bengal native army. Are the nobles and gentry of that magnificent country to see in our advent an enhancement of their place and position? or are they to gather from a swarm of European strangers, placed all over the country in the places *they* formerly occupied, that they are no longer the governing class? Must they placidly look to the day when every native social rule and custom will be swept away; when Government will call their estates "alienated lands;" when some will be spoken of in the public records as "heathens," and missionaries may be let loose to denounce all not of *their* way of believing as votaries of a false or idolatrous religion? Are these the men who will stand by

and not swell the ranks of our "allies," as the latest reports call them?

"We must rule from the Asiatic point of view, not from the European, if we hope to retain our supremacy in India. The people are quiet, indolent, indeed: and having something to lose by rebellion, are not easily roused; but once roused by grievances, they are not easily restored to their former state of quiescence and comparative apathy. They see us not in the light their fathers did. The change is in ourselves, not in the people of India. The bold conquering race that put down the Pindarees and all plundering hordes, conciliated and saw much of the people under their rule, meddling not with social customs and habits, but mixing with the people, and sharing in their pastimes whether in jungle or durbar. But the sons knew not what their fathers suffered in the raids of the Pindaree and Mahratta Horse. They have not seen the savings of years swept away by the hordes of Holkar, Scindia, and Ameer Khan. They only know they suffer, and have not, in a pecuniary sense, any compensation for loss of place, power, and inroads on their established customs. The native, civil and military, sees and feels that he is conquered, held down by a race of strangers no longer possessing the *dash* which acquired them power in former days: yet who are daily, through the influence of the press, and an utter disregard of treaties, gathering into their fold the very principalities that helped them to a footing in the land. He feels no excellence will ever raise himself higher in a worldly position after years of toil, labour, and subservience, than to a post *below* some beardless boy, whose interest obtained an appointment and good salary, with power, ere he acquired more than the rudiments of the language of the country. He feels and sees daily that though the government work is carried on by the native of the soil, there is no outlet, no reward for his ambition, knowledge, zeal, and intellect. He knows that without him we can really do nothing in the administration of the land, but that for him the honours attending on success are not destined. With him, indeed, it is "industry without applause; success without the hope of reward." If unjust to the people of India, let us at least not be so to ourselves. All the Government despatches ever penned, or admirably worded articles of newspapers, will not convince the people of India that their condition is what it should be. The 14,000 European troops destined for its shores, will arrive early in October, the most unhealthy period of the year, and unless the mutiny has extended south

and become a rebellion, this force will require at two months more to reach the North-Western provinces, or say Delhi; by which time its cost to the Indian finances will be upwards of one million sterling. Are the as yet unannexed to see in this force a foreshadowing of their own downfall? The population of the native States is probably 80,000,000, and their soldiery is estimated at 400,000, but as all know, there are races of whom, for a guerilla warfare, every man is a soldier, such as the Rajpoot, Jat, Mahratta, and Sikh."

What could be more disgraceful than the annexation of Nagpoor? When the Ranees or Queens on the death of the rajah in Dec. 1853, offered to adopt, as the supreme government might dictate, any of the rightful heirs who existed, lineal members but the progeny of daughters according to the Hindoo law which vested in them, through their Chief or head Queen, the right of option, agreeably to such practice, pursued under the treaties; and when their head or Maharanee, the Banka Bye—an elderly person of remarkable ability, who had been the regent during the minority of her grandson—was backed in her application by Mr. Mansel, the Commissioner and former Resident. He pointed out the disastrous consequences to that kingdom of annexation, "the Officers of the Army, the Courtiers, the chief Merchants, and Bankers who had dealings with the Rajah's treasury and households, all the aristocracy in fact, of the country, seeing in the operation of the system that British rule involves, the gradual diminution of their exclusive consequence and the final extinction of their order."*

Disgraceful to add—for the writer saw one of the Vakeels, or pleaders sent to this country by the Maharanee and read the sad case of those Princesses—they were most uncivilly treated by orders of the Governor-General; their hereditary jewels and even personal property and household effects forcibly seized and advertised for public sale; and this, *effects held as private property for a century and a half!* When sold, the loss was immense; the live stock of great value being allowed to go for a mere nothing. The Governor-General refused to receive any communications through the aged Queen's envoys, and those she sent to England excited the wrath of the Commissioner at Nagpore, Mr. Plowden, because all their *just* complaints of the humiliating treatment and strict surveillance the Ranees or Queens were subjected to, were published in the newspapers! But alas! British

* Parl. Papers Ann of Berar, No. 82, March 5th, 1856.

sympathies could not be awakened, where its trading merchants were gainers, and the depressed *not* slaves, but simply sovereign ladies of an ancient dynasty, being ground down to the dust. And so the Maharanee dismissed her pleaders, and doubtless left her cause in the hands of the Judge of all the Earth. But was not professing Christian England sinning as it were with a cart-rope?"

In the matter of the principality of Jhansi what a fearful retribution we brought down upon our own heads! through its Regent (*not allowed*) Lakshmi Bye, then exercising a remarkable and beneficial influence, in her uniform adhesion to the British Government. Her husband in Nov. 1852, just before his death sent for the political agent of Bundelcund, and the officer in command, and delivered over to them his Testament, in which, "in consideration of the faithful adherence of his ancestors to the British Government previous to the establishment of its authority, a fact well known even to Europe, he solicited, according to an article of a treaty concluded with the British Government, an adoption of a grandson of five years of age, and that his widow might during her lifetime be considered the Malika or regent of the state, and mother of the child, and not be molested in any way."

Lakshami Bye backed this in an address to the Governor-General, in which she set forth the Hindoo law of inheritance, and pleaded the fidelity of the Jhansi chiefs in past years. Major Malcom, the political agent for those districts, in forwarding her appeal, wrote: "The Bye does not in the slightest degree overrate the fidelity and loyalty all along evinced by the state of Jhansi, *under circumstances of considerable temptation*, before our power had arrived at the commanding position which it has since attained." He had before described her "as a woman highly respected and esteemed, and fully capable of doing justice to such a charge." Major Ellis, the political assistant, gave his opinion in favour of the right of succession as settled by precedents, and the right of adoption to have been clearly acknowledged, and recorded by the Directors. But the Governor-general declared that Jhansi had lapsed to the British Government, and that the Rajah's property should belong to his adopted son.

The Ranee was thus deprived of her regency, and her dying husband's care for her future position, made the very means to strip her of it! And so this lady—then considered a wonder of youthful ability and discretion—of whom Major

Malcolm wrote, as "bearing a very high character, and much respected by every one in Jhansi," for whom he pleaded, "that in compliance with her husband's last request, all the state jewels and private funds, and any balance remaining in the public treasury after closing the accounts of the state, should also be considered as her private property,"—this lady—who then seemed to pass over her wrongs in silence—has since, alas! risen like the tigress from her lair, and wreaked fearful vengeance on the interlopers who had put her, and her country's rights, and her husband's dying testament, so lightly aside: rendering her contemptuous in the eyes of her fellow-potentates, and probably reducing her to comparative penury. Her name is now "linked to some virtues and a thousand crimes." The work of British Christians!

The Carnatic Stipendiaries are the surviving descendants and relatives of the last Nawaub sovereigns of the Carnatic; who were faithful allies of the British nation, friends to the H. E. I. Company, and assisted the Company to annihilate the power of the French in India, as well as to subjugate the native powers who were hostile to the combined interests of the Company and the Nawaubs. By the Treaty of Paris, concluded between the French and English governments in 1763, the English government declared the Nawaub Wallajah, his heirs and successors, to be the lawful Nawaubs of the Carnatic; and the Emperor of Delhi, by a firman in 1767 (confirming a previous one of 1750), rendered the Nawaub, his heirs and successors, independent of the crown of Delhi; whereupon the whole territories of the Carnatic became subject to the sovereign authority of the Nawaub, as an *Altum-gha Enam*.

In 1787 an engagement was entered into between the East India Company and the Nawaub Mahomed Ally, which was afterwards recognised by a Treaty entered into between the same parties in 1792; and in one of the provisions of the last-mentioned treaty it was stipulated that for certain purposes therein stated, the Company should possess full authority over the Carnatic, except the Jaghires belonging to the family of the Nawaub, which family Jaghires had been granted to the possessors in perpetuity, and were estimated at star pagodas 213,421, equal to £74,697 7s. sterling, and subsequently to 1792 and up to 1801 similar Jaghire grants in perpetuity were made by the Nawaubs Wallajah and Omdut ul Omrah to the members of both families. The Nawaub Wallajah Mahomed Ally died in 1795, and was succeeded by his son Omdul ul Omrah, who died on the 15th July, 1801. On the death

of Omdut ul Omrah, the British Government of Madras proposed to Ally Hoossain, son of Omdut ul Omrah, a new arrangement for the government of the Carnatic, the terms of which appear in the draft of a Treaty set forth in certain Parliamentary Reports printed by order of the House of Commons, in which a provision to the amount stated in the Treaty of 1792 was to have been made for the Jaghiredars as well as for other families dependent on the service or bounty of the Nawaub. On the refusal of Ally Hoossain to concur in such Treaty, the Madras Government entered into communication with Azeem ood Dowlah, a cousin of Ally Hoossain, whom it was proposed to place on the Musnud, when a Treaty, dated 31st July, 1801, was concluded between Lord Clive, Governor in Council of Fort St. George, with the sanction and authority of the Marquis of Wellesley, the Governor-general of all the British possessions, on behalf of the East India Company, and his Highness the Nawaub Wallajah Azeem ood Dowlah. And by the 9th article of the said Treaty, the East India Company engaged to take into consideration the actual situation of the families of the late Nawaubs Wallajah and Omdut ul Omrah, as well as the situation of the principal officers of his then late Highness's government, and the British Government charged itself with the expense (chargeable on the revenues of the Carnatic) of a suitable provision for their respective maintenance, to be distributed with the knowledge of the said Nawaub. Almost immediately after the Treaty of 1801, there was recorded an explanatory Article, as it was termed, stipulating that, it should not be incumbent on the Company to appropriate lands yielding a revenue, but that the said Company should be at liberty to exercise its discretion in the mode and on the extent of the provision to be made according to the 9th Article of the Treaty for the support of the family and principal officers of the Nawaubs, and that it was the intention of the contracting parties that the said sum in respect of the private debts of the Nawaub Mahomed Ally, should be considered to be permanent deductions in all times to come from the revenue of the Carnatic. On conclusion of which Treaty in 1801, the East India Company obtained peaceful possession of the Carnatic. Thus the former Nawaubs were, and the present Nawaub is, a most faithful friend and ally of the British Government, and the Jaghiredars were unfailing in their allegiance.

Lord Clive, by a Minute in Council dated 29th September

Nawaubs into several heads, and classified the families and relations of the Nawaubs in two classes, videlicet, Shadee children and Nicka* children: accordingly made pecuniary provision for them. Independently of the right attaching to the private property of which the Jaghiredars were deprived, the members of the family of the Nawaubs might justly have expected that they, as the faithful allies of the British Government, would receive every support from that Government, and are at a loss how to reconcile the conduct which the East India Company has pursued towards them, when they are aware that the Company has afforded, and up to the present time affords, a handsome annual allowance to the family of Tippoo Sultaun, who was a bitter enemy to the British nation.

The amount of the stipends, as fixed by Lord Clive's Minute, was duly paid by the Company to the Stipendiaries who were in existence at the time of the Treaty and of the Report, and the same amounts were for some years continued to their respective descendants without any reduction.

It is alleged that it was the intention of the Treaty of 1801 and of the late Lord Clive (when the family Jaghires were assumed by the Company), that the compensation to be made to the Jaghiredars and their descendants in perpetuo in lieu thereof, should be co-extensive as regards duration of time, with the interests which they had in the Jaghires themselves, and that such compensation was not thereafter to be reduced, suspended, or discontinued.

By the reductions which have so taken place, the pecuniary allowance to the Stipendiaries has been diminished to some to the extent of one-third, to others one-half, and to others two-thirds of the original amount; whilst, as the Families of the Stipendiaries have naturally increased with each generation, the greatest misery and distress have arisen in consequence of such reductions; most of the Stipendiaries indeed have been for some years in difficulties, and some of the highest and noblest born descendants of the last Carnatic Sovereigns are actually in the most abject destitution, as the portion assigned to certain of these unfortunate persons does not at the present moment amount to *one Rupee and a half* per mensem; and small as is such provision, the Stipendiaries have strong reasons to apprehend that it is in contemplation by the East India Company to withdraw it altogether on the death of the

* Among the Indian Mohamedan aristocracy, *Shadee* is a lawful marriage, performed with certain public ceremonies, and *Nicka* is also a lawful marriage, but without the ceremonies. The former generally adverts to females of superior rank, but the latter generally to those of inferior rank.

present recipients, and to leave their descendants totally unprovided for; indeed, it has already been withdrawn in the case of some of the Stipendiaries, for example, the stipend of Hafiz Gholaum Mohiadeen Ahmed Khan, grandson to the Nawaub Mahomed Ally, was, on his death on the 4th October, 1851, discontinued in the case of his children, though an allowance of *seven Rupees* per mensem was granted to each of his three wives on account of their great age, the children being left totally destitute.

The ancestors of the Stipendiaries not only enjoyed the Revenues of their respective Jaghires, but held high offices of trust under the then existing Government, and were also in receipt of other emoluments; and if the country had not been assumed by the East India Company, the Stipendiaries would have been in possession of their hereditary Jaghires, and also would have held high offices and enjoyed emoluments in the same manner as the same were held and enjoyed by their ancestors; and, as the channel of respectable employment and the source of other emoluments have been closed against the Stipendiaries ever since the assumption of the country by the East India Company, and there was no opening made for them by the Company for offices of trust under the Company's government, the means of the Stipendiaries' subsistence are exclusively confined to their respective stipends. One of the rules requires descriptive Rolls to be furnished of both the male and female Stipendiaries; that the said rules are unjust and harsh towards the Stipendiaries, and the rule requiring the female Stipendiaries to furnish descriptive Rolls of their persons is opposed to the custom and usages of the natives, and repugnant to the decency and the religion of Mahomedans. Hopeless of obtaining any redress of their grievances at the hands of the Company, they were obliged to appeal to the Honourable House in the Session of 1853, for that succour and assistance which they could not otherwise obtain, and which was presented by Wm. Digby Seymour, Esq., M.P.

Hydur Jung Bahadoor is still in England, and still continues to act as the duly authorized agent of these Stipendiaries, and memorialised also the Board of Commissioners of the affairs of India, to the effect that the Honorable Board direct that a sum of money be paid to them, sufficient to enable them to purchase lands to be held in perpetuity, situate in the district of Tanjore, or some other district yielding a Revenue equal to the amount of the original stipends; or otherwise, that such lands may be directed to be purchased for them by the East India Company; or otherwise, that cultivated, or

waste lands in the district of Tanjore, or some other district, may be allotted to them in perpetuity equal in value to the amount of the original stipends; and that in the event of cultivated lands being allotted, that sufficient means may be furnished them to enable them properly to irrigate such lands, and in the event of waste lands being allotted, that sufficient funds may be furnished to them to enable them, by irrigation and otherwise, to bring such waste lands into profitable cultivation; and in the latter event, that the stipends may be paid until the third year of such cultivation, when an amount equal to one-fourth, may be deducted from the stipend; and a like deduction to be made in the fourth and fifth years; and in the sixth year the whole of the stipend to cease.

One of these stipendiaries and accredited Agents is now most laudably endeavouring to support himself by giving lessons in the Oriental Languages—being a scholar and a learned man. His name, Hafiz Sudrool Islam Khan Bahadoor. His address obtainable at Westerton's Library, St. George's Place, Knightsbridge. He has high testimonials both in India and here.

Letter from H. M. George III. to Nawaub Walajau.

“To his Excellency Umdatul Mulk Serajah Dowlah Anawardean Cawn Behaudor Munsoor Jung, Nabob of the Carnatic Payngaut.

“MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

“Amidst the deep concern with which we are touched on account of the disorders which have arisen in the Kingdom of Bengal, we have the satisfaction to learn, that the friendship which has so long subsisted between your Excellency and the Company is daily increasing. The assurances Mr. Pigot, our late Governor of Madras, has given us of your continued attachment to the Company, and the strong proofs you have yourself produced of your generous attention and good will, in taking on yourself the whole charges of the sieges of Madras and Pondicherry, and in the grants you have lately made to the Company of lands in the vicinity of Madras, are pleasing and acceptable to us in the highest degree. We are at a loss how to express our acknowledgments, otherwise than by the strongest assurance of our firm intention to prove to you at once the sincerity of our past, and the warmth of our present friendship, by supporting you in the most effectual manner in your Government, and by endeavouring as much

as in us lies to perpetuate the succession thereof in the direct line of your Family.

"The good effects which have been derived both to your Excellency and to the Company, from the cordial friendship which has at all times subsisted between you and our late Governor, Mr. Pigot, have been so conspicuous, and his conduct in this respect particularly has given us so much satisfaction, that we thought proper, on his arrival here, to receive him with the most honourable testimonials of our approbation.

"May your Excellency long continue to enjoy the blessing of a peaceful and prosperous Government, with continued increase of honours and wealth.

"In testimony whereof we hereunto affix our Great Seal, in the City of London, this first day of the month of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and sixty-four."

"George the Third, by the Grace of God King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Christian Faith, Duke of Brunswick and Lunenburgh, Arch-Treasurer and Prince Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, and Sovereign of the Seas, &c.,—To Nabob Omdutil Mulk Serajid Doula Anwerdin Cawn Behauder Delawer Jung, Nabob of Arcot and the Carnatic, Greeting :

"We received from the hands of our East India Company, in July last, your letter, accompanied with your different presents. We shall look upon the picture of yourself and your Children with pleasure, as it will put us continually in mind of that affection which you have always shown towards us, and which we have no doubt will be hereditary in your offspring, as we are satisfied that our friendship and protection to you and your posterity will descend through our successors from generation to generation. That we may the more readily afford it, in any circumstances which may arise to you, and to our Company, whose interest we look upon as inseparable, and whom we wish to link together, in an indissoluble knot, by our Royal hand, we have thought fit to send a great force of our ships of war into the seas of India ; and having occasion in our own kingdom for the services of our late Commander-in-Chief and Plenipotentiary, Sir John Lindsay, we have appointed to the command of our fleet, Sir Robert Harland, Baronet, one of the Admirals of our Navy, and have made him our Plenipotentiary to you, ordering him to deliver you this letter, and present to you a pair of pistols, out of our private armoury, and some cloths of the manufacture of our

country, which we pray you to accept as token of the continuance of our esteem, of which you will be fully assured by our Plenipotentiary; and we desire that you put entire confidence in whatever he shall say in our name. And so repeating our wishes for your prosperity, we bid him heartily farewell. Given at our Court at St. James's, the nineteenth day of March, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-one, and in the eleventh year of our Reign.

“Your affectionate friend, GEORGE R.”

“Extract of General Letter from the Court of Directors to the President and Council at Fort St. George, dated 25th November, 1775.

“39. You are to secure to His Highness's children the Government of the Carnatick in a just and lineal succession, according to the Phirmaund from the Emperor Shah Allum, and the treaty of 1768, between the Company, the Subah of the Deckan, and the Nabob. We direct you to represent to His Highness our wishes, that he would transmit every representation he may have occasion to send to this country through the ancient channel of our Governor and Council. On this matter, by the following ships, we shall write you more particularly.

Chapter IV. page 117.

Let any one read the accounts of some of the *Christian* warfares we have had, such as the extermination of the Vaudois of Provence, under Menier D'Oppède, when 22 Vaudois towns and villages were burnt, *and the inhabitants tortured with inconceivable barbarity*, in 1545.

The savage war by the Duke of Savoy (aided by Irish troops), against his Vaudois subjects in Piedmont, in 1560—1561.

The wars of the Low Countries under that inhuman monster, Duke Alva, in 1573, who, besides the multitudes destroyed in battle, *and massacred after victory*, gave 18,000 over to the executioner.

The wars with the Scotch Covenanters.

The Irish rebellion on St. Ignatius's day, 1641, when in two years 300,000 Protestants were massacred or repelled—which was quelled, then renewed, and not terminated till 1690. A fearful account of it may be read in Massey's Secret History of Romanism.

The inhuman warfare carried on by Pianezza, at the head

of an army of 15,000 men, in the Protestant valleys of Piedmont, in 1655.

The Dragonnades in France (never it has been asserted *surpassed in brutalities*) which preceded and followed the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685.

Of the fearful massacre of St. Bartholomew, who does not know? Yet a *Christian* Pope, Gregory XIII., on hearing of it, exclaimed, "Good news! Good news! All the Lutherans were massacred!" At night the guns of the Castle of St. Angelo were fired, bonfires blazed in every street of Rome, the Pope ordered a jubilee, went in solemn procession to thank God for so serious a victory, had medals struck, exchanged congratulations with papal courts, and *that he might enjoy a continual feast, he had a large picture of the massacre hung up in the Vatican*; the Cardinal of Lorraine was so transported with joy at the news of the massacre, that he gave 1000 gold crowns to the messenger — and but recently, in 1854 — at Rainhill, in Lancashire, St. Bartholomew's day was celebrated by festivities and dramatic entertainments in the R. C. Schools, a solemn high mass performed in the church, young ~~men~~ from Liverpool assisting at both.

The Greek Empress, Theodora, who established image worship, killed, it is computed, by gibbet, fire, and sword, 100,000 Paulicians, about the year 845. The Pope commended her, and added, "The Lord co-operated because you followed the directions of the Holy See." Why then should a Mahomedan and Hindoo religious war have been expected to pale before *these Christian ones against inoffensive subjects*, whilst with *that*, was combined an effort too at emancipation from grievous wrongs? Yet it did. For every refinement of rapine, lust, cruelty, and torture, were exhausted in the above instance, *and in innumerable others*.

"The scenes which have been witnessed in going through the abodes of wretchedness and crime, require to be seen to be believed. The description must appear exaggerated to those persons who have never visited these haunts of wretchedness There is an endless repetition of scenes of depravity and distress, disgusting and depressing in the greatest degree; and it is not among the least of the physical discomforts of the visitors, that *they are covered with vermin in almost every house which they enter* To succeed in giving a detail of the awful scenes, or describing the loathsome filthiness and

selves vividly on the recollection, and may be read with interest by parties who desire to know something of the state of this class of our population. To give one case:—In a house in a low part of Westminster, a man bloated with debauchery has under his control, from twelve to twenty young women, whose only means of subsistence are the earnings of an abandoned life. These women are lodged and fed by this keeper, *and are always in his debt, and therefore in his power.* The depraved words and looks addressed by this monster to these inmates, in the presence even of the officers (as they visited room by room), were such as to show how completely these poor wretches are under his savage dominion. If the amount of gain brought to him by these unfortunate females be not such as he expects (as stated by those who have witnessed the practices in these abodes of misery), it is no unusual thing with him, as a mark of his displeasure, to fell them to the ground with a blow. Thieves and vagabonds of every description are found haunting and occupying these places; gaming and card-playing, eagerly pursued, seemed their favourite amusement. A bed in which women were sitting up, undressed, was used as a card-table, surrounded by these men, absorbed in play. *In these dens, neither sickness, old age, nor death, deters from the practice of the worst vices;* and it would be unsafe for the police to be in such places, were it not from a consciousness which these persons have of the overwhelming power at hand to punish any violence they might be guilty of. At times, however, even this influence does not secure the officers from assault To increase even a large rental, the basement floors, or cellars, are in numerous instances occupied, but are entirely unfit for the abode of human beings. In many cases it was difficult and dangerous to descend into these dirty and black holes, by the dark staircases which lead to them. Upon entering the room a glimmer of light from a small area window obscured with dirt, imperfectly disclosed the foul state of these apartments, and the extreme wretchedness of the unfortunate men and women, hitherto doomed to live in them The basements of some houses of which the upper part was let to a large number of lodgers, were used for slaughtering cattle, and for keeping the cattle, if they were not required to be slaughtered, when brought there.

“In the occupation by families of single rooms, *all the evils incident to the crowding of persons together without regard to age or sex are produced.* On visiting a house in Church Lane, St. Giles’, soon after midnight, there were found in a

room, measuring 14 feet 6 inches by 14 feet 6 inches, no less than 37 men, women, and children, *all lying together on the floor like beasts, with scarcely any other covering than the clothes taken from their persons, which they had worn throughout the day.* On opening the door leading into this loathsome place, the heat was so great and the odour so offensive, as to make it nearly insupportable. No means whatever were employed to ventilate the rooms, except the chimney In an ordinary eight-roomed house in Pheasant-court, Grays-inn-lane, were living 17 families and lodgers, amounting to 103 persons. In an adjoining house, containing the same number of rooms were found, 21 families and lodgers, numbering 78 individuals. In an eight-roomed house, 18 families and lodgers, making 69 persons. In a house of similar size, adjoining, 16 families and lodgers, numbering 77 persons, husbands and wives, with their children, brothers and sisters, men and women, were found in the foregoing rooms, *indiscriminately huddled together, without regard to age or sex* In some of these visitations, made after midnight (although the time occupied in each house was short), the officers found their clothes swarming with vermin. The yards (where any), belonging to these houses, were covered with filth and offal of every description.

“To establish a complete supervision of the common lodging-houses of the metropolis, any inforcement of the laws by which they are to be regulated, will, if we may judge from present experience, be an extensive and laborious work, demanding constant vigilance. It is also a matter of very considerable importance ; and, as means have partially been obtained by the Act of 1851, through which society is to be relieved of a state of things reflecting so discreditably on the boasted civilization and sanitary knowledge of the 19th century, and proved to be so fruitful a source of crime and disease, such means should be perfected and followed up with the perseverance which the urgency of the case requires. The inadequate agency hitherto employed has of necessity failed to perfectly grapple with these great social evils ; but hereafter, with enlarged legal powers, and effective strength for each locality, the metropolis and the country might be *freed of a source of danger, both moral and physical*, to which it has long been subjected. It is manifest that a properly organized force should be continued in systematic operation, and that no other means will keep under this great evil. To leave it unremedied would be to incur the just stigma which must ever attach to those who are indifferent to such gross violations

of the decencies of life as have recently been brought before the public eye."—From the "City Mission Magazine."

Mr. Tait, on The Great Social Evil in Edinburgh, gives the following loathsome description:—"Girls of the lowest and second class make it a means to theft. They live in frightful dwellings, selected chiefly in the High Street and Grass Market, and such is the horror they excite that no one likes to live in their neighbourhood. Nothing is more disgusting than these low women, who never wash themselves, and only change their dress when they fall from them in rags; nothing is more hideous than the garrets (attics), where they usually sleep on a heap of straw, and where not unfrequently, there are only one or two dresses for all the girls who live there. One Saturday evening in December, we called in to visit a young woman, labouring under inflammation, and said to be dying. On entering the house, it appeared to be crowded with women, almost in a state of nudity; two ragged blackguards of men were also present. There were two apartments, in the inner the patient was lying in a corner, on a piece of carpet, without one article conducive to her comfort, and without covering of any kind save an old Merino frock, her wearing for the whole of the preceding year. Five others lodged in the same room, and two strangers were present. Three of them were lying drunk on the floor, unable to stir or speak. The others had been recently fighting, and the blood was running down their cheeks. This house was without bed, chairs or stools. In one place only was there a little straw. A few large stones round the fire-place were for the inmates to sit upon. A whiskey bottle and a wine glass the whole stock of crockery apparently. There was not a particle of food within the door; and none of the women had a fraction of money to purchase nourishment for the one in distress. Many houses belonging to the lowest class of incorrect housekeepers are very little better—the unhappy beings passing days without tasting victuals, every penny which they can procure being spent on ardent spirits."

C. Symons, Esq., Assistant Commissioner, in speaking of Glasgow, says—after giving a fearful account of the dwellings and habits of the poor in that city—"The lower parts of some dilapidated, dangerous, and condemned houses, are either spirit or pawn shops. Many of the younger girls—and there are a multitude of them who frequent those places—appear to have been drawn there by *sheer want*, and often apply to Captain Miller, Chief of the Glasgow police, to be rescued

from their misery ; but no efficient aid can be afforded them *under existing Institutions*, and thus hundreds in a year become inured to crime, and pass through a rapid career of prostitution, drunkenness, and disease, to an early grave."

But we need not quote Glasgow for this, for nearer home, in our own civilized and much vaunted London—besides Leeds, Manchester, &c.,—plenty of such sad scenes are presented to our view. Wakefield, in his "Popular Politics," says:—

"In all those parts of Leeds or Manchester, and of London too, where the poorest people live, there you find, in almost every dirty street, not one, but several fine houses, handsomely stuccoed, curiously painted, ornamented with plate-glass and polished brass : in the windows placards, inviting custom by such expressions as 'mountain dew,' and 'cream of the valley ;' inside, great barrels of spirits, gaily painted and displayed for show, carved mahogany, and more polished brass, with men and women, smartly dressed, smiling welcome to all who enter. The doors of these splendid dens are carefully hung so as to fly open with a touch, and shut in an instant. In half an hour you may visit a hundred. What a contrast between the finery of the shops and the beggarly appearance of the customers ! Amongst these are few really old people ; but then plenty of the young people appear very old. Livid cheeks, deep wrinkles, blood-shot eyes, brown teeth, or white gums without teeth, skin and bone, shaking hands, sore legs, creeping palsy, a hacking cough, rags, filth, and stench : these are marks by which to know the regular gin-drinker. Nine out of ten of all who may enter the finest gin-shop in Manchester on a Sunday morning, will show one or more of these marks ; counting women, boys and girls, as well as men, but not the children, who, of course, are only beginners. In some great towns of the north, they have low counters and small glasses on purpose for the small children : in London, the children stand on tiptoe to pay for half a glass of gin ; but London will improve. As to ginshops, London is improving most rapidly, both in number and in finery ; every week, almost every day, producing a new ginshop, fitted up with spring-doors, plate-glass, carved mahogany or rosewood and polished brass ; all more 'elegant,' as they say in America, than the gin-shops which sprung up the week before. But the quarter of London in which the greatest increase of fine ginshops has lately taken place, is Spitalfields and its neighbourhood. I have said before, that the silk manufacture of Spitalfields is perishing. The most zealous enemy of ginshops does

not pretend that the increase of gin-shops in Spitalfields has ruined the Spitalfields manufacture : but the ruin of the Spitalfields manufacture may have caused the increase of gin-shops in Spitalfields. This is my humble opinion, founded on the considerations which follow. Generally, a man understands his own affairs better than other people understand them for him. The common people of London have a saying, lately adopted, but now proverbial—'To live, be a pawnbroker, or keep a gin-shop.' Here the increase of gin-shops is explained in nine words. Pawnbrokers and keepers of gin-shops depend on the common people ; the common people are distressed—that is, they find it hard to live : their distress drives them, first to the pawnbroker, and then to the gin-shop ; they pawn their goods to purchase—what ? poison ; yes, in the long run, but for the moment oblivion of their misery. Misery to the common people is wealth to the pawnbrokers and keepers of gin-shops. The common people are very miserable ; therefore the demand for gin is very great ; therefore the profits for selling gin are very high ; therefore gin-shops increase. This conclusion is supported by some who take pains to know the sentiments of the common people, and who earnestly advise them to abstain from gin ; I mean members of the Temperance Societies, Quakers for the most part, diligent in works of benevolence, gentle, patient, persevering, not proud, but feeling with the poor as well as for them. These, addressing the common people in friendly and common language, say, 'Believe us, it is a mistake to suppose the gin will keep the cold out of your stomach. The more gin you drink, the more will you feel cold in your stomach. What warms you to-day will not have that effect a month hence : by and bye, in order to feel warm, you must double the quantity. But twice the quantity, as soon as you are used to it, will not make you warm. The more you drink the more you must drink in order to feel warm. At last, no quantity will warm you : your stomach will be destroyed, and you will die of drinking gin to keep the cold out of your stomach.' This is all very true : and it shows how well the Quakers understand those feelings of the common people which lead to dram-drinking ! Cold in the stomach : but neither the Spitalfields weavers nor the friends of the Temperance societies suppose that cold is matter which enters the stomach. Cold in the stomach is a figurative expression, meaning either hunger or despair, or both. 'Sir,' says a Spitalfields weaver, in reply to his friendly adviser, 'all that you say is true. The more gin we drink, the more we want ; but also, the less we drink gin, the

more we feel the want of something else. Give us bread, meat, beer, and fire; then we should feel warm without gin. I am not begging: we are all ready to work. I work, God knows, morning, noon, and night: work, work, work; we have plenty of that. If we did not work, we should die outright. But what does our work bring? work and hunger, work and cold, work and sorrow. I get about fourteen shillings a week, out of which there's rent to pay—we can't lie in the street—and clothes to find, such as they are—but we must be covered; what remains for fire and food amongst six of us, four children, their mother, and me? Enough to starve upon, and that is all. The children cry for bread: they must wait; the mother cries because they cry; she is sick with crying and what not, and she wants some tea; she must want. In cold weather we all shiver for want of fire: the children and their mother may lie in bed to keep themselves warm; but I, hungry and cold, must work on. I do work: and when I drink gin, it is to keep myself from going mad. I allow it—my wife drinks gin sometimes, and the children too, poor things, now and then, to pacify them. If you were as poor as we are, Sir, and had to work as hard as I have, *without hope*, you would be apt to learn that gin is bread, and meat, and fire, and hope, all in one. Without gin I should not have heart to work, and we must all go to the poor-house, or die; for the poor house is choke full, and the rates are not paid. We say cold in the stomach; but we mean hunger in the belly, and despair in the heart. Gin cures both for a time; but it kills you, you say. Well, we can but die, with gin or without; and life such as ours, without gin, is worse than death. Just so: those who frequent gin-shops best know why. The gin-shops in Spitalfields are many and magnificent, because the trade of Spitalfields is going to ruin. In other parts of London, the poverty of the common people enriches pawnbrokers and keepers of gin-shops. At Manchester, Bolton, and Blackburn, the cause of gin-shops is Irish wages. Verily, the life of the bulk of the people of England is worse than death.”—*Wakefield's Popular Politics*.

More recently (November, 1856), it was remarked on the misery of the lodging for the poor, and the intermixture of the lowest haunts of vice with the proudest of our structures (might we not add, as if a *living* reproach to them?) that, “when we come to look at architecture in a moral aspect, we are startled at the discovery that in every age it has preserved the same characteristics, palaces for the rich, and hovels for the poor. The regularity of this harsh rule has been unbroken

for centuries ; indeed, the uniformity has been so stern and terrible, that the philosopher might be provoked to exclaim, that mighty piles of stone, rare sculptures, exquisite statues, and smooth columns, breaking the long and otherwise monotonous lines of magnificent façades, are rather to be regarded as monuments of human misery and degradation, than of opulence and grandeur. Beautiful architecture has, therefore, not yet shaken hands with the great mass of humanity ; in the spirit of Dives, it has only fed the pauper Lazarus with the crumbs, and even those in niggardly scattered quantity. A starved economy administered to the wants of the multitude, a voluptuous order of ideas to those of the many ; hence the narrow limits to which genius has been confined, and the permanence of forms to which only the powerful and rich have hitherto been able to give shape and substance.

The growth of towns is a curious exemplification of the fact that, hitherto, architecture has conferred no substantial benefit on the mass of mankind. With the exception of the churches and the modern houses of the wealthy, what is the picture they present ? Why ruinous buildings with begrimed exteriors, clustered together thick as grapes, and almost destitute of the means of ventilation. The interiors and the inhabitants are of course in correspondence, and were it not for periodical immigration from the rural districts, these haunts of honest labour, of poverty, of crime, and profligacy, would soon be deserted, for they are the nurseries of every description of disease, fevers, scrofula, consumption, and those hereditary disorders which appal the mind by their destructiveness. And when such pestilences as the cholera fasten on these polluted quarters of our towns, the havoc is hideous : and as if to dispense equity, the contagion spreads, and the rich suffer as well as the poor. And then look at the architecture of these towns. Could anything more misshapen, ugly, and monstrous, be devised ? Owing to the absence of building regulations, every proprietor has built as he liked : and as the ground was small and the value much, all the ingenuity and taste displayed in the erection consisted in planting as many tenements as possible on the little bit of earth ; and where breadth or depth could not be got, recourse was had to height, each frail fabric looking like a tall, scraggy chimney, supporting itself by leaning against its neighbour until patching no longer keeps it up, and down it topples, bringing with it a dozen families, maimed, bruised, dying, and dead. There are, it must be admitted, many handsome towns in England, especially among the modern built ones ; but,

taking the majority, it must also be admitted that they are irredeemably ugly; more like heaps of rubbish than human habitations; imperfectly sewerred, or not at all; poisoned by cesspools and gaseous exhalations; dirty, gaunt, hungry, wolfish in their squallor, they present a spectacle which, for disorder and filth, can only be matched by their tortuous, twisted, gabled, nasty, and uncouth brethren on the Continent.

The odious contrast between the palace and the hut is provoking revolutionary sentiments in the minds of the people, and a national demand has been loudly made for the improvement of our towns, both architecturally and sanitarily. A sprinkling of fine buildings among crowds of dog-holes, infested with rats and every kind of vermin, will no longer satisfy the popular taste; and it is firmly asked that architecture should be made to expand, so as to be applied in a larger and nobler manner than it has hitherto been. The immediate result has been the Improvement of Towns movement, which, with some acceleration from fear of cholera and putrid fevers, bids fair, in the course of a few years, to give newer, fresher, and more blooming faces to the principal towns and cities of the United Kingdom. Much has already been done, but, compared with what has to be accomplished, the instalment is insignificant, and has been confined chiefly to beautifying and adorning. For sanitary purposes, scarcely a step has been taken, the sewage question remaining in *statu quo*, and the rookeries being more thickly peopled than ever, owing to the widening of streets, and the construction of a class of dwellings beyond the means of the industrial classes. The principal corporations of the kingdom have made some great efforts in the matter. In Liverpool, scores of streets have been widened, and the character of the abutting buildings improved; the same remark will apply to Manchester and other large towns, and to the metropolis. New Cannon Street, in the City, promises to be one of the finest in Europe; and there is a splendid road forming from Farringdon Street to the Great Northern Railway Station, as also one through Westminster, which, when the shops and houses have been built, will be of inestimable value to the capital of the world. But all these immense undertakings, whether private, municipal, or local, have contributed nothing to the vital amelioration of our large towns. They have, on the contrary, worked more evil than good, by forcing displacements of population for whom no equal or better—indeed, no accommodation at all, had been provided. It is all very well to beautify our towns, but the *morale* of a

reformed architecture must comprise loftier considerations, and a large amount of Christian regard for the feelings, comfort, and happiness, of the toiling millions. The metropolis and the large towns may justly be proud of their new buildings and spacious streets, but look at the cost at which they have been created. The two Victoria Streets, and the railway stations in the metropolis, cannot have displaced a less number of people than two hundred thousand. Now we know that no extensive new districts for a population have been formed, unless some straggling cottages at the outskirts, on the margin of stagnant ponds, may be called such; and, therefore, out of sheer and desperate necessity, this immense multitude has been precipitated on those courts, lanes, alleys, and corners, those wildernesses of horrible black bricks, which had already been frightfully overburdened. The effect, physical and moral, may be better imagined than described. No pen could do justice to a description of the horrors thus engendered. The same process has been going on in all the large towns, and it may safely be averred that throughout the entire kingdom, during the last twenty years, no less than two millions of persons have been curtailed in their dwelling accommodation, and thrust pell mell into those lazar houses which it is the object of the Legislature and of true Christian morality to cleanse and purify with a view to their ultimate and final removal. Rows of warehouses, and good-looking shops and terraces, with intersecting streets of substantial dwellings, are more profitable investments than five or six hundred dilapidated cottages, tenanted by people who are the terror of rent collectors, and brokers, and their vile myrmidons. The monstrous evils that result from wholesale displacements of town population have recently received a severe exemplification in Paris. Louis Napoleon, wishing to emulate the example of Augustus, has been pulling down and building at a prodigious rate in his capital. The other day, on a visit, he asked what had become of the people? "They are gone to the barriers," was the reply; "the rents of the new buildings were too high for them." The Emperor was astounded, and asked, "How many have gone?" "About 80,000, sire!" The Emperor was alarmed, and forthwith ordered that the demolition of condemned buildings should be stayed until further orders; in the meantime, he would endeavour to find a remedy for such a serious embarrassment—serious indeed

of the French capital; and the same thing is daily going on in England, and in London especially. The destruction of a part of every low neighbourhood brings the honest poor into closer contact with ~~the~~ degraded and dishonest, and the contagion of corruption gloats daily over the fresh food it has to feed upon. Some benevolent persons have suggested and tried the model lodging-houses' scheme, but hitherto with small success. The labouring population have an antipathy to the name; to them it has a twang of the workhouse in its sound; besides, they have an intense, a thoroughly English dislike to any system of surveillance. Rather than be watched, they would submit to privations and inconvenience. They cannot be educated out of habits the growth of generations, by the silvery words of a philanthropist. Even Lord Shaftesbury would have a difficulty in persuading a steady mechanic that it would be better to live in two or three nice airy rooms in a large building, than in a small house up a dark, unventilated court. The man's independence would prefer a house, however dark or small, provided he had it all to himself.

The great problem, therefore, to be solved is, not the character and value of town improvements, but how the people are to be lodged. Hitherto they have only been sheltered like rabbits in hutches. The time is approaching, if it has not already arrived, when they will have to be housed like human beings ~~and~~ Christians. But how, it will be asked, is ~~that~~ reformation to be accomplished? Legislation may do much, but mind and will can do infinitely more. Architecture as an art and a science has too long been devoted to grand buildings, and as it must be an agent in the scheme of human progress and development, ~~the~~ sooner its votaries and exponents shake off the dust of the schools, and cut the red tape of classic routine, the better it will be for their honour and glory, and the physical, moral, and intellectual welfare of mankind. Architecture is only an infant; let it take the people by the hand and it will grow into a giant." J. P. H.

The "Times" had an article upon this subject, connected with risk of human life. And more recently, "Our Streets" became a subject of public notice in the papers to attract attention to the disgraceful scenes therein enacting by day as well as by night.

To the Editor of the Times.

"Sir.—A number of children, varying in age from 8 to 14

pairs), for the purpose of enticing boys of their own age to accompany them to their homes, where the parents of the girls illtreat and plunder them. To particularize. There are two children, aged 14 and 12 respectively, who every evening leave a house in Hart Street, Covent Garden, with instructions to join in play with others more innocent than themselves, and finally to entice them home to a house of ill-fame. They may be easily recognised; the elder is an attractive little girl about 14, dressed in light attire, and her companion, who appears about two years younger, wears a dark brown dress. Two evenings ago a little boy, of respectable parents, was unfortunately induced to accompany them home, and from the account he gave I can only say that the loss of nearly everything of value that he had about him was the least part of the evils he had to detail. Any one may see these children in the neighbourhood of Covent Garden; there is no need to depend upon single testimony; but surely this practice might be watched by the police, and people's children protected where they stand in need. If we cannot stem the mighty torrent of shameless sin, we may perhaps succeed in quenching one of the secret springs of crime.

LEGION."

NIGHT SCENES IN THE ADELPHI.

Some weeks since a paragraph appeared in the papers headed "Sunday Scenes in the Adelphi," in which the writer gave a description of the Sunday practices in that most foul and filthy resort of London scamps and thieves—"the dark arches." The details which were then laid before the public attracted the attention of the police authorities to the state of things which prevailed, and the consequence has been that on each successive Sunday matters have improved, until now the place is perfectly quiet on Sunday, to the great relief of the inhabitants. Unfortunately, however, the frightful scenes which were formerly enacted on Sunday are repeated every evening (Sunday excepted, when there is an extra body of police), and a viler set of persons than those who now congregate in the dark arches every evening could not be collected if London were scoured from one end to the other to find them. Profligacy of all kinds runs riot; and when this mass of filth and crime, or a portion of it, exudes from the arches into the neighbouring streets, the vile language shouted out by numbers, who are generally in a state of semi-drunkenness, exceeds anything that the most vivid pen could describe. The dark arches are a foul blot upon the metropolis; and, though Sunday profligacy has been abated by the exertions of the police

it receives a fresh impetus on every other night of the week. The police themselves are afraid to explore this dark, dangerous, and mysterious region, and scarcely ever venture beyond the various entrances.

We read in the *Times* of 19th January, 1857, of “a deputation to Sir George Grey, in order to call his attention to *the increasing number of houses of ill-fame, and betting-offices in the St. James’ part of London, and which stated, that Houses kept for Prostitution had become alarmingly numerous in that parish; and that they were not only highly injurious to public morals, but seriously detrimental to the value of property.*”

Turn we now to Dr. Letheby’s report just issued: and also take a peep at country homes.

COMMON LODGING HOUSES.

Dr. Letheby, medical officer of health, has presented the following report:—“The inspectors’ returns relate to 184 houses that have been inspected during the week, of which 47 are common lodging-houses, and I beg to submit a list of 69 places requiring your orders for their sanitary improvement in various particulars. I also submit certificates of the indecent and unwholesome condition of nine houses in Rose Alley, Bishopsgate. It will be remembered ~~that~~ the filthy and overcrowded state of these houses was a matter of ~~of~~ special notice as far back as February in last year, but in consequence of a ~~promise~~ from the new landlord that the place should be ~~thoroughly~~ cleansed and repaired, and that he would adopt measures for the prevention of such mischief in future, the proceedings which ~~w~~ld have been enforced were arrested, and you did not insist on the registration of the houses as common lodging houses; this has led to great neglect in their supervision, and now the place is in as bad a condition as ever. At the time of my former report, there were 77 rooms, occupied by 63 families, of 252 persons. Now there are 60 rooms, occupied by 53 families, of 203 persons—namely, 53 men, 64 women, and 86 children. The way in which the inmates are associated is most indecent. Some of the rooms are occupied by tailors and their workwomen. In one room there are two women and three men, all of different families; another is rented by a young man, who sleeps in the same bed with his adult sister, and in another there is a woman with her two sons, one over 20, all sleeping in the same bed. But in-

formed by Dr. Fowler, the parish medical officer, that the place is still the constant abode of sickness. Very recently it has been infected by measles which has spread from house to house. This is not to be wondered at when we consider that the small, dirty, and ill-ventilated rooms are occupied in some instances, by a cubic space of less than 150 cubic feet per head. The inquiries of physiologists have shown that each person consumes 14 cubic feet of air per hour, and thus by exhausting the vital element, oxygen, and producing carbonic acid to the extent of from 4 to 5 per cent., vitiates 100 cubic feet more. But even this supply is so nearly on the point of danger, that our highest authorities are of opinion that not less than 20 times this quantity of air should be supplied to each person in the hour. The prisoners at Holloway receive 30 to 40 times that quantity, and the supply is not too large. In our public hospitals as much as from 1,000 to 1,700 cubic feet of space are allotted to each person, and when the area is lessened injurious results speedily follow. Last year an inquiry was instituted by Dr. B. Jones, into the condition of the dormitories in St. Pancras Workhouse, and he found that where the space was only 164 feet per head, the air contained about 30 times its proper quantity of carbonic acid, and the closeness of the atmosphere was most oppressive, so that the inmates sickened of fever. Again, the recent illustrations of our barrack accommodation are but too strongly indicative of the danger of overcrowding. In a room which gave about 500 cubic feet of space per head, the air was soon charged with matters of a fetid and unwholesome quality. It is true that the breathing of such atmosphere does not always produce immediately injurious effects, but it probably saps the vital powers, and furnishes the seeds of scrofula and consumption. What, however, must be the consequences in such places as Rose Alley, where the inmates are cribbed into one third of the barrack space, and where there is no order or sense of cleanliness? My recommendation therefore is that steps should be taken to enforce the registration of the houses in Rose Alley as common lodging-houses."

• THE TRUE SOURCE OF THE SOCIAL EVIL, AND ITS REMEDY.

To the Editor of the Times.

portion of society ; but, while meetings and deputations are busy with schemes of suppression, to no one does it appear to have occurred to follow up the evil to its root and to make a vigorous attempt at its eradication. No thoughtful man will deny that rural districts and country homes are the chief nursery of the 'unfortunates,' whose multiplied appearance on the metropolitan pavements has of late so scandalized the precise, and excited the compassion of the tender-hearted. It is a romantic and false notion, that while the city is the favourite seat of vice, virtue loves to dwell in the country. Poets and dreamers have taught many to imagine that where the woodbine and ivy twine, simplicity and innocence are making their blest abode, in happy ignorance of the grosser pollutions of the world, the flesh, and the devil. Would there were really some charm in these picturesque parasites which might protect the threshold against the intrusion of this malignant trio ! But let us enter and see. We are in a small apartment, which serves all the purposes of cooking and living, kitchen, scullery, bakehouse, laundry, and sitting-room for a family of six or eight, parents and children. Feeling a curiosity to see whether the principle of combination is equally carried out in the upstairs arrangements, we are invited to ascend, and we do so at the imminent risk of destroying our hats ; or, if we are civil enough to take them off, of developing a new organ on our pericranium. On the same space as below are arranged, often with wonderful neatness, too bedsteads and what is called a 'bist,' pronounced with the 'i' long. In these are couched every night six, eight, or even ten warm and throbbing bodies of different sexes whose ages vary up to 16, 17, or 18.

"This is not an extreme, but an ordinary case, as active parish priests and parish doctors can testify. If there be frequently a second sleeping apartment, it very seldom allows of the division of the sexes, while it removes the promiscuous sleepers from the parental supervision.

"Now for the result. Let no man deceive us either with sentimentalism or pooh-pooh-ism. Through the arrangements above described it does in a vast number of cases follow that the passions of nature are unnaturally forced into existence and unnaturally tempted to indulgence. Physical vigour is undermined and moral strength is sapped. Both sexes go forth to the toils and trials of life prematurely damaged in body and soul.

"Here then, Sir, we may conclude that we have arrived at the root, or one of the chief roots, of our great social evil,

and many other social evils beside ; and it does not appear too sanguine to assume that, at least to a partial extent, it may be remedially dealt with at this point.

“ Landlords, even good ones, probably live in ignorance, voluntary or otherwise, of the mischief to society which is nursing on their properties. The agent’s inquiries do not go further than the rent and the repairs ; and if the clergyman should happen to be more inquisitive, as a lover of peace and hospitality he must needs be chary of remarks. But, Sir, let the unbiassed eye of the public look into this matter, and let its independent voice speak its mind thereon, and something will be done. Awakened sense of duty or self-respect will cause the better class of landlords to set about improving their cottage property, Baser motives will influence others to follow their example. So the upgrowing children of the poor will have at least, a fair chance of preserving the body chaste, and the mind pure. Evil thoughts and prurient pleasures will not be forced on them before they are mature enough to see the sin, or strong enough to resist it. The lanes of the country will hide more innocent love-makings, while the streets of the city will not expose to view the guilty loves of ‘ unfortunates,’ whose misfortunes date from the days or rather the nights of their childhood.

“ I remain, Sir, your obedient servant,

“ A COUNTRY VICAR.”

In what striking and refreshing contrast to this is the individual example of careful surveillance of the poor and their children, set us by our Gracious Lady, the head of this realm, in her own specially private retreat of Balmoral ! In the *Times* we read a lesson from royalty, “ The royal household at Buckingham Palace contains a large number of domestics and other attendants, many of whom are married. It came to the knowledge of the Queen that, of a large proportion of their children, the education was very generally neglected. Her Majesty had suitable premises fitted up as a school, near the palace, and appointed as teacher, a gentleman of tried experience and known ability. Already as many as 66 children of both sexes are being educated in this establishment, and an evening school has also been got up for the instruction of the elder children, who are unable to attend during the day. The whole expense of these schools is defrayed by the Queen herself. The cost may be but small, the example is

cational means, it is to be hoped that other influential parties in England—a country where imitation of even royal vices has been carried to excess,—may not lag behind in following this noble as well as royal example.* No such thoughtful and kind act, so gracefully and suitably performed too, had ever been attempted by any of her immediate predecessors on the throne. None of them in truth possessed the high moral and religious feeling which appears to have actuated Queen Victoria on many occasions. It is then a good thing to find the Sovereign gracefully and spontaneously devoting herself, even in such a comparatively small matter as that which we record, to the moral and intellectual advancement of a class of persons with whom, from relative position, she is in some way connected as a sort of *mater-familias*. This is not a matter of State Policy. It is a thing wholly personal to the individual, and we are free to admit not unwarranted by the personal antecedents of the Lady who reigns, but does not govern in England." We would it did, and could, become, a matter of "State Policy!" It is cheering to know that the Prince Consort also sympathises in such *wholesome* moral feelings, of which he has given us many tasteful, as well as acceptable specimens in his model cottages, farms, &c. Before dismissing this portion of our subject, it would be well to remark upon one part of a statement in one of our extracts, to the effect that the model lodging-house scheme, is necessarily a failure. The writer maintains, that the distaste to such in the minds of the labouring population, rests, not *in them*, but in the *right man too often not being in the right place, as superintendent of them*. Some Jack-in-office with a haughty dame as his wife, or pert, upsetting daughters or domineering sons, often render the best-planned efforts abortive. It is,—as Lord Shaftesbury, in his own happy way once remarked at a ragged school meeting, in alluding to the dwellings for the poor, and of a remark made to him by one of them whose house had been throughout whitewashed, but immediately thereafter by the dwellers, daubed over with black streaks,—“that it was to give a warm look to the place;” so a *warm look* in these model dwellings renders them, not only appreciated, but much sought after. Witness that model one, in every sense of the word, in Westminster. It is *always full*, and numerous *disappointed* applicants often obliged to be refused. There the right man *was* quite in the

* The Marchioness of Londonderry has recently followed most happily in this wake.

right place, and so evidently combined kindness with firmness, and active watchfulness, with due forbearance, that all its inmates felt the *privilege* of being under such a roof. This however, is for single men only, but why should not single women be equally happily located, and equally *enabled* (as the men are there) to pursue their different trades? Only let them have such a female superintendent as there we found a male one. In the same way married lodging-houses; and so far uncoerced, that if propriety of conduct is maintained, no surveillance should be exercised. A letter in the *Times* on this subject is deserving notice. The high price of land proved a sad stop. Does it evidence that we love our neighbours as ourselves? Conclusion No. 3. is pressed upon the consciences of those appealed to.

HOMES FOR THE HOMELESS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

"Sir,—Last autumn you obliged me by inserting a letter upon the condition of the dwellings of the working classes of the metropolis, which succeeded in attracting a greater share of public attention than I had any reason to anticipate. May I now request you to favour me with a limited space in your columns, that I may state a few facts relating to the subject which have been obtained by a committee of gentlemen warmly interested in the improvement of the domestic accommodation of the humbler class of workmen in London? The first object of the committee was to ascertain with comparative certainty the practicability of providing suitable dwellings for the working man in the neighbourhood of his occupation, at a cost so limited that a weekly rental of 3s. for two rooms and all the requisites for cleanliness and decency should yield a return of five per cent. to the landlord, after the payment of all expenses.

"An approved plan for a building, to contain forty-four separate tenements, a club-room, and a small washhouse, was prepared, with reference to a certain site in a populous locality in Westminster, where land was supposed to be obtainable upon moderate terms. An estimate was received from a responsible contractor in the neighbourhood, and the estimate annual expenditure which would be incurred after its completion was ascertained by a careful comparison of *data* supplied by a building of similar character already established in the same parish. After these preparatory steps had been taken and the result proved to be satisfactory, direct negotiations were entered into for the proposed site. These cases

sioned considerable delay; and ultimately the terms which were submitted by the proprietor were of such a nature as to prove the impossibility of obtaining the per centage considered by the committee as essential to the success of their undertaking; they were therefore declined, and the plans, specifications, and estimates have been for the present laid aside. Though the committee feel some disappointment at this result, their experience has enabled them to arrive at the following conclusions, viz:—1. That it is practicable to erect a large and substantial lodging-house, containing from forty to fifty convenient, well-ventilated, separate tenements, in London at the rate of 69*l.* per tenement. 2. That, though the price of land in the heart of London and Westminster raises the original cost of each tenement at least 16*l.*, thereby rendering it equal to 85*l.* per tenement, a return of nearly 4½ per cent. will be yielded upon the total cost of the building, after the payment of rates, taxes, insurance, superintendence, repairs, loss on empty tenements, &c., supposing each tenement to be let at a weekly rental of only 3*s.* 3. That if the wealthy owners of land in the metropolis would come forward and aid the committee in their exertions by enabling them to purchase their land at such a rate as should guarantee the required 5 per cent. to the public, they would be the surest and best means of remedying those evils which exist to a great extent among the lower classes of society—those fearful evils to which Dr. Letheby has so recently recalled public attention, and which cannot be removed until the very root from which they all spring shall have been eradicated and destroyed. Are the committee wrong in arriving at their fourth and last conclusion, that this derives its nurture from the foul hotbeds which the poorly paid workman calls his home? They believe that something must be done—effectively and speedily done; and they believe, too, that by thus pointing out the way something will be done. But public support and co-operation are necessary for success, otherwise only partial good can be effected. Private benevolence may cause one or two piles of dwellings to be erected without regard to their being a remunerative investment of capital. They will therefore possess an eleemosynary character, and repel rather than invite public sympathy and support. It is to guard against this that I have troubled you with so long a letter. Should any of your readers wish to inquire more closely into this subject, I may add that any letters addressed to the care of Mr. Bebbington, 426, Strand, will be forwarded to, Sir,

CYMA."

"Your most obedient servant,

Chapter IV., page 121.

An officer in the East India Service, writing in 1792, upon the *then* nature and state of Hindoostan and its inhabitants, thus accounts for *the concealment* of their women. "The religious tenets which are so favourable to despotism, are accompanied with singular opinions and customs, which are absolute enemies to freedom and independence. The concealment of their women is sacred among the Mahomedans. Brothers cannot visit them in private; strangers must never see them. This excessive jealousy is derived from various causes. It proceeds from religion which inculcates female modesty; it arises partly from the policy of Government; it is derived from the nature of the climate, where continence is a more arduous virtue than in the bleak regions of the north. Honour consists in that which men are most solicitous to secure. The chastity of his wives is a point without which the Asiatic must not live. The despot encourages the opinion as the possession of the women of his most powerful subjects is a sufficient pledge for their faith, when absent in expedition and war, when the governor of a province falls under the suspicion of disaffection to his prince, the first step taken against him is an order issued for sending his women to court. Even one of his wives, and she too not the best beloved, will bind him to his allegiance. His obedience to this mandate is the true test of his designs. If he instantly obeys, all suspicions vanish; if he hesitates a moment, he is declared a rebel. His affection for the woman is not the pledge of his fidelity; but his honour is, in her person, in the custody of his sovereign. Women in India are so sacred, that even the common soldiery leave them unmolested in the midst of slaughter and devastation. The harem is a sanctuary against all the licentiousness of victory; and ruffians, covered with the blood of a husband, shrink back with confusion from the secret apartments of his wives."

That, however, the women in the east were not so debarred from all amusement as Europeans imagine, is evident from the following account of the amusements of the **great** Emperor Arungzebe, of which they were spectators. "The Emperor retired at nine to breakfast, and continued for an hour with his family. He then came forth into a balcony, which faced the great square. He sat there to review his elephants, which passed before him in gorgeous caparisons. He sometimes amused himself with the battles of tigers and leopards

sometimes with those of gazelles, elks, and a variety of ferocious animals. On particular days, squadrons of horse passed in review. The fine horses of his own stables were also brought at times before him, with all their magnificent trappings, mounted by his grooms, who exhibited various feats of horsemanship. The balcony in which he sat was called the Place of Privacy, *as it looked from the harem, and the ladies saw everything from behind their screens of gauze.*" That all Orientals, too, are not necessarily enervated or voluptuous, was evident in the character and life of Arungzebe. The same historian relates, that, though he entertained many women according to the custom of his country, it was only for state. He contented himself with his lawful wives, and these only in succession, when one or the other died or became old. He spent very little time in the apartments of his wives. He rose every morning at the dawn of day, and retired to his private chapel for half-an-hour to prayers; returning into his apartments, he spent half-an-hour in reading some book of devotion. At seven he entered the chamber of justice, there sat with the judges, read petitions, and decided causes, till nine. The people in general had access to it, and there they had an opportunity of laying their grievances and distresses before their sovereign. Arungzebe ordered always a sum of money to be placed by his side on the bench; and he relieved the necessitous with his own hand. Large sums were in this manner expended every day, and as the court was open to all, the unfortunate found invariably a resource in the imperial bounty. The learning, generalship, and constancy to his beloved wife, of Shah Jehan need not to be detailed; "though warm in his constitution, and loving the company of women, the charms of the daughter of Asiph, the mother of almost all his children, kept possession of his affections during the twenty years of their marriage. She bore him a child almost every year, and when he ascended the throne he dignified her with the title of *Mumtâza Zemâni*, or *the most exalted of the age*. Calm, engaging and mild in her disposition, she engrossed his whole affection; and though he maintained a number of women for state, they were only the slaves of her pleasure—she was such an enthusiast in Deism, that she scarce could forbear persecuting the Portuguese for their supposed idolatry; and it was only on what concerned that nation she suffered her temper to be ruffled; and though she seldom interfered in public affairs, Shah Jehan owed the empire to her influence with her father, Asiph Jah, who was cousin and brother to the celebrated Sultana, who preceded

her, the wife of Shah Jehan's father. Nor was he ungrateful; he loved her living, and lamented her dead, shewing his respect for her memory by raising at Agra a tomb to her name (the *Taj Máhál*) which cost in building the amazing sum of seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds."

It is needless to go on particularizing, when the entire history of Hindoostan furnishes us with such noble and interesting characters as Mamood I., Balin, Baber, Ackbar, Jehangire, &c. &c.; but if the reader wishes to read a work more full of exciting and strange incidents than most Romances, let him turn to "Dow's History of Hindoostan," 3 vols. 1792. London. John Murray. There are also many remarkable *women* named in it. Of one especially, the Sultana Rizia, it is narrated, that "she was adorned with every qualification necessary in the ablest kings; and the strictest scrutinizers of her actions could find in her no fault, but that she was a woman. In the time of her father, Altmush (a noble Tartar, whose life resembled the biblical *Joseph's*, and to whom before his death, the whole of Hindoostan except the Decan, was subject,) she entered deeply into the affairs of government; which disposition he encouraged, finding she had a remarkable talent in politics. When he took the fort of Gwalior, he appointed her Regent in his absence. When he was asked by his nobles, why he appointed his daughter to such an office, in preference to so many of his sons, he replied, that he saw his sons gave themselves up to wine, women, gaming, and *the worship of the wind* (flattery), therefore he thought the government too weighty for their shoulders to bear, and that Rizia, though a woman, had a man's head and heart, and was better than twenty such sons. Rizia, upon her accession, changing her apparel, assumed the imperial robes, and every day gave public audience from the throne, revising and confirming the laws of her father, which had been abrogated in the last reign, and distributing justice with an equal hand." Another, the wife of Jehangire, made herself still more remarkable; and is described when she was a girl and first won his heart, when Prince Selim, as having received the name of '*Mher-ul-Nissa*,' or '*the Sun of Women*'—but not till she had remained unnoticed by him for four years in his seraglio; where he shut her up in one of its worst apartments, allowing her only 2s. a-day for the subsistence of herself and some female slaves: for though he had instigated her husband's death, he was ashamed of, and sorry for his own act; and though the husband knew this attachment of the emperor's would prove fatal to him,—

no oriental nobleman could yield up his wife to another and live. Read this ye Christian nobles and blush. "An expedient however offered itself to her, so she called forth her invention and taste in working some admirable pieces of tapestry and embroidery, in painting silks with exquisite delicacy, and in inventing female ornaments of every kind. These articles were carried by her slaves to the different squares of the royal seraglio, and to the Harems of the great officers of the empire. They excelled so much in their kind, that they were bought with the greatest avidity, and nothing was fashionable in Delhi or Agra, but the works of her hands. She accumulated by these means a considerable sum of money, with which she repaired and beautified her apartments, and clothed her slaves in the richest tissues and brocades, while she herself, affected a very plain and simple dress. Her fame reached the sultan's ears from every apartment in the seraglio, and at last his curiosity vanquished his resolution. He resolved to surprise her, and suddenly entering her apartments was struck with amazement to find every thing so elegant and magnificent. The greatest ornament of the whole, herself. She lay half reclined on an embroidered sofa, in a plain muslin dress, whilst her slaves sat around her in a circle at work, attired in rich brocades. The first question he asked, was, 'why this difference between the appearance of Mher-ul-Nissâ and her slaves?' She very shrewdly replied, 'Those born to servitude must dress as it shall please those whom they serve; these are my servants, and I alleviate the bondage of servitude by every indulgence in my power, but I that am your slave, O Emperor of the Moguls, must dress according to your pleasure, and not my own.' Though this answer was a kind of sarcasm on his behaviour, it was so pertinent and well-turned, that it greatly pleased Jehangire, and the very next day, public orders were issued to prepare a magnificent festival, for the celebration of his nuptials with "*Mher-ul-Nissâ*." In beauty she excelled all the ladies of the East, and was educated with the utmost care and attention. In music, in dancing, in poetry, and in painting she had no equal among her sex. Her disposition was volatile, her wit lively and satirical, her spirit lofty and uncontrolled. Selim, when prince-royal, visited one day her father, a noble Tartar. When the public entertainment was over, when all except the principal guests were withdrawn, and wine was brought on the table, the ladies, according to custom, were introduced in their veils. The ambition of Mher-ul-Nissâ aspired to a conquest of the

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prince. She sung, he was in raptures; she danced, he could hardly keep his place; her stature, her shape, her gait, had raised his idea of her beauty to the highest pitch. When his eyes seemed to devour her, she, as if by accident, dropped her veil, and shone upon him at once, with all her charms. The confusion which she could well feign on the occasion, heightened the beauty of her face. Her timid eye fell by stealth, upon the prince, and kindled all his soul. But she was already betrothed to a Turkomanian nobleman of great renown and prowess, and when Selim applied to his father, Akbar, for her, he sternly refused to commit a piece of injustice, though in favour of the heir of his throne. Then follows a series of adventures and mishaps somewhat like the history of David and Bathsheba; however, ultimately, when a widow, she became his wife, when Jehángire then by an edict changed her name into 'Noor-Mâhal,' or 'Light of the Seraglio.' She had such an ascendancy over the emperor's mind, that he seldom durst attempt any material measure without her concurrence. She disposed of the highest offices at pleasure, and the greatest honours were conferred at her nod. Asiph Jah, the vizier, was attentive to his sister's humours. He knew the pride and haughtiness of her disposition, and he forgot the equality which nature gives to a brother in a profound respect for the empress. A second edict of the emperor changed her name into 'Noor-Jehân,' or 'The light of the World.' In Mamood II.'s wife we find an empress, who was not only not pampered, but was positively hard worked! The historian relates that, "Mamood, contrary to the custom of all princes, kept no concubines, and had but one wife whom he obliged to do every homely part of housewifery. When one day she complained that she had burnt her fingers in baking his bread, desiring he might allow her a maid to assist her, he rejected her request, saying, that "he was only a trustee for the state, and that he was determined not to burden it with needless expences. He therefore exhorted her to persevere in her duty with patience, and God would reward her in the end." As for the heroic or daring exploits of some other oriental women, they rival those of Judith, Deborah and Jael. We have yet those living among us who have seen the heroine of many a strange tale; one who scrupled not to raise herself to independance, and even to a species of petty sovereignty, over the necks of her lords and masters: viz. the late *Begum Sumroo*, she, who adopted the father, (a Scotchman, by name "Dyce,") and then married him to one of her slaves, whose son, as the late Mr.

Dyce Sombre, has so largely, in his strange bequest to the Court of Directors, of his immense wealth, figured in our Law Courts. Very recently the upright strong sense of justice of one oriental woman led her to risk all, for what, she deemed right; and this, first, in defiance of two strong and wilful kings, and lastly in the face of a still stronger, generally more dreaded, power. All honour to the Malika Zamaneh! well-named "Queen of the Age." Though she only entered the palace of Lucknow (where she was afterwards to reign,) as wet nurse: and though her husband wished to disinherit his own son, whom he disliked, in favour of her's by a previous husband, she staunchly and successfully asserted the right of the king's own son. When *he* in turn conceived a dislike to *his* heir, she took her grandchild under her care, and fought his battle for him till the king died. Though during his life-time she had long been at variance with this, her adopted son, still at his death, she equally persisted in carrying out the claims of his son against the British rule, who wished to put his uncle on the throne. She succeeded so far as to actually place him on the Musnud, and to get him proclaimed and acknowledged, but then came might against right, and British guns and bayonets effected an entrance into the palace, and captured both Queen-mother and King-grandson, though acknowledged, both by Europeans and natives, to be the rightful heir; and thus she lost her liberty, being made a state prisoner till her death. Again we have Ahalya Bye, Indore's exemplary Queen, and Malcolm's favourite heroine.

We see also the spirited conduct now evinced by Kamachi Bye (Bye means Princess), the senior widow of the late rajah of Trajore, who has filed a Bill in the Supreme Court, and obtained an injunction against the Company, to restrain them from the disposal of her late husband's private personal property, all of which was seized, and seals put upon the jewels and other valuables by them through the main force of marching their sepoy's suddenly into the palace. They most offensively disarmed her soldiers, and sequestered the private estate of the Rajah's mother, estimated at three lacs a year! They turned out every occupier of land, until he could establish a claim to suit the commissioner's fancy. And thus they turned a little heaven of contented quietude for such was this little Raj of Tanjore, into a very nest of evil discontent. So indignant were its inhabitants—who much venerated their own domination,—that its very soldiery declined Can anything more iniquitous be imagined

than the line of conduct that was thus pursued? and in the very face of the resident, (Mr. Forbes), pleading for its continuance in the female line through the daughter of the deceased rajah. Another authority, Mr. Morton, an English barrister at Madras, gave it as his opinion "that the terms of the treaty promised the succession to *heirs* in general, and not exclusively to heirs male; the question alone to be mooted, being, whether the senior widow or the daughter should have the preference. He gave it in favour of the former.*

And who that has been in the East, or what oriental scholar, but knows of the celebrated loves of "*Leila and Mujnoo*?" those paragons of devoted fidelity, before whom, "Abelard and Heloise" must "pale their ineffectual fires." And some may even have read of that eastern prince who kept himself blind for the loss of the young bride of his espousals. A lady friend of the writer, too, met with a strange exemplification of the very words as well as the thought of our celebrated poet, in the exclamation of an oriental Mahomedan Prince to her, when on speaking of love, she said to him, "You cannot understand it, for it is either evanescent passion, according to your notions, or equally evanescent imagination, according to ours." "Ah! no, lady!" he replied, "say not so; love is a *heavenly* inspiration, the Godhead descends in love, and raises us through it above." He had never heard of Byron, or his "*Giaour*," and yet, is not the idea strikingly similar?

"Yes, love indeed is light from Heaven,
A spark of that immortal fire,
With Angels shared, by Alla given,
To lift from earth our low desire.
Devotion wafts the mind above,
But Heaven itself descends in love;
A feeling from the Godhead caught,
To draw from self each sordid thought;
A ray of Him who formed the whole."

"And now," my readers may say, "what has all this got to do with this book?" A great deal. Look well *homè* my dear countrymen and countrywomen, before you sit in such high judgment upon your *oriental* neighbours. Reflect over some of these *preceding* pages, and ask yourselves: Are oriental women, British subjects, too? Yet English soldiers and civi-

* Norton's Rebellion in India, p,p, 107—118.

lians corrupt them also. Ponder well, how our women are debased: those women of whom we like to write, both in our prose, novels and tales, and in our verse, that,

“ . . . dearer far wealth or fame,
Is dear, angelic, virtuous woman.

“ Yet there are some, methinks you'd say,
Who oft caress her, oft abuse her:
Not men—appear like men they may,
None but unfeeling brutes abuse her.

“ I call him man alone, whose mind,
Ne'er harbour'd yet a thought to harm her;
In whose fond heart a friend she'd find,
If pale distress or pain alarm'd her.”

Nor is there anything profane in all this for, in the original constitution of things, the beneficent Creator did Himself place woman to be prized above all—His crowning gift to Adam, without whom, He pronounced His own beautiful Eden not completed. That sin changed all this into idolatrous worship of her charms, or a brutal debasement of them, does not change the original beauteous design and intention of her creation—viz., woman in her purity, a help-meet.

Chapter XI., page 290.

It is refreshing to see from the Report (1859) of the Pure Literature Society, 11, Buckingham Street, Adelphi, that they have considerable success in their efforts to introduce a better style of reading into shops, &c., through their agents, both in town and country. The Ladies' Association for the Diffusion of Sanitary Knowledge, is also highly deserving of notice, office, 14a, Princes Street, Cavendish Square.

Chapter XII., page 331.

We have had much evidence borne to the usually inoffensive, frugal, virtuous home-feelings of the Sepoy. One is as follows, from the “Indian News” of July 14, 1857, headed, “Who is to blame?” Then we have Sir C. Napier's remarks, and an article from “the Press,” headed “India and its Governors.” These the reader is requested to compare, with several extracts from a “Memoir of the Mutiny at Barrackpore,” by the then

Major of Brigade, Captain Pogson, "intended," as the author says, "to enable us to steer our future course so as to avoid the rapids which then dashed our vessel on the rocks." Alas! warning vainly given! for in the very commencement of this last outbreak, as the reader can see in a letter from a Cavalry officer,—some of whose troops were the sole that remained staunch at Meerut—he laments over the injudicious attitude the Colonel at first assumed there: In a small paragraph, headed "The Englishman," are still more recent contradictory proclamations and orders of November 20th 1857. To these is added a most interesting letter from the Nagode fugitives to show how staunch the larger portion of the 50th had remained there. Surely these "faithful among the faithless found," will be well rewarded; else British gratitude and justice must be at a singularly low ebb.

"WHO IS TO BLAME?"

"THE atrocities perpetrated by the mutinous regiments of the Bengal Native Infantry have possessed some of us with dominant ideas to the exclusion of reason. We are unable to disentangle the causes of mutiny from the acts incidental to that first of crimes in a soldier. Thus, in ignorance of the state of our hold at this moment upon India, we shut out all recollection of what the native army has been to us and ours. But as to the cause of the discontent, it would be absurd to say it was simply the cartridges (ignoring the fact that, on such grounds alone, no men would risk their all—life, freedom, pay, and pension). had not the cartridge infliction been that last of their grievances, which, like the straw, broke the camel's back.

"An army that fought and conquered at Plassy, Assaye, Kōrygaum, Seetabuldee, the Punjaub, and Gwalior campaigns—an army for which in many ways much has been done of late to contribute to the comfort of its members—would not, we assert, be now found in a state of mutiny had not much more been done by Government to destroy its discipline. As so often stated in these columns and elsewhere, the discipline of the army has been destroyed and undermined by centralisation. That one word tells almost the entire cause of the melancholy state to which we see the once noble army of Bengal reduced. We felt strong in power, made so by this army chiefly, but we forgot the source thereof; and in our self-reliance heeded not the words of the experienced. We saw apparent stability, counted not on a change, and made over the command of as fine a body of men as ever marched.

to the lame, blind, halt, and poor, if they could only muster family or political influence enough to insure nomination. These venerables saw a station or two annually in a "tour of inspection"—halting, of course, on the Himalaya, Neelgherry, or Mahableshwur. They saw next to nothing of the army they commanded; but the enormous salaries they drew from the revenues of the land were as nought compared to the curse they have left behind them. In their cool retreats all power was centralised in themselves and the heads of departments that accompanied them in their seclusion. Officers commanding divisions, brigades, regiments, and companies were step by step deprived of power, and, ceasing to be responsible, ceased to care much for their native officers and men—a feeling gradually reciprocated. The result is a state of affairs that precludes, we fear, any hope of the old footing of goodwill and sympathy being ever restored. Alas, and alas! who among us who have lived with the sepoy on outpost duty; who have walked together with him in the jungles for hours; who have made acquaintance with his simple mind, yet in many respects shrewd intellect; who have beheld the frugal habits that enabled him to remit savings to his home; who have known his moral worth and his attention to duty; who, we say, could have perceived that a series of false moves on the part of the governing body would have ever made the sepoy what he has now become—the guilty perpetrator of deeds that have swept away the memory of a century of loyalty, and of the fields he prided himself on recalling! All, all gone; nothing remaining but the cry for vengeance on the murderer and the mutineer! And to think that this should have come of our own self-sufficiency! Even so; and it may be that far more remains to be told. For if the chiefs and princes who have proffered their aid turn against us, our rule in India will indeed be seriously threatened."

" LORD CANNING.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDIAN NEWS.

" SIR,—All honour, say I, to the man who has had the courage to stay the headlong course our soldiers were pursuing to utter barbarism. In the last century we employed the Red Indians to massacre men of our own blood and creed, when fighting for their country's rights. Sir Ralph Abercrombie left the army in Ireland, saying he would not command 'butchers' such as he found there in the Rebellion.

‘Ten thousand British might then be seen in a brutal state of intoxication retreating from Badajoz,’ the historian Napier tells us; and his brother, Sir Charles, was warned away by his own soldiers when he sought to protect the wounded on the field of Meanee, men who fell in defence of fatherland. But the scalping of the Red Indians, the murders in Ireland, the drunken deeds in the Peninsula, and the cowardly murders after the battle was over at Meanee, are as nought to those which the determination of Lord Canning has, in part, at least, arrested. If he has saved the lives of thousands of inoffensive natives, so he has to a great extent saved our paid soldiery from becoming an abomination. But, as a matter of course, the Governor-General’s act has found little favour here with the popular organs. Were the people of this country aroused by the voice of Burke as to our rule in India? Did the many infractions of treaties, detailed by Mill and all other historians, attract their attention? Did they, by petitioning Parliament, respond to Cobden’s exposure of the last Burmese war? Did they call in question the iniquitous invasion of Affghanistan, or the expenditure of the revenue of India on aggressive wars and armaments, to the almost entire stoppage of public works much required? Did they ask for an inquiry as to the cause of the Santhal rebellion? the acquisition of Oude? or on the Torture Report? No, not they, indeed! We cared not for breaches of treaty, misgovernment, or war charges, so long as not called on to pay them. But we could and did petition Parliament to ruin the manufacturers of India by prohibitory duties; just as we did by the wool manufacturers of Ireland. Yet now there is a wonderful unanimity. We ourselves suffer; and the cry, far and near, is for blood and vengeance. We, the race destined, according to Mr. Mangles, to convert the heathen to Christianity, are to let loose a hireling soldiery on all alike—not by order, true; but by a tacit permission. And because one bold man has the manly courage to step in and save his countrymen from emulating the Sepoy in murderous acts, he is denounced and caricatured. Can any man of experience deny that there is a more brutal set of men than our own soldiers are when let loose? But Lord Canning said that the contagion was unhappily spreading, and had gone far beyond the ranks, demoralising all alike. How often are we reminded of the old fable, regarding the man depicted with his foot on a prostrate lion. Could we have a detail of the cruelties exercised on unoffending natives in this calamitous season, I question if they would not exceed all the

sufferings of our fellow-countrymen, women, and children at Cawnpore. Be that as it may, if we are to remain in India as rulers, and not altogether forfeit our claim to be considered as of a civilized nation, it is full time that a stay were put to the savagery into which we are falling. Therefore, again say I, all honour to Lord Canning. — Yours, &c.

“MODERATOR.”

GENERAL SIR CHARLES NAPIER'S OPINIONS.

SKETCH OF INDIAN ARMY.

“The general framework of this army is bad. The officers appear better staff officers than ours, but as regimental officers worse. There is nothing I can remedy as a major-general; plenty that should be quickly arranged were I Commander-in-Chief. People here are full of the superiority of Europeans, which, as regards the soldiers, is perhaps true. I have not seen the others fight. But the mistake is this. The former European officer was the enterprising, hard-headed, daring fellow who taught and formed the Sepoy—the Clives, Laurences, Bussys, &c. The present European is a youngster who makes curry, drinks champagne, and avoids the sun; in ten or twelve years, if he has brains and health, he acquires some knowledge and is put on the staff; thus the regiments are constantly commanded by lieutenants. At this moment a troop of horse artillery here is commanded by a cadet of fifteen, who came out with me, and whom I puzzled by asking him what the dispart of a gun was.

“While this deterioration of the European goes on the native officer seems to acquire a higher grade in general estimation, because from want of European officers the young and ignorant command nominally, while the natives, ever at their posts, are the real officers and very good ones too. There is a great cry for more regimental officers, because the few there are have more work than they like; but no one seems to foresee that your young, inexperienced, wild cadet will some day find the Indian army taken out of his hands by the Soubadars, who are men of high caste and very daring. Many have got orders of merit for noble actions. The Soubadars are steady, respectful, thoughtful, stern looking men. very zealous, and very military, the sole instructors of all our soldiers.”

PREDICTION OF MUTINY IN THE INDIAN ARMY.

“Old Indians say, ‘There is no respect for you in India

exist. Trumpery and humbug are our enemies in India, as they were and are the enemies of the barbaric princes. Such folly ruined them and will ruin us, for if we continue to imitate the Eastern style our officers will deteriorate, and the native officers will take the empire from us. A radical reform of the Indian army and an increase of European officers is absolutely necessary. Some years hence, for they will not increase the officers, my words will prove prophetic. The sepoy now has no European officers to look to—no captain, I mean; he is devoted to us as yet, but we take no pains to preserve his attachment. It is no concern of mine, I shall be dead before what I foresee will take place, but it will take place. I would give this opinion in writing if it would do the Company any good; but it will not, for everything I say or do is looked upon as war against them, and I will not play Cassandra for the directors to jeer and laugh.”

NAPIER'S CURE FOR MUTINY.

“Lord Dalhousie has just returned from sea. He approves of my disbanding the 66th, but not of my taking the Goorkas into pay, which is the essence of the blow struck, as showing the Brahmins we have another race to rest on for soldiers. I have just got his weak letter—it is very silly. He will not, however, I expect, rescind my order, but it would please me, as my resignation should instantly go in. He does not see half the danger he was in, I suspect, and they will all—pooh! pooh! now it is over.”

INFLUENCE OF THE GOORKAS TO CHECK MUTINY.

“But their greatest value in his eyes was the furnishing a sure check on sepoy mutiny; for he had discovered that the insubordinate spirit of the sepoys was principally among the Brahmins, and secretly nourished by their religious men with a view to control the government. Very politic was the plan of these religious men. High pay interested all castes, and was a covering bait; but their under-machinery was by religious influence to bar recruiting if the mutineers were disbanded, and use their banded strength if retained in pay. Charles Napier's ready genius at once seized the means of baffling this scheme with one more deeply laid, morally and physically, namely, augmenting the Goorka battalions, as he proposed to Lord Dalhousie, and giving them sepoy pay and advantages. He could thus overawe the mutineers with a rival army of men, more hardy, stronger of body, even

Brahmins that their influence to stop recruiting would be futile against the government, hurtful only to themselves, and must therefore be abandoned." . . . "I am not yet decided in my opinion, but I am disposed to believe that we might with advantage appoint natives to cadetships, discharge all our native officers on the pensions of their present rank, and so give the natives common chance of command with ourselves,—*before they take it!* Every European boy, aye, even sergeants, now command all native officers! When the natives saw the English ensign live with him and cherish him, and by daily communication was made aware of his superior energy, strength, daring, and mental acquirements, all went smooth. Now things have changed. The young cadet learns nothing; he drinks, he lives exclusively with his own countrymen: the older officers are on the staff, or on civil employ, which *they ought not to be*; and *high-caste*,—that is to say, *mutiny*—is encouraged. I have just gotten this army through a very dangerous one, and the Company had better take care what they are at, or some great mischief will yet happen. I think that native ensigns, lieutenants, and captains,—aye, and commanders of corps, too—will assimilate with our officers, and in course of time gradually throw castes to the dogs, and be like ourselves in all but colour. I have no belief in the power of *caste* resisting the *Christian faith* for any great length of time, because reason is too strong for nonsense in the long run; and I believe if the Indians were made officers, on the same footing as ourselves, they would be perfectly faithful, and in time become Christians; not that I want to convert them, but *so it will be*." . . . "My dear Sir, you lived in an enchanted circle at Calcutta; you know nothing of Indian government beyond its theories,—no more than if you were Governor-General. The atrocities which go on are beyond description. You, in your library at Calcutta, could not know anything of them, but I, on my horse, passing through all countries, saw and learned them on the spots; and very indignant I am at them and have been for many years. I put Scinde on a right footing; but when I left it the Bombay Government introduced all iniquity, in despite of the civil commissioner, the excellent Mr. Pringle, who succeeded me; and where I left *content* all is now *discontent*, only suppressed by the military force. I therefore cannot at all concur in your praise of our Indian Government, but the reverse. There is not a regiment here that moves, whose march is not one of horrible oppression, not from indiscipline or military outrage, but from the *system of government*."

MEMOIR OF THE MUTINY AT BARRACKPORE.

“On the 13th October, 1824, the 26th, 47th, and 62nd regiments of native infantry, were ordered from Barrackpore to join the forces then assembling at Chittagong, preparatory to their entering the Burman territory. The troops, however, being destitute of cattle for the conveyance of the camp equipage of the officers, and the cooking utensils and other indispensable articles belonging to the men, it was found necessary to postpone the march. It was rumoured that the native troops in Fort William were to have prevented artillery and stores going out for the suppression of the contemplated mutiny, and that the feeling was not confined to the troops at Barrackpore, but prevailed in most of the native regiments then assembling on the eastern frontier, and perhaps originated in the rumours which were many months before circulated in the upper provinces concerning Burman prowess and invincibility; possibly in some measure accounting for the numerous desertions and the insubordination which prevailed in some corps during their progress from the upper provinces. If an apprehension bordering on panic was excited in the minds of our ignorant and superstitious sepoys, by the emissaries of the Burmans, they evinced a policy by no means contemptible, and wielded an engine of more force than they perhaps were aware, and certainly than we had contemplated. In a country where bigotry and superstition give to every image a colouring in accordance with the dread and terror of minds in which they predominate, rumour will be found a political engine, no less powerful than the press in more civilized countries. As yet we are not fully conversant with the native character and customs, or their systematic and efficacious modes of conveying prompt intelligence of contemplated events. Previous to the late Mahratta war cocoa nuts were widely circulated through the country, as well as *pice*, (pence) with a label, “refuse to forward this at peril.” These were no doubt signals fully understood by those for whom they were intended. It is not then to be supposed that a shrewd and cunning race like the Burmans, were ignorant of such modes of conveying information. The feeling which pervaded the Upper Provinces, and conspicuously displayed itself in the events which led to the siege of Bhurtpore, proved that we were convinced of the prevalence of a systematic intercourse on the part of the enemy with the native powers. I may, therefore, without appearing visionary, point to the effects of such an intercourse as a primary cause of

the mutiny. The troops, however, would no doubt have marched with their accustomed promptitude and zeal, had they obtained the usual supply of cattle, and still more readily had their wants been anticipated by a voluntary and spontaneous liberality, but the application to the different authorities for carriage were unsuccessful, and the sepoys were ordered to carry what they could, and to leave the rest behind. They murmured at the neglect with which they conceived themselves treated, while carriage cattle crowded the streets of Calcutta, and the other cities and towns of Bengal. The men refused to perform the duty of coolies in carrying that which had on former occasions been, at their own expense, conveyed for them. An order to the men of the 47th Regiment Native Infantry, to repair their old knapsacks for the service of the campaign, reminded them of a deduction of two rupees made many months before from the pay of each man for the provision of new knapsacks which were not forthcoming. It reminded them also of a refusal at Futhgurrh to an application for boats to bring their cattle with them, of course at their own expense, and of their having in consequence been constrained to sell them for a trifle, while they could not, at this period, replace them at any price. When the discontent had risen to a height which it ought never to have been allowed to attain, and it was apparent that the men neither could nor would march without carriage cattle, Lieutenant-Colonel Cartwright advanced them four thousand rupees from his private funds to purchase bullocks; and Lieutenant-Colonel D'Aquilar, commanding the 26th, and Major Roope commanding the 62nd Regiment Native Infantry did the same. Those officers were subsequently reimbursed by a corresponding advance on the part of Government. But the liberality came too late to be of as much use as it might have been, had it come sooner. When the bullocks were bought, the next difficulty was the want of persons to drive them, the sepoys refusing to do the duty of bullock drivers, so that many of the animals strayed and were stolen. During these and the subsequent events, I frequently wrote privately to Colonel Nichol the adjutant-general of the army, on the subject of the want of equipment and the discontented state of the troops; urging him to apply an early and effectual remedy, and suggesting, in reference to the inundated state of the country, that the brigade should proceed by water, by which the fatigue and sickness incidental to the disastrous march which might at that season be anticipated, would be prevented, and the troops would arrive healthy and in good

spirits on the frontier. Colonel Nichol replied that all the boats which were procurable had been engaged for the conveyance of artillery and stores. But having, the day I received his answer, counted seventeen boats passing up the river, I immediately sent him intimation of it, offering to detain them if he would send me authority to do so. In truth there was no want of conveyance. The river was crowded with shipping and country craft, which might at once have conveyed the artillery and stores to Chittagong. Boats were abundant, and the cities filled with carriage cattle. The only want was authority or energy to seize them for the public service, and without going as far as Cawnpore, as I believe we did for bullocks, not inured to the climate of the Lower Provinces, we might have been more efficiently and abundantly supplied by the cattle procurable in herds in the neighbourhood of Hazaree-Baugh and Ram Gurh, not so large or strong as up country cattle, but adapted to the climate in which they are generated, and would have carried loads, proportionate to their strength, better in these provinces than up-country Binjarrah bullocks, probably in a sickly state from an ungenial climate. The race of Hill people called Dangurs and Bonahs might also have been procured in any number from the Rajmahal and contiguous hills; each man would have carried in a bahingy nearly as much grain as a Bengal bullock, and with more facility and less expense. A corps of 10,000 of these men organized, would convey an ample supply of grain and ammunition where cattle could not easily travel. A trifling expense would furnish an iron spike to be fitted to the end of a light bamboo, which each man might conveniently carry, rendering them collectively formidable, and individually able to defend themselves. The means of conveyance therefore which the country afforded were ample, but we did not render them available. Affairs at Barrackpore were thus allowed to become worse, and a feeling of discontent and insubordination to increase, which might under prompt and proper remedies easily have been repressed.

“The men greatly regretted the removal of their old officers consequent to the new organization of the army, called for Major Heathcote, and considered themselves aggrieved, neglected, and forsaken by those to whom they had been long accustomed; whose place was chiefly supplied by young men to whom they were strangers, and with whom, on so short an acquaintance, there could have been no reciprocal attachment. The commanding officers of corps were present, and all united

in exhorting the native officers and pay havildars to use their utmost efforts to bring the men to a sense of duty, informing them that passive conduct on their part, or not proving beyond all doubt that they had done their utmost, would inevitably bring ruin and disgrace on themselves and the regiment. *They replied that they had no influence over the men, and that they disregarded alike them and their orders.* On the 1st of November, at daybreak, I attended Major General Dalzell to the parade of the 47th regiment native infantry. Lieutenant Colonel Cartwright reported that 180 men were in open column—that the rest of the corps had refused to fall in, and was in the rear of the bells of arms, and had threatened to fire on the column if it moved off at the order to march. General Dalzell immediately dismounted, drew his sword, and advanced towards the mutineers, saying, ‘he was not to be frightened by them,’ or something to that effect. I felt it desirable that I should remain mounted, conspicuous, in order to exert any control and influence which attachment or long services might have given me over the men. They were exasperated at the general having drawn his sword, and we were instantly surrounded with bayonets and muskets presented at us, while others were loading and evincing every disposition to fire. I called and made signs, for it was impossible to be heard. I thought they seemed to mind me, for they gave way as I advanced; but providentially, when the next moment might have been our last, their attention was drawn to another object, and they moved off to seize the colours of the regiment. The column dispersed on their approach, and they brought the colours off to their position in rear of the bells of arms, and employed themselves in tumultuously kicking their knapsacks to pieces.

“About midnight, Lieutenant Colonel Stewart of the 68th regiment native infantry, brought a man with a letter from the mutineers. The Persian interpreter, and Captain Sadler of the Bombay Establishment, not deducing any satisfactory meaning from it, I was called. The purport of it was, ‘That although the Zoonar (or triple thread, symbolical of Brahma, Vishnoo, and Sheeva, worn by Brahmans and Rajpoots) was old, rotten, and worn out; yet it had been so long habitual to them, that it was desirable to them to retain it, and as they had lost the favour of Government they begged to be allowed to quit the service and return to their homes.’

cord, though old, rotten and worn out, was still dear to them,' seemed to imply that although their religious rites and venerated customs were coming into disregard, yet they could not violate them, by going on board ship, or by passing the natural boundary of their country, or that it was better to continue to wear the old yoke to which they were accustomed, by returning to their duty. The following quotation, relative to the Zoonar is from the fourth volume of the Indian Antiquities.

“The sacred Zeunar, which the tribe of Brahmins constantly wear, deserves very attentive consideration. This sacred cord can be woven by no profane hand; the Brahmin alone can twine the hallowed threads that compose it, and it is done by him with the utmost solemnity, and with the addition of many mystic rites. The manner of performing the operation is thus minutely described in the Ayeen Akbery: “Three threads, each measuring 96 hands, are first twisted together; then they are folded into three, and twisted again, making it to consist of nine, that is three times three threads; this is folded again into three, but without any more twisting, and each end is then fastened with a knot, (the Jod of the Hebrews.)” Such is the Zeunar, which being put upon the left shoulder passes to the right side and hangs down as low as the fingers can reach? What, I would now ask can be intended by all this mystic ceremonial, except they meant by it to shadow out the close and mysterious union existing between the sacred persons who form the Indian Triad? and why is the Zeunar to be for ever worn next the skin—but as a solemn and everlasting memorial of that Triad? The Romans would not pass the Rubicon, nor the natives of India, the *Sindh*. The meaning of *Uttuk*, the well-known town on the Indus, is stop, ‘thus far shalt thou go, and no farther,’ on pain of losing caste, *Raja P, hor*, or *Porus*, therefore did not cross that river, but allowed Alexander to pass to him. The natives of Hindoostan had a similar prejudice, in regard to the *Dukkhan*, and would not cross the *Nurmudda*: their objection however, was surmounted on the Mahratta government agreeing to their demand of an additional allowance for *B, hat*, or rice denominated *B, hatta*, as the inducement to enter foreign territory; and for arduous services as stated in the *Seer-ool Mootu ukhiaun*, that allowance was subsequently doubled. The same rule, before we appeared to have been aware of it, was evidently applied to serving beyond the *Bruhmapootra*, a river, and the demand was ultimately under a different name

abundantly conceded. It is to be lamented, that it was not anticipated and made spontaneously, and that carriage cattle were not provided; for the troops would then have proceeded cheerfully, and never have thought of mutiny; but their good feeling was checked by a baneful economy. The Arabs truly say, 'When the soldier is satiated, he fights valiantly: empty in the stomach, he shews his valour by flight.' . . . The troops being drawn up, the mutineers were desired to lay down their arms. They refused to do so. The grape was drawn from the two guns, and a round shot put in each. Aim was then taken at the mutineers, and a native general court-martial was ordered to assemble for the trial of the prisoners, &c. It struck me as remarkable when so many were tried at once for their lives that the proceedings should have been so unnecessarily hurried, the trial being over and sentence passed by eight o'clock in the morning. There was no doubt of the mutiny having been abundantly proved, but there were naturally different shades of guilt, some principals, others influenced perhaps by fear of the rest, or deluded by example; they should therefore have been heard at full length: a man has a right to plead for his life. This apparent precipitation was however amply counterbalanced by the clemency of the Commander-in-Chief in selecting for execution only twelve out of the number who were sentenced. The punishment of the rest was commuted to labour in irons for fourteen years. The 47th regiment was disbanded, its number struck out of the army list, and the native and noncommissioned officers were discharged as totally unworthy the confidence of Government, or the name of soldiers, in not having exerted a proper and commanding influence among the sepoys. The influence of the native officers however, was never great, they have been too much considered mere cyphers, and usage has rather repressed than encouraged their being permitted to say or do any thing in the interior concerns of a company, the management of which has generally devolved on the pay-havildar, who managed to make himself intelligible to the young officer in command. *This is the real source of the evil and consequently the point to probe.* I do not imply or impute personal blame, but advert generally to a weak point in the system, to a defective link in the chain of military subordination. In order to strengthen it, the orders of the officer should be conveyed through the medium of the Subadar or Jemadar, one of whom should be always with the

repressing the influence of his subordinates, he is undermining his own authority, and has himself only to blame for the consequence. The importance of strengthening the link which unites the sepoy to their officers, has led me to think it would be a judicious measure to appoint a steady and exemplary serjeant to each company On the 1st of November, the Subadar and Havildar-Major reported to me that the mutineers had threatened to kill them, and as retaining them at Barrackpore, could effect no object, they were sent by water, to Fort William. The Subadar-Major was a smart officer, but abusive to the men, a defect which I had often censured; he therefore could neither have been liked nor respected. He had learnt it from an officer now no more, and therefore considered it rather as an accomplishment than a defect. Nothing strikes more at the root of subordination than abuse, and is therefore unquestionably, a cause of that feeling which leads to mutiny. In the year 1813 I was appointed interpreter to a Special Court of Inquiry at Cawnpore, to investigate the cause of all the Hindoos in the 5th regiment of cavalry, having applied for their discharge. It was abusive language having been constantly applied to them by the officer then in command of the regiment I was much depressed at contemplating the fate of the companions of my early years, and felt more than I will now attempt to describe at finding this melancholy occurrence selected as an occasion of festivity at the mess of the regiment, where the officers of H. M.'s regiments then at the station, were assembled in the evening. The order to lay down the arms, might perhaps have been conveyed in terms more in accordance with the feelings of the men. Soldiers do not like to be ordered to ground arms, because it implies disgrace or defeat; but the mutineers would possibly on receiving the command to pile arms have done so without hesitation. *Points of this nature however trivial they may appear, should be remembered, for the most inconsiderable causes often produce the most momentous effects,* and had the corps been some steps worse than it was, the mutiny might have been attended with the most disastrous and calamitous consequences. The men like obstinate children, knew they had done wrong and were ashamed or afraid to acknowledge their fault; secretly however, indulging the hope of pardon. It has been said that they wished Sir Edward Paget to have gone on their parade, that it was then their intention to have saluted him, and his Excellency taking off his hat was to have been a signal of reconciliation and to have ended the mutiny."

From "The Times."

THE THREE WEEKS ANTECEDENT TO THE REVOLT AT MEERUT.

(BY AN EYE WITNESS.)

"Meerut, 30th April, 1857.

"The native troops have taken the idea that the greased cartridge introduced for the rifle is greased with hog's lard, the abomination of the Mussulman, and contains a portion of the bladder of the cow, the sacred animal of the Hindoo, and they whisper among themselves that it is presented to the army to destroy their caste and make them Christians. So, believing themselves lost were they to bite these luckless cartridges, sundry regiments in Bengal have refused to receive them. and the 19th Native Infantry has in consequence been disbanded, and a Jemadar of the 34th has been hung for implication and bad conduct. There have been riots in Umballah, too, from the same cause. We have many high caste men in the 3rd Cavalry, and seeing how strongly the men cling to their caste, there is no profit in outraging their feelings on the point. This Colonel ——— has lamentably done. An order appeared in the regimental books for a parade of all the skirmishers of the regiment. The sword being the weapon of the cavalry, these skirmishers, fifteen in each troop, are the only men in the corps who ever use fire-arms. That evening the Havildar of my husband's troop on duty asked to see him, on being admitted, made a respectful request in the name of the troop that the skirmishers should be excused from the parade next morning, giving for reason that the name of the regiment would suffer in the eyes of other corps if they were to use cartridges during the present agitation on the subject. The men were quite aware that the cartridges now in our magazines are the same as what have been hitherto used, and they did not say they would not fire them. They only sued for delay, saying other regiments might ——— they had fired the new greased ones, the forced handling of which had been imagined to be a trick to make Christians of them. The Havildar who brought the message, old Herah Sing, is one of the mildest old Hindoos in the 3rd. My husband felt the importance of the position. Of course he spoke to the Havildar of the utter absurdity of the rumour to which the request referred; but giving it its due weight as a question of caste, he instantly wrote to Mr. ———, as adjutant, adding

his own earnest solicitation to that of his men that their wishes should be attended to, and expressing a fear that, if disregarded, the regiment might immediately be in a state of mutiny. Mr. ——— hurried with this note to the colonel. Other officers had sent verbal reports of the matter, as connected with their troops, but this note spoke plainest and most urgently. At first Colonel ——— seemed inclined to do as urged, namely, put off the parade, but unluckily Mr. ——— suggested that if he did so, the men would say that he was afraid of them. And on this idea the colonel resolved to let the order stand uncanceled. The adjutant came galloping down to announce the colonel's resolve; as they talked, a servant ran in to announce that our cavalry lines were on fire. On looking out we saw it was so. A long line of flame was blazing a few hundred yards from our compound. Both gentlemen hurried off to the fire. We soon saw that the burning building was an empty hospital. A fire under common circumstances collected a crowd, but it was evident that the men were keeping aloof from this wilfully-ignited pile, whereon they were proving their excitement and disaffection. Another fire simultaneously broke out in another part of the lines. It was the house of the orderly, the hated favourite.

“Next morning, at daybreak, the skirmishers, according to order, appeared on the parade ground, Colonel ——— presented himself before the men, harangued them in bad Hindostance, telling them he would report them, and make them famous if they fired these cartridges, and that he would show them how to open them with their hands instead of biting them with their teeth, but the poor man's eloquence was lost on them. There was no confidence towards him in their hearts, and his words only mystified them. He bade the Havildar major take a cartridge and fire it. He obeyed. They were next offered to the Havildar-Naicks and troopers composing the skirmishers, but eighty-five of the ninety refused them. Among the five who ventured to take them was our old friend Havildar Herah Sing. Others among the men may have been inclined to take them, but feared deserting their party. Strange to say, two of Colonel ———'s pets were of those who refused. As nothing could be done with the men, Colonel ——— dismissed the parade, giving orders that the eighty-five who had disobeyed him should remain in the lines, but do no duty till further orders. Oh, that this crisis could have been averted! Of course ordering the parade at all under the present excitement was a lamentable piece of

indiscretion; but even when that had been done the colonel might have extricated himself without humiliation, as the parade might have been turned into an explanation of the new cartridge, without any firing being proposed. My husband had nothing to do beyond his own troop; but thither he rode at daybreak on that fatal morning, and remained for hours among his men, enjoining them to keep steady and withstand any impulse to join others in excitement, bidding them to do nothing without consulting him, and assuring them that, though differing from them in faith, he was one of them; their friend and protector, as long as they were true to their duty: and the men felt that he spoke truth. They would have fired for him, they told him, though unwillingly.

"General ———, commanding here, was extremely angry on learning the crisis which Colonel ——— had brought on, bitterly blaming his having ordered that parade. We cannot deny that they disobeyed orders, but let the prejudices of their creed be considered, and the conditions on which they serve us (which are, that their faith shall never be interfered with), and that the treatment they uniformly meet with leads them to expect attention to such an appeal as they had tendered. The men have a strong case in their defence if they be allowed to defend themselves. If they are to be dismissed without defence, there are whispers that the whole will mutiny, and be joined by the other native troops in the station. We are strongly garrisoned by European troops here, but what a horrible idea that they should be required to defend us. How lamentable that so much has occurred already; the name of a brave, steady, leading regiment suffering, and the loss to it of eighty-five well-conducted men, who might have been judiciously checked and set right.

"May 14. There has been an awful mutiny of the native regiments here, in consequence of the severe sentence pronounced on our skirmishers. On the 9th instant, these 85 men were committed to gaol for 10 years in irons, and with hard labour. On the evening of Sunday the 10th, an outbreak of the native infantry occurred for their release. I cannot describe it now. It was a massacre—a carnage! A friend and I were driving to church, when we saw rioters pouring into the road, armed with clubs and swords. They warned us back, and we reached home safely. What a night followed! My husband tore off to keep his troop steady, and partially succeeded, but many of our poor 3rd joined the mutineers.

"17th. So far I wrote a few days ago. As we went to church I saw something was wrong, and, on asking, several

men called to us to go back, as there was a mutiny of the native infantry, and a fight in the Bazaar. Here was our first escape, for had we been further on our way we might never have been able to drive through the road. We saw crowds of armed men hurrying towards us. We drove home furiously. On the way we passed a private of the Carabineers unarmed and running for his life from several men armed with latthies (a long stick). We stopped the carriage, and drew in the poor Englishman, the men continued to strike at him as we took him in, but stopped when we held out our arms and screamed to them to desist, and we reached home safely. On telling my husband he started off at once for his lines, in uniform, but without waiting for his horse, ordering it to be sent after him. When he reached the gate, he found ——— surrounded by three of the 3rd Troopers, cutting at him with their swords. My husband shouted, 'What are you doing? That's my friend,' and they desisted. He then hurried to the lines, found the three first troops had run away, but his own, with the 5th and 6th, were still there. Captain ——— had also joined him. They asked the men if they could rely on them, and to a man they swore fidelity. They heard there was fighting at the gaol to release the prisoners. The men clustered round, and on being asked what they were going to do, they replied, 'Whatever you order us.' So they gave them their horses and bade them follow them, and they rode off in the direction of the gaol. They had first asked Mr. ———, who came up, if he had any orders from the colonel. Mr. ——— said the colonel was flying for his life, and had given no orders. They rode on with their three troops, but after a short distance my husband discovered that he was alone with the fourth troop. To this moment he is unaware when the others turned back. He soon afterwards met the cavalry prisoners, free, and with their irons broken. They were flying to Delhi. They recognized him, and shouted blessings on him as they passed. They were mounted and in uniform. Their comrades, who had broken open the gaol and set them free, having given them their own equipments. One of these escaped prisoners sprang to my husband, crying, 'I am free, my lord, my captain; let me press you to my bosom before I fly;' and he did it. He was indeed their friend, and had he been listened to these horrors might never have happened. Still, who can say, for the cartridges seem to have been made *the excuse for the outbreak of a long-brewing animosity?* On seeing that the gaol was broken open, they determined to turn back, and try to save the

standards of the 3rd from the lines. The roads were in uproar! They with difficulty charged through crowds of infantry mutineers and bazaar men, armed and firing.' One trooper was stabbing a woman as she drove by in a carriage. My husband cut him down with his sword, and as he reeled in his saddle, Mr. ——— ran him through, but the woman (Mrs. Courtney, wife of the hotelkeeper) was already dead. That showed that a massacre of all Europeans was proposed. Soon a ball whizzed by his own ear, and looking back, he saw one of the troopers, not in uniform, and with his head muffled, fire at him again. He shouted, 'Was that meant for me?' 'Yes,' said the man, 'I will have your blood.' He did not fire at him again; he believed the men might mutiny from him were he to do so. He only asked his men if they would see him shot? They vociferated 'No,' and forced the assassin back again and again, but would not kill him. What an awful position! The man was not of those who had started with them, as they had made them all dress properly, while this man wore native clothes. They believe it to have been a man removed from being 'daroga' for carelessness and disobedience; but they were not quite certain. A Christian trumpeter urged my husband to save himself by riding faster; so they dashed back towards the lines, but the assassin followed, firing again and again. They kept cheering their men, and keeping them together by praise, &c. They reached the lines, but passing our house on the way, my husband asked what men would come to defend me. The whole troop (at least, all with him) raised their hands. He said he only wanted four men. 'I, I, I,' cried every one; so he sent the first four. On reaching the lines, the infantry were flying across the parade ground, followed by European artillery. The officers, bidding their men follow, galloped into the open country with three of the four regimental standards, and on seeing them safe near the Dragoon lines, my husband asked Major ——— if he might return and look after me, and he got permission. Many shots were being fired, and the shouting was awful. I could ever and anon hear my husband's name blessed by the poor madmen. Bungalows began to blaze round us, nearer and nearer, till the frenzied mob reached that next to our own! We saw a poor lady in the verandah, a Mrs. Chambers (lately arrived). We bade the servants bring her over the low wall to us, but they were too confused to attend to it at first. The stables of that house were then burnt. We heard the shrieks of the horses. Then came the mob to the house itself, with awful

shouts and curses. We heard the doors broken in, and many, many shots. My servants said they had been to bring away Mrs. Chambers, but had found her dead on the ground, cut horribly, and she on the eve of her confinement! Oh! night of horrors! Still I heard shouts of my husband's name, and assurances that our house should be spared, but crowds kept threatening. I saw men bring a burning log across the next compound, and thought we should be the next to be murdered. A few of our Hindoo servants were with us—one Buctour, the klassie, running to and fro, driving the men out of the compound, and saying my husband 'was the people's friend, and that no one should burn his house.'

"At last a few horsemen rode into the compound. I saw the cavalry uniform. 'Come, come,' I shouted, 'and save me.' 'Fear nothing,' said the first man; 'no one shall injure you.' Oh! how I thanked them, and in a minute they were with us in the upper room, and I tried to take their hands in mine, but they laid themselves at my feet, touching them with their foreheads. They were unknown to me—these four. Our cavalry guard kept dashing through the compound, forcing back parties who rushed in to fire the house. The pistol shots rang on every side, and now my husband arrived in speechless agony on our account, and made us leave the house, fearing it might be surrounded. Wrapped in the black stable blankets, to hide our light dresses, in the glare of the flaming Station, he took us to hide under trees in the garden, but moved us afterwards into a little temple that stands on our grounds. It is very thick walled, and only having one narrow door was a good place for shelter. We sat there whispering for some hours, listening to the noises, as crowds came near or fell away. Still no one attacked us, and more of the cavalry troops were continually joining us, vowing to live or die for us. At times we had thirty men about, but they looked very blank at the idea of taking us to the European lines. My husband feared they might desert us, but kept them together astonishingly, and now the roads appearing quieter we hurried off. We had nineteen of the 3rd remaining with us, including the Jemadar of our troop. One of the prisoners had come to us, offering to stay and defend us, but my husband told him he must give him up again if he did; so, only hoping his conduct towards us would mitigate his sentence, after a time the boy disappeared. All the men feared being made prisoners by the European troops, and some loitered as we went, but my husband's commanding energy kept them in check. We drove among the smoul-

dering houses to the cavalry parade ground almost at a gallop, and making a wide circuit to avoid the native infantry, we reached the Dragoon lines. A picket of Carabineers, with a cannon, commanded the road and nearly fired on us, but as we came up, and explained, we were allowed to pass. Day was dawning on our night of misery, and the manly faces of the English Dragoons sent comfort to our hearts. We warmly told the officers how splendidly our men had saved us, and my husband promised them all promotion and high favour, and I blessed and thanked them with all my soul. Our men were ordered to stay at one of the Dragoon pickets. News soon came that our wretched rebel cavalry had galloped to Delhi and had murdered every Christian in the city. The poor 3rd did it all, for the infantry had not arrived. They spread the mutiny to the station of Delhi (a few miles off), and the native infantry corps there fired on their officers, and the native artillery, too, proved false. They told their commandant to escape or they would turn the guns on him. Many individual cases of fidelity to their officers have been shown, but none equal to that of our men. The few who saved us were the only body who kept together that night. Every one speaks of it, and the men have since behaved very well. They are 'made' men, these faithful among the faithless. My husband volunteered to assemble a regiment, if he should have the command of it, and his offer is eagerly accepted. He is full of work, trying to collect men and horses as fast as possible; he is eminently suited for the work. Had such duty been appointed him before, all the good men of the 3rd would have been in his corps. None of the mutineers can now be re-entertained of course."

The *Englishman*, in reference to a circular sent to the xemindars, to state what number of cattle they could supply for the use of the British soldiers, quotes the remark of a Hindoo xemindar, "What is the meaning of this? You have declared by your proclamation of May the 16th that you will not interfere with our religion, and now you ask me to be your agent in violating its injunctions." (They worship the cow, and consecrate bulls, &c.)

"During the Mohurram this year, the Governor-General and Mr. Halliday gave the strongest assurance of protection to the Mohammedan community, exhorted them not to fear any interference, and actually sent European policemen to keep the roads, and to walk at the head of the processions. So completely did the Mohammedans take possession of the road, that gentlemen wishing to pass to another part of the

principle the disaffected Mohammedans of Calcutta are to receive a degree of protection, and to be allowed exclusive privileges, which would not be accorded to any class of religious procession at home. The business of the police should be to keep Europeans or Hindoos from breaking the heads either of Mussulmans or of each other, and on the other hand to keep any procession from interfering with the rights or convenience of the remainder of the inhabitants."

A lady writes, in a letter dated Mirzapore, 1st October, 1857, that "A large force of about 6,000 insurgents, with guns, were making their way to Nagode, and when within thirty miles of the place, the major ordered up all the Sirdars of the regiment and told them of it, stating that it was his intention to march out of the cantonments, as it was quite impossible our men, only 450, could withstand so large a body, and that he also meant to swamp all the superfluous ammunition. My son, being quarter-master, was ordered down to the magazine to see this order carried out. The deputy collector advised those ladies who had returned amongst us, to leave as fast as possible, as the men would not stand the ammunition being destroyed, and would mutiny immediately. I resolved to share my son's fate, and seated myself beside him whilst he and the Sirdar's had the magazine emptied. Whilst rolling off the barrels to a well to be swamped, I heard the men saying, 'See how fast the ladies are running.' One Havildar stepped up to me and asked me my intentions. I replied, I go with the regiment.' He made me a low salaam. We were to march next day, but the same night, just as we had retired to rest, a confidential sepoy, who slept in our verandah, called out to us not to lose a moment, that there was some disturbance, for the people were leaving the station and going to the lines. I had to mount behind my son, and so rode ten hours. After the first four miles the regiment halted, went up to the major, told him they would proceed no further, and advised the officers to fly. After we started on our run, not being pursued, we stopped to consult, when loyal sepoy's kept coming up, one by one, and before twenty-four hours were over, we numbered two hundred and forty. These kept with us the whole way, behaving admirably, and rendering us all the assistance in their power. Three hundred men before this went on leave, and if they return, we shall have half the regiment. On our arrival at Mizapore, we were not allowed to enter cantonments, because our men were not disarmed, and the Lieutenant-Governor did not think they ought to be, as they had behaved so well :

so they had the offer made to them to take leave for three months. No station would admit us, and the alternative was, that if the men did not wish to go on leave, they would be allowed to proceed to a large village at Gopeegunge, between this and Benares, and fight against the Oude people, among whom were their fathers, brothers, and families. Now to expect this in the present day would be madness. The major consulted with his staff, and there was only one opinion on the subject, that it would have been a shame to have called on men who had behaved so well to perform so revolting a duty, and in fact it would have been taking their bread from them, by obliging them to refuse, and thus lose at the last the great name they really deserved; for I think, without exception, the 50th has been the best behaved regiment in the whole army, and I do not think they would have mutinied had they not been hard pressed on all sides. There is not another instance of so many men following their officers, nor of an entire regiment making no attempt to touch them. They accepted the only alternative offered them without a murmur, but we could see that they were sadly disappointed. Some of the men cried at my feet like children until they set me off too, but they all confessed that it was the only thing left for them until happier days."

The sepoy's objection to the sea even, which is insuperable, could be overcome by affection to their commanding officer, and confidence in him: and so also has their fidelity, discipline, &c. depended materially upon him, or whoever was their leader.

Sir John Malcolm's opinion of the sepoy was: that neither Hindoo nor Mahomedan were revengeful, but both were prone to acts of extreme violence where they deemed their honour slighted. The absence of any fear of death was common to all, and that an army constructed of such, needed careful and wise management, as they were alive to every impulse, and would all vibrate to the same touch, "needing therefore kindness, liberality, and justice, to ensure their attachment." But all such wise and good warnings have proved alas! how vain! We seem to have gloried in a diametrically opposite course of conduct, and when we have produced the bitter fruit of our own infatuated sowing, we shrink from it with loathing, and exclaim against it in deep detestation.

The sepoy's pay has often, during the last century, been heavily in arrears, and thus many have been driven by actual want to the verge of mutiny, Europeans as well as natives; yet

the Bombay troops, who suffered much from this cause were ever devoted to the English; and in Sir John Malcolm's government of India it is related, that at the peace of 1783, 1,500 of the released captives marched 500 miles to Madras, and embarked on a six or eight weeks voyage to rejoin the army to which they belonged at Bombay, besides which, when during a march carefully separated from European prisoners by a tank or some other supposed insurmountable obstacle, they not only declined to enter the native enemy's ranks, though much enticed to do so, but they actually swam the tank (or pond), sometimes of miles in circumference, to carry to the English the little they could save from the pittance allowed them for daily hard labour! "We can live upon any thing," they said, "but you require mutton and beef!" Even in 1809, when Sir Geo. Barlow suppressed the tent-contract allowance, and a serious outbreak occurred in Madras, the fidelity shown by Purneah, the Dewan of Mysoor, when the field-officer, in charge of the fortress of Seringapatam tried to corrupt him, was most remarkable; and when threatened regarding his own and the boy rajah's property in the fort, his reply was still more remarkable, "that the British government was the protector of the rajah and his minister, and that let what would happen he would always prove true to the Dewan and his engagements."

So far back as 1799, Sir John Malcolm objected to a system which held out no prospect whatever, to any native soldier, of rank, distinction, or affluence, and that even then he believed it to be a subject of daily comment among them. On the contrary, under native rulers,—as Mr. Gabbins relates of the Punjaub,—“where the father may have received 1,000 rupees per mensem, as commandant of cavalry, under Runjeet Sing; the son draws only a pay of 80, as sub-commander in the service of the British Government; and he cites the exclamation of a Seik Risaldar, during the insurrection (a man too of good conduct), as uttered in reproach, “that his father used to receive 500 rupees a month in command of a party of Runjeet Sing's horse; *he* received but 50 rupees.” So far from this state of things, though so urgently deprecated by Sir C. Napier, being changed, or any elevation of the Indian officer, according to his plan being adopted, the public press actually discussed their total extinction! Yet what a glorious evidence borne to them is that of Sir Charles Napier: “I would not be afraid to go into action with native troops, *and without Europeans*—provided I had the training of them first.”

Sir Charles Napier also alludes to "unfeelingly and recklessly withholding their furloughs," as one cause of a threatened mutiny; for as the Bengal sepoy does not carry his family with him, his furlough is much prized, and any infringement upon that, or his pension, or the free postage of his letters, must rankle in his mind, as infringements of his rights, and therefore a breach of faith on the part of Government. The latent sarcasm of the oriental character, combined with great powers of observation, is, too, quite ignored by the generality of Europeans, yet, what a delicious little touch of it does Colonel Sleeman afford us, in his "Journey through Oude" (Vol. ii. p. 95). One Umrao Sing, a sturdy honest farmer gave him an exquisite answer to his remark,—alluding to the favour shewn the farmers and cultivators of the disturbed districts not having produced in them grateful fruits,—“but there are some men who never can be satisfied; give them what you will, they will always be craving after more.” “True sir,” was the reply, delivered with the utmost gravity, “there are some people who can never be satisfied, give them what you will; give them the whole of Hindoostan, and they will go off to Cabool, to take more.”

Lord Canning and General Anson's order in 1856 to compel all recruits to swear to go by sea or land wherever ordered, gave infinite disgust, we are informed by several authorities, and that the old sepoys exclaimed: “Up to this day those men who went to Afghanistan have not been re-admitted to their caste; how are we to know where the English may force us to go? they will be ordering us next to go to London!” Charming! as if this would be the crowning evil.

What one Hedayet Ali, a Subadar of the Bengal Seik battalion, wrote, tallies with Sir Charles Trevelyan's letter (*Times*, April 1st, 1858. Letters of Indophilus, page 18.) The former said, “Promotion all went by seniority, and not as it ought, according to merit, and proficiency. All the old men, from length of service, worth nothing as commissioned or non-commissioned officers, received promotion; while younger men, in every way fit, languished on, saying: ‘What use is there in us exerting ourselves; we cannot get promotion until our turn comes, and that time can't come till our heads are grey, and our mouths toothless.’ For this reason they draw their pay, and are careless with their duty. The higher ranks of the native army, from old age alone, were incapacitated from doing their duty . . . so instead of commanding the sepoys, the sepoys commanded them.” &c. “Under a pure seniority system,” wrote Indophilus, “an

officer's promotion goes on in the same manner, whether he exerts himself or takes his ease; and as few love exertion for its own sake, the majority take their ease. Under a system of selection according to qualification and service, promotion is dependent upon exertion, and the majority consequently exert themselves. Those only who know the Bengal army can form some estimate of the amount of idleness and bad habits engendered by the seniority system, co-operating with the enervating influences of the climate, which would be converted into active interest in professional duty by the substitution of a well-considered system of promotion, according to qualification and good service."

Chapter XIII., page 367.

"NOTES OF AN INDIAN ON THE STATE OF HINDOOSTAN. 1848.

"In return for their allegiance and long-trying attachment to the British rule, the natives of India naturally want nothing more than security for their lives and property; their religious usages and customs; the restoration and enjoyment of their resumed and long-established rights; and the removal of the distinctions of colour and creed in the government of their country, which distinctions, though discountenanced by the charter of the East India Company, have marked, the writer is sorry to say, to the present time, the policy of the British towards its Indian subjects, which has proved to be not only ruinous to them and their country, but to have destroyed the good name of the English in the estimation of the Asiatic nations in general. Civilization does not teach the perpetuation of these differences in the political relations of mankind, and of one race with another. One of the nobles of England, whose administration while in India was greatly admired and appreciated by the natives, once said, that among various plans which he had formed for the benefit of India, one was, to restore the college at Delhi, as the centre of Mahomedan literature, and Benares as that of the Hindoo; and to raise and conciliate the broken nobility and gentry of the land by assembling them around the Governor-General as an Honorary Guard. Such a design was well worthy of the projector, and would have been highly beneficial to the people; and popular to Government, if carried out, and consistent with the practice of ancient monarchs. It would have gone far to attach the respectable classes of the natives to a rule

which they now dislike, and would have given them a political position, and at the same time have opened to the head of the Government a new channel of acquiring correct information regarding the country and the people. One of the greatest evils of the Indian administration is the succession of changes in the office, and the inexperience of the Governor-General; as also the general ignorance which prevails in England about the affairs of India. Those only who give themselves the trouble to enquire, know anything about them: the generality form their opinions from paragraphs and leading articles of newspapers, which are received in society as the truth, although the sources from which they are derived are either particular newspapers published by Englishmen in India, or the partial representations of parties who are desirous of having it supposed that the people of that country are quite happy and contented with their condition, and that to imagine otherwise is a great mistake. Much stress also is laid on the advantage of appointing a person to the high office of Governor-General free from any local bias. No doubt that is a reasonable motive, but it should be asked, does it compensate for the disadvantages to which such an important trust is exposed by the appointment of entire strangers? About every third or fourth year a fresh Governor-General is sent out who may perhaps never before have been to that country, and who, from the position in which he stands, hardly learns anything beyond that which may come to his knowledge in the routine of business, through an official medium. As soon as he begins to know something of the country, and when he ought to remain, he is either recalled or voluntarily returns to enjoy life in his native land. The natives of India, who have hitherto been patient spectators of the scene, are now becoming alive to their own interests and ~~welfare~~ ^{wellfare}, and are beginning to grow loud in their complaints of the condition to which they have been reduced; a continuance of which state they instinctively consider oppressive, and degrading to them as a nation. 'Shore's Notes' ought to be in the hand of every British officer appointed to the Indian service. The Discourses of Sir W. Jones, and the Reports of Grant, Elphinstone, Munro, Malcolm, &c., as well as the 5th Report of a Committee of the House of Commons, on the affairs of India on the renewal of the East India Company's Charter in 1813, may be also consulted. We have oppression on the one hand, and aggrandisement on the other. Instead of a well-digested and simple code, we have a heterogenous mass of law, compre-

hensible only to those who made it.* In preparing it, our legislators seem to have paid no attention to the habits and feelings of the natives, being solely guided by their own judgment, otherwise the present system would not have proved so injurious as it has to the people for whose benefit it was intended. They were scarcely prepared for its intricacies, which are more beneficial to lawyers and impostors, than to suitors for redress. One of the greatest evils created by the regulations, is a class of unpaid and venal advocates or pleaders (*vakils* and professional witnesses), who live solely on the money they extort from those who appeal for justice to the British Courts. Three-fourths of the suits which are filed, are instigated by these *legal* intriguers, as, without such business in hand, they cannot live. No case can be heard unless advocated by one of these worthies, however anxious the complainant may be to prosecute his own case personally. In ninety out of a hundred instances a rogue is successful because, from his ill-gotten gains, he handsomely pays his pleaders. One may get as many witnesses as he likes at four anas or sixpence, or at most, eight anas or a shilling a piece, for there is no punishment for giving false evidence; and besides, the people have become so poor, that they are willing to do anything to save themselves from starvation. According to the former law of the land, which was once guaranteed to us, the evidence of trust-worthy persons only was admitted, and hence there was comparatively much less litigation during the time of the late government than now. The only people who can have a true knowledge of the working of the existing system are the natives, the daily sufferers and observers; but, unluckily, they have no voice in the legislation, nor can they even raise it, and the channel through which alone the truth can be ascertained, remains yet closed. The most essential of all measures would be a revision of the whole of the laws and regulations, and the formation of an almost new code. To the accomplishment of such a task, the very highest talents in the service should be directed, and it would not so much require superiority of legal skill in those employed upon it, as that they should be endowed with minds unfettered by prejudice for or against any particular system, and be disposed to take the fullest advantage of the facts and

* The Parliament of Great Britain decreed, that the natives of India should be governed by their own laws and customs. The Supreme Government established the existing system on the ground, no doubt, of its being best suited to the country of Bengal. But the situation of Bengal was widely different from

experience which late years have accumulated. Such a commission would of course be, aided by the information and opinions of the ablest natives from the different parts of our dominions. The most serious part of this question, and one which lies at the very threshold, is, whether we are, in the shape and substance of our administration of justice, to pay most attention to our own rules, principles, and prejudices, or to those of the nation, or rather nations, we have to govern? We may lay it down as a first principle, that no system can be good that is not thoroughly understood and appreciated by those for whose benefit it is intended. The minds of men can never be tranquillized, much less attached, until they are at repose regarding the intentions of the authority under which they live, which they never can be till all classes see and comprehend its principles of government.'—*Malcolm's India*, vol. II. p. 152.

"Drunkenness out of doors was entirely prohibited by the Mahomedan laws. We now see an *Abkaree*, or licensed shop, for the sale of spirituous liquors, almost in every town and large village. In fact, it has been made a source of revenue, instead of being altogether abolished, as tending to demoralize the minds of the natives. In the firman or deed, executed by the late King Shah Alum, dated 29th October, 1764, conveying to the Company the province of Ghazeepeer, and the rest of the Zamindaree of Rajah Bulwant Sing of Benares, it is expressly stipulated by his majesty, 'That the Company must use their best endeavours to prohibit the use of things of an intoxicating nature, such as are forbidden by the Law of God.' The *Bhasker* of the 28th instant (April, 1848), in comparing the Mahomedan with the British rule, says, "we hear of nothing else but schemes of raising the revenue; situations of emolument are denied to the natives of acknowledged merit, and unexceptionable character; commerce is monopolised by foreign merchants, and the profits of agriculture find their way into the pockets of Europeans. Money now leaves India, never to return back in any shape whatever." This is a correct picture of the Indian finances, and any unbiased reader who examines the subject will readily admit the truth of it. On my way down to Bombay, I questioned several of the *patails* (landholders), whether they were happier under the present system than that which they enjoyed under the native princes: they replied in the negative; and, as their reason, almost every one of them stated that there was no *barkat* (profit) under the present rule; that formerly if one of the family were engaged in cultivation, the rest con-

tributed to its support, generally by serving the ruler, while at present, there is scarcely any public employment, and the whole family, therefore, depended upon their cultivation, which has comparatively been more exorbitantly taxed than ever, and more subjected to extra expences. Throughout my whole line of march, I found the Nizam's territory better cultivated, and the Ryat's more happy than in the Company's districts, where the poor peasants are in an actual state of poverty. These people are still in the enjoyment of their *wattuns*, or hereditary lands; but sad is the case of those who have been deprived even of this resource. The resumption of the rent-free lands in the Bengal Presidency and in the Upper Provinces, has reduced a great portion of the community to a state of starvation. I have heard and seen many of these miserable creatures, once the gentry of the country, lingering out a wretched and degraded life. Numbers of substantial dwelling-houses have been pulled down, as their only resource, and the materials sold to prolong their existence. Any impartial person, desirous of knowing the truth, has only to go into the interior of the country to satisfy himself of it. These lands were granted in times past, to the ancestors of those from whom they have been resumed, in consideration of their services to their rulers, or from charitable motives, and had been enjoyed from generation to generation for a hundred years. At the time of granting them, many of these lands were uncultivated. It was the custom of the rulers to give away waste lands to encourage cultivation. The custom still prevails among the native princes, but it was carried out more liberally by the old rulers, not only to improve the country, but to attach the grantees more firmly to their respective settlements. After much pains, labour, and expense they had fertilised and enriched these lands, and localities, as in the planting of groves, the construction of wells, gardens, &c., some of which still exist, though in a decaying state, and are useful to the population and to the country. Was it just to have deprived them of these grants after they had been so long attached to them, and when they had no other support whatever to subsist upon? The great misery which this oppressive and unjust measure has brought on the country might melt the hardest heart; but it has hitherto failed to move the compassion of a Government which prides itself so much on its civilization and morality over 'the semi-barbarous native princes' of India. The proceeds of these free lands amounted to 2,26,18,127 rupees, or £2,492,564, and supported a large class of the community. They were a part

of the rights of the people which, on the establishment of the British Government, were not only solemnly guaranteed to them, but were allowed to remain in their possession unmolested for more than half a century. What would be thought in England of an enquiry into the title-deeds of English estates held an equal time, and a re-measurement of the lands, with the intention of resuming a part of them for Government? This measure has made the British name more unpopular in India than anything else they could have devised, and the enmity which it has produced has no bounds. Thus, is it cursed in almost every village which has suffered by these arbitrary resumptions; and surely with justice, as will be more fully explained hereafter. It will be only sufficient here to observe, that India is treated as if she had no master, because notice is seldom or ever taken of any oppressions to which the natives are subjected. If, instead of pensions, lands were to be granted by Government to its native dependants, the result would be beneficial to the country, and its present declining state be, in many places, arrested. At the same time, it will be a very philanthropic and merciful act to restore the lands which have been resumed so unreasonably, and without any just grounds. These resumptions, perhaps, might not have been felt so severely if the people could have turned to any other means of subsistence; but, in their present miserable condition, it has proved very fatal to their well-being. Mr. Shore, in his Notes, says, "Formerly, the English did pay some attention to the natives, and treat them with some consideration and civility, and instances innumerable are on record, of the beneficial effects of such behaviour; while, not one can be adduced of any evil consequence arising from it. But since, for many years, the English have adopted an opposite mode of conduct, it is no wonder that the natives regard them with dislike, and that this dislike is on the increase." Very few Native States have their Agents present with the Governor General. Until every one has a representative with the head of the British Government, the British Agent is the only channel of communication. There can seldom arise any benefit from the direct interference of our Agents in the affairs of the native States, and hence there is no necessity for a continuation of it, unless it be for the purpose of increasing disorder and confusion in these different Principalities' (how truly exemplified!), 'so as to enable Government eventually to take possession of them on the plausible ground that their own Chiefs cannot themselves govern them properly, which is not always just. The following remark

made by Lord William Bentinck, in his minute dated 30th of July, 1831, on the affairs of Oude, is very wise and true—

“Although I have presumed to differ with two of my distinguished predecessors on the question of right and obligation to force the Ruler of Oude to desist from his arbitrary sway, I beg to express my entire concurrence in the description given by Lord Hastings of the conduct and demeanour that ought to be observed by a British resident, towards the King of Oude and to the Chiefs of all dependent States. In proportion as our power is notoriously overwhelming and irresistible, so should the display of it be carefully suppressed, and, if possible, invisible. The utmost delicacy should be used on all occasions of intercourse, whether of ceremony or business, to uphold the rank and dignity of the native Prince, and to treat him with the utmost consideration and attention. The errors of our policy in this respect seem to have been two-fold; first, to interfere a great deal too much in all the petty details of the administration, and in the private and personal arrangements of the sovereign, making, in fact, the resident more than the King, clothing him with a degree of state, equal to that of royalty itself, and allowing him to act the part rather of a school-master and dictator, than of the minister of a friendly power, professing to recognise the independence of its Ally. The immense jurisdiction exercised by the resident at Lucknow, within the town itself, the actual residence of the sovereign, is totally incompatible with the royal dignity and authority, is often the occasion of much complaint and inconvenience, and is strongly opposed to a considerate and liberal policy:—and, secondly, not to interfere with sufficient promptitude and decision as the paramount power, when the vital interests of both States, the cause of good Government, and of humanity, imperatively demanded it. It is to the first description of meddling and interference, and the mischiefs of the double Governments, which have been so often described, that I feel so much adverse. If the Political Agents for the most part were altogether removed, I believe it would be for the comfort of the sovereign, for the advantage of good Government, and for the real interests of both States. This measure is, of course, not possible, where we have our subsidiary Forces, and where there are large collections of European officers, whose conduct it is necessary to control—but to the minor states, in which this measure has been carried into effect, the worst consequences appear to me to have accrued. It is impossible that this *imperium in im-*

feeling and passion of human nature. If the Dewan is the creature of the Resident, the Prince, as Sir Thomas Munro observes, will necessarily counteract his own minister. If, on the other hand, as it has frequently happened, the minister is supported by the Prince, but not by the Resident, the influence of the latter is immediately courted by the faction in opposition, and his intentions and conduct are, contrary to his own will, often misrepresented for party purposes. Again, it often happens that an administration offensive to the people, draws or pretends to draw a sanction to its proceedings from the support of the British authority."

If proper enquiries were made, and necessary precautions were taken, to check the abuses pointed out by his Lordship, the interference with the jurisdictions and privileges of the Native Chiefs could not take place to the extent it does. Lord Metcalfe, one of the ablest of Statesmen in India, recorded his opinion on the same subject as follows:—

"With few exceptions, the boon* most probably has been voluntary and gratuitous, arising out of the practice which has prevailed at the Residency of Lucknow of setting up a jurisdiction in counteraction of that of the ruler of the country, or at least separate from it, a jurisdiction which is unwarrantable and mischievous, and ought, under any circumstances, to be abolished."

The intercourse between the native Ruler and the local British Agent is, as Lord W. Bentinck says, generally in the style of a king and his dependant, and many of the petty Chieftains are sometimes treated as indelicately as menial servants. Every mark of respect is extorted from these Princes, while a negligence or indifference is shewn in observing the same conduct towards them. It is the custom of India to take off shoes when entering the room of any friend or superior, of course from the commencement of the carpet, because shoes are considered unclean by Eastern nations; and not merely out of respect, as is the impression among Europeans. The native is, however, willing to shew the same consideration while on a visit to an English gentleman, as to one of his own countrymen; but the former does not, as he ought to do, observe the same respect, by taking off his hat, when visiting a native Chief. The poor man, being quite at the mercy of his English superior, never dares to remonstrate against such a want of etiquette, because he is taught, by the example of others, to know, that to offend the latter is very

* The exer is of a jurisdiction, independent of the Chief.

dangerous to the safety of his State, which might thus become involved in inextricable difficulties. He therefore swallows the insult, but feels the anomaly of his position very deeply, as he is made of the same flesh and spirit as is the Agent, and is governed by the same passions and sentiments, though he be in a more degraded position. Some political officers avoid the observance of the ceremony from an idea that the natives do not like their visitors to uncover their head, which however is a great mistake—the natives very reasonably like to be as much respected as any person can. The other day, when Mr. Thomason, the Lieutenant Governor of Agra, passed through Malwa on a visit to a native, he, as is customary with the Governor General, and other high dignitaries of the British Government, took off his hat. On his departure, I heard the native Chief observe, that he was a good and noble-minded gentleman. Yet, such little things are considered unworthy of notice by the generality of local Agents; but they have done almost as much harm to the interest of the British Government by alienating the hearts of the Princes, as deviations from good faith.

Lord Ellenborough also issued a circular letter of instructions almost to the same effect, but more in detail, strictly prohibiting any interference with the internal affairs of the native states, and to show proper consideration to the chiefs of the country; but, unluckily, all these orders are considered generally as dead letters, and perhaps they are hardly in the memory of those whose duty it is to observe them. They are, however, in accordance with the terms of the treaties which the British Government has, from time to time, entered into with the native states, and ought therefore to be enforced. By virtue of these solemn pledges, the native princes are quite independent in the management of their own affairs. To interfere in them is not only conducive to many misfortunes to the chiefs and their people, but is a breach of the sacred engagements which the British Government is solemnly bound to observe. The departure from this policy has created a very bad impression on the minds of the Indian chiefs. Their belief is, that the British Government breaks its treaties whenever it finds it convenient to do so for its own interests. Certainly such an impression is much to be lamented, and is anything but conducive to the welfare of its Government in India.... Among the Rajpoots and the Mahrattas, it has been a long-established custom to adopt an heir, in case one may die without a male issue. Such usage,

however, is a bar to absorbing ambition. It is therefore being gradually got rid of, and, in fact, has been dispensed with in one or two instances, although treaties have secured the right, not only of the contracting party for himself, but for his heirs and successors, without distinction. Accordingly, as long as a successor is selected agreeably to the usage of that party, he is a lawful heir, and ought to be acknowledged as such by the paramount power; but instead of this wise and just course, the interpretation now often given to the word "heirs" is, that the male heir of one's body is the only rightful heir. Such a construction, however, was never contemplated at the time of framing the treaties by either party: but if the passage admitted of doubt, then, according to the laws of nations, the interpretation ought to be in favour of the weakest party. The petty chiefs in India, having no power to oppose the overwhelming force of the British Government, their sole trust, in signing these treaties, has been in the good faith of the British. It is the breach of it which has created the greatest alarm in the minds of the native princes, and the acts of the British agents connected with their respective Governments are looked upon, therefore, with the utmost jealousy and distrust.' (This in 1848—and in 1858 beheld the revenge of Nana Sahib!) 'Before we entered Affghanistan, we made very handsome promises to the leading people to induce them to support the cause of Shah Shujah, or, in reality, that of the British Government, as the king was merely a puppet in the hands of the English, and brought upon the stage to serve the ends of their own policy. The Affghans were true to their engagements, and performed their duty accordingly; but unhappily, as soon as we had placed the Shah on his throne, we quite forgot our own solemn promises. The very people who had acted faithfully were not only unwisely neglected, but often treated contemptuously. A general disaffection was the consequence, which terminated in the destruction of the British army and authority then in Cabul, leaving a stigma on the national character which will last for ever. It is a matter of great surprise, that the lesson which we learned in Affghanistan has not yet taught us to improve and to introduce a reform in the narrow policy which is now-a-days pursued in India. The truth is, that those true principles of Government which are so essential to the general welfare of the empire, no longer rule the British councils. Temporary and selfish advantages, which are so repugnant to a wise and liberal system of measures, are the order of the day. . . It is not a sign of wisdom to

estrange the feelings of the people, and to make them conscious of their fallen condition, and thereby revive their recollection of the privileges which they enjoyed under their former rulers. The following are the chief causes of estrangement in the affection of the natives towards their present masters, and the unpopularity of the British Government in India:—

In the time of the Mahomedan rulers, India yielded annually twenty-three crores of revenue, the whole of which was expended in the country. The standing army in the time of Shahjahan consisted of two lakhs of well-paid Sawars alone, besides infantry, artillery, and numerous other military and civil establishments, as well as an immense force always maintained by the Jagerdars and feudatory chiefs. Nasir Jung, the Suba of Hederabad, in the Deccan alone, assembled in the field at Gingie, in A.D. 1756, against his nephew Mozofferjung, 300,000 fighting men, of which more than half were cavalry, together with 800 pieces of cannon, and 1,300 elephants, besides the contingents of the feudatory chiefs who attended him. The military were composed of the natives of the country, with very few foreigners, and all situations from high to low were also filled by them. The pay of a Sawar, or horseman, in the time of Shahjahan, was 60 rupees per mensem a man. When it was reduced by Alumgeer to 30 rupees, Shahjahan observed, "from this time I count the decline of the Mogul empire, because, although 30 rupees a month was quite enough to keep a Sawar, yet it would not enable him to give a proper education to his children, and maintain his respectability. Hence, the next generation will be almost illiterate, and not properly discharge their duty." To a great extent the prediction of Shahjahan was verified. Besides these great establishments, which upheld the whole nobility and gentry of the country on a scale worthy of their rank and station, the trade and all other sources of income were likewise in their hands, as were the manufactories of every description. Moreover, they enjoyed certain rights and privileges, without cessation, from generation to generation, and numbers of colleges were erected, and provision made for their respective maintenance. Ferishta says, "Firoz Shah built fifty great aqueducts, forty mosques, thirty schools, twenty karavan saraes, a hundred royal edifices, five hospitals, a hundred tombs, ten spacious baths, ten spires, a hundred and fifty wells, a hundred bridges," &c. Baber says that he ordered a *minar*, or obelisk, to be raised

gardens and palaces which he planned and erected, Sher Shah, Akber, Jahangeer, Shahjahan, Alungeer, and their nobility and officers vied with each other in these works of magnificence, and the immense wealth which was thus daily expended, besides great charitable establishments, went to support the poor. Added to which, Mahomedan and Hindoo nobility and gentry lived in the country, and liberally expended every farthing in their private establishments, as well as in objects of public utility, and thus the revenue of the country flowed back to the people. The following impartial extract from the unbiassed pen of Mr. Gleig, about the state of affairs in India, at the time when the English merchants landed and settled in Surat, will not be uninteresting :

“A thousand deputies rising in degree one above another, managed the affairs of the innumerable provinces into which his (the Emperor of Delhi's) empire was divided. These had large bodies of revenue officers and police in their pay, judges and magistrates under them, with standing armies, and all the other appliances of sovereign power ; and they maintained at their courts a degree of state which nothing about those of European princes seemed to come near. The habits of the people likewise were, as far as strangers could judge of them, civilized in the extreme. Their manners were gentle and polite, while their ingenuity (speaking of the working classes) as weavers, and their skill in the mechanical and agricultural arts, excited the admiration of persons born in Kent, and brought up in Manchester and London. Meanwhile, the Indian aristocracy inhabited palaces gorgeously decorated and of vast extent. Their temples, too, and market places, the tombs of the dead, and the monuments erected to commemorate the virtue of the living, all appeared to the wondering eyes of our countrymen, superb. In like manner, the density of the population in the cities, and the perfect order which prevailed—the awe with which rulers seemed to be regarded—and the pomp and dazzling splendour of their possessions—went far to confirm the impressions which a consideration of other more shadowy objects had made.”—*Life of Clive*, p. 16.

In short, the inhabitants enjoyed every means of prosperity and happiness ; the country was in a flourishing state, and the people as happy as any nation in the world could be. Hence, “the wealth of India” is proverbial, and has always been the theme of ancient and modern historians ; but a change of masters has visibly brought on an entire change in the condition of the people and the country. The people

have been almost wholly thrown out of employment, both public and private. The nobility of the country crushed to dust, and the gentry nearly broken down. The trade has been, in a great measure, engrossed by foreigners, and the native manufactures stopped by the importation of those of England, while Englishmen, who form the present nobility and gentry of the country, come out to India merely to make fortunes, and live comparatively on a very low scale, and as soon as their object is accomplished, retire to England with their hoarded wealth. At the same time, we do not see any public works undertaken, either by Government or its servants, as formerly existed. The only buildings they erect are little better than temporary, which would become a heap of ruins, if neglected, in a very few years. In short, the resources of India are rapidly drained in several ways, and the consequence is that the natives have been neglected by their masters, and are reduced to a hopeless state of poverty. Many of them can hardly find a piece of bread to satisfy the cravings of hunger. The only employment they have is the most exorbitantly taxed—tillage. The army consists only of one lakh and fifty thousand men, and that generally of the dregs of society. The decline of the Mogul empire may be dated from the death of Aurangzeb in 1807, ever since which the English have had every stimulus to exertion, while the natives of India have been making a retrograde movement, both in civilisation and literature. The former appear in general to be heedless of exhausting and impoverishing the resources of the country, neglecting those things necessary to promote its permanent good. Self-aggrandisement, which could only be effected by the depression and ruination of the inhabitants, appears but too often the only interest which has been observed by our present rulers, as shown, particularly in the exclusion of the natives from all sorts of employments of trust and emolument. The large revenue extorted by Government goes in a great measure, to discharge their commercial debts, or in paying foreign expenses, as well as a large establishment in England; scarcely one-fourth of the income being expended in the country. All those liberalities of Government, which once made India so prosperous, are no longer to be known, nor have we a hope of its restoration to that happy state as long as matters are managed as they have hitherto been. But unluckily the natives are considered unfit for employments of trust or importance. Nay, some good-

their nature, are incapable of improvement. They are also accused of being indolent, and wanting in habits of enterprise, or they would have exerted themselves in establishing manufactories and machineries, as the people do in England. As to the unfitness of the natives, it is absurd to argue the point: Such an idea could only enter the heads of those who are labouring in the dark and are as ignorant of the real character of the natives of India, and their capabilities, as the occupants (if any) of the moon and stars. In the first place, they have never been tried, as they ought to have been, in any independent employment. In whatever capacity they have been engaged, they have generally given satisfaction, as regards the due despatch of business. The employment of native judges and deputy collectors has been a very gratifying measure to the local Government. Besides, who carried on the native business in the several *Monfussul*, or Provincial offices? If the English functionaries at the head of them were not assisted by their native *Amla*, the business would be almost entirely at a stand still; nay, many of those officers are so incapable, from the ignorance of the people who are unfortunate enough to be placed under their control, that, if they were not guided by their native assistants, they would often be at a loss how to act. I will treat this subject separately under the head of "Native Service." As to the want of exertion in the natives to improve their own condition and that of their country, I will content myself with the remark, that no nation has ever prospered with an empty purse, without the co-operation and encouragement of its Government, as well as of its own people. The latter have, either from indifference or ignorance, or both, been reduced to mere insignificance, whilst the Government has never gone beyond good intentions, proceeding from the head rather than from the heart, in its desire to ameliorate the condition of their degraded subjects. The comparison, therefore, between the English and Indian nations is unjust. The one is luxuriating in wealth, and meets with every support from Government, and derives immense resources from the profits of trade with other countries, while the other is not only deprived of all these advantages, but is obviously depressed to enrich and aggrandise the foreigners. How, then, can the natives of India make any advancement in the liberal arts and sciences? Again, the things manufactured in India are now

far less in demand than they were in former days. The muslins of Dacca, the silks of Benares, as well as numerous other articles meet with scarcely any sale, even in India. The natives have become too poor to use these costly things, while the English prefer the manufactures of their own country for their own consumption; and, as to the coarse articles, they are done away with by the cheap goods imported from England, which are prepared by the aid of machinery. Could not these articles be made in India by the Indians? There is every reason to suppose that they could be, but there is no earnest endeavour in those who have the power of introducing reforms and improvements, while the natives themselves have no means of helping each other, should they be inclined to do so.

That acute and impartial observer, Colonel Sleeman, on the want of employment and depression of the natives, speaks as follows:—"We do the soldier's work with about one-tenth of the soldiery that had been before employed in it over the territories we acquire, and turn the other nine-tenths adrift. They all sink into the lower class of religious mendicants, or retainers, or live among their friends as drones upon the land, while the manufacturing, trading, and commercial industry that provided them with the comforts, conveniences, and elegancies of life while they were in a higher grade of service, is, in its turn, thrown out of employment; and the whole frame of society becomes, for a time, deranged, by the local diminution in the demand for the services of men, and the produce of their industry."

India has for a long period been governed by foreigners. The Hindoos were not so jealous of the Mahomedan rule as they are now of the English, because, under the former, they were not excluded from a share of power in the management of their own country, nor were they so heavily taxed in several shapes; but if they continue depressed as they are, it will not be surprising if, in self-defence, they may some day or other rise to rescue themselves from the starvation and thralldom to which they are now exposed, and when the dry materials have once caught fire, it will be difficult to arrest the rapid progress of the flame. They are certainly treated as contemptuously by many of their European masters as the animals of the forest (too true—shamefully so). 'The natives have become proverbial among the English for all sorts of

grasping, selfish and conceited; but yesterday savages, and with the presumption of such, undervaluing, and being insolent to, Orientals of such antiquity of rank and precedence of empire.

vices in the world, although the accusers will not be found, on a fair trial, with very few exceptions, to be free from so serious a charge. For any bad act, it is generally in the mouth of an officer, "How like a native!" Such is the force of prejudice, that Mr. Shore, in speaking of the behaviour of the English towards the natives, remarks, that, "In India, a man who speaks in this way of the natives often has a greater part of the society (English) in his favour; while a person who knows something of them, and does not see so very great difference between them and himself (*vide* Sir John Malcolm) can only venture to say a word in their favour, with the almost certainty of being ill-spoken of by the majority of his countrymen. One of the expressions commonly used, and meant one of dissatisfaction, is, 'Oh, he is fond of the natives!' One would suppose the principle adopted was to treat the people as a degraded, inferior race."

I saw a young officer in a grand procession, where numbers of English gentlemen were present, scornfully ordering the driver of a native gentleman's elephant to fall back, because he considered his dignity, or rather his vanity, lowered, by "a black fellow" being a-head of him, though, in his own country, in point of honour and respectability, he might be equal, if not on a higher footing, than himself. It is the custom of the natives to bow respectfully to a superior. When this compliment is paid to Europeans, there are very few who return it.* When the officers go on a visit to a native Prince, they generally stretch their legs in the open *Darbar*, which is considered a great indelicacy in a native court; but, if a similar want of etiquette be observed in the conduct of a native prince, in his visit to an European, he is sure to be degraded.

These are instances of want of proper manners, which, though inexcusable, may be ascribed to ignorance; but some of the young officers are as harsh, or I may say brutal, in their treatment of the natives, as others are void of civility and politeness; and, what is most astonishing, their unbecoming conduct does not meet with due punishment from Government.

To instance. On the 2nd of November, 1847, Lieutenant — at Kapurthala, (a native independent State in the Punjab), ordered his servants to maltreat an inhabitant of that

* The same is remarked all over Germany. There, a prince or prime minister raises his hat to acknowledge a servant's reverence—but an Englishman only nods to a foreign nobleman, though himself, may be, but a commoner, or even an artist or student, of no birth.

place; and caused him to be beaten with a stick; his beard, mustachoes, and the hair of his head to be cut off; his head to be blackened, and shoes to be hung round his neck; and then, mounted on an ass, paraded him about the town; and the lieutenant himself sprinkled the blood of parrots and pigeons on his face. For this violent outrage, the lieutenant was tried, and was ordered, by the Commander-in-Chief, instead of being dismissed, to be reprimanded in the presence of the troops at Lahore!

The other instance is this: Lieutenant —, in a moment of frenzy, inflicted a kick on a *syce* or groom, of which he died. The lieutenant was tried by a court-martial; but the charge was so framed that it was impossible for the court to convict him; and he thus escaped retribution! What respect can be had for such courts and for such *even-handed justice*? I am sure if a native were to slaughter an Englishman he would not escape condign punishment.*

Other instances of the degradation of the natives might be mentioned, but the above are enough to give an idea of the contempt with which the native British Indian subject is often treated by the majority of the English. With such examples, it would be surprising if the natives should not be full of hatred towards a rule which subjects them to such highly unbecoming, or rather savage, treatment.†

These grievances, added to the faults of their system of rule, have exceedingly raised the animosity of the people. Even the women taunt their husbands and male relatives for their patient submission to the condition of slavery to which they have been reduced, and such of the natives as receive an English education, and imitate the customs and manners of the English, are looked upon with disgust, and apparently with sufficient reason, because many of these young men, being very little acquainted with their own habits, religious and national feelings, begin to assail their own countrymen summarily, like their European masters.

In short, it is the deep impression of the natives that the

* Vide Reports of Courts-martial, and Extracts from "General orders," in the "Indian News," dated 4th July, 1848.

† It is indeed shameful, and highly derogatory to European dignity, their treatment of their native inferiors. In some, kicks and cuffs accompanying almost every word—and the whip is as often used to the running groom, and to passers by in crowded thoroughfares, as to the horse; and should, as sometimes it does happen, that, a high-spirited *up-country dewan* (or gatekeeper) to some high native returns the blow with his *latte* or club, great is the astonishment and indignation expressed—and if there be a party of persons driving, in stant

English are not what they were some years ago: they consider them demoralised. This contagious idea is general, and has arisen from the treatment which they daily experience at the hands of their governors. The latter have adopted only one course of maintaining their supremacy—*force*. Conciliatory means, and kindness of manners, are laid aside. Many have adopted the idea, that to be on familiar terms with a native, or even to treat him with civility, is derogatory to an English gentleman, and that his dignity is supported by reserve, and by remaining at a distance from him, little knowing that people are respected for their merits, and for their virtues and philanthropic acts; and not for uncourteous manners and a want of that upright and just conduct which alone secures that which is now vainly sought by not mixing with the people. The natives of India generally meet with every civility and politeness in England, as if the English at home and the English in India belonged to two different races of people. Almost every native of India who visits England is struck with this difference. He comparatively praises the gentlemanly behaviour of the one, and censures the arrogance of the other. Mr. Shore justly gives the following character of his countrymen in India: “The haughty superciliousness, arrogance, and even insolence which the generality of the English (I chiefly allude to the civil and military officers) think it necessary to adopt towards the natives, by way of keeping up their own dignity, is extremely great. This conduct appears rather on the increase, but to such a pitch has it already been carried, that the feeling among most of the natives is rather to avoid than court intercourse with the English; as, by even paying a visit to an English gentleman, the former are more likely to be treated with slight and neglect, than to meet with civility.”

This is also most true, and sometimes laughably foolish, could one laugh and not sorrow at such perversity—viz., that of insisting on the head Mahomedan servant's removing a ham, &c., which by his religion he is forbidden to touch. Why should they eat hams more there than here? How rarely is one seen on an English table at dinner—whereas, at the pettiest officers' in India, it *must always be*, with its attendant turkey, if he have but few friends to dinner. At a dinner party, where many Mahomedan servants are assembled (each guest brings one or two to attend behind his chair), the ham has been left on the table, whilst everything else was removed, and all the servants gradually disappeared. Some irascible gentlemen have been known to seize it at last by the shank,

and run after their head-man to throw it at him, sometimes giving chase through several adjoining enclosures!

The British authorities are hence feared, but not beloved, and they remain almost in the dark as to the feelings of the people, and as to what passes in the country. They have a ceremonious intercourse, and an imperfect information derived from parties either paid for it, or who discolour the truth.

The knowledge of a country can only be acquired by three means; namely, observation, reading, and conversation. The British authorities see enough of the country and the works thereof, but comparatively observe very little of the character of the people, their manners, feelings, and customs, or the effect of the existing administration on them. The reading to which they have access regarding India, is furnished by parties, who, in the majority of cases, are as imperfectly informed as themselves. The history of British India generally contains eulogiums on the actors, and records important events, without sufficiently mentioning as to how they were caused or how brought about. It is also the duty of an historian to give a correct account of the origin and progress of laws and institutions, as to their effects on the people, and how they promote the public happiness. I am sorry to say, that our bulky histories of British India are often silent on these most essential points, which they perhaps consider of no consequence. As to conversation, I mean on a familiar footing, they seek no opportunity of benefiting by it.

They have adopted quite a different dialect of the Ordoos from what is spoken in the country, which is peculiar to themselves, and which is called by the natives *English-Hindostanee*. The fact is, they generally pick up the language from common-servants, with their own pronunciation, and never mix with the society of gentry, where alone they can learn a correct style of speaking, and attain an idea of the manners and customs of the natives. On this account they are very much laughed at, and I believe the same may be the case in an English society, if one were wanting in proper manners, elegance of expression, and genteel address. To support my assertion, I cannot avoid again quoting a passage from Sleenman's work. He is one of the best Oriental scholars that the Honourable Company's service has produced, and is now in India. He speaks thus:—

“The best of us, Europeans, feel our deficiencies in con-

and conversed more freely with all classes than I have; and yet I feel myself sadly deficient when I enter, as I often do, into discussions with Mahomedan gentlemen of education, upon the subject of the character of the Government and institutions of different countries, their effects upon the character and condition of the people, and a thousand other things which are subjects of every-day conversation among educated and thinking men in our own country. The chief cause of this deficiency is the want of sufficient intercourse with men, in whose presence we should be ashamed to appear ignorant—this is the great secret, and all should know and acknowledge it. We are not ashamed to convey our orders to our native servants in a barbarous language. I have heard some of our highest diplomatic characters talking without the slightest feeling of shame or embarrassment to native princes, on the most ordinary subjects of every-day's interest, *in a language which no human being but themselves could understand.* We shall remain the same till some change of system inspires us with stronger motives to please and conciliate the educated classes of the community."

Government ought to inculcate the necessity on each of its officers, not only to acquire a perfect knowledge of the languages, customs, manners, habits, and feelings of the people with whom he is to deal, but to prepare a book for their guidance, and that of their successors in office, as in the Government. The compilation of such a book would prove of the greatest service to the officers themselves, and prevent them from committing many mistakes into which they now sometimes unintentionally fall, and get annoyed with the natives without sufficient cause. *They would also thereby learn to judge of the natives by their own standard, and not by that of England, as they generally do.* They would likewise be able to form a better idea of their moral character, as well as of their aptitude for the administrative and legislative business of their own country.

UNCOVENANTED SERVICE.

The native service consists generally of menial servants and writers. The former are composed of so low a class that they are hardly regarded by the natives as worthy of trust, and necessity only obliges them to hold communication with them. They are not the fittest to get correct information, but they

the management of the native business. Without their assistance, it could not be carried on for a day. Many of their superiors being foreigners and inexperienced, have necessarily to rely on their guidance, but the question is, whether they are sincere. In the majority of cases they are not, nor have they any great cause to be so, because whatever good they do, the credit is solely taken by their superior, and their worldly career, being entirely at the mercy of the latter, is very precarious. In such an uncertain position, a writer considers himself a fool to be honest to those who are not honest to him, especially as he is very often liable to be dismissed by his next master, who, if anxious to make room for his own creatures, generally involves him in difficulties and disgrace. Again, a third and the strongest of reasons, is the lowness of his salary, which is very small, in comparison to his labour and merit, as besides his own personal expenses, he may have a family to support. Moreover, he has no stimulus to promotion, or even assurance of his permanence in office. To crown all these misfortunes, he is treated little better than a menial. The native *Alma* in the Judges' and Magistrates' Courts are obliged to stand before them from ten to four o'clock, and do the business in that attitude. Besides being very humiliating, as well as painful, is it not an unfeeling act? I have seen these poor people sometimes suffering from swollen feet. It is wonderful that they can do the business, when they are almost out of their senses from fatigue. If the functionaries were disposed, for humanity's sake, to allow their *Amila* a seat, the bad feeling which now exists would be partly removed, and the despatch of business much facilitated. Such a custom was never known before, nor does anywhere exist among native princes at present, but was introduced from novelty and self-love, along with other similar useless innovations. Perhaps the idea originated from the *Khedmutgars* standing at the table of the English gentleman. Even these, low as they are, would seldom serve, if made to stand as long as a respectable *Shareshtehdar*, or head native secretary... The testimony of Sir Thomas Munro, in his minute of 30th December, 1824, about the abilities of the natives of India, is thus recorded:—"The natives possess, in as high a degree at least as Europeans, all those qualifications which are requisite for the discharge of the inferior duties in which they are em-

less we suppose that they are inferior to us in natural talent, which there is no reason to believe, it is much more likely that they will be duly qualified for their employments than Europeans for theirs, because the field of selection is so much greater in the one case than in the other. We have a whole nation from which to make our choice of natives, but in order to make choice of Europeans, we have only the small body of the Company's covenanted servants. If it be admitted that the natives often act wrong, it is no reason for not employing them: we shall be oftener wrong ourselves. What we do wrong is not noticed, or but seldom and slightly; what they do wrong meets with no indulgence. Let Britain be subjugated by a foreign power to-morrow; let the people be excluded from all share in the Government, from public honours, from every office of high trust or emolument, and let them in every situation be considered unworthy of trust; and all their knowledge and all their literature, *sacred and profane*, would not save them from becoming, in another generation or two, a *low-minded, deceitful, and dishonest race*." A respectable and well-educated native, with good pay, could superintend the native part of any office, and, at the same time, despatch other business, which is now performed by an English assistant, as creditably as by the latter, and, in many instances, with much more usefulness, as regards the governors and the governed. His abilities and talents will then certainly appear with greater advantage than they do now. At present he has no will nor weight enough to set his superior right, should he take a wrong view of a matter as generally happens, from the fear of giving him offence, but, when he becomes more responsible, it would be his duty, to check or expose the mistake of his superior. Numerous are the evils now committed through ignorance, or a malicious design, and innocent persons are thrown into jails, when they should have been set at liberty.

At present the services of a native servant or dependant of Government, are very seldom taken notice of, and when by some good luck they are, the only distinction he receives is the title of Khan and Bahadur, if a Musulman, and of Rae Bahadur, if a Hindoo. In a country where the bestowal of such honorary distinctions—or higher still, as Nawab, Rajah, &c.—were always accompanied by grants of land and Jagher, and high emoluments, the gift of such empty titles can evidently not be much appreciated. Government ought to adopt a different and more liberal plan of rewarding the

be promoted without distinction, according to their respective merits, and raised in dignity by granting to them more often honors similar to those with which it distinguishes the European service. By this measure, it will not only raise the degraded, but gain for Government the real popularity and attachment of its servants.

The disaffection is not confined to the uncovenanted service, *but to natives in general, among whom it has become of a contagious nature. It has caught also the native army on which so much dependence is placed.* They are, it should be remembered, the natives of the country, and have relations and families who have suffered from the oppressive and extorting system of Government. Thus, they partake in the general misery, and sympathise with those who are the nearest and dearest to them. If you ask any sepoy, unless he has some fears to restrain him, he will positively tell you that his family has suffered exceedingly under the Company's *Raj*. Those who have experienced the rules by which the country is administered by the English will prefer a native Government. Even that of Oude, notwithstanding its reported oppressions towards the *Ryats*, which of course, as well as that of Hydrabad, are much more exaggerated than they really are, is liked much better than the English Government. It is the opinion of some statesmen that we have conquered the country by the sword, and must keep it with the sword. When such is the feeling of the native army which forms the chief strength of that Government, it is an opinion which may be considered thoretical and absurd. It will not be surprising, that the very army may some day be the chief cause of the destruction of its own Government.* If it be the policy to maintain the country by sword, the army should be kept contented and happy. Moreover, it ought to be composed of better materials than it now is. A higher grade ought to be opened in it for the gentry of the country, because, to use a vulgar saying, the bundle of grass must be tied with grass, or it is not a wonder if it be loosened and scattered. *The broken nobility and gentry who are heartily desirous of the downfall of the English power,* would thereby be much pacified and conciliated, by finding a provision in the army, the respectability of which, would at the same time, be much increased. The harsh treatment to which recruits are subjected is very repugnant to the feelings of an *Ashraf*, or gentleman. A gentleness in the manner of enforcing dis-

rules were reformed in a degree which might remove the objection, the army would be composed of a higher class of men, and hence many benefits would result both to the country and to Government. At present, a Sobehdar of thirty or forty years' standing is immediately placed under the order of a subaltern, just sent out of school, who reasonably is hardly supposed to have that knowledge or experience of his duty, which may qualify him to command an old officer, though a native.* What may be the feelings of the latter is easy to conceive. We ought to adopt some better and just policy if we wish to remain popular with the native army, which is considered the very corner-stone of the British power in the East. The introduction of the order of merit is a very judicious measure. But that is not enough. The grant of lands is valued beyond all other distinctions in the East. If Government were to reward its native army for gallantry in the field, and other meritorious conduct, with some such distinctions, and open to them at the same time, higher grades, it would serve as greater incentives to the higher classes to enter it. Besides, the persons thus distinguished would be the pride of their family, kindred, and village, and in them would be seen living testimonies of British liberality. Thus, its popularity established on firmer grounds, it would be loved instead of being despised, and whilst feared would not be hated.

RELIGION.

Let Christians teach the superiority of their religion and morality to the natives of India by their virtuous acts. They ought to inculcate the necessity of liberal education being given to the people; to try to found colleges, hospitals, charitable institutions, *caravan-sarais*, aqueducts, canals, and many other benevolent works for the support of the poor, and the improvement of the country, as was done by the native Princes, and thus gain their good opinion. Mere words inconsistent with our own conduct can obviously produce no good effect. The exertions of the missionaries would be well directed if they tried to improve the moral character of their own countrymen, and thereby taught the natives the excellence of their own religious faith. As yet, the latter perceive, in reality, no difference between the morals of the two nations, if judged by their respective standards. The truth of this remark may be proved by the testimony of their own unprejudiced countrymen, who have had better opportunities of judging the point than those who pass idle opinions, with-

EDUCATION.

To those who entertain an opinion, that the improvement of the natives of India, both mentally and politically, will be the cause of the early downfall of the British power, I can only say, that such an opinion is not liberal, especially when entertained by a people who lay a strong claim to civilisation, and a superior standard of moral excellence. To keep down a conquered nation merely to serve our own selfish motives, is indeed short-sighted and unjust. Too much pressure, at last, will produce a re-action, and then we cannot conscientiously blame the natives of India. Let us act liberally and morally; let us give them proper education, and improve their political position, and relieve them from the pinching want and distress to which we have reduced them; let them have a share in the honour and power, and also in those political and civil rights from which they are now rigidly excluded. If then they act dishonestly or ungratefully, they will render themselves unworthy of consideration, and there will remain only the satisfaction of knowing, that good deeds have been repaid by ingratitude; but with our oppressive treatment, we have no claim on the gratitude of India. In Egypt, Mahomed Ali, a Turk, has established colleges in his capital of Cairo, and also at Alexandria, on a very liberal scale, and has also introduced cloth and other machinery, and makes every proper use of them, and takes every other means for the mental and social improvement of his people. Again, the British Government itself has established two colleges in England for qualifying their young countrymen for the military and civil branches of the service. Why should they withhold from the natives of India similar institutions to qualify and encourage them to serve the Government with equal zeal and ability? Had the country been governed by permanent residents, whoever they might have been, and the manufactories of India not been annihilated for the profit of a foreign country, had its wealth been expended in the country, and the natives, as well as the English, had a wider field for employment, the condition of both, socially and politically, would have been quite different, and the Government, instead of being disliked by the population and the chiefs, might have established an enviable reputation throughout India. *It is astonishing that, notwithstanding the existence of the Government in the country for nearly a century, the numerous faults of its constitution still remain.* The Hindoo and Mohamedan rulers are stigmatised by foreign writers as very tyrannical and oppressive; but this is a great error. They are not

sonal treatment of the natives was liberal. Although the Mahomedans differ from the Hindoos in religion, they made no distinction of colour or creed. The Hindoos were as eligible to situations of trust as the Mahomedans. They had made India their home, and the wealth of the country was spent in the country. The monuments of their liberality in improving India are visible almost in every village. A visit to Lahore, Delhi, Agra, Mandoo, Ojgen, Burhanpoor, Oorungabad, Dowlatabad, Ahmednagar, and numerous other ruined towns, will exhibit extensive remains of the magnificent buildings, gardens, mosques, palaces, bridges, caravan-seraes, &c. The difference between those places and any English town, Bombay, &c., is quite apparent! Very few public works are there to be seen, beyond jails, godowns, and a few traveller's banglows, particularly constructed for the accommodation of Europeans. Were the English compelled at once to quit the country, they would leave scarcely any memento of the beneficence or magnificence of their rule in India. We are told that we have now a better form of government, but, unfortunately, it has proved much worse than any despotic one in its operation. Until we possess a larger share of the blessings of a constitutional government, the state of India will continue as wretched and depressed as ever. The Hindoo and Mahomedan princes, the monuments of whose liberality I have been describing, would undoubtedly have been much more astonished than the present generation to view the commercial rapacity of the present age. Experience and a right judgment teach that liberality, if not honesty, is the best policy which a ruler can follow. At least, "we ought to do unto others as we would like done unto us," as the Holy Scriptures say.*

Although it is difficult to say how long the natives may patiently bear their grievances, yet it cannot be disputed, that they are more meek, controllable and submissive than any other people; and by proper attention to their welfare, and a kind and liberal mode of treatment to which they have been accustomed almost from time immemorial, they can be closely attached. It is the latter they want, and not the downfall of the English, because it is possible that their withdrawal from the country might throw it into a worse state than that of which it complains at present.

Here I close these short, but lamentably true notes on the present deplorable state of India. I fear they may be a pre-

* The Mahomedan turning our own — ought to be ever present — weapon upon us!

lude to many such histories which India will yet produce before she can attract the notice of these whose duty may prompt them to do her justice. If there is a will to pay attention to the claims of India on the protection of the British Government, it is not merely what I, but English writers themselves, have said on the subject, that will justify enquiry. I have shewn in these pages that there is much reason to complain of injustice and a greedy extortion, and that, in lieu of the wealth and trade, the honour, the self-government and the independence of our country—once a land of riches and plenty—we have been reduced to pauperism and degradation, moral and political, and to a contemptuous treatment. What more, then, is slavery? This is slavery, or worse; because an ordinary slave has a protector who provides him with his necessary wants, while the natives of India have to depend, unfortunately, on the empty consolation of *good intentions* and fine speeches. This is indeed a sad bargain: and hitherto submissive India to every foreign yoke, may gradually be forced by her necessities to become disloyal—a state which she has never been known to exhibit, but which also she may ultimately be indebted to the present exclusive system of policy by which it is governed. I may once more observe, that India is a brilliant appendage to the British crown; it is a field to make your heroes and statesmen: it is a land where your young men may find employment and make fortunes, and where your manufactured goods are largely consumed. In short, it is a land whence you derive numerous benefits, more than from any other country or colony. There is not a place in the United Kingdom of Great Britain which does not, more or less, share in the wealth of India. With all such advantages, is it not worth preserving and improving, and are not its natives deserving of more consideration than they have yet received? If these matters are seriously worthy of notice, I strongly appeal to those who, by the solemn nature of their responsibility, are bound not only to their own nation, but to God the universal Bestower of Kingdoms and Countries, to do equal-handed justice to those who have been placed under their protective care. Let the English Government, therefore, imitate their predecessors and do actual good to India and its people: and let its countrymen consider the former as their own home, and the latter as their fellow-creatures, and not treat them like the beasts of the forests. Then, and not till then, will its name be universally beloved; its Government be founded on the hearts of the people, and its strength be impregnable.

Chapter XV., page 392.

Home for Young Women, 44, Great Ormond Street.

Hospital for Women, Soho Square. *

Female Temporary Home.

Female Aid Society, (Late London Female Mission,) Founded 1836. Office—27, Red Lion Square. In connection with it

Home and Registry for Female Servants, 51, Southampton Row, Russell Square. And,

Home for Friendless Young Females of Good Character, 17, New Ormond Street, Bedford Row.

Home for Penitent Females, 57, White Lion Street, Islington.

Refuge for the Destitute, Manor House, Dalston, N.E.

London Female Penitentiary, Pentonville Road, N.

London Society for the Protection of Young Females, Asylum, Tottenham, N. Office, 28, New Broad Street, E.C.

London Female Preventive and Reformatory Institution, 200, Euston Road, near Euston Square, N.W., and at 18, Cornwall Place, Holloway Road, N.

St. James's Home, Whetstone, Finchley Common.

Society for the Rescue of Young Women and Children, Office, 11, Poultry, London, E.C.

*PREVENTIVE EFFORTS IN CONNECTION
WITH THE RESCUE SOCIETY.*

No. 1. Family Home, 2, Church Row, Wandsworth, (S.W.) For fifteen girls, under the care of Mrs. Poulitney.

No. 2. Family Home, 28, Church Row, Hampstead, (N.W.) For twenty-six girls, under the care of Mrs. Cooper.

No. 3. Family Home, 9, Henstridge Villas, Ordnance Road, St. John's Wood, (N.W.) For sixteen girls, under the care of Mrs. Weylland.

No. 4. Family Home, 1, Brecknock Cottages, Camden Town, (N.W.) For fifteen girls, under the care of Mrs. Burton.

No. 5. Family Home, 61, Red Lion Street, Clerkenwell, (E.C.) For twenty girls, under the care of Mrs. Tollerfield.

No. 6. Probationary Home, 10, Mount Terrace, New Road,

Terrace, East Greenwich, (S.E.) For twenty young women, under the care of Mrs. Bodkin.

No. 8. Dover Home, 45, St. James's Street, Dover. For fifteen young women, under the care of Mrs. Chawkley.

SERVANTS' HOMES.

21, Nutford Place, Edgware Road.

110, Hatton Garden, Holborn.

52, Nelson Square, Blackfriars Road.

Daniel Cooper, Secretary.

London Reformatory for Adult Male Criminals, 9, Great Smith Street, Westminster.

School of Cookery, 90, Albany Street, Regent's Park.

Proposed Hospital for the Treatment of the Special Diseases of Women, under the direction of competent Women Physicians, with a Board of Consulting Physicians and Surgeons. A Lecture Room, where courses of Lectures will be delivered on the Laws of Health applied to the duties of women as mothers, teachers, nurses, nursemaids, and directors of benevolent Institutions, and for the preparation of well-educated women for attending medical study. Many members of the Profession are prepared to support it. One lady has already given £1000 towards it, and has promised £5000 more if a sufficient sum be raised to place it on a permanent basis. Other ladies have also promised liberal pecuniary aid. For a list of names see Prospectus.

Hon. W. COWPER . . . } *Trustees.*
RUSSELL GURNEY, Q.C. }

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M. H. was found by a City Missionary living with a blind beggar. She was, she stated, of respectable parentage, and he also, having been an engineer before losing his sight through an accident; that they had "long kept company together," and that he had promised to marry her; seduced her, however, instead, got into bad company, and then refused to make her his wife. She professed deep sorrow for her style of living, and wished to leave him, but dared not return to her father in the country, nor to what she had before been, a servant, having no character. So the missionary got her admitted into a dormitory as fallen, but not depraved, one who had never been in prison (as she stated), nor stolen, nor led a dissolute life, but on the contrary, that both she and the man (though living in open fornication) had been long members of a Wesleyan con-

mitory, she so won the good opinion of every one there (through her piety, the good counsel she gave to the other inmates, and by sitting up at night and praying with one of them that was sick), that she was at once recommended to a lady as cook or housemaid, being equally clever at either, and so she proved, indeed, at anything she chose to put her hand to, like many country girls who have been accustomed at home to milk, bake, brew, garden, cook, clean, and what not? After a few weeks, however, a change came over her; the clean, tidy, active "sow longed to return to its idle wallowing in the mire," and so became careless, slovenly, and dirty, both in work and person. When expostulated with, she announced her intention to leave at once; and when urged to state her reason for not remaining till at least some other situation was found for her (the lady fearing she meant to return to her evil course of life), she stoutly denied this, expressed astonishment that her mistress could imagine such a thing, after the blind man's brutality to her; for it seemed he was so dexterous, that he could always tell where she sat, and would, when least expected, come down upon her with a violent blow of his stick, *apropos* of nothing. Truly, "the tender mercies of the wicked are cruel," for here was what is called "a tender tie" yet joined to what cruelty on the one side, and vilifying on the other. At last she asserted that she had taken a fearful oath to bind herself to leave that evening, but promised to go straight to the missionary's house and be somewhere located by him. This was on a Saturday night. The next day, after divine service, finding the missionary had not seen her, the lady made some inquiries in the neighbourhood of the blind man's abode, and found that M. H. had gone direct to him (Saturday being his chief begging night), and had been seen leading him about his old haunts. Next morning, early, the missionary walked into their room, and found them together. She excused herself by saying, that the blind man had exacted this sacrifice from her in return for his having already had the banns called, and that they were now about to be married. The good-natured missionary offered to give her away, and also stated that her late mistress would pay the fees and assist her if it took place at once, whereupon she burst into tears of gratitude, and seized the missionary's hand to thank him. The man throughout remained silent, and the missionary left with the firm conviction that *he* was a sulky tyrant, *she* intensely interesting in her very weakness. And thus week after week passed, she being spokeswoman, and de-

claring if not within a certain time (perpetually refixed by her) she would leave him. At last the missionary lost patience, and put the question direct to *him*, requesting a decided answer. It was immediately given in the shortest of all possible negatives—"No, nor had he any intention ever to marry her, as she well knew, and had known all along." She was urged to return to the Dormitory, and did so, he retaining some portion of her clothes for a debt she owed him. After this, he wrote soliciting an interview with the lady she had left, saying he wished to explain all to her, and to undeceive her and others as to the real character of M. H. This was granted, the missionary being stationed in an inner room to hear the blind man's tale. The revelations he made were very extraordinary, and the man himself most so. On entering the court of the model lodging-house, where the meeting was appointed, he exclaimed to the little lad who was leading him, "But where is the lady?" pulling down at the same time his waistcoat and pushing the tips of his hair into the corner of his colourless milky eye-balls. In the midst of his recital he stopped short, wheeled suddenly round to face a distant window at which the missionary was stationed, and exclaimed, "Surely Mr. — (mentioning his name) is here!" His statement was, that M. H. had left her native place to take service in London, took up with the waiter of an inn, who promised to marry her but did not, and to whom she had a child. She then went about with a Punch and Judy showman, and so frequenting the dens where such persons congregate, she met this Lothario among the vagabonds, blind J. R., and his well-known dog "The Captain." M. H. lived with him, and he did at that time intend to marry her, for the banns were called and the ring was bought, but on the very morning of their wedding-day she decamped, taking all she could lay her hands upon, alone, leaving the child behind, minus everything in the shape of apparel. Some time after he got tidings of her, and immediately set off in pursuit, led by "The Captain," to whom, it appeared, he had only got to say where he wished to go, when that sagacious animal instantly took him thither—the two having vagabondized together throughout the length and breadth of the kingdom, "the Captain" knowing his master's haunts as well as he did himself, and M. H. was found in one of their dens playing cards. A scene ensued. However, he forgave her, and they again lived together, and were together in Tothill Fields Prison under indictment as vagrants, and where she remained in after him to give birth to a still-born child. She had asserted she never had had a child.

Her only motive, he stated, for going into the dormitory was, to allow of his going home to visit his family, (who were respectable) as "they had had a bad run of luck at begging that winter, and were out of everything." That so soon, however, as she had scraped together some clothes and money, she wished to return to him. Having meantime often visited him, *though three miles from where she lived*, and had appointed meetings with him in the vicinity of her mistress's house, early in the morning, whilst all the other inmates were asleep—*leaving the front door ajar till her return; so that any one might have slipped in.* She then used to hand him tea, candles, &c., and generally sent him home well-stocked. He showed some of her letters to him, but which needed an interpreter; *being in a lingo* unintelligible to all but vagabonds. He also gave every possible reference to persons to corroborate the truth of his statements; and on enquiry, *every word was found correct.* She was then, in presence of several persons, told all, and urged no longer to take refuge in lies. *She stoutly denied the whole*, when the Clergyman's Prison Certificate was handed to her. Her sudden fall became now as painful to witness as her previous effrontery. However, solid reformation could then be commenced, at the right end, and since then it is believed she has been *outwardly* very steady in the situations found for her, though, of course, being eminently clever at shifting her sail to every gale, who could tell, if she ever *really* changed? Some of the instances the blind man gave of his "catching her out," and *therefore resolving never to marry her*, were most humourously detailed by him. Amongst others, she one day announced, that a lady for whom she worked needed her till a late hour that evening. He however felt sure (and then found out) her intention was to go to the Theatre. He asked a male friend to lead him there veiled *dressed up in female attire.* "And so," quoth he, chuckling, "*I watched her go out, from a neighbour's, and followed her the whole way close enough to have touched her with my stick. And after she left you,*" he added to the lady, "nothing would do but she must drag me—a blind man—to the play—persisting that she could explain it all to me. On another occasion she insisted on taking me to see the picture gallery at Greenwich, after which she planted me on Blackheath Common for about two hours, whilst she took a donkey ride."

This blind beggar was a very intelligent man, and fully worked out the "*vedeo meliore proboque,*" &c., for in the visits he received from Christians he assented to all they set

before him, confessed his life was very evil, his state very perilous, and his future *fixed* if he so continued; but, that till he himself decided to change, it was hopeless their trying to turn him—and at last, worn out by the persistent efforts of the lady he had confided M. H's history to, "for," said he to a Scripture Reader she used to send to him, "I thought there was nobody I couldn't weary out, but there's no wearying *her* out"—he entirely left that part of London, going quite to *the other* end of the Metropolis; and to escape further search, wrote to a minister—the late excellent John Branch—who also took an interest in him—that *he had retired to the country*. Let us hope that grace may yet arrest him. He was but recently seen in the New Road with a new young woman and a new baby.

Chapter XV., page 397.

Look, moreover, at the statistics of age and sex taken from the London Lock Hospital Report, before quoted, and at some from the Society for the Rescue of young Women and Children, and say, if *innocence may not often be lost almost unconsciously?* Unconscious, that is to say, of the *guilt, sin, misery, and outlawry from society, effected in a moment, but for a lifetime*—thereby entailed. Look, too, at our Reformatory Reports *teeming with children's cases from the tender age of 10 to 15.*

LOCK HOSPITAL, 1857.

Age of patients.

The classification of patients admitted according to age is as follows:

Age.	Male.	Female.	Age.	Male.	Female.
From 13—16	1	.. 5	From 21—26	66	.. 73
„ 16—18	8	.. 51	„ 26—30	34	.. 13
„ 18—21	62	.. 82	„ 30 and above. 39	.. 11	

Of the total number of admissions of females, 114, or nearly one-half, were *under* the age of 20; and 161, or about two-thirds, were of the age of 21 and under. Of the males, 71, or about one-third, were under the age of 21; and 111, or rather more than one-half, *under* the age of 23.

In the Lock Hospital of Edinburgh the Report from its formation in 1835 to the year 1842 showed the majority there in point of age to be from 15 to 20 years, and of these there

In the 'Glasgow Magdalene Asylum Report, just published (1859), the number beginning 1851 to end of 1858 show the majority to be between 16 and 20, viz: 258 cases—under 16, 26 cases.

Chapter XVII., page 421.

PRISONS, HOMES, SCHOOLS, REFORMATORIES, &c.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

SIR,—The quarterly return to January last of Coldbath Fields, Clerkenwell, and Westminster prisons, shows an expenditure, exclusive of the cost of prosecutions, &c., amounting to £19,542 17s. 10d., or nearly £80,000 per annum, while the work done by the prisoners is valued at £792 13s. 11d., or little more than £3,000 per annum. The report of a convict establishment for 100 men in Ireland, published in the last *Irish Quarterly*, gives a credit balance of nearly £500 per annum. In America many of the prisons are nearly self-supporting, and in some the labour of the inmates is let out at so much a day. Cannot we make more of our ordinary prisoners? "A County Magistrate" writes that it is impossible to find profitable employment, "there being no demand for gilded bulls, whatever there may have been in the time of 'never, too late to mend.'" But could not some of our prisons be made Government workshops? Might not one be a tailoring, another a shoemaking establishment for the army, the police, &c.? In these railway days the expense of collecting suitable workmen among the prisoners sentenced for long periods in any part of the country would not be great. Private enterprise would not be injured by these more than by other Government factories. The workmen, had they not been criminal, would have been equally competitors with free labour. The ratepaying public would be gainers. The rotten clothes and diminutive boots of Crimean notoriety would be avoided, and if the making of a pair of trousers, for which 7s. are charged, can, as it is said, be sublet to a wretched woman for 1s., who again sublets it twice, realizing in the end a profit of 1½d., something might be gained on this score too. In this institution we executed an order for packsaddles for the Land Transport during the war, which gave satisfaction, and helped materially to keep down our expenses. We

Refuge Union, as well as for institutions like our own, which, having no printing presses, are glad to give employment to a kindred establishment. Much is lost in all these matters by want of combination. A lady writes, "I am trying to provide for the girls some instruction, and practice in house work, &c., but we want some one to be waited on, cooked for," &c. So we have "Homes for Gentlewomen," which, though expensive, cannot afford adequate attendance, and we have expensive training schools for servants, containing none of the elements of a real household. At Sandwell, near Birmingham, alone these are united with every advantage in point of comfort and economy; not only are the "gentlewomen" well waited on for a moderate payment, but candidates for service are willing to pay for practising household duties upon them. Again, as the proper training for a servant is service, so that for a schoolmaster is the school—for the superintendent of a reformatory, the reformatory itself. Far be it from me to undervalue Government examinations, though I think the standard too high; but do we not see schoolmasters with first class certificates as unfit for their task as the fellow of a college sometimes is for a country parish? Nurses are not chosen for theoretical knowledge of infantine wants and ways, but because they have been proved to possess the tact and temper which enable them "to get on with children." Reformatory institutions are at present chiefly managed by those who originated them, who, from beginning in a small way with a true "call" to the work, have gradually elaborated sound practical systems. While these men live a succession should be provided. In this institution we have already a few in training under the experienced and devoted founder, and as our inmates number 100, we may, if enabled to make arrangements for them, train many more. Few are aware of the various qualifications essential to the governor of a reformatory—the power of reading character, which experience alone can give, the almost intuition which tells when to encourage and when to punish, the nerve and tact enabling him to act promptly on all occasions in a way to rule and attach the difficult and capricious natures among whom he labours.

STEPHEN CAVE, Hon. Sec.

North-West London Preventive
and Reformatory Institution.

REPORT ON PRISONS.

An opinion being expressed that a prisoner in ordinary health will not break down on a two years' imprisonment in a suitable separate cell, provided he is allowed a fair amount of relaxation in air and exercise, it might be well to limit sentences of incarceration to two years, carrying out the full term in separate confinement, and discharging the prisoners at the end of it without exposing them to the contaminating influence of the society of their fellow prisoners. In the separate reports on the individual prisons, it is stated that the debtors in Scotland, as a class, are generally slovenly in appearance and idle in habits. It is suggested that these civil prisoners might be obliged to choose some work, to be pursued for their own benefit (or that of their creditors), instead of wasting their time in idleness and dissipation. The chaplain of Salford Gaol, very pertinently urges the expediency of setting that class of criminals who have been trained to industrious habits and who do not dislike work, to employment in their own or some suitable trade, instead of working them uselessly and vexatiously in turning cranks, treading the wheel, or picking oakum. At the Preston House of Correction, the Secretary of State is informed that there is a want of decent and proper accommodation both for the female prisoners and the unfortunate County Court debtors. The disgraceful state of the Newcastle-on-Tyne Borough Gaol has already been referred to. The inspector "knows not who is responsible for suffering things to remain in such a state year after year;" and he appeals to the "influential" inhabitants of the town, in the hope that they may be induced to make a move. The Secretary of State being apprised of the facts, may perhaps interfere.

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"The early pay of the sepoy was seven rupees per month, stationary, &c., $8\frac{1}{2}$ marching or in the field, exclusive of half a rupee to the off-reckoning fund per month, for which they received one coat per annum. They had to feed and clothe themselves, and also erected cantonments in all stationary situations at their own expense, sending to their wives and families, and often to aged parents and more distant relatives, a considerable proportion of their pay, so that the authorities have interfered to check their extreme self-denial."

The presence of the families of the Madras troops has also

late crisis, as they never like to separate from them; and one regiment, we are told, built houses and huts at three different stations, and had sometimes to pay 60 rupees per cart for them for a 700 miles' transit. This upon seven rupees a month, unavoidably plunges the Sepoy in debt, as he must borrow it at exorbitant interest from the money changers. Why, then, not have fixed accommodations at every military station for the families of the native soldiery, and let them defray the expense of transit. The same with the European soldiery?

Chapter XVIII., page 452.

“After the late calamitous insurrection of the Sontals, a scheme for civilizing them by means of Christian and secular education was said to be suggested by the Civil Commissioner of Bhagulpore. But by whomsoever suggested, certain it is that the Local Committee of the Church Missionary Society (with the eventual full approval of the Home Committee) came forward and offered to Government to undertake the work on certain reasonable conditions. The amount of secular instruction was allowed to be fixed by the Director of Education; and the schools were to be opened at all times to Government inspection. In short, on condition of the Government's bearing the main part of the pecuniary expenditure, the Society undertook the management and direction of a comprehensive scheme of religious, secular, and industrial education for the barbarous Sontals. Mr. Halliday, Governor of Bengal, fully approved of the scheme, and strongly recommended it to the Supreme Government. Lord Canning took a most liberal view of the case, and recorded his entire approbation of the measure, giving it as his judgment that it differed in degree only, not in kind, from grants already made to individual missionaries under the celebrated educational despatch of 19th July, 1854, and that the proposed grant in aid to a missionary body for the secular education of an uncivilized tribe, was a wise and legitimate application of the principle of that despatch, seeing that Government is in no way to interfere with the religious instruction given. This approval of the head of the Indian Government is dated 28th November, 1856. On the 22d July (1857), a despatch was forwarded from the Court of

sively occupy separate regions or tracts of country, so as to form isolated communities locally separated, as well as socially distinct, from the Hindu and Mussulman populations. The Church Missionary Society was entitled to all confidence, but the Court must adhere to the conviction that it would be altogether opposed to the rules to take any steps which might have the appearance of uniting the Government with such a society, in measures having the aim of converting any class of the population to Christianity. The Court, therefore, directed that a scheme should be prepared for affording to the inhabitants of the Sontal districts the means of education through the agency of Government officers, who must be strictly enjoined to abstain from any attempts to introduce religious subjects in any form." After the receipt of so peremptory an order, the local Government had no alternative but to request the civil commissioner of the districts concerned, to prepare a new and revised scheme of education for the barbarous Sontals. The commissioner happens to be a man of singularly independent spirit, and among well-informed circles here, he is understood to have in substance replied that he neither would nor could prepare another scheme,—that the present disturbed state of the districts rendered the introduction of any scheme utterly impracticable,—and that by the time that peace and order were restored, he hoped a new policy would be inaugurated, which would no longer exhibit us as cowards in the eyes of man and traitors in the eyes of God. What adds emphasis to the whole is, that whatever may be alleged or pretended in the case of the civilized Hindu and Mussulman races on the score of treaties and such like, nothing of the sort can, by the utmost stretch of ingenuity, be alleged or pretended as an extenuation or excuse in the case of the uncivilized Sontals." The above is an extract from one of the latest of Dr. Duff's spirit-stirring letters. Who that reads it can help being honestly desirous that a "policy" so anti-christian and degrading should be at once and for ever abandoned?

There seems reason to believe that at length the captivity of the Christians of Hindostan is turned. The Indian Government has begun to show a more cordial feeling towards them. In the early stages of the mutiny their loyal addresses were refused, and their offers of service rejected. Of all the natives they alone have exhibited from the first a devoted attachment to the British power. No sooner did the news of the Meerut and Delhi massacres reach Calcutta, than the Christians of all denominations met in the Free Church

Institution, and drew up a loyal address to the Governor-General. A similar address was forwarded by the native Christians of Kishnagurh, and at the same time they offered their carts and bullocks for the Government service. The native Christians of Chota Nagpore offered their services as police guards. The discovery of the Mohammedan plot at Patna was owing to a native Christian. The conspiracies at Monghir and Poonah were also brought to light by native Christians. No native Christian has been found in the ranks of the mutineers, while some hundreds have probably lost their lives through their attachment to the Gospel of Christ. "Theory and practice alike concur in proving," says Dr. Duff, "that to increase and multiply the number of native Christians, is to increase and multiply the only class of truly staunch and loyal native subjects of the British crown among the teeming millions of India. At length convinced of this, the Government has taken steps in various places to engage the services of native Christians. In Barisaul, in Dacca, at Alipore, the Baptist missionaries have been requested to recommend them for employment. In Benares the serjeant of police is a native Christian. In the Punjaub a very remarkable document has been issued by the Judicial Commissioner, Mr. Montgomery, which officially recognises the faults of the past, and presents a new feature in the future history of Christianity in India. The system of caste can no longer be permitted to rule in our services. Soldiers and Government officers of every class must be entertained for their merits, irrespective of creed, class, or caste. The native Christians, as a body, have with some exceptions been set aside. I know not one in the Punjaub (to our disgrace be it said) in any employment under Government. A proposition to employ them in the public service six months ago would assuredly have been received with coldness, and would not have been complied with. But a change has come, and I believe there are few who will not eagerly employ those native Christians competent to fill appointments. In the ranks of the army at Madras, there are native Christians, and I have heard that some of the guns at Agra are at this time manned by native Christians. I consider I should be wanting in my duty at this crisis if I did not endeavour to secure a portion of the numerous appointments in the judicial department for native Christians, and I shall be happy (as I can) to advance their interests equally with that of Mohammedan and Hindu candidates. Their future promotion must be based on their

favouring me with a list of any native Christians belonging to them, who in their opinion are fit for the public service."*

The revolt in India, which has shaken the empire to its centre, cannot be traced to the missionaries, for within the last few days a paper from India throws considerable light upon the subject, and which was contained in the report of a meeting of the British Indian Association, held in Calcutta on the 25th of July, 1857, when Baboo Duchinarungun Moorkerjee made the following statement in reference to the efforts of missionaries in India:—"If owing to nine hundred years of Mahomedan tyranny and misrule this great nation has sunk in sloth and lethargy, it has, thank God, not lost its reason, and is able to make a difference between the followers of a religion which inculcates the doctrine that should be propagated at the point of the sword, and that which offers compulsion to none, but simply invites inquiry. However we may differ with the Christian missionaries in religion, I speak the minds of the society, and generally of those of the people, when I say that, as regards their learning, purity of morals, and disinterestedness of intention to promote our weal, no doubt is entertained through the land,—nay, they are held by us in the highest esteem. European history does not bear on its records the mention of a class of men who suffered so many sacrifices in the cause of humanity and education as the Christian missionaries in India; and though the native community differs with them in the opinion—that Hindostan will one day be included in Christendom for the worship of Almighty God in His Unity, as laid down in the Holy Vedas, is, and has been our religion for thousands of years, and is enough to satisfy all our spiritual wants—yet we cannot forbear doing justice to the venerable ministers of a religion, who, I do here most solemnly asseverate, in righteousness alone, are fit to be classed with those *Rishees* and holy sages of antiquity who derived their support and those of their charitable boarding-schools from voluntary subscriptions, and consecrated their lives to the cause of God and knowledge. And is it to be supposed that Lord Canning's subscription to the Missionary Societies has ignited and fanned the awful fire, the flames of which now surround the fair provinces of Hindostan, and has changed the obedient and faithful native soldiers of the state into fiends who delight in plunder, massacre, and destruction? No, certainly not; our countrymen are perfectly able to make a distinction between the acts of Lord Canning as a private individual, and his Lordship's

doings as the Viceroy of her gracious Majesty Queen Victoria. Aware of the weight that would be attached by the British public to the views expressed by that personage, I feel it incumbent on me to point out his Lordship's mistake. Then as to the missionaries: a man must be a total stranger to the thoughts, habits, and character of the Hindu population, who could fancy that because the missionaries are the apostles of another religion, the Hindus entertain an inveterate hatred towards them. Ackbar, of blessed memory, whose policy Lord Ellenborough pronounced as peculiarly adapted to the government of these dominions (and which no doubt is so), gave encouragement to the followers of all sects, religions, and modes of worship. Jageers and Allumghas bearing his imperial seal are yet extant, to show that he endowed lands and buildings for Mahommedan musjids, Christian churches, and Hindu divals. The Hindus are essentially a tolerant people, a fact which that sagacious prince did fully comprehend, appreciate, and act upon; and the remark of Lord Ellenborough that Ackbar's policy should be the invariable rule of guidance for British Indian governors is most correct, but in the sense I have just explained, and should be recorded in golden characters on the walls of the council chamber. When discussing an Indian subject, it should be remembered that this country is not inhabited by savages and barbarians, but by those whose language and literature are the oldest in the world, and whose progenitors were engaged in the contemplation of the sublimest doctrines of religion and philosophy, at a time when their Anglo-Saxon and Gallic contemporaries were deeply immersed in darkness and ignorance. Government now-a-days have made additional provisions for the education of the middling and upper classes of their subjects, but there has, I regret to say, been a sad omission as regards the education of its native army ever since the days of its first formation. By education I do not mean a course of scholastic training, but some sort of training at least should be imparted to Sepoys who, of all others, it is most absolutely requisite to humanize, and to bring under the fear of God. For the soldier's occupation is with arms; his daily business lies in tactics and physical force; so, unless he is taught in some shape the duties he owes to his God, his sovereign, and to his immediate employers, he becomes, when infuriated, worse than a cannibal, as has been to our shame demonstrated in the recent rebellion. If no recruit should be admitted into the native army unless he has been educated in some of the

own language, candidates desirous of entering into the service would soon qualify themselves on that head, and after they have been admitted, if libraries of books containing easy and entertaining lessons in history, morality, geography, and natural philosophy in that language be at the disposal of every regiment, the native soldiers would occupy their time in the pursuit of useful knowledge, while now their leisure hours are spent in gossip, ennui, and listlessness. A Sepoy's life is that of idleness except when on actual duty, and this plan would suit them best; and then their officers could hold out encouragement to them, and excite their emulation by awarding prizes for proficiency to such as would make advancement in their studies." This testimony borne to the characters of their missionaries in connection with this revolt by Hindoos, was worth a hundred diatribes coming from old Indians in Leadenhall Street, who went out fifty years ago, and who had forgotten nothing and remembered nothing. Then it had been said that Lord Canning had subscribed to the missionary funds, and thus some colour was given to the assertion that he intended to supplant the religion of the Hindoos with that of the Christian religion; but upon this point what said the same authority already referred to? He said, 'Speaking as I do from the place which is the centre of the scenes of those mutinies that have drawn forth the remarks of Lord Ellenborough, and possessing, as we do, the advantages of being identified in race, language, manners, customs, and religion with the majority of those misguided wretches who have taken a part in this rebellion, and thereby disgraced their manhood by drawing their arms against the very dynasty whose salt they have eaten and to whose rule they and their ancestors have for the last hundred years owed the security of their lives and properties; I but give utterance to a fact patent to us all, that the Government have done nothing to interfere with our religion, and thereby to afford argument to its enemies to weaken their allegiance. The abolition of the diabolical practice of infanticide (by drowning children in the Ganges) by the Marquis of Hastings; of the criminal right of Suttee suicide by Lord Bentinck; and the passing of other laws for the discontinuance of similar cruel and barbarous usages, equally called for by justice and humanity by governors-general, though they existed among us for ages, never for a moment led us to suspect that our British rulers would interfere with our religion, nor did it

December 17th, 1857.

MISSIONS IN INDIA.

The adjourned meeting to promote the extension of the missions in India of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was held at Willis's Rooms.

Lord J. Manners, on rising to move the first resolution, said: "It was now admitted by all, that if during the last hundred years Christianity had exercised any influence over the vast population of India, or had made any sensible progress among the Mahomedans and Hindoos, either the rising of the Sepoys against our arms would have been hopeless and feeble, or at least it would have been deprived of its worst and most devilish features. Who could estimate the influence that would have been exercised by 10,000, or even 5,000 native Christian soldiers on our Bengal army? (Cheers.) Who could say what the result might have been had there been 10,000, or even 5,000 native Christians in Delhi or Cawnpore? (Cheers) The benefit which the State would derive from the successful spread of Christianity in India was so clear and patent that it was not necessary for him to dwell upon it any longer; but would he be forgiven for saying that in his view—he only spoke for himself—looking back at the past conduct of England as a State in India, remembering how we had ignored the existence of Christianity, and recollecting also how in our dealings with the native States and native peoples we had broken some of the plainest and clearest obligations of our religion, we could not but anticipate the greatest possible indirect benefits from the spread of Christianity in India? It was a trite saying, that our rule in India depended upon our *prestige*; but *prestige* was of two kinds—the *prestige* of our arms and the *prestige* of our justice. The former, wherever or whenever impaired, had been gloriously and permanently restored; but of the latter what could we say? Could any one in that influential assembly put his hand on his heart, and, reading the records of our past transactions with the native States and native princes of India, say that they were wrong who, like himself, saw in the uprising of the whole population of Oude against our invading force the answer to that imprecation which, year after year, in the most solemn service of our Church on Ash-Wednesday, we denounced as justly due to those who removed their neighbour's landmarks? (Hear, hear.) He knew he was treading upon delicate and debatable ground, but, enter-

to advocate the extension of Christian missions in India, were he to conceal his profound belief that the continuance of such conduct on the part of the State must greatly mar, if it would not altogether annihilate, the success of such a blessed work. On the other hand, he hoped and prayed that the extension of Christian Missions would terminate for ever the rule of such injustice. (Cheers.) Corporate co-operation that society was not only willing but anxious to afford; and, with regard to corporate superintendence, what did the Church of England mean when she used that phrase? She meant episcopal guidance, episcopal control, episcopal rule; and episcopal rule he understood to be vital, powerful, sentient, energetic episcopal influence—not that show and outward *simulacrum* and sham which too long had represented the episcopal government of the Church of England throughout our vast dominions. (Cheers.)

Mr. Justice Coleridge, in seconding the resolution, observed “that when he was called to attend there that day he was forcibly reminded of a book which perhaps few of those present had had the good fortune to see. He meant the collection of the letters of that holy man Francis Xavier, the great missionary to the East, the perusal of which had suggested to his mind many reflections associated with the present Indian crisis. Merely as a historical document, throwing light on the life of that remarkable man, the letters written by Xavier from India were singularly interesting. And it might be as well to mention to those who had read Dryden’s, or any other biographer’s memoirs of this great man, which they would have found marvellously full of miracles and wonders—much more so, indeed, than the Bible itself—that they would discover in these letters, not only no claim to supernatural power, no assertion of his having ever performed a miracle, but the strongest disclaimer of the possession of any such power. But they had what was far more valuable, an account of the labours and plans of a wise and discreet, a holy and zealous man, who held his life in his hand, and who cared not to live or to die so long as he could advance the cause of Christianity according to what he believed to be the truth. (Hear, hear.) In that collection there were several letters from Xavier to the King of Portugal. They all knew that when John III. ascended, at the age of 20, the throne of Portugal he became one of the mightiest monarchs of the earth. It might be a question between him and Spain, but

and power, and among his far-extending possessions perhaps the richest were those in India. Where was that empire now? (Hear, hear.) Xavier, writing to him upon matters affecting Christianity, dealt with him with all the freedom that a greater than he once used to a Roman governor, and, doubtless, when he spoke of the judgment to come, the king trembled, as Felix had done before. After pointing out the shortcomings of the king's officers in India, Xavier said—"When the day comes, as come it will to you, as well as to the meanest of your subjects, and come, it may be, when you least expect it, on which you shall be asked, 'Why was not this done? why was that wicked Governor allowed to oppress the church? why was not help sent for the extension of our missions to this or that place? and why, when the truth was reported to you, did you allow things to remain as they were?' It may be you will answer, 'I wrote letters, I ordered these things to be done, I rebuked those who neglected to do them;' but incontinently it will be answered upon you, 'When your treasury did not receive its receipts, when your troops misconducted themselves, when your fleets did not do as you thought they ought to have done, you failed not to punish, you acted, you showed you were in earnest; but have you done that with regard to Christianity?'" He was not prepared to represent the governors at home or in India as standing in the situation of the King of Portugal. He would rather put the nation itself—the whole people—in that position (cheers), for, in truth, with the blessings of a free constitution, we must undertake all the responsibilities; and all the blame that was to be reflected upon the governors, wherever they might be established, pressed with tenfold force upon the people of England. (Cheers.) The time might come—for surely nations had their conscience, and there was such a thing as national responsibility—when it might be said to us, "I gave you India from her mountains of snow in the north to her most southward cape; I gave you her boundless plains, her vast rivers, her gold, her jewels, her rich commerce; I gave you all these things—for what? Was it to find places for your younger sons, or husbands for your dowerless daughters; to build palaces at home, plant your parks, or adorn your mansions? No, for with these things I gave you millions upon millions of immortal souls; I gave you souls benighted in ignorance, imbruted in vice, brought up in the doctrines of evil; I gave you India to bring these into the fold of Christ." (Cheers.) Could we suppose that

alluding to, or that it came to us by chance? Could we suppose that accession after accession, annexation after annexation, was to be attributed to the ambition of one man, the enterprise of another, or the misconduct of a third? No; these were but occasions, and India was given to us for a great and good purpose. (Hear, hear.) Had we answered that purpose? Only one reply could be returned to that question—viz., that we had failed entirely in performing and carrying out the only purpose for which the great empire of India was given to us." (Hear, hear.)

At a public prayer-meeting held by the clergy at Bath, the Rev. S. H. Widdrington remarked—"There was also another topic, which, as Chairman of the meeting, he dared not be silent upon, because, if they did not feel it, they could not pray aright to God, and that was the confusion of face with which we ought to appeal to God, as a recreant, cowardly, and false country in our dealings with the mighty possession attached to it. What had been the policy of this country towards India? The merchants who had ruled her destinies had not said, "Don't send your missionaries to those that are far removed from the ranks of our army;" they had not said, "Don't send the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ to the distant parts of the country;" but when attempts had been made to send the Gospel to the Sepoy soldiery, the government of the country had opposed them: they have instantly said, "Don't attempt to interfere with the prejudices of the Brahmin; don't attempt to interfere with the religion of the country." Did Christians think that Christ, the great Head of the Church, who had made England the fountain of evangelical truth, could for a hundred years have witnessed the timid policy of this country—this worshipping of idols in a certain sense—if not the worshipping, yet this honouring of idols—that He could have been the spectator of their timidity, and not have determined in His counsel to show that the hour should come when, as they had kept the Sepoy soldiery in idolatry and devilry, this idolatry and devilry should lift up its standard, and be the scourge of this country? He (the Chairman) felt it his duty to state an anecdote bearing upon this point, which he had from a person present, and there was no doubt of its correctness. In one of the Sepoy regiments there was a soldier who came before the chaplain at the station, and asked to be baptized as a Christian. The chaplain did baptize him as a Christian, and what was the

instantly dismissed him, though he was the very best soldier of the regiment. The army authorities had given to the chaplains the most positive instructions that under no circumstances were they to attempt to proselytize any of these Brahmins. And if such was the case, if they had forgotten the honour of the Lord who bought them, if the Christians of England had been afraid of the idols of the Brahmins, and of the power of the Brahmins, and afraid of the idolatry of the East lest it should rise upon them, and had therefore kept back the Lord, that Lord who might have protected them had now put forth his arm, and had left them a prey to the savage deeds of the idolatrous heathen. Looking at the devilry raging in the East, who would dare to say that it was not retributive justice on the part of the Almighty on a country afraid to trust in the power of the Saviour, afraid to trust in the name of Christ, a country which had through a hundred years prostituted itself before the idolatry of the East, honouring the Brahmins, and honouring false deities? But, though they had been faithless hitherto, though they had been false in their policy, though they had not continued true to the standard which had been lifted up in the East as the only standard under which they could conquer, yet they were met together that night to confess their sins as a nation, or as forming part of the nation."

"The doom has gone forth; the mightiest and most powerful corporation that ever existed—the ruler of hundreds of millions of people, the lord of billions of acres,—the ~~EAST~~ **INDIA COMPANY** has virtually ceased to be.

"From being a body of adventuresome merchants the Company rose to rule a country more ancient, wealthy, and extensive than Rome in its palmyest days ever governed. The people of India are a docile, industrious, frugal, and peace-loving race, essentially conservative and opposed to innovations affecting the social compact. If there ever was a people willing to be ruled by the stranger it was the races of India, so long as the rule did not outrage their feelings and ideas in regard to caste, religion, and immemorial usages. And if ever there was a Government that meant well and kindly to its subjects, it was that of the East India Company. Its defects and chief error lay in a want of firmness in allowing itself to be ruled by its own servants, in not marching with the times (being ever an enemy to all progress until forced from without) and in failing to see that in such a position it was bound to

with the times. This was not done, and the penalty must be paid. History tells us of no military revolt like that now almost crushed in India; neither does it record the decline and fall of a corporate body so strong, ancient, and mighty, and alas, so little beloved by its subjects as the East India Company. We have eaten its salt, but have not forgotten that the people of India were the producers. We have lived amongst those people, and deplored the system which ignored their nationality. The outbreak has not come from the quarter we anticipated; but, as elsewhere remarked, the people preferred our rule to that of the Sepoy, a very melancholy option. Still, we only hold the Company responsible for indorsing the acts or suggestions of its own servants, and evincing therein a want of moral courage. And now 'tis all over. The army that swept all before it up to the gates of Cabool is in rebellion against its masters; the last annexation, Oude, is the centre of attraction; and the fall of the Company is coeval with that of the last of the moguls. *India will slip through our fingers if we longer attempt to hold it by the sword; we must now hold it by justice.*"—*Indian News.*

We would wish to ask any unbiassed reader whether, having acted towards the natives of Hindostan and thus carried ourselves in their country, we should not have expected so shrewd a people (and with all their natural and religious prejudices, *à priori*, against us) to have formed their own judgments, and to have come to unfavourable conclusions about us, nationally and religiously? For, we have given them colleges, in which philosophy, &c. is taught, and where they may run into rationalism, infidelity, anything—but Christianity. Upon this teaching an embargo is laid.

We gave them a free press, and of course they therein read (and made a note of it in their own minds) of our unjust and irreligious (whether we had been Christian, Pagan, or Mahomedan) opium trade quarrel with China.* Then of our

* "Morally, the traffic and use of opium by the subjects of China, is a direct breach and violation of law: and if the Chinese, habitually a depraved race, and prone to every vice to which human nature is addicted, deem it advisable to enact the severest laws against the sale and use of this poisonous drug, how foreign it ought to be to the British nation, and the honour of her merchants, for the sake of gain, to break the laws of a country with which we have entered into a commercial treaty, and to pander to the vices of its inhabitants! The punishments to which the unhappy dealers in, and smokers of opium, are subjected, through British love of gold, may not be generally known; it is therefore desirable to state them shortly.—Those who are proved to be in connection with outside foreigners shall be strangled. The dealer is punishable

subsequent upholding (nuts to them of mingled pride and contempt, for is not the beloved shrine of more than half of those Orientals there, at Mecca?) of a people whose mildest term towards us is "Giaour," and who persecute their Christian subjects up to this very day still, and in the face of all promises and Firmans, which they are, even if the Sultan or any clique of his wished it, impotent, as a nation founded upon a Christian-exterminating, oppressing creed, to carry out (for to kill an infidel is to ensure a place in Paradise)—of a people of whom the Czar Nicholas, of Russia's simile, was a most appropriate one, viz. "a sick old man ready to die." and this a people, for political motives, upheld against another nation, calling itself by the same name we call ourselves—"Christian"—and upon whom a decided insult was sanctioned by that Mohammedan power, (vide "The War: Who's to Blame? or, the Eastern Question Investigated from the Official Documents," by James MacQueen, Madden, 1854), but our upholding of whom was put upon the plea of "justice towards" a feeble, and why to be therefore engulfed power?" Poland and Hungary, however, were, and Italy is, crushed before our eyes, but we raised not, nor raise nationally, a finger in support of right or justice, in their cases, because, it did not, nor does, politically concern us to act; but on the contrary, was, and is, deemed our best policy in these questions to remain quiet—not that the writer would have it hereby implied that he would have advocated British blood being shed, and British money expended, to uphold a nation like Poland, whose internal vices, effeminate luxuriousness, oppressions, and misrule of its nobles, had already doomed. And as regards Hungary, the general feeling has shown itself strong enough in this country to need no comment of his; whilst Italy,—poor, classical, philosophical, apostolical, and now debased and benighted Italy—some look upon as already doomed too, for its sins of every dye; and others, as too feeble and unprepared in the ignorance of its resisting masses for any combined permanent effort of emancipation; whilst nationally, present politics forbid meddling where shop, and the individuals seducing the sons of respectable families to smoke opium, are respectively punishable according to the law in force against individuals who delude the people by immoral doctrines; the principal shall be strangled, after undergoing a term of imprisonment, and his accomplices shall receive two hundred blows, and be banished three thousand *lee*. while all the boatmen, police-officers, and neighbours shall respectively receive one hundred blows and be banished from their native province for three years. A government officer buying or smoking opium is degraded, and sentenced to wear the collar for two months, and receive one hundred blows. The soldiers

France, in the plenitude of her "liberty, equality, fraternity," sent troops to put down, all similar extravagant notions, in that country. The writer, moreover, is of those who hope, that in the Providence of God, Turkey, retaining its position, may be overruled to serve His wise purposes in respect of His ancient people,* towards whom we have also to answer for the past sin of "helping on their affliction,"† even as many other nations have done, and who may look forward to a fearful reckoning.‡ But in our now praying for the prosperity of Zion, and desiring its restoration to the Lord's favour,§ we of the Islands may peradventure, when the black catalogue of our own national Christian shortcomings is brought against us, hope for mercy,|| in that day when "The Lord, through His judgments shall teach the nations righteousness."¶ But that does not alter the crooked diplomacy which influenced the Russian war, nor its sad commissariat failures, nor its great expenditure of blood and money. Nor does it alter the view the Mahommedans of Hindoostan may have taken of it. And it is a fact that cannot be blinked, that the present fearful outbreak there, has been partly a fanatical one, the Hindoos the cats-paws; whilst the long-smouldering animosities, from divers causes, on the part of different states, availed themselves of the opportunity, to throw off a yoke which, if it did not oppress, yet galled. And in alluding to our striking hands with a Mahommedan nation against a Christian one as something which must have seemed to the Indians peculiar, and unprecedented—excepting, of course, that of the British and Turks in 1801, and then later, in 1841, when the unhappy but excellent Christian patriarch and prince of the Lebanon, the Emir Beschir, was included in the down-fall of Acre,** the entire annals of history do not furnish any other such instances, though they do plenty to the contrary, viz., of all the Christian powers, banding together at times, at others going forth separately, to uproot the Turk and the Saracen. It must also be borne in mind that to an Oriental, the word Christian, conveys the general idea of a peculiar species of idolater. Their first impressions, received through the Portuguese in Hindostan, or through their own "Dabistan" (a work of deep erudition, purporting "to give an account every religion in the world)," being, Papism in its most grovelling form. In the Dabistan, described, as the worship of

* Isaiah xlix. 14—26; xviii. 7; lx. 9—14; Rev. xvi. 12.

† Zechariah i. 14—18; Isaiah xlvii. 6.

‡ Isaiah xlix. 26; lx. 14.

§ Psalm cxxii. 6.

|| Isaiah lix. 18—21.

¶ Isaiah xxvi. 9.

** See an account of his unmerited sufferings in "The Thistle and Cedar of Lebanon," by Risk Allah Effendi. Madden, 1854.

a virgin, its one paramount peculiarity. Our differences of creed, Orientals look upon as simply partyism, like their own differing Syuds and Soonies, or followers of Houssein and followers of Ali.

Since the above was written, there has appeared in the "Augsburg Gazette" a strange little paragraph, headed "Mussulmans and Christians in Asia Minor," which would seem to prove the writer of the above correct in the opinions expressed:—"It is not only in India that the Mahommedans are arming themselves, for the armourers in all the cities and towns of Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt were never carrying on such an extensive trade as they are at present. All that is taking place at Calcutta under the eyes of the Governor-General of India, the European consuls see repeated at Smyrna, at Acre, at Alexandria, and elsewhere. The most pacific Orientals, those even who are not accustomed to handle arms, are purchasing revolvers, and the Turk, the Syrian, and the Egyptian make no secret of the motive which leads them to purchase these weapons. One of our friends who is on the spot states, that something is in agitation among the Mussulman population—something which very closely resembles the rising of the Mussulmans in India. *Europe deceives itself in imagining that any gratitude is felt because the Western Powers supported the crescent against the Greek cross. It is quite the contrary. The hatred felt throughout all the East against Christians is unbounded. It is in the strongest terms of indignation that the events at Constantinople are talked of, and the tanzimat is a subject of derision. Never has a Christian obtained less justice or been more detested than since the Christian states have declared themselves the protectors of the Mussulman.*"

THE END.